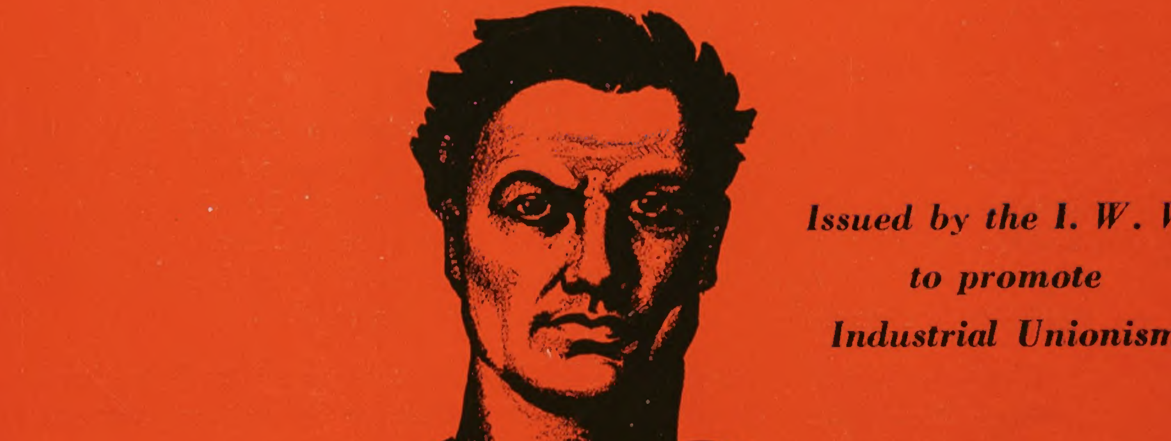
The ONE BIG UNION Monthly



Issued by the I. W. W.
to promote
Industrial Unionism

New Series: Vol. I–No. 5 **MAY, 1937** **Price: 15 cents**

Are You Weak in the Hind Legs?

Waiting for George to do it has kept capitalism going. George didn't get around to doing the things for us that we should have done for ourselves, and consequently the One Big Union didn't get big enough, and hours didn't get short enough, and pay envelopes didn't get fat enough, and labor didn't get educated and organized enough to dump the bosses of our backs.

The new program in America seems to be let Uncle Sam do it. That's probably because when we left it to George to do, it didn't get done, and certainly "something ought to be done about it". Uncle Sam has so many bureaus and office staffs and committees and commissions that there's not much doubt, if it's left to him, something will be done about it.

But what will it be?

Letting the government do it hasn't worked so well for labor in Germany and Italy. Will a smiling face and a fireside voice and the benevolence of Ma Perkins change the picture here? Or will the inexorable necessity of capitalism to exploit ever more and more until it is ended, over-ride their good intentions of sweetness and light? The underlying economic force has always been the master.

Why not stand on your own hind legs for a change? It will get you what neither George nor Uncle Sam can ever get for you—emancipation, security, plenty.

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JERGER
"M(A)Y FIRST!"

MAY DAY

By

Card Number 102287

May First, 1886, is a day not to be forgotten in the labor movement of the world. It was the first great struggle in America for the eight-hour day.

The strike at the McCormick Reaper Workers, in Chicago, the police brutalities, the consequent protest meeting at the Haymarket, and the tragedy that resulted, all have their place in the history of May Day.

At the Haymarket Square meeting called to protest against police brutalities in the strike, Carter Harrison, Mayor of Chicago, was present. Later he swore on the witness stand that nothing said there was in conflict with the law.

Yes, as soon as he left several hundred police rushed from the Desplaines Street station, half a block away, and gathered around the truck from which Sam Fielden was speaking. They ordered the meeting to disperse. Fielden objected: "This is an orderly meeting."

Someone—no one knows who—threw a bomb. Sixty-six police were prostrated by the explosion, seven never to rise again, and one to die shortly.

Many were arrested, and eight indicted.

After a long trial seven were found guilty of murder in the first degree and sentenced to be hanged, and one—for giving out handbills—was sentenced to fifteen years. They were charged, not with throwing the bomb, but with having produced the circumstances that led someone else to throw it.

One killed himself in prison. (Or was this another part of the conspiracy against labor?)

Four were hanged November 11, 1887, as Spies cried: "There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

In 1873 Governor Altgeld pardoned the survivors of the frame-up, and at the same time acquitted the eight hour-day martyrs of the charge on which their lives were stolen.

We honor these men on May Day, and we honor them best by carrying on the struggle in which they were engaged. The social ills against which they fought can be removed only by the organization of the working class in One Big Union. Organize for 365 May Days each year!

The Emigrant

By Gefion

When Esther Visby landed in Chicago, they were still raising hogs in North Clark Street.

It had taken Esther two months to peregrinate from her native bailiwick in Denmark, across its many islands and belts, clickity-clack across Jutland, over the North Sea to Harwich, and six rolling weeks in a mutton and marmalade oozing steerage from Liverpool to Philadelphia.

Now there she stood. And the grunts of the porkers in the North Clark Street gutters were like the friendly greetings of home. Surely, she had heard such a concert before in the winding, linden shaded streets of Nerum back in the old land. Esther set down her battered satchel and appraised with a critical eye a sow and her litter. H'm, not much curl to the tail here. These clever Americans apparently didn't know a great lot about raising pigs. For sure, Bailiff Hahneman in Nerum would have thrown up his hands in holy horror and declared, deuce take it, that folk who didn't have any more sense about pork than to let a sow and her young's wallow in mud and slush ought to go out and cut peat for a living. Ja, mein Herr!

* * *

Esther Visby wasn't what the Chamber of Commerce would've termed a buxom descendant of the roving Vikings. Nor would the latter-day Fuehrer have classed her as a Nordic. Not by a long shot. Esther was a willowy lass with capable hands, with deep, questioning gray eyes set wide apart in an irregular face framed by a mop of dark hair. She could milk with any cowherd and get the Frau Bailiff's unmentionables on the line whiter than they had ever wafted in the breeze before. And when it came to plaice and parsley sauce, and delectable, paper-thin pancakes with jelly—well, the wench knew her pots and pans.

Nor was it any outlongings inherited from the rambling Vikings that had prompted her to fold her tent and set out for America. Esther's leave-taking of her ancestral hearth was caused solely by Aunt Bertha's getting herself into the embrace of Hymen for the second time in her blessed life, and accusing Esther of pilfering a fruit cake sent Auntie as a wedding present by Bricklayer Olsen's spouse.

Now Esther didn't consider herself candidate for a set of wings. She could distinctly remember —and with glee—the nights she had tumbled from her bed chamber window and hied herself off to the dances in the neighboring village. And she could vividly recollect other nights that it wouldn't be so very healthy to tell the old folk about. But she would be eternally damned if she had ever in all her lifelong days stolen as much as a pin from anybody! And Aunt Bertha, or any of the rest of the family, wasn't going to get away with that stuff. No, Madame!

So Esther dug to the bottom of her calf-skin trunk and brought to light of day her savings and the few kroner Grandma Avgusta had left her, set out for the King's capital and got herself a ticket for America. She would as soon have gone to Greenland or Timbuktu—it was all one to her. But as America was the part of the world whence all the other lads and lasses had gone, she might as well too fare thither and make her millions. And crabby Tante Bertha could see how she would get her washing done from now hence.

* * *

Esther Visby was nineteen when the discordant serenade emanating from the North Clark Street gutters first assailed her ears. She looked about her. A singular land, indeed. And how in the world could the folk here make themselves understood by that droll speech? To Esther's unaccustomed ears, it sounded like the nocturnal opinions of the tomcats back in Nerum. Why, one couldn't separate one word from the next! Well, maybe one shouldn't be too critical of things one didn't know so very much about. One simply had to learn.

Esther felt the pouch in her bosom. The ticket had taken all her savings and Grandma Avgusta's kroner had dwindled considerably since the day in Philadelphia when that fellow had changed them into the strange coin of the new land. Well, she might as well get started making her fortune today as any other time.

II.

The Sharp Corner was a melange of barroom, eating house and hotel. It reared its wooden and fancifully carved gables at the corner of North Clark and Fullerton. At The Sharp Corner, hearses going to Calvary cemetery stopped for refreshments and to accord the mourners a last opportunity to reiterate collectively what a really remarkably fine person the remains had ever and always been. Yes, sir!

The Sharp Corner was under the regency of prodigiously proportioned Widow O'Leary. She it was who held sway in the kitchen. It was the doughty Widow who counted the cash drawer when the shutters had been put up for the night. And it was from the full lips of Widow O'Leary that fell the nightly pronunciamento whether the departed day had been foine or one not so good.

It was at The Sharp Corner Esther Visby began wooing Dame Fortuna. Here she became the factotum of the scullery and the bedrooms. Behind the bar Osvald Hummerman dispensed lager beer and galvanic whiskey. Esther made the acquaintance of the former two the day she first took up her multiferous tasks. Osvald wore a cowlick on his manly brow and a handle-bar mustachio under his straight Teutonic nose. And he said welcome to America, Fraeulein—and would the new girl have a little something to drink? Yes, Esther might partake—a little beer, please. And what beer—Himmel! Whoever made it had better get himself apprenticed once again and learn that beer should be dark and foamy, lingering and tantalizing like the kiss of one's sweetheart.

Widow O'Leary was stirring the morning's hot cakes. Her voluminous breasts were quivering like half-congealed jelly as she bestowed upon the batter all that was in her. Esther never could work up any great intestinal enthusiasm over what she called the Widow's leather cakes—wouldn't she have loved to shove one of those pot covers under Tante Bertha's pert and critical smeller!

Esther thought in fact that it would take a considerable number of runes to explain what Dame O'Leary didn't know about culinary tricks. Well, one simply had to get used to things. But, for sure, things should be done right and things should be done well. And all folk—especially menfolk—should be fed vittels that simply made them want more—toothsome dishes that made them laugh and say jolly nonsense.

Anyway, if Widow O'Leary insisted upon cooking in her own peculiar, way, there wasn't a great lot Esther could do about it. And if folk wanted to get belly-aches from such messes, well, the doctors had to live too. But on days when the Widow drove off to the down-town markets, Ether cooked for herself and Osvald Hummerman paper-thin, delectable pancakes with jelly. And on those days, Osvald hummed Tra-ra-ta-bum- de-aye.

* * *

Esther fell in love the day the bays ran away and spilt the remains of Councilman Harrigan in the ditch down Fullerton Avenue. There was hell to pay that day. The bays were under the able guidance of Chris Solberg, than whom there was no better horseman in seven counties, and as experienced a hearse driver as ever graced a pair of lines—and no mistake.

Chris swore up and down that it all happened when the Widow's pooch jumped from behind the hog pen and bit the off bay in the nose. The Widow vociferously declared it a damn loie—Prince would never have done no such a thing! She wouldn't be a bit s'prised—in fact she could smell it—that Chris had taken on a few too many. And pwhat would Drayman Hilderbrand say now? For shure, it would mean Chris' bread and butter! And, oh, me blessed soul, the poor councilman's fam'ly!

Chris said, well, for the love o' Mike, shut up! He got the snorting and rearing bays untangled and the hearse dragged out of the ditch and replaced the councilman's remains as decorously as the circumstances permitted. The cavalcade got under way once again, and the remains of the Right Honorable Harrigan were at long last despatched into the bowels of the good Earth with the lament and praise befitting the final leave-taking of such dignitaries. But on the return journey, Chris Solberg got gloriously drunk at The Sharp Corner.

* * *

Chris was singing Oh, Susanna in a fine tenor and saying Skoal and Gesundheit to Osvald Hummerman and letting the rest of the costumers know that it wasn't his fault, damn it all, that the bays beat it and spilt the councilman's carcass.

And through the serving-hole in the kitchen door, Ether was observing Chris and confiding in the Widow, to the best of her linguistic ability, that it was a shame that such a nice looking lad should make a swine of himself just because of a little hard luck. Yes, Dame O'Leary agreed with them sintimints—and he a countryman of Esther's too— but business was business and the Widow would be hanged if she was going to deprive the cash box of its just dues.

They put Chris to bed under the fancy gables and unhitched the bays. And Ether told the Widow that she was goin to the barn to look for eggs—those fool hens never would get sense enough to lay in the nests. And she gave the bays an extra measure of oats and caressed their soft muzzles and spoke tender words to them and let them know how sorry and ashamed she felt for Chris—and she was sure he wasn't a bad lad at all.

And next morning after meat, the Widow discovered that she was low on spuds and drove off for the markets. Esther watched her to the cart and the bobbing plumes of her bonnet disappeared down North Clark Street. Then she brewed a pot of real coffee. And she went to the barroom and politely asked Osvald Hummerman could she please have a glass of brandy? Javohl, Fraeulein Esther could have a glass of brandy—anything her little heart desired—der Fraulein made such shoene pfannkuchen—Mebbe the brandy was for der landsman up-stairs? Ha, ha, ha! And der Fraeulein needn't blush.

Esther hammered at Chris' door until he finally woke from his drunken stupor. He mumbled who's there and come in. Esther opened the door and said Good Morning and was Chris feeling very badly? He was—plum rotten. And where t'hell was he and what became of the bays? Esther explained—but he had better drink the coffee and brandy and he'd be all right—and please, please don't ever do it again.

Chris sat up in bed, his blond hair tussled and eyes drunk-bleary. He gulped the brandy and hot coffee. And Ether let drop the remark that she too was from the old land. The deuce she was! What part? Oh, not much from any part—the village of Nerum. Chris had never heard of it. Personally, he was from Hillerod. Oh, so then he was a kulsvier! Oh, yeah, Chris had turned out a considerable stack of charcoal in his days—in fact, some of the best that ever heated a flatiron.

Well, even if Esther did come from a hamlet unknown to Chris, she certainly knew a decent cup of coffee—and that brandy, well, she should have many thanks.

And Chris Solberg hitched up the bays and drove off to the stables of Drayman Hildebrand to be told never, goddammit, never to disgrace the Drayman's barn with his presence again. And Chris said all right, if that was the way Mr. Hildebrand felt about it, well and good—he had been figuring on quitting anyway. And Chris set out and rustled himself another job setting cobble-stones.

And it came to pass that Chris went to The Sharp Corner of a Saturday night and whispered in Esther's right ear that she was a lovely lass and that he was plum crazy about her—in fact had been so ever since that coffee-and-brandy morning. And he taught her to dance in the way of the new land, and Ether didn't mind his nonsense at all.

Esther Visby had been with Widow O'Leary for many moons when she awoke one morning and felt that she had to vomit—and she never sick a day in all her life! Oh, well, maybe it was those leather cakes. But at a certain period in the lunar month, Esther discovered that the Widow's flapjacks were not to blame for her morning qualms. And on Chris' next visit she told him in her own straight words that she was with bairn.

But on his way home that night, Chris Solberg realized that he had always wanted to see what in the deuce Minnesota looked like anyway.

And one fine day, Dame O'Leary gazed up from her pots and pans to discover that all was not as it should be with the wench—and would she get her trunk packed in a hurry! To be shure, the Widow wasn't going to have her roof disgraced with a bastard brat.

So Esther went her way. And she wondered that maybe the new land wasn't quite so hospitable as her native heath. She doubted if even Tante Bertha would've told her to be off. Well, one had to learn. And one simply couldn't be a crybaby.

And so Esther went her way and on Division Street she rented a small house. And one cold winter's night, Midwife Potrovsky laid in her arms a squalling girl-child that greedily sought Esther's full breasts.

And the days went and Esther rose from her bed and looked upon her child and named it Lisbet. And she went out into the world again to earn their bread, and she bore with the fools in the street who snickered there she goes, her with the bastard.

But from across the street came a black woman to look after Lisbet as she grew into a lanky girl with Esther's questioning, wide-apart gray eyes and Chris Solberg's blond tussled hair. And one day the black woman came and mysteriously held something whimpering under her great coat. And when Lisbet simply had to know what it could be —and she wasn't a bit scared—then the woman opened her coat—and there it was—the ugliest and nicest pug pup one could ever imagine. And Lisbet named him Bowser and she thought the black woman lovely—as beautifully black and lovely as Mumsy's Sunday dress.

And that night when Esther came home, Lisbet secretly told her that Bowser had a doughnut tail.

III.

The years went. One by one, they simply slipped away from under one's nose. One by one, they became chapters in the book of time—chapters to be perused years hence by learned men with horn-rimmed spectacles and bald skulls. Yes, time has a way of its own—it waits for no one.

They no longer raise hogs in North Clark Street. The Sharp Corner has long since given way to other edifices. And those again to others. Widow O'Leary of the generous behind and the prodigious breasts has years past departed this vale of tears. Osvald Hummerman is dust. Chris Solberg had daylight let through him in a gambling joint in Reno. And back in the old land, Aunt Bertha has one fine day in the long dim past found her fruit cake behind a crock of sweet pickles.

Progress had come to the new land—and no mistake. Where before the red man searched the plains for enough buffalo dung to keep his fire going, there now sprout towns and farms. A toiling and sweating mixture of the earth's serfs has spanned the land from coast to coast with a web of railroads. And in Chicago they have hanged men because they told other men of their kind that eight hours labor out of twenty-four were sufficient. Yes, Progress had marched over plains and mountains in seven-league boots.

And Esther Visby—that willowy lass of the gray, questioning eyes and capable hands—she who had lain with Chris Solberg in their young love that night years ago when the girl-child Lisbet was conceived.—What has become of her?

Well, Esther is no longer a willowy lass. She is an old woman. The gray eyes are no longer gay and laughing. But they are still clear and questioning. And they look out upon the world and its scurrying and blundering denizens with the wisdom and toleration that come from suffering and toil.

Yes, Esther Visby, the factotum of sculleries and bedrooms, the scourer of floors and stairways, her with the bastard, she has seen the years rush by. Yes, Esther has seen them pass and she has learned many tings in those fleeing years. She has come to learn that the new land was a harsh land—that it didn't care a whit whether one lived or died. She has seen hungry men mowed down in the streets with clubs and bullets because they in their hunger cried out for bread. She has learned that Justice was not blind—that those who dispense it very well knew on which side their bread was buttered.

Yes, Esther's gray questioning eyes have seen many things and she has learnt much while youth left her and she became old and toil-worn. She has seen thousands of her kind struggle through the thraldom of crumbs. She has seen them become craven and contemptible. And she has seen others sacrifice all—life itself—so that the struggle for light and freedom might not die. She has learnt from books and papers what her own daily toil had already told her in different words. And her heart became linked with those of the other thousands and millions who suffered and toiled.

And Lisbet—and Bowser of the doughnut tail—What became of them? Bowser lies dead and cold under a stone cairn. Yes, he too became old and toothless, and one day Lisbet buried him and was lonely and lost for long days.

And she herself grew up under Esther's and the black woman's care. And Esther taught her about life, of its joys and sorrows, and she stroked the blond tussled hair of the child that had brought love and beauty into her life. And one day Lisbet too went out into the mealstrom of life to earn her bread.

Yes, Esther Visby is an old woman. And when she sits alone her thoughts may now and then flit back to the ancient beech woods and cool lakes of the old land and the days when she danced with the lads at the village inn. And her thoughts come to The Sharp Corner and she asks of the dying day—What became of Chris? Oh, we were young then!

But of a night there comes to the house of Esther a young lanky lass with wide-apart questioning eyes and blond tussled hair.

And the girl Lisbet and Mother Esther talk about this and that in the lamplight. Is Lisbet doing well? Yes, Mumsy, I'm all right. And Lisbet tells Mother Esther of her work—how she is now typing a manuscript for a book that will tell men to take the world that belongs to them, the world that they built. Yes, Lisbet tells Mother Esther this and many other things from her full young life. And she leaves her chair to lay an arm around the old woman's neck and tell her of the man she loves. She tells Mother Esther of the agitator that she loves—one who urges men from a box on street corners to organize—to become as one so that want and suffering may be swept from Earth.

And Esther's thoughts wander to Chris Solberg, and her heart is heavy and worried for her child.

* * *

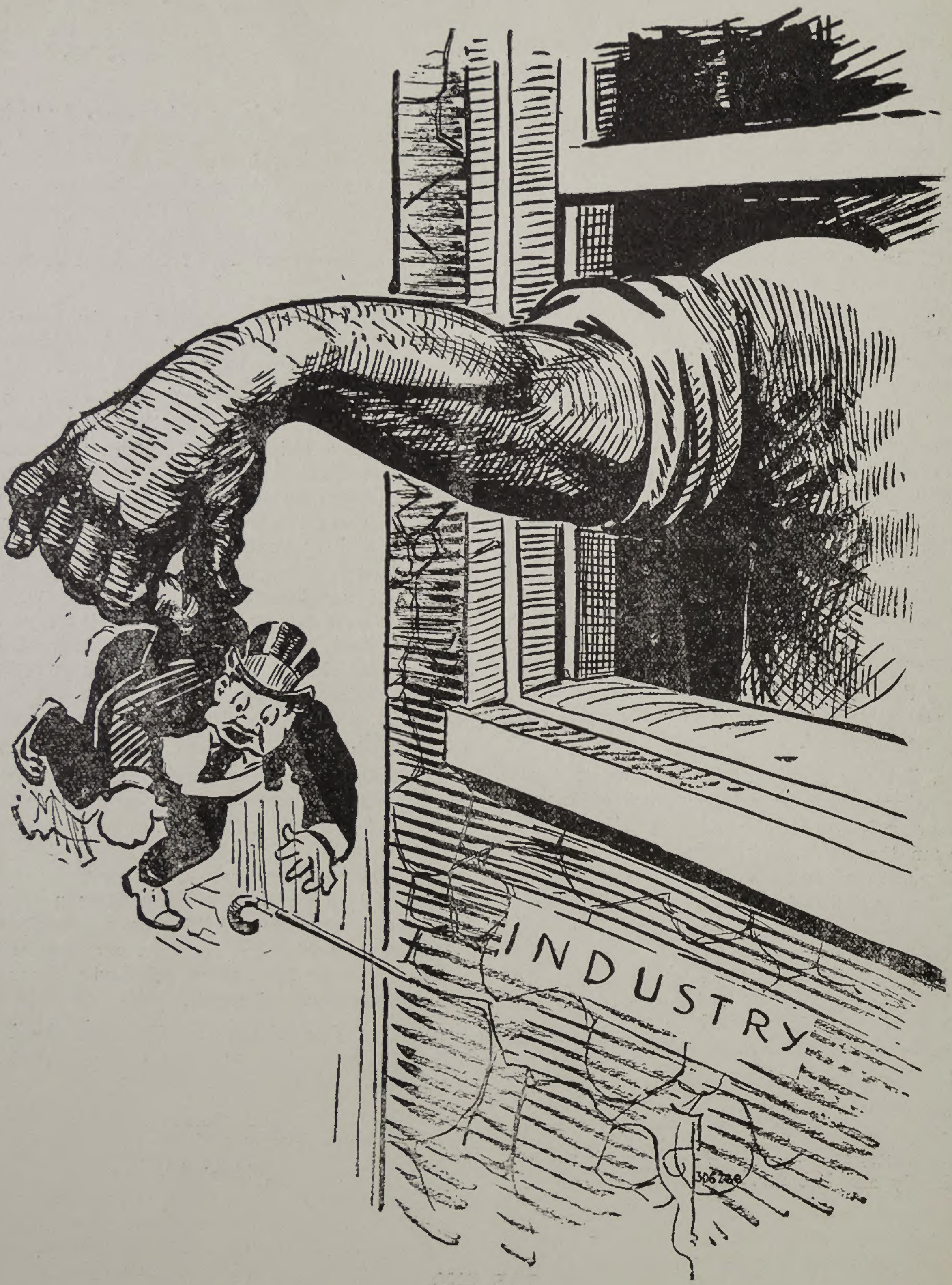
And so the years ago. Millions of men are butchered in a world of insanity. Human entrails hang putrid and maggot-filled on wire entanglements. Men have gone to prison and torture because they loved life and truth. And millions are hungry in a world of plenty.

And one day Lisbet and the man she loves stand before a tombstone in one of Chicago's cemeteries. On the stone is writ:

Esther Visby

1854—1936.

THE END.



The Solution for our Economic Problems

Wanted — One Big Union

A little sticking together has done us much good.

More would do us more good.

One Big Union would solve all our problems for us.

Whatever is worthwhile in this American standard of living is there because workers stuck together and put up some stiff fights to get it. If we are to improve that standard of living, we must stick together on a bigger scale.

That's what's back of all this recent talk of industrial versus craft organization, vertical versus horizontal unionism.

We have found out that sticking together in crafts often completely defeats the entire purpose of unionism. We join unions because we want to act together for our common good. When we join craft unions, we find ourselves pitted against each other, contracted to work while our fellow worker strikes, obliged to break his strike just as sooner or later he is obliged to break ours. Even when we strike together in crafts, we find that one craft is played against another in negotiations, and that the employing class pries its wrecking bar into every crack and crevice of our craft federations to pull it apart and weaken the structure. The seamen's strikes showed that.

So the American Federation of Labor plan of craft federation is out of the picture. We can't afford to have cracks in the solidarity of labor.

Will the C. I. O. plan fill the bill?

First let's see what specifications a union should come up to.

It should enable workers to take whatever joint action they find that they need. That's the primary purpose of unionism.

It should enable workers to come together as the problems facing them require, to decide what to do about those problems.

It should have its policies laid out entirely by the majority rule of its membership, otherwise the whole idea of banding ourselves together for our commong good it pushed aside to make us the pawns of some fellow who may look out for our well-being but who much more likely is looking out for his.

It should give the most effective support to every member in the manner that occasions the least trouble to the rest; that is, its solidarity should be efficient as well as effective.

The CIO does not come up to these specifications. It is a loose structure favoring both crafts and semi-industrial unions, easily pried apart and entering into contracts to scab on each other. The agreements of the coal miners, leaving Kentucky and Virginia still struggling prove that. The agreement of steel workers to furnish steel to scab auto workers shows that. The agreement of auto workers to work with scab steel shows that. And in all these agreements the obligation to quit direct action on the job, and to continue at the current wages no matter how rapidly prices may rise, shows that the CIO in structure and policy does not enable workers to take such joint action as they find they need.

The CIO is not constructed to enable workers to decide what action they should take. Believe it or not, the CIO has 13 members and no more. The thousands of workers who think they are CIO members, are instead members of unions that have made business contracts with the CIO surrendering most of their rights as unionists to this committee of 13 members, How little control they have over their union is shown by the auto and other negotiations, where the workers on the job were not even present. They are told by others where they got off at. It was to stop others from telling us where we get off at, that we organized for our own protection. Organizing as puppets for some one else to direct is not organizing for our own protection.

The structure of modern industry requires job unionism, industrial unionism, and One Big Union. We can afford no craft divisions to split solidarity on the job. We can afford no federation of alleged industrial unions to divide the working class into sections obliged to scab on each other. What we need is this:

One Big Union for all workers;

Industrial Departments, as transportation, manufacture, etc. built of Industrial Unions for convenience of the members in dealing with their specific industrial problems;

Job organization, always free to take immediate action on the job for bettering their conditions, or for practicing solidarity with their fellow workers on other jobs, never aiding the employer to break any strike by working with scabs, or with scab material, or furnishing material to scabs. This is the efficient, convenient and effective way to practice solidarity.

It must be an organization with all power vested in the majority decisions of its members.

It should also have a program of action proportionate to such power. The power to say whether industry shall run or not should not be frittered away in the demand for a few petty concessions while the circumstances of our lives show that labor should run the industries for the benefit of labor. A working class organized in such a One Big Union would be utterly asinine to let its own power to act for itself lie idle, while it expectantly waited for some politician or a few more Supreme Court judges to do for it, what it could much better do for itself. It would be ridiculous for such a One Big Union of Labor to aim at anything less than a world run by the workers for the workers, with that abundance for all that industry and science has made possible, and with the chronic stoppage of production and the perpetual diversion of production to such purposes as war eliminated for ever from the life of mankind.

There is such a union; and there is only one such union for one is enough. It is the Industrial Workers of the World, with 29 industrial unions in one or another of which there is the logical place for you.

Quit building obstacles across the road to emancipation and join with your fellow workers in the one organization by which labor can defeat all its enemies, solve all its problems and create the future for our children that it is your duty to furnish them.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

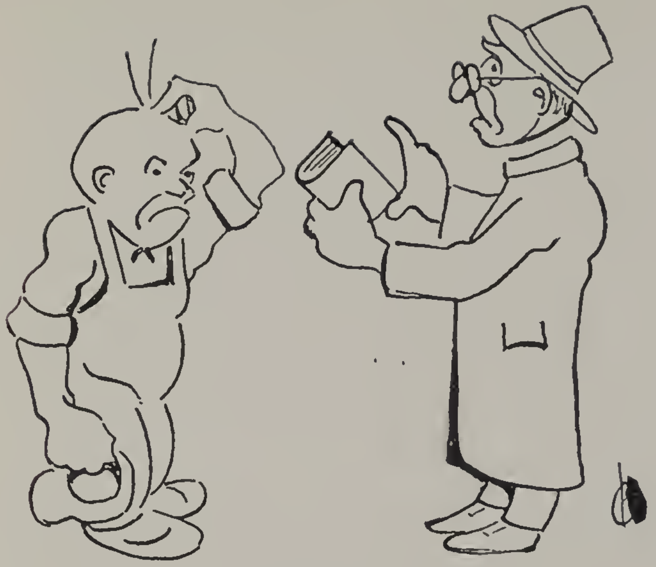
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work", we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



Let's You and Him Join the Army

By **MELVIN JACKSON**

An Old-Fashioned Melodrama of the Deep South in One Act.

Cast: Arabella, a virtuous maiden, but not so dumb.
Pappy, the father of Arabella.
Mister Hiram Anfiram, the holder of the Mortgage.
Benjamin, the stalwart young man of honor, not dumb either.

PAPPY: Well, daughter, you'd better pack your tooth-brush. In a few minutes Mister Hiram Anfiram will be here to collect the mortgage on the old homestead.

ARABELLA: O, pappy, I knew you should never have borrowed money from that skinflint.

PAPPY: Yes, daughter, I see my mistake clearly now, but I thought Mr. Hiram Anfiram was a good man; I never dreamed he would ever refuse to renew the mortgage.

ARABELLA: Boo, hoo, boo hoo *(vociferous weeping).*

PAPPY: There, there, don't cry.

ARABELLA: But I can't help it—to think we will never see the old homestead again. Boo hoo, boo hoo, etc.

(Loud knocking, and then Mister Hiram Anfiram enters.)

HIRAM: Well, well, well, how are my good friends, today?

ARABELLA: Shut up, you old nickel-nursing skinflint. Pappy is dumb enough to trust a slicker like you who puts grease on his hair, but I know better.

HIRAM: You should not be mad at me, Arabella, I have come to *renew* the mortgage on your old homestead.

PAPPY: What? To renew the mortgage?

ARABELLA: I don't believe it.

HIRAM: Well, that is—

ARABELLA: I knew there was something fishy about it.

HIRAM: This is a time that tries men's souls and tests their spirits. The Department of War—I mean Preparedness—

ARABELLA: Ha, he said War!

HIRAM: I distinctly said Preparedness. The Dept. of War—I mean Preparedness—has declared that this country is in grave danger of its enemies.

ARABELLA: What enemies?

HIRAM: Shut up. I am making a speech—I mean listen to what I say. Our country is in very grave danger because she is rich and defenseless, while other nations are armed to the teeth. The writing is on the wall that spells our invasion and desolation. These barbarians that surround this great and glorious nation of ours—these savages ready to slaughter American men, enslave the women, and butcher the children—

ARABELLA: Who said so?

HIRAM: Why—everybody—that is, the newspapers—now shut up. We must make our nation the most powerful on earth, prepared to-to-to-to defend it against any and all who seek to endanger our supremacy. Defend. That's it—American wars are *always* defensive.

ARABELLA: Pish! What has that to do with our mortgage being renewed?

HIRAM: We must be prepared to preserve slavery in America—ding it all! I meant safety in America.

ARABELLA: You said slavery.

HIRAM: I did not, I said safety.

ARABELLA: You did, too!

HIRAM: I didn't; oh shut up! In this great and glorious democracy—in this land of freedom—

ARABELLA: What do you mean, "Land of Freedom", when Tom Mooney is in jail?

HIRAM: Shut up. That's irrevelant. We need every able-bodied man for war—I mean defense.

ARABELLA: Poo. You said war.

HIRAM: Shut up; I said defense. And there is a certain yellow-livered cringing coward in these mountains who says he don't believe in war—I mean defense.

ARABELLA: You can't talk about my Benjamin that way!

HIRAM: Everyone likes to see a stalwart, well-disciplined man. The spiritual sublimity and the glory of wearing a uniform is stupendous.

ARABELLA: They wear uniforms in jail and in the bug house, too.

HIRAM: The army—I mean the R. O. T. C.—needs him. The army—I mean the R. O. T. C.—will make a man out of him.—The rag—I mean the flag of his country is calling him.

PAPPY: Hurry up and foreclose this durn mortgage and get it over with. It is cruel enough for us to lose our home and be turned out into the cold cruel world without having to listen to your hot air, too.

HIRAM: You have to choose now. You can save this coward and make him a man, and I will renew your mortgage; or you can do nothing about him, and I will not only foreclose on your old homestead, but I will see that you are arrested for criminal syndicalism or conspiracy or being unpatriotic or something.

ARABELLA: Boo hoo, boo hoo *(more crying).*

PAPPY: There, there—buck up, daughter. Maybe Mister Hiram Anfiram is right about the nation needing Benjamin.

HIRAM: Uncle Shylock—I mean Uncle Sam is defending you, and you should be willing to sacrifice something for Uncle Skinflint—I mean Uncle Sam.

(Vigorous knocking at the door).

PAPPY: There's Benjamin now. Brace up, daughter, and save the old homestead and your pappy from being turned out into the cold, cruel world.

HIRAM: Remember it is for the sake of American investments in the Philippines. Gosh durn it all —I mean it is for his own sake and it will make a man out of him.

(More knocking. Arabella opens the door and Benjamin comes in.)

BENJAMIN: Oh, Arabella, I have some—Why hello, pappy; and *(to Hiram)* Phooey on you, you old penny pincher.

ARABELLA: Your country needs you, Benjamin. You should be prepared to defend yourself against your enemies.

BENJAMIN: Why? I have no enemies, except maybe that bird there, *(pointing at Hiram).*

HIRAM: O, twaddle, boy—sure you have. Japan and Rooshya, and Hitler and Mussolini. And England is a dirty double dealer that can't be trusted. You have lots of enemies.

BENJAMIN: But those fellows over there are working for a boss just like I am, so what's the use of hating them. Besides, didn't the Bible say, "Love your enemies."

HIRAM: Yes, but all the preachers and priests say Jesus said, "Think not that I come to send peace on earth, I come not to send peace, but a sword." And again he said, "And he that hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one." That's a lot of twaddle about loving enemies.

BENJAMIN: But what the heck would I do with a sword?

HIRAM: Let's make this world safe for Christianity. We must save it from the heathen, yellow peril.

BENJAMIN: But, but—

HIRAM: I read a book one time, and it said, "He who is not ready with his life to shield the woman of his heart and the loved ones of his home from the unspeakable lust of savage aliens has not red blood enough to blush for shame."

BENJAMIN: But, but—

HIRAM: Look at Arabella—wouldn't you join the army—I mean the R. O. T. C.—to defend her?

BENJAMIN: But, but—

HIRAM: We must have war—I mean preparedness—

BENJAMIN: You said war.

HIRAM: I distinctly said preparedness. How incredibly stupid of you to think I said war. Unless we are prepared for offense—I mean defense—in a few minutes enemy soldiers could wipe our New York, Philadelphia, Washington, and Boston off the map.

BENJAMIN: Who cares? Them damned Yankees! Let them defend themselves.

HIRAM: Don't you want us to slaughter the Japanese, I mean kill our rivals—O, curses, I mean to defend our country and save our homes? Speak up young man.

BENJAMIN: You should talk about saving our homes—you! You are here to foreclose the mortgage on the old homestead and rob Pappy and Arabella of it.

HIRAM: That's not exactly true.

BENJAMIN: You should talk about truth, you lying, insincere, mealy-mouth, deceitful hypocrite. War and preparedness can never be worked up on truth, and the more horrible the lies the better. War Departments and Scissorbills like you psychologise the world into a spasm of distrust and fear with the distortion, perversion, and suppression of truth. You would push a man to war with a bayonet in his back and whisper into his ear, "Patriot! You are volunteering. You are doing this to save your country."

HIRAM: But you should be brave—

BENJAMIN: Don't talk to me about bravery, you sneaking, lily-livered, whining, dunghill cock. You haven't the guts to fight yourself so you wave the flag and try to get others to do your fighting for you.

HIRAM: But freedom of the seas must be defended and preserved—

BENJAMIN: You greedy, rapacious, stingy, miserly mercenary. You own three shares of General Motors and you would have half a billion people slaughtered to preserve the sale of two Chevrolets yearly in Timbuctoo.

HIRAM: But I was thinking of saving Christianity from the yellow peril—

BENJAMIN: You contemptible, double-tongued, infamous hypocrite. You should talk about religion. You have nothing but self-interest and greed in your heart. You act like a Saint, while you think nothing of the manufacture of guns and gunpowder and gas to blast and maim your fellow men and to create widows and orphans and cripples and the cause of untold suffering and human misery.

HIRAM: But we must be prepared to preserve peace.

BENJAMIN: Why, you deluded, unconscious, witless ignoramous. Don't you know it is impossible to preserve peace like you want to do it. It is like trying to fireproof a house by packing gunpowder between the walls. Preparedness inevitably brings war.

HIRAM: But I am Deacon of the church and—

BENJAMIN: You prayer-whining, ritual-worshiping, self-seeking rascal. You seek preparedness, so you will be able to murder others; you use patriotism to keep people from thinking, and you use the flag as a sacred diety. You would even send everyone to prison who does not worship your idols of selfishness, hatred, distrust, and violence.

HIRAM: Shut up, you *(to Benjamin)*. It is now twelve o'clock. The time has arrived to foreclose the mortgage. *(He produces the document)*. You cannot pay for it, so you must leave. This is now my property. You three traitors leave it immediately, and if you don't leave the county by sundown I will have the sheriff arrest you on unlawful assembly, criminal syndicalism, trespassing, conspiracy, and disturbing the peace.

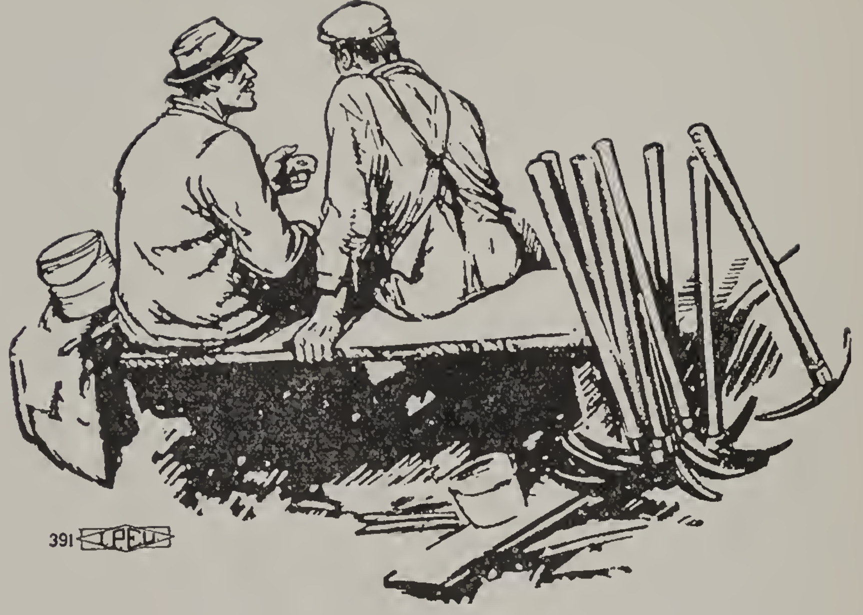
BENJAMIN: Hold on there, Mister Hiram Anfiram. I have brought the money to pay off this mortgage on the old homestead.

HIRAM: What!

BENJAMIN: Here is your money: Gimme that mortgage. *(He grabs it and tears it to bits)*. Now get out *(pointing toward the door for the benefit of Hiram)*.

(Curtain)

The Life of the Gandy Dancer



Intimate views of the conditions that have accumulated since the strike that did not materialize to stop a wage-cut fifteen years ago.

The word "UNION" reached my ears for the first time, when I was about nine years of age, back in 1916. I shall never forget how unionism was explained to us youngsters at that time. I can well remember what many of our neighbor farmers were saying about the I. W. W.'s They told how fierce they were, how they would balk about doing a full days work, (meaning from Sun-up to Sun-down) that they ran in bands, and many other things. At times I would even have dreams in my sleep, of being attacked by a band of them.

This ignorance stayed with me until I was about twelve or thirteen, when one of my brothers told me of a time when a little trouble started in a gang of workers, of which he was one. He told of how the Company sent in several men to take their places. When the men arrived, my brother met them at the depot and explained to them the reason they were sent to this particular job. When the strangers found out that enough workers were on hand already, they made it quite plain that they did not come to take any one's job, that they would go right back if they had just enough change to pay for a wire for a return pass. A collection among the workers provided the strangers with several dollars, and they left on the next train.

I would like to say, that this little story my brother told me of those strangers, who later proved to be Wobblies, convinced me that I no longer needed to have bad dreams about them.

In the year 1920, several of my brothers were working on a section for a big railroad company. A fake union among track laborers and section foremen was then in progress, in fact it progressed so fast that in less then a year, it was considered a union with a hundred per cent membership for that class of workers and foremen, in that territory, which was no small one. Many meetings took place and the members felt quite proud of their union pins. The company showed enough respect for the boys to issue free passes to them, so they might ride trains to their meeting places. In many cases, time was even paid the boys, while attending meetings.

This thing ran along smoothly for a while, then in 1922 the Company decided to make a wage-cut among the lower paid class. Those thousands of poor ignorant-of-the-facts union men with their bright pins on their caps and hats, decided they would take no cut in wages and voted a strike. The leader of that union was a Mr. Grable. This man Grable, notified all members to stand by for the walk-out order.

One week passed and no word came from Grable. A month passed and still no word came from their gallant chief. Fifteen years have passed and no strike has been called. The sell-out was a complete success. No one seems to know what has happened to the man who so willingly accepted the monthly dues of each of the thousands of workers who belonged to that union.

I can fully imagine what it would have meant to that great force of workers, had they belonged to the ONE BIG UNION, the I. W. W.

Before I change the subject, let me say that the fake union under the leadership of Grable, of which I was speaking, naturally went to pieces. The workers threw away their pins, while the foremen made arrangements to form a union of their own. The Company made it very convenient for the new unionites. They saved them the trouble of having to send in union dues, by deducting from their wages the necessary amount. They also saw to it that they were amply supplied with speakers at their meetings, by sending several of their big officials to do most of the talking for them. In the past few years some changes have taken place and the Company may no longer make deductions from pay-checks for union dues, therefore a good number of the foremen have dropped out of that so-called union.

I am here to say that I think, that I did my share of gandy-dancing, as I put in almost ten years of it. I think I know the bitter and the sweet of it, from one end of it to the other. From frozen lunches, to exhaustion from heat and over-work. From coming in late without pay, to call-outs without time-and-half. From $18. a week, to $6 a week, and from one pay-check deduction to six.

Let us visualize a scene in the life of a section-jerry. A large family dwells near an isolated railroad station. The father, with one arm off, is unable to support the family, so a few of the older sons go to work on the section and give all their wages to the father for the support of the family. As each son becomes of age, the father politely tells him he may from there on keep his earnings for his own.

A few years pass and this family moves to a farm. We will now put all our thoughts to one of the sons in particular. It is Fall and a few extra hands are needed on a section, to rush repair work to road-beds before the freeze-up. A man has a talk with the foreman, moves into one of the bunk-houses with a number of other men and starts to batch. The batching continues for four years and the man gets damn sick and tired of it. He finally decides he would like to become a husband and father. For two years he saves his money, and at the end of that time he finds to his credit the lump sum of $150.00 and a second handed model T roadster.

Marriage takes place despite the fact that it meant vacating not only the Company houses, but the right-of-way as well. It also meant that he would be entitled to no more free coal.

The winter was unusually cold and long. For two months the small camp was snow-bound, and no one could leave the place excepting by train. When Spring arrived the fuel was almost gone. The couple decide to board the fliver drive along the right-of-way, and pick up what scattered coal they might find.

The reward was amazing. Five sacks of coal was on the jitney, when they pulled into their yard that afternoon. The cargo was just being unloaded, when the foreman walked up and asked if they didn't know that it was against the rules to pick up scattered coal on the right-of-way. The couple was so surprised they could hardly think of what to say. The wife spoke up and answered with: "I didn't know the Company would pick up scattered coal like this, when it is so much trouble to gather it." The foreman passed it off by saying that he thought coal dealers were kicking to the Company about the coal that was being picked up on the right-of-way, depriving them of just that much business. Looking at it in one way, it seems indeed rather comical.

We next find the couple sitting by their cook-stove and heater combined. One with a Sears Roebuck, and the other with a Montgomery Ward catalogue, two of their prized possessions, they are dreaming of what they would buy, if they could ever get enough to buy it with. It was decided that if some of the less important foods could be abolished, some of the shoes worn a little longer, and no tickets to the theater for a period of about six months, then maybe they might be able to buy a small radio.

This dream came true after many months of saving and we now find the two, looking at some radios in a store about twenty miles from where they live. The chaepest six tube table model at that time, was found to be slightly over $71. They go back home, but without the radio. A Monky Ward catalogue was then consulted and the answer was found. Now they considered themselves on top of the world. That is, as long as the batteries lasted. Then it was decided that after all, radioing was not so good in Summer-time anyway, therefore it wouldn't hurt to let it stand idle from March till Christmas, for even batteries cost money you know.

The evenings for the next three or four months didn't seem quite so long, even though a three-hour radioing budget was set for each day. As they turn the knob for different stations, it is common to hear one announcer after another, thank different sponsors for relinquishing their time for a wealth-promising politician's speech. One such politician, a Governor, made a mess of his promises to labor, when he failed to act properly in a shooting which made cripples out of several laborers in the northern part of the State. The dial then turns again. This time a comedian is getting rid of a few of his home-made jokes. In one of his jokes he pokes fun at a man making only fifty cents an hour. The wife looks up into the face of her man and wonders of his feelings are hurt, as he only makes about thirty-six cents an hour.

The next scene is where the husband comes home from work on the eve of a pay-day. He had forgotten to tear the deduction slip from the check, before he showed it to the wife. The wife wants to know what that extra slip is for. The husband explains as follows: "We pay each month, a hospital fee, for the purpose of employees who get sick, or get hurt. For example:

"If I should happen to get sick, they would send me to a Company hospital and it wouldn't cost me a thing. But if I would accidently get hurt, and the blame could be shoved onto me, which is most generally the case, then I would not only get the free use of the hospital, but also stand a first class chance of getting a modern up-to-date time-check.

"The other deduction is for the family league. It is where employees donate a certain amount each month, to be put into a fund for the benefit of families of employees who are sick or out of work for any length of time. I don't understand all I know about it, although I know of a case where an employee took sick and was off the job for over five months, spending about two months in the hospital. This man's family was in need of groceries and application for help was sent to the family league. No relief was given this family. The man after recovering enough to go back to work, notified the proper authorities to stop taking out any more family league deductions from his wages. In answer he got a letter demanding his reason for wanting to quit the league."

The husband then goes on to explain deduction number three. "Insurance and all it's advantages". In 1933 the Railroad Company circulated an insurance policy whereby employees would be compelled to pay a certain percentage of the monthly fees, thus relieving the Company of part of the burden of providing insurance compensation for its employees. It used to be free to employees before that.

To make it more clear, force was hinted to make this policy become acceptable. In one case the roadmaster made the remark that he had secured a hundred per cent that far, and he didn't to spoil the record by this gang. Also a remark was made that those who refused to sign up for it, could proably read between the lines. Of course it is needless to say that the placing of this policy upon an unorganized force of workers, was indeed a very easy task.

Listen to the husband tell his experience as policy holder for four years. "Almost four years have gone by and I decided I no longer cared for this policy. I wrote in, giving my policy number, and asked them to discontinue taking out deductions from my wages, for this policy, that I no longer cared to carry it. What do you think happened? I got a letter back telling me that they had no record of me being insured by them. There is gratitude for you. I have paid into life insurance, the approximate amount of $30.00 and the Company claims they pay a certain amount, and all this time I evidently was not insured. If I was not insured, where were my monthly payments going?"

The wife reads on down the list for deduction number four, which is "Income Tax". The husband explains that one like this: "Three and one half per cent of our wages goes to an old age railroad pension, which has so far been called, neither constitutional, nor unconstitutional. If it should finally be declared constitutional, then the lowpaid laboring class are in for it again."

In order to gain any fair amount of benefits from this pension, a man would have to be in service many years, which is almost impossible for a hard working man. Who has seen many sixty-five year old section laborers? A man who has to put out the work the way we have been in the past few years, will not live to be that old, and besides there is an age limit for track. laborers, only men between the ages of 21 and 45 are to be hired.

The majority of employees who will gain by this pension will be section foremen, roadmasters, supervisers etc. All these mentioned are higher salaried men and have a good chance to live out the time.

The fifth deduction is an "Unemployment Tax". One wonders why a tax has to be paid to make unemployment possible, when such a grand job of it has always been done.

Courtesy and respect for employees, by their fellow employers should also be discussed. I will begin with the time when the man and wife were called to the funeral of the wife's dad in another State. Arrangements for the usual free pass were made and they left on an early train. On their return two youngsters became quite restless. The man tries to comfort them, while the wife, grief stricken and tired, tried to catch a little sleep. A porter comes rushing through the cars with an armload of pillows, to be distributed to regular ticket passengers. The pillows flew right and left until he came to two seats with a different slip of paper on the window-shade. He could tell in a second they were riding on a pass, in other words he could tell that the man in the group was a Company employee, like himself. Naturally no pillow found its place there. An elderly man across the aisle, saw what happened and a conversation takes place:

STRANGER—"Pardon me, but didn't that porter who just passed by, forget to leave a pillow for the little boys?"

EMPLOYEE—"No, he didn't forget it, his instructions are: Not to give employees who ride on passes, any free pillows, in other words, I am only an employee and deserve no such luxuries."

STRANGER—"Well, if that doesn't beat all, here take my pillow and let the little boys use it".

PORTER—(Coming back through the car for another load of pillows) "Say mista! Did you pay for that pillow?"

EMPLOYEE—"Why no, this gentleman here, just gave us his."

STRANGER—(Interrupting) "Listen, dark spot, if you take that pillow away from them people, I'll kick you around until **you'll** need a pillow before you can ever sit down again."

Let us picture a newly-wed man coming home from work later then the usual hour. This would be something like their conversation:

"Honey, you are late to-night, what was the trouble?"

"Oh, we had a job started that had to be finished before it would be safe, and on the way home a couple of freights delayed us some, that's why we were thirty minutes late."

"Will they pay you for being late?"

"Yes, in a good many cases they will, in fact it would be paid in every case if the foreman turns it in, but in our case to-night, the judgement of the foreman was to blame, and he does not want to turn it in, for fear it would look bad on his part." But what is thirty minutes of coming late, so long as it does not happen in the morning. If some in a gang would kick about coming in late, the foreman would soon hate their guts for it."

Some time ago, I overheard a conversation between two A. F. of L. members. One of the two A. F. of L. men, gave to a non-union man in the gang, a "Labor" paper, in which appeared an article dealing with a certain investigation that took place. It seems that some party was investigating the weekly earnings of a big number of extra gang laborers etc. It was found where, in a good many cases, laborers were making less then $13.00 a week. They went on to mention the fact that no track laborer should make less then $15.00 a week. There you have it, from the bottom of some people's hearts, comes the perfect willingness to see you make at least $15.00 per week. Considering present-day food prices, I ask you, is that a sane income for a man with a family?

Fellow section men, you owe it to yourselves, to forget that seventeen year old fake union tragedy and organize in the best union for labor throughout the entire world, the one and only ONE BIG UNION, the I.W.W. Then no longer will you have to be afraid to say a word now and then, as you will no longer be singular in strength. What could be a greater satisfaction then to belong to an organization you could be proud of, one that's interests are wholly in LABOR, and in LABOR alone?

WHAT'S WHAT IN SPAIN

Back of the fight of the mass of Spanish people against the many thousands of mercenaries and conscripts that the Fascist invaders have sent in, is a long struggle for enough to eat, for freedom from exploitation by landlords and capitalists, for knowledge and progress.

It was for these that the Spanish people so thoroughly supported the Socialists and Republicans in 1931 that they ended the monarchy and the dictatorship of Rivera without spilling a drop of blood. People were thrilled at the prospect of constitutional government, civil liberties, the promise of thousands of new schools in a country where 45 per cent were completely illiterate, and above all the promise that the great landed estates would be broken up so that peasants and agricultural wage workers could have enough to eat.

Everyone seemed confident of the future except the then relatively small number of workers who were banded together in the C. N. T. (National Confederation of Labor). They knew that even the best of promises, and those that most urgently needed fulfilling, are not always carried out, in Spain or anywhere else. And so, giving their best wishes to those who wanted the politicians to do something for them, they set out anew after the terrible atrocities to which their union —the Spanish equivalent of the IWW—had been subjected under the dictatorship of Rivera, to organize the workers of Spain to do these things for themselves. Like the I. W. W. they grew, but not fast enough. There were too many people in Spain who spoke of them, as do too many people in America in speaking of the I. W. W.: "They're not practical enough—look how many people we can get to listen to us by hopping on some popular bandwagon, making lots of promises even if we don't organize the power we need."

The unity that ended the dictatorship in 1931 couldn't and didn't last long. The aims of unionists and their Republican employers were directly opposed; the Republicans started playing politics with the church and other land-owning groups. The promise of agrarian reform was not carried out. Direct efforts by workers in the CNT were crushed by force by Caballero. So the reactionary groups started making promises, and in the election of 1933 with the Socialists and Republicans against each other, the reactionaries won out. From December 1933 to February of 1936 these reactionaries were in power. They set aside the constitution. They established a rigid censorship. They turned back education to the narrow confines of the church. The maintained the stranglehold of a few feudal owners over the land of Spain. Women worked for fourteen cents a day on other people's land. Conditions in industry became worse for the workers. Strikes were crushed. In 1934 when a wave of general strikes broke out for better conditions, for division of the great estates, and for regional autonomy as promised in the constitution, some 30,000 workers, largely members of the C. N. T. were put in jail. But the C. N. T. took it all as just so much evidence that the workers of Spain needed One Big Revolutionary Union, and that they could not put their trust in politicians.

The political drift toward the return of Fascism —for that virtually is what Spain had in the days of Rivera—was checked in December of 1935 when political scandals forced Premier Lerroux to resign. President Zamora dismissed the Cortes, and called for elections in February. Republicans and Socialists again banded together in what they called the Popular Action; the C. N. T. that has no hopes in politics wished them well even to the extent of abstaining from all criticism of the electioneering, and most of the members of the CNT went to the polls. It was a big vote. Out of 13,528,809 voters, 9,408,514 cast ballots, giving most of their support to the progressive candidates. The CNT had thousands of its members in jail. It decided not to wait for any politician to let them out, but did its most energetic electioneering ralling masses of people to the jails to free the 30,000 political prisoners. They were completely successful. And the C. N. T. kept on building up its own One Big Union insistently telling the morkers of Spain that if they wanted to be sure that their wishes were carried out they would have to rely on their own organized strength, their own capacity for direct action, and not on the shifting alliances of promising politicians.

The Popular Action politicians set in, restored the constitution, set out again on the school building campaign, their agrarian reform, and their extensive public works for highways, railway electrication, irrigation and housing. Zamora still stayed as president, and all the officers who did not speak out too loudly against the progressive politicians were allowed to remain in command of the army. The CNT repeatedly sounded the alarm that the Spanish people was building its hopes on quicksand. The forces of fascism were quite frank about their plans. Jose Calvo Sotelo, who had been minister of finance under the dictatorship of Rivera, calling all radical proposals "communist agitation" in a country where there were scarcely any communists at all, said: "If there is a moment of great danger from the communist agitation, I believe the army will step in and save it if no politician does." But Premier Azana soothed those who were worried by such threats with the assurance that "fascism is merely the pastime of idle badly brought-up dandies." He didn't even have any of the labor politicians upon whose support he depended in his cabinet, and they, rejoicing now that France too had elected a Popular Front government just like them, said they weren't anxious to run things anyway, as it might frighten capitalism to put radicals in responsible positions.

So by July "this attempt to represent a middle class in a country where there is no middle class to speak of", resulted in the fascists being all ready for their coup. The had their officers all ready to take things over in the various cities, their army basis in Morocco, and their understandings with Hitler and Mussolini all prepared. It was the prompt action of the CNT and their fellow unionists in the UGT that stopped them from an unhindered march to power.

In the gigantic struggle that has gone on since then, the CNT has been in the lead—in the organization of a military force to combat fascism, in furnishing men for battle, in the complete repression of fascist sabotage within the Loyalist territory, in building up Catalonian industry under workers control to furnish the needs of war. Steadily throughout this entire period the policy of the CNT has been shown to be the correct policy. The reason for this is plain. The policy of the CNT is to look straight for the workers' interest only, and not shift from it in search of some compromise with a shifty ally.

In accordance with its straight working class policy, the CNT has kept solidarity with all workers of Spain regardless of their various political preferences and other shades of thought; but it has frequently had occasion to complain that the various labor politicians in whose hands control of national affairs has been placed, has not dealt similarly with it. Supplies have been furnished most injudiciously, attempts have even been made at disarming this armed and organized proletariat, but this has been futile as the industries that the CNT runs, furnish the greater part of the arms that have driven Franco back. The hopes that had been placed in the Popular Front government of France, in the "mother of parliaments" in England, and in the Soviets of Russia, have all met the same fate that throughout this long struggle has befallen all hopes placed in politicians. So the CNT is still saying: Organize for direct action. Organize to control industry. Organize to run things yourselves—for there alone lies freedom. And it has grown to become the major union of Spain.

The support of Spain by workers in all countries has been an important factor in the fight against fascism. Unfortunately this militant, aggressive and most trustworthy National Confederation of Labor has not received much of this support. Most of the unions in the rest of the world belong to the International Federation of Trade Unions, controlled by labor politicians, of the sort that look no further than the French Popular Front that has left Spain the prey of Mussolini. The National Confederation of Labor finds no place for itself in such an aggregation—so the financial support that has been given by workers in the rest of the world, has with the exception of funds sent by the I. W. W. and similar organizations, gone to these bodies who only belatedly have rallied to the fight against their enemy.

Now that defeat faces Fascism, what shall the future of Spain be? Consistently with their dilly-dally policy of compromise, Caballero and his associates say that they aim at nothing more than the nationalization of a few public service industries, and contemplate the return of the industries that Spanish workers have built up and run, to the former employers that left the ship when the workers of Spain refused to lie prostrate before Franco and Mola. The C. N. T. consistently with its record says that to restore this, would be to restore the conditions that begat fascism, that the future of Spain must be one of going ahead with the socialization and workers' control of industry that it has already started.

To our fellow workers in America we submit this frank statement of what is going on in Spain. The record of the CNT is one that justifies confidence in it. Just as its policies in the past have been proven by events to be the ones that warrant working class support, so are we confident that the continuation of its line of straight working class policy, and direct action by workers for workers, will continue to warrant that support. For that reason such donations as the members of the I. W. W. make toward the fight against Franco, have been sent to the Paris office of the C. N. T., care of A. Ganin, 41 Rue de Bellevile, Paris, 19e, France; and we urge that your support, in order that it may go where it will be used by the most reliable element in the present struggle, go to the same address. (Or if sent to the headquarters of the I. W. W. it will be transmitted at the direction of the C. N. T.) Our entire support is unqualifiedly given to this valiant group of our Spanish fellow workers.

For the same reason that we glory in the record of the C. N. T., for the same reasons that we consider it of the utmost importance that as much support as possible should now be given them at this critical time, we similarly urge that all who can see the necessity of such a program of the CNT in Spain, should consider the need for similar organization in America, and becoming members of the Industrial Workers of the World build up an organization such that we may do as well in our fight against any American Hitler, Franco or Mussolini.

IT CAN HAPPEN HERE

By WALTER PFEFFER

One fellow's notion of a stay-in to come.

Aunt Sally was very much perturbed about what the newspapers were saying about the sit-down strikes. Men and women were sitting down in the sawmills out on the coast, miners held the entrances to shafts in Butte and Arizona, and had taken possession of the important pipe-lines from the Panhadle region. Workers were holding parties in the department stores and meat packing plants and machinery factories throughout the east and middle west—and now on top of it all they threatened to go on a sit-down strike in New York's subways tomorrow.

"The government ought to do something about it," said Aunt Sally—and the newspapers agreed with her. (They usually did.) "Unreasonable Demands!" they shrieked in editorial and headlines. "Prompt Government Action Called For" they said while reporting that governors had sent out state troops only to have the troops refuse to shoot or gas their own people. "It isn't just a reluctance to kill" reported one officer but they do not wish to incur the wrath of their neighbors."

Bishops and politicians were offering their services to mediate the innumerable disputes from the pending subway strike to the lock-out of seamen and longshoremen for insisting on the right to back each other up, to the strike on the railroads that the union officials loudly denounced as "outlaw". But their services were everywhere rejected by workers who said it was mediation that had got them into this fix where they had to strike, and by employers who said that until there was a system of responsible unions under government regulation, with sane leaders who could make the men live up to their agreements, there was no sense conducting negotiations. "We cannot give in to their demands. We cannot discuss terms with them while they occupy our property. This is revolution and there is nothing to negotiate." So read a full page announcement by the leading industrialists ending with the standard inquiry "Why Doesn't the Government Do Something About It?"

Labor was equally firm on its own feet according to conversations of sit-down strikers with reporters as given toward the end of the various articles. "Who built these factories anyway?" they asked. "If we built them and work in them, who has a better right than us to live in them if we want to?" "If the corporations can't pay us the wages we ask and run the industries, why shouldn't we take them over and run them ourselves?" That last sort of crack from the sit-downers, reporters regularly referred to as ominous, and pointed out that that was the question the I. W. W. had been spreading across the country in leaflets and stickers when this last wave of strikes began.

"It's an I. W. W. conspiracy to make a revolution," said Aunt Sally in complete agreement with the newspapers, and she lay down the newspaper to say what a bad lot they were. She remembered pictures of them in her younger days, right in the Chicago Tribune, only then they wore whiskers with knives between their teeth and had smoking bombs and newspapers in their hip-pockets. There were pictures of I. W. W.'s in the paper now—decent looking men and women with nothing worse in their hands than brief cases, but she bet that beneath it all they were just as bad as they ever were.

To prove her point there were the statements of all sorts of union officials whose members had gone on strike despite their orders to remain at work. Everyone of them blamed it on the I.W.W. and their propaganda of direct action. There were disclosures by reporters of "secret councils of red professors and government statisticians with I. W. W. leaders" to take inventory of what goods were on hand in the country, what goods could be produced and where, to work out fantastic, Utopian plans of model homes for every family and an income running up to thousands of dollars per year for each. There were even sermons printed in full on the menace to religion and morality that was inherent in this I. W. W. doctrine that everybody could have all that they wanted.

* * *

Aunt Sally got so worked up over it all that John who had given up arguing with her way back in the 1920 depression, turned the radio on. But the crooner had got no further than "Next July, in the sky, I'll kiss you" when the announcer gravely said:

"This station has been taken over by the Industrial Workers of the World, on behalf of organized labor in America. The following is an official announcement by this organization:

"To assure accurate information to all regarding the great social changes now under way to assure security and abundance to all, this and every other means of communication has been taken over by the One Big Union of the working class. Because of the unwillingness of the corporations involved to come to satisfactory terms, and because of the general desire of working people to put an end to the confusion and uncertainty in which we have all been living, they are determined not to go back to the conditions that led up to this present stoppage in the production and distribution of goods and services needed by all. To this end, they have asked the General Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World to establish a planned economy of abundance as outlined by their statistical bureaus. To this the I. W. W. has agreed.

"Starting at midnight tonight all industries shut down by strikes or lockouts will resume operations, working on the schedules to which the unions have agreed. These schedules have been worked out by our Committee on Industrial Co-Ordination to fit in with the most urgent requirements of the working class, and will vary considerably in many instances for that reason from the production schedules on which you have been working. Your plant or shop committee will have full information regarding any such changes. Go to work tomorrow morning at your regular place of employment. If you have been laid off for less than a month, report as though you had been regularly employed. If you have been unemployed longer than a month, or otherwise have no regular place of employment report as you will be directed in your local newspapers. Those over fifty and under twenty need not report for work, as they will be paid for not working. If however you who are under twenty or over fifty feel that your absence from your shop would disrupt the present working schedule, you are requested to volunteer your services until other arrangements can be made.

"To all we wish to assure that these great changes are for the benefit of all, and that they will usher in a new era of abundance and happiness for all, and your co-operation in maintaining order and harmony, and your patience with any inconveniences that these changes may entail temporarily, is urged as your contribution.

"There will be regular official announcement over this and all stations day and night, according to their regular hours of operation, and largely according to their habitual language programs. Keep your radio on if you wish to be informed. Lotta Baloney will now continue with his song "In the sky, next July, I'll kiss you."

But John and Aunt Sally did not stop to listen to Lotta Baloney.

For once in twenty years John got to speak first, Aunt Sally was that flabbergasted. "What do you make of that?" he asked. And Aunt Sally was slow in replying: "It does at least sound as though they knew what they were doing." But in a moment the uncertainty dropped out of her voice: "John, run out and get a paper!"

John seemed slow in coming back. She might have known that—it never was safe to let him out of her sight. And as the minutes went by she wondered if some terrible I. W. W.'s had built a guillotine and cut his head off. But no, there was the brute coming up the street now, slow as you please, just as if nothing mattered, reading a paper and stopping to talk to everyone on the way. She went outside and said: "John, come here!" and John completely forgetting that this was the day for the emancipation of the human race came. According to the paper the I. W. W. had a program for everyone except husbands.

Aunt Sally looked at the paper. "PLANNED ECONOMY OF PLENTY BEGINS" it said right across the page, and there were columns of official statements by the I. W. W. and a big announcement in the middle of the page "What To Do Tomorrow Morning" with addresses and telephone numbers for those of different trades if they had no jobs, and for people to call if they needed something and had no money. She held the paper at arm's length saying "Hmph!" while John was trying to tell her what happened at the corner. "Those I. W. W.'s run this too, so you can't believe word of it," she said and began to listen to what John had to say.

"Some fellows tried to rob the cigar store," he said.

"Some of those I. W. W.'s, I suppose," she said.

"No, they weren't it was some I.W.W.'s with white bands on their arms that stopped them."

"Taking the law into their own hands," commented Aunt Sally.

"Well there wasn't any policeman there."

"I suppose those villains have chopped his head off by now. Look here at what they've done—" and she proceeded to read from the paper that there would be no sit-down strike on New York's subways tomorrow, that every thing would run as usual except that the turnstiles into which patrons had to drop a nickle to get in to the waiting platforms would be removed. and everyone could ride free.

"Scandalous!" she said and went on to read that everywhere municipal transportation on regular street cars, subways, L's and buses was to be free; that in New York for instance it took more people to count the change and make sure people paid than it did to run the transportation system, and that they would be given other work to do; that it was considered more economical, and likely to make for greater safety, to have a greatly increased system of municipal transportation giving free service than to have so much use of private cars, and this would discourage their use except for purposes where they were technically better adapted.

"What's scandalous about that?" asked John.

"You know well enough that that two hundred dollars that my aunt Josephine left us is invested in the street car company. If they don't collect fares, how will I get dividends?" she demanded.

"Most likely you won't."

"And that's all we have saved up for our old age. Oh John, what will we do?"

"We won't have anything to worry about. There's going to be plenty for everbody. I'm going to work tomorrow just the same as usual."

"But they don't want anybody over fifty working."

"But there's nobody else can run that steam-hammer right. I'm going to work. In fact I'm going over to Bill's house to talk it over with him." And out he went, Aunt Sally convinced that things had come to a terrible pass when a woman couldn't even run her own husband.

* * *

The announcer on the radio interrupted "You're a Honey, You're a Bunny" with news flashes and official releases. First a statement from the Cabinet that while they did not condone the actions taken or announced to be taken as legal, yet they considered it contrary to public policy to use Army or Navy against what was evidently the will of the majority of the people; that the contemplated planned economy was merely an extension of the strike and the stay-in which they had also not considered as legal, and that their policy in this would remain as it had been.

Next came a series of announcements of the enthusiastic approval of the action taken by the I. W. W. Convention from various unions, and the more important factories where sit-down strikes had been in progress, as well as from committees in charge of the various "outlaw" strikes.

This was interrupted by a news flash. Some owner of a rickety wooden sweatshop where a sit-down was in progress had attempted to set fire to the building. The fire had got a start because the fire department had not acted promptly, but it had been put out. The union patrôls had caught the owner and were holding him in a union hall, until it could be determined what should be done with him. Some of the employees had decided to stay in the plant to make sure of its operation under the new One Big Union plan in the morning. They were put on the air to tell their story of what had happened. A girl employee who had got badly burned in trying to put out the blaze explained that he had always been a mean old skinflint, but she never thought he would do anything like this. A union patrol who modestly replied to the announcer's laudatory introduction by saying he had only done his duty explained that, since there had been talk for some time among his fellow unionists about such a step as this workers' control of industry a-coming, they had organized their own patrols to maintain order alike in the industrial, commercial and residential district, just in case the police should be negligent in keeping order in this new order of things, and how he had been suspicious of this man's actions and found him at the back of the building after he had set fire to some rags soaked in gasoline. The local secretary of the textile workers was put on the air to explain that the incendiary employer had been taken into protective custody and kept in the union hall, where on the doctor's advice he had been given a sedative and was resting nicely. He went on to express the opinion that the poor man had found the great social changes going on so rapidly too hard for his nerves, and that as soon as he got adjusted to the new arrangements, he would no doubt become a very desirable citizen. He explained that the unions had considered such instances as this quite likely to occur, and in order to avert any violence resulting from class hatred, had put all the employers and others considered likely to menace security on a parole system; and that should it be necessary to lock them up, they would find the jails much better than they had provided for workers when they had the run of things, for committees in each state were already considering what could be done to decrease the large populations that had accumulated in prison during the declining days of capitalism without menacing the peace of the community, and were planning on making these jails institutions for adjusting men to freer social relations.

* * *

Resumption of the regular radio program held no interest for Aunt Sally, and anyway an eye had to be kept on John. It was still light on this early summer evening, so she put on her shawl and went out. It seemed everybody else on that block had done the same—leaving windows and doors open and radios on to make sure they didn't miss what was coming next. They were in groups here and there, arguing and all talking pretty much at once. "Worse than an election," said Aunt Sally "I knew these revolutions never ought to be allowed. I never saw John behave this way before."

There was that windbag Major Woofle in the center of a crowd. "I was always for the workingman," he was saying as someone was jibing him about what the National Guard had done in a strike a couple of weeks ago. She loooked at Mr. Gregarity the undertaker who for once didn't seem to know just what to do, and read in his right eye the hope that somebody would be killed, and in his left the fear that he wouldn't get paid for the burial anyway.

Dwn the street she spied John and Bill in a crowd talking to a fellow who had a white band around his arm and sheafs of different colored papers in his hand.

"Should I stay on relief or report for work?" asked a woman.

"Now that's answered in full on these green pieces of paper, or no, that's the one about personal property, it's on these blue pieces," said the man with the white band. "Let's see, how old are you?"

"None of your damned business," said the woman.

"Well, here a green piece of paper, you figure it out for yourself then."

"I heard some of those I. W. W.'s talking a while back and they said that when the workers ran things, there wouldn't be any more money, that we couldn't get any wages, and that we wouldn't have to pay anything for what we wanted. How about that?"

The pestered man with the many pieces of paper pulled out a white slip headed "Report of Committee on Distribution" and said: "That's the one about that."

"Yes, I know, it was in the papers. They've going to have a new kind of money, and you won't be able to buy anything with the old kind. They're going to make a lot of things free where there's plenty of them and people aren't likely to waste them, but you'll have to pay for clothes and porkchops."

"It's this way" said Bill while the man with the white band and the many pieces of paper took advantage of the opportunity to go ahead with his patrolling. "They had a big discussion whether to let everybody have what they wanted free, or to divide things up amongst everybody, or keep on paying wages and charging prices. They figured it would take eight years to grow enough fruit trees to give everybody all the fruit they were likely to ask for, and so on with a lot of things; that they couldn't pass a resolution for the cows to have more calves without upsetting the milk supply temporarily for instance, and they figured rationing things out would be a nuisance and an interference with liberty and would deprive some people of what they really wanted to make sure that somebody else got his fair share of something he didn't like anyway. So they figured that for the time being they'd make most amusements and all sorts of regular health service, and street car rides and such things free, for you can't get a picture show or street car ride or operation and throw it away without using it very well. But for other things for the time being they'd charge so that if some fellow didn't care much about his house but went in for fancy clothes, he could have his fancy clothes and let somebody else that wanted a good house and was satisfied with the regular line of duds, have the better house . . . that is of course until they can put through their whole building project.

"How come you know so much about it?" asked Aunt Sally.

"Well," says Bill, "I've been an I.W.W. for a long time now."

Aunt Sally figured it was time to take John home, but he wanted to know about this building program.

"Oh, they've been figuring on that for a long time. Read your paper, and you'll see how they want to modernize this town, lay out the streets so there's traffic on some, and just a place for the kids to play on others, so that the factories are all put down by the canal and the railroad tracks, and the people to live out where the air is better. They figure it will take fifteen years to fix up every place in the country like that if we all work a six-hour day and a five-day week, and a bit over 11 years if we work the 40-hour week, and nine years if we work nine hours a day and five on Saturdays. That's what we're to vote on in all the shops tomorrow, whether we want to work harder and get this old world fixed up quicker, or take our time about fixing it up."

People stopped listening to Bill to listen to some more radio announcements. A message from Mexico assuring their co-operation in working out the new American plan for abundance for all. Cables and radiograms from unions in many parts of the world pledging the support of labor in this great undertaking of American labor. An official statement from the Council on World Economic Relations that as circumstances had required a new order of things in which dividends would not be paid, it was technically impossible to separate foreign-owned industrial equipment from the rest of the productive properties, and to avoid any international complications over such matters a special commission was to be established to consider what action it would be necessary to take on this matter; and that those who had any complaints under this score should make them to so-and-so. Then some more about orders placed abroad—these would be paid for in gold on delivery in this country, and, except where it was contrary to the new foreign policy, orders on hand to be filled here would be filled.

* * *

Aunt Sally and John went home to listen to a sort of inquiring reporter program. It brought in a group of stockholders insisting that a certain factory was theirs. They were debating with a shop committee. "We own this. See, here we have our stocks, our bonds, our debentures, to show it," said one excited man. "Sure enough," said another, "you just keep your stocks and bonds and debentures in a good safe place if you want to. We'll just keep the factory."

He brought in some place where complaints and inquiries were being made.

"I've worked hard and saved every penny I could to send my boy to college," complained one old lady, "and now you're taking the railroad away from me that I invested my money in."

"Your boy and everybody else's boy that wants to go to college can go there," was the answer, "and we haven't moved that railroad one inch. The only difference is that now if you want to take a trip on it, you can do so, and you won't have to skimp along while your boy is at college."

"But is it fair to let all those other boys go to college when their parents didn't save like I did?" she persisted in asking.

"Most of the boys that have been going to college went there because somebody whose boys didn't go to college did the skimping and saving. Run along now, and don't worry about how you'll spend all the new money you'll be getting."

"I'm not kicking," said a man, "but here's what got me. For years I've been wanting to buy a certain cello, but everytime I thought of taking my money out of the bank when I had enough to buy it, I began worrying about the years when I couldn't earn any more, and so I never bought the cello. Now my money will be no good. If I had bought the cello, then, according to these new regulations on personal property it would be mine so long as I had any use for it; and now I have money that's no good, and no cello."

"If you'd been run over by a street car and gone to Heaven with your money in the bank, I suppose you'd be making the same complaint about your cello," he was told. "You're in the same fix as a lot more people who have been encouraged to save and save and save by our late but not lamented crazy economy. The more you saved, the harder it was to find markets for goods, and the harder it was consequently for you or anyone else to get work. Now you want a special reward for having made your own lives and the lives of others drabber than they need have been. But we don't blame you—we blame the crazy system. And while I can't guarantee you your cello, especially if it's some particular cello and not something that can be manufactured in quantity, you'll have plenty, and no worries, and a better chance to hear all the good music you want, and a better chance of getting what instruments you want than ever before."

"I've got a boy in jail," complained another woman, "because he was always stealing things. Now I know the only reason he took them was because he either wanted them or wanted to sell them. Now that he won't be able to sell them if he took them, and won't want to steal things when he can get them without stealing, why won't they let him out of jail?"

"Maybe they will. They have ordered the release of all labor prisoners already, and they are going over every prison inmate's record carefully to release all that they can without endangering the community. You wait a week or two, and you'll probably hear about your son if he isn't home by that time."

Then the radio brought in a group of bankers in the county jail singing, "Hail, Hail, the Gang's All Here."

"Hmph. A pretty situation," opined Aunt Sally, "turning dynamiters like Tom Mooney loose, and putting the bankers in jail overnight. I'm going to bolt every window in this house before I go to bed. I was going to do the washing tomorrow but with this pesky revolution going on, I suppose I'll have to stay up here and keep my ears open."

"Why don't you take your clothes to the laundry, Sally?"

"What—and have my petticoats socialized! I should say not!"

* * *

And so the revolution went on. The new authority in the land was labor. Labor organized in One Big Union. Here and there a few maniacs who considered it sinful for everybody to have plenty had to be put into "protective custody". Berghoff violated his parole conditions and had to be locked up. Some farmers had figured in accordance with the plans of some secret society to which they had belonged for years, to come into town and overthrow the wicked cities to protect the virtue of their wives and their pig-pens, but when they came they were taken to see some new farm equipment to pick and choose from, and sent home with some dresses and bonnets for their wives, and given a lecture by the new county agent about how they could run their farms the way they had been if they wanted to, but could get a much better standard of living if they would conduct farming as a great co-operative enterprise the same as the workers in the cities were conducting manufacture. Lumberjacks cut Douglas fir on the Olympic peninsula, workers in sawmills cut it to the standard sizes and shapes that were needed, miners dug copper in Butte and Arizona, oil wells were pumped in Oklahoma, railroad men brought cattle to Omaha and Chicago, in every city whole blocks of hovels were wrecked and new homes erected in accordance with new city planning schemes (that had really been gathering dust in city engineers' offices for years). And it was all done to fit in with a tremendous schedule that had been approved by the workers in all these industries.

* * *

Some weeks later an inquiring reported scratched his head to think up something for a feature story that nobody else would ever think of. He stirred with a bright idea and grabbed the phone to get a general information bureau. "Say, what's happened to the government, anyway?" he asked. "Oh, it's still around somewhere, though almost everybody has forgotten about it. Some of the officials came around to look for new jobs, and the big buildings with all the social security records

(Continued on next page)

Book Reviews

Hitler Over Russia by Ernst Henri.—2.50.

History of the Russian Revolution by Leon Trotsky.—Simon and Schuster, New York.

As far back as ten years ago the communists were talking of the dangers of a capitalist invasion of The Soviet Union. At that time I discounted much of this as alarmist and exaggerated hysteria. With no change in domestic political thought but with a wider world perspective, I now concede the threatened war upon the USSR as highly probable within the next year or so. Germany is in the forefront of this projected drive.

In Hitler Over Russia we do not have a recital of unsupported statements, but rather a volume of substantiated facts, pages documented with footnotes.

For the first time the reading public is given the inside facts regarding the Hitler blood purge of June 30th 1934. At the time it was said that it was a forcible cleansing of undesirable elements, degenerates, from Nazi ranks. Now we learn that it was a ruthless extermination of the leaders of the expectant middle classes, from within the DSDAP. A sellout to the Thyssen Steel Trust.

With the middle class supporters betrayed, the workers trampled under foot, rearmament for the crusade against Bolshevism began at a feverish pace. An economic battle was fought with Mussolini for the iron ore of Austria with all its political reflections, Hitler lost. Alliances were made with the semidictatorial states of Europe for a Fascist League.

The Schlieffen Plan for advance on France is abandoned in favor of the Hoffmann Plan for an Eastern crusade on Russia.

General Hoffmann was the commanding officer of the German Army in its defeat of the Tsarist armies on the eastern front during the last war. Emulating Napoleon, this general conceived a plan for the conquest of European Russia with all its mineral and agricultural wealth. The plan was discounted by the best of Germany's military brains. Yet the madmen of the Nazi regime, Hitler and Goering adopt it and are zealously working toward its fulfillment. Will Germany win with the help of their Fascist allies? The economic resources and military and civil morale of the Soviet Union are unsurpassed. Genuine facts marshalled by Henri makes his conclusions seem logical.

History To Taste

This three volume in one history by Trotsky is on the quality list of the publishers. It is the policy of leading publishers to publish at a loss, non-fiction of an enduring character in order to maintain their prestige.

For years the publishers have been pushing this history by Trotsky. Its sales have never been large, and certainly have shown no profits, or royalties. Now comes the 1400 page issue at a bargain price. Simon and Schuster may yet find a large reader public for this partisan history.

During the past fifteen years I have followed the history of the new Bolshevik nation and have read much of its history. Yet Trotsky writes his facts different than all the rest. One writer who cannot be accused of animosity or partisanship, William Henry Chamberlain, in his history of the Russian Revolution as far as he has gone, differs widely from Trotsky. Chamberlain was Moscow correspondent for the Christian Science Monitor from shortly after the October Revolt of 1917. I would suggest that both works be read and then decide for yourself.

James Dewitt.

IT CAN HAPPEN HERE

(Continued from page 24)

in them have been turned over for the use of the current inventory records and production schedules of the Committee on Technical Co-Ordination. The Bureau of Patents is at work checking up on a lot of good ideas that had been bought up to make sure that they weren't made use of . . . and the weather bureau hasn't missed a single report during the entire revolution."

"But haven't we any government—any congressmen to protest to—any Senators to demand that something be done about it all?"

"Oh no, they all got themselves good jobs tinkering around at some hobby of theirs right after the revolution started. They made some queer choices, too. The vice-president joined a circus, four senators and three representatives went into jazz bands, a bunch more went farming, and, oh yes, this might be copy for you—five of them at last are satisfying long suppressed desires to be smokestack painters."

THE END.

AMERICA MUST HAVE ITS NEWS

By

Eugene M. Fisher

You hear the sullen, warning mutter of the mob before your battered little car ever reaches the courthouse square. You hear it rise and fall, like the measured beat of stubborn waves on a harsh, bare shore, and you step on the gas to get there before that mutter swells to an angry roar. You've come to report a trial, and no mob is going to cheat you out of a story by seizing its victim before you arrive.

Then you swing into Main Street and see that your fears are baseless. There may be a lynching, in spite of the khakied troopers who hold the courthouse steps, but at least you're in time for it. You try to force your cheap coupe through the press of men and women and kids, and a few make way for you, resentfully. You stop, climb down, and try to push through the crowd on foot, but now no one opens a path for you. You have to fight for every step you take. One big, thin fellow with a dirty felt hat pulled over his colorless eyes curses you for prodding him.

"God-damn' bastard!" he snarls, and you're mad enough to hit him, but you don't. He's big, and hard, and among his friends, and you're not. You wouldn't have a chance. Someone else chimes in.

"Who 'n hell 's he think he is? Slap 'im down, Jerry."

That someone else isn't Jerry's type at all. He's short and round and well fed, with thick rimless glasses above his queer button nose. Well dressed, too, and his cheeks are red and fat, unsearred by the wind and sun and want that brand Jerry's face. But Jerry doesn't slap you down. He merely sneers, and you're not sorry.

Then a sudden hush whips you in the face, and above the brief hot silence of the mob you can hear a cardinal trill his gay song. You stop, startled, and almost miss the reason for this break in the crowd's mutter. Right at your side an armed gang tramps past. Six men in soiled and rumpled clothes. They all wear black felt hats, wide-brimmed; butts of long-barreled six-guns show above holsters and hip pockets. Sheriff's deputies, and they shuffle along with eyes on the ground like men ashamed of what they do.

For one hopeful second you think they're ashamed of their fellow-townsmen, ashamed of the blood-hunger that grips this mob. Then you get a good look at one of them. He's as big as that fellow Jerry, only his shoulders are wider and his body's filled out more. Behind you a woman shrills: "Lookout Jim Bell, will yuh? Reckon he'd shoot down his own kin tuh save a damn' nigger."

Jim Bell must be the one you've been watching. He raises his head and you can see misery deep in the wide gray eyes of him.

"I can't he'p whut I got tuh do, Sis."

The woman's at your elbow now. Scrawny she is, and none too clean. Her yellow hair hangs ragged about her thin face, and the yellow teeth she shows are ragged, too.

Then you see a squad of soldiers close behind the deputies. Soldiers? Well, they're wearing soldiers' clothes, anyway. Mere kids. Boys. Eighteen. Nineteen, maybe, or twenty. Not one of them any older, except that swaggering bravo with the shiny belt over his shoulder. These kids feel their importance; you can see that. They don't belong in this town, so they can be a little tougher than Jim Bell dares to be. Sometimes they shove too-eager natives aside with hard rifle butts. One blue-eyed youngster isn't doing any showing, however. His face is dead white and you can guess just how scared he is. He's biting his lip. He notices you and sees the sympathy you feel. He thinks that sympathy's for him, and he tries to grin, and fails, and bites his lip again.

Now, inside the square these uniformed kids have made, you see a colored boy stumble. He isn't very large; the soldiers almost conceal him from you and he crouches lower, trying to hide. Big eyes bulge in the pasty gray face and his cuffed hands are clenched, held tight against his thin chest as if in prayer. You try to catch his eye, let him know that he has one friend here, but he won't look up.

You find time to wonder why this picture comes to you in jerky scenes. You want to see it whole, to seize the meaning of it, but you can't because you're a part of it. Then you don't want to see it at all. You know a sudden nausea that makes you fight to get out of this crowd, out of this town, out of this whole damned country where men hunt men like wolves after a cripple deer. But you can't get out. This is your country, and if this isn't your town, it's a town just like yours. These are your people. They salute the same flag and smoke the same brand of cigarettes.

Cigarettes! God, for a smoke right now! The fragrance of tobacco might cleanse the air of some of the stench that's in it. You don't just smell that stench; you feel it. The stench of stale sweat, of unwashed bodies thrust against your own. Even these creatures' greed for murder has a stench that you can feel.

But you've a job to do. You fall in behind the last khaki-wrapped kid and follow the path that's being cut toward the courthouse steps. You see Jim Bell and his fellow deputies mounting those steps. The crowd sees them, too, and now as the climb begins the crowd can see that frightened black boy where he cringes among his guards. The mutter you've heard leaps into the roar you knew was coming. Words are being shouted, but you can't distinguish them. All you can hear is that terrible formless roar like the deep-chested thunder of storm on the Florida keys.

The madness of that chorus chills you and you try to push on faster, but you can't of course. You're on the long flight of stone steps now yourself. Above you wait the uniformed youngsters who have been holding the courthouse doors all this while, and you breathe more easily, thinking that surely the danger is past for a time.

Then, like storm winds whipped from a ready sky, the mob drives you forward. Howling men swirl past you. Arms beat against you like flails. You catch one glimpse of that scrawny woman with the yellow hair; she's screaming like all these other beasts, and you're cursing, too, just as they are, even though it be for another reason. The khakied kids about that young Negro hold fast for one short, hideous instant before they break and run. One of them goes down under that hurricane of booted feet.

From them doorway rifles bark, just once, and you wonder dimly if anyone's been hit. Your hat's gone. Your coat's in ribbons, and you try to remember how that happened. Something in faded blue overalls knocks the breath out of you with a bare, sharp elbow. You battle to keep from being trampled and try to climb toward the doors that second squad is guarding.

But not even those kids are there any more. They've all vanished. Scurried inside the courthouse doors and bolted them shut. Jim Bell and his mates are gone, too. You wonder what has become of the handcuffed prisoner; then the mob's roar tells you. There's a new note in that roar —a note that's not so new, after all. You know what it means, well enough.

The crowd about you melts as swiftly as it grew. There's no one near you but a whimpering kid in khaki nursing a broken arm. It's the blue-eyed youngsters, the one that bit his lip and couldn't grin. You turn to help him; then you remember why you're here. You came to get a story, but a long string of cars is carrying away the story you came to get. Cars of every known make and vintage. The people in those cars are making news, too— news that other people like them will want to read at home tonight while the steak's being fried. Read, and tell, and roll on their tongues like rich food.

You curse again, half aloud, and the cardinal's carol comes gaily once more from the trees on the courthouse lawn.

"CONSPIRACY TO RAISE WAGES"

By M. W. JACKSON

When this country was younger, a legal weapon used against the struggling workers was conspiracy to raise wages.

In 1741 the first trial of which there is record for this crime occurred. In New York city certain journeymen bakers were tried and convicted for conspiracy not to bake until their wages were raised. Records do not show what their sentence was.

The next case of which there is definite record took place in Philadelphia in March, 1806, before the mayor's court. The indictment stated that the eight defendants "not being content to work and labor in that art and occupation at the usual prices and rates for which they were used and accustomed to work and labor; but contriving, and intending to increase and augment the prices and rates usually paid and allowed to them and other artificers, workmen, and journeymen in the said art and occupation, and unjustly to exact and procure great sums of money for their work and labor in the said art and occupation, etc." The jury found the defendants "guilty of a combination to raise their wages," and they were fined

$8 each, with costs of suit, and they were to stand committed until paid. The defendants in this case were boot and shoe makers.

Beginning December 16, 1909, DeWitt Clinton, mayor of New York City, and two associate justices heard the case of James Melvin and others. One count of the indictment stated, "That the defendants did conspire that none of them should, after the 18th of October, work at any lower rate than for any master or employer." The defendants in this case offered to show: 1. That long prior to the strike or turn-out there existed a combination of the masters to lower wages. 2. That the wages and rates contended for were reasonable and no higher than to afford them a bare subsistence. 3. That the masters made excessive profit on the labor of the workmen.

The first and third of these offers of the defendants were not received as evidence on the ground that the action of the masters would not justify the workmen, and the second was not allowed because the prosecution had not charged otherwise. The defendants were found guilty and fined $1 each and costs.

In December, 1815, in Allegheny county, Pa., a number of cordwainers were placed on trial for a conspiracy to raise their wages. The indictment charged the defendants, "Unlawfully conspired and agreed together to form and associate themselves into a society, . . . that they would not do or perform any work as journeymen cordwainers unless for such prices as they, the said conspirators, should agree upon and regulate; that they would not permit any journemen cordwainers who were members of said society to work in the employment of any person, unless for such wages as the said society should agree upon and regulate, and that they, the aid conspirators, would withdraw from the service and employment of any master cordwainer in said borough who would not pay them such wages as they in their said society might agree upon and regulate . . ." The defendants were found guilty.

In a trial for conspiracy in Philadelphia in 1821, Judge Gibson ruled, "Every association, therefore, is criminal whose object is to raise or depress the price of labor beyond what it would bring if left without artificial excitement."

In 1827 in Philadelphia, 25 journeymen tailors were indicted for conspiring to demand higher wages for themselves and others and with conspiring to compel the re-employment of five journeymen who had been discharged by Robb and Winebrenner for demanding higher wages. The defendants were found guilty on the third count of the indictment, conspiracy to compel Robb and Winebrenner to re-employ the five discharged journeymen, and not guilty on seven other counts. The case was appealed and the final result is unknown.

According to a newspaper account in 1830, "A trial of journeymen shoemakers has lately taken place in Franklin county, Pa., on a charge of conspiracy. The testimony adduced established the facts that there was a society existing in the county, which, by its members, had given great vexation during the last summer to their employers; had attempted to raise their wages; had compelled their employers to fix on a bill of prices from which none dare vary; that they compelled their employers to agree that they would employ no one who was not a member, etc., etc. The jury found the men guilty, and the court fined them in the mitigated penalty of $10 for one and $5 for the other.

In 1836 in New York city 21 journeymen tailors were brought to trial charged with striking for higher wages and preventing others from working except for the prices fixed by the tailors' union. A Report of the Bureau of Statistics of New Jersey published in 1885 reported regarding this case, "Judge Edwards in his charge impressed on the minds of the jury that the case was not to be considered a 'mere struggle between master and journeymen.' It was one on which the harmony of the whole community depended. 'Let these societies only arise from time to time,' he said, 'and they will at last extend to every trade in the city, and there will be as many governments as there are societies. 'There was', he continued, 'no necessity for such societies. Combinations were not necessary in this country for the protection of mechanics or any other class. They were of foreign origin, not in harmony with our institutions or the character of the people.' He believed they were mainly upheld by foreigners. The jury agreed with the court and the defendants were sentenced to pay fines ranging from $150 for the president of the union to $100.00."

One hundred years ago the same type of narrow-visioned persons as today were hurling the same epithets that are being hurled today. At that time when the President of the United States, himself, was not an American by birth patriots were saying, "Unions are of foreign origin, not in harmony with our institutions or the character of the people."

Mankind has progressed much in the last one hundred years. Where a century ago two men would stand up and demand higher wages, and be arrested for "conspiracy to raise wages"; today the militias are inadequate to cope with the men who say, "Sit down and watch your wages go up"; and tomorrow no army on earth will be able to stop the working class when it says, "We are ready to claim our own!"

Murmansk

By A. YOURNIEK

An I. W. W. seaman completes his sketch of misadventure as a prisoner of the Allies in their undeclared war on the Soviets.

The Norwegian border was about six miles away, and the woods were a mile or so in that direction. The place where we gathered wood would be the ideal spot to disarm the Serbians, and the trip to the border would take us no more than two hours, may be less. By the time our escape had been discovered, we'd be half way across.

Another plan was to start our break in camp some neight, for only a few soldiers stayed awake. We'd overpower those on guard duty, take their rifles, and the rifles from the rack in the hallway, imprison the rest of the Serbians who were asleep in the other end of the building, and start our walk to Norway. We wouldn't be discovered until morning.

The trouble with both plans was that something more than guards and rifles held us prisoner. Most of the men had family ties, and feared that their families would suffer. Moreover the hope was always held before us that the English would look into our cases individually, and free us, as some had already been freed. So we kept discussing these plans until 500 more Britishers marched into camp. The border patrols were strengthened, and our hopes of escape fizzled into a dream.

With the Armistice the white guards were sent to Finland but the rest of us were kept. It was cold and miserable. The Britishers were wrapped up in so many clothes that they could hardly move. They had specially made Arctic shoes which they put on with twelve pair of socks. Over everything they pulled the long American sheepskin coats, and then their own overcoats.

A group of men were given their freedom and sent away. They never got home. They were killed by the white guard Russians. Eventually the news of our comrades' murder leaked into camp. The next batch of prisoners to be released refused to go. The British understood that we were wise to their trick; they had thought that they could send the men away and have them shot, and thus wash the crime off their own hands by blaming it on the inability of the Soviets to give adequate protection to their citizens.

Conditions kept getting worse for us prisoners. Some talked of a hunger strike. In Archangel or some other large town it might have attracted attention to our plight and had some effect. But in Petchinga, at the tip of the World, and thousands of miles away from any civilized center, it would be futile. We would all starve to death, and nobody would know or care about it.

The newspapers that the English soldiers were getting from "dear old Blighty" were now full of world news—Hungary, Bavaria, and Latvia had become soviet countries. We were shifted to another prison camp at Alexandrovsk, taken there in trawlers. Here flogging of the prisoners was common. The buildings were overcrowded, and we and a host of newcomers had to sleep on the floor. Many of the late comers were former members of the soviets that had supported the Allies against the Bolsheviki. There was an old Jew in the camp, a watchmaker by trade. He had been deported from England where he had lived for thirty years. He landed in Musmansk and opened a small shop for repairing watches. When the Allies occupied Murmansk, the English had him arrested again, and sent him to this prison at Alexandrovsk. There he died of exposure, the kind of exposure that we experienced.

The other end of the camp was occupied by French and Italian soldiers, prisoners too, because they had rebelled on the Archangel front. They were sick and tired of fighting. Many had been sent to other camps and later transferred to Petchinga. We heard too that the Americans were withdrawn from the front, because they were also considered "untrustworthy". This left the British, Serbians and Russians to do the fighting, and the British weren't in very high spirits either. I could see that from actual contact with the soldiers over us. Standing guard over their former allies was evidently distastful, yet they readily enforced discipline.

A few days later a number of us were returned to Murmansk, but not a single acquaintance of mine was among them. The battleship Chesna was laying to her dock. She had been reconverted into a prison ship, and had already become known for her torture chambers. All third degree punishment was carried out on her, because no moans or shouts could escape her hold. On the Chesna were a couple of old friends from Petchinga. One was Dashkow, a former officer in the Tsar's army who had turned Bolshevik. He had run away from the prison camp, secured a false passport, and was living in that region. When he was caught he was given an awful beating because he would not tell where he had got the passport. The other old acquaintance was the sailor Borisov. He was beaten up too, and when he recovered he was sent to Alexandrovsk.

We were put in a camp in the back of the town. I was made a sort of foreman over the Russians. We worked under English carpenters building more barracks, and were always kept within the enclosure. Others though, whose job was to fetch the material in the camp, were going all over the town, though of course under guards. This gave them a chance to run away, and many of them skipped.

The camp was under the charge of an officer, formerly a London policeman. He was a pretty fair chap, and all of us got along with him pretty well. He in turn was under the military commander of Murmansk, Dunstan, who was noted as a strict disciplinarian. Every time anyone skipped, Dunstan would barge into camp, bawl us out and threaten to punish us all. One day he carried out his threat by withdrawing our daily rations. We countered by refusing to go to work. The rations were quickly re-issued, for the commander wanted the barracks finished.

Some friction existed between the British and Americans. The American consul took a bunch of men from the camp and put them to some kind of work on a railroad, and everybody wanted to work for the Americans. I wrote a letter to the consul for I wanted to work for him too. It wasn't answered. I wrote another letter, and neither was it answered.

A while later, after I had turned down a proposition to go on sergeant's pay as translator, because I suspected there was something fishy about it, the guard was taken over by a Captain Woods. He told us that he had been a prisoner of war in Germany and knew what it was like, and would treat us the best he could. He confided to me about the two letters I had sent the American consul. They were kept back because of charges against me. According to him I was charged with being an agitator against the Allies, and charged with Admiral Kellinsky's murder, and that anyway as an organizer for the I. W. W. I was therefore not the kind to be let loose.

One day Major Dunstan came with a young Russian officer to let us know that henceforth any runaways would be severely punished. He threatened the death penalty. Too many were running away. At work there was only one guard for every ten or twenty prisoners. Some had a chance to slip away to the nearest barracks. There they managed to shave off beards and issue forth new men with the proper permission of residence in their pockets.

In the camp there was a former road engineer at Kem, Pesnikov, who, though opposed to the soviets, turned against the Allies when they disbanded them, and not daring to persecute him as a defender of the soviets, they tagged him as a German spy. For a couple of hours, every night, he would be taken out, asked questions to which he could give no answers, then led by soldiers to an open grave, then back to the barracks.

One of the oddities of the camp was a national monarchist. He had served in the navy, and like many others he had come to Murmansk to escape the Bolshevik authorities. For a while he worked on the railroad to hide his identity. When the Allies occupied Murmansk he discovered his laborer's garb and became one of the town's leading lights. He wanted the soviets abolished; but once his wish was fulfilled, he abhored the fact that the British were the real masters of the country, and his countrymen only figureheads. Uultimately his carping and disagreements brought the wrath of the new authorities on his head. He was arrested and tossed into this camp filled with his enemies, the Bolsheviki and their sympathizers. At times in his opposition to the Allies he talked like a Bolshevik. One day the prosecuting attorney came from Archangel to look into our cases, and this monarchist had his chance to lay his case before him. A few days later, he and some others who had been imprisoned for minor offenses, were released. When he came back to pick up his pack he let me in on what he thought was a secret: "Our men," he said, "are going ahead and in a short time they'll be in Petrograd." By "our men" he meant the Allies, against whom he seemed to feel no bitterness now that he was released.

As we began to get more news from the outside world, escape became all the more urgent. It seemed plain the British would not be able by themselves to hold out very much longer; and in the evacuation they would turn things over to the monarchists, who in their hatred and return to power, would make short shrift of us. We had to get away.

By this time discipline among the soldiers was at a very low ebb. Many were punished daily for laxity, and particularly for paragraphs in their letters on matters that their superiors considered none of their damn business.

On Sundays we carried our blankets out in the open and aired them, and we were permitted to stay outside too.

This Sunday none of the soldiers felt any too good. All night they had been carousing and celebrating the signing of peace with Germany. Here was our chance. When we had our blankets stretched out, no one a thousand feet away could make out what was taking place behind them. The bedding would serve as an excellent screen for the first break. We held a conclave, and found that only two were ready for the break; others were willing to give us a hand.

We placed some planking over the barbed wire fence. I was the first to leap over it. Reno came after. When I jumped and hit the ground, I passed out. When I came to, I thought I had been shot. With the barracks only 500 feet away that could easily have been done. But it seems I must have just landed on a rock and been injured at bit.

After a few minutes we made for the woods. The further we got, the deeper the brush was. In time we climbed over the first mountain and made our way to the South. We had already agreed to make for the Norwegian border.

We came to a river. It was pretty wide for a river it narrowed, though, somewhat, further down and we thought we could get across in that point.

We stepped into the river and began to wade across, and when we got to our chest in water the current became too strong. Doubtless if we went further, the current would buouy us up and carry us to the Kola nearby, where the river emptied into the bay.

We turned back. We went a bit further and picked a safe sunny spot. There we undressed and laid our clothes out to dry in the sun and went to sleep.

When we were awake again we decided to walk only during the nights, though the nights were as bright as the days and the sun was always shining. But in the nights it was always cooler and there weren't many people around.

We had heard of that river from our comrades in the camp.

Further up the river there was a railroad bridge. It was guarded by the British and we had to give it a wide birth.

In the evening we saw a boat scudding on the widest part of the river coming toward us. Presently it stopped and the two men in it began to fish.

Here was our chance. We discussed the proposition we'd make to these men. We called them over. We had a gun apiece and about 60 bullets between us.

The best we would agree upon was: that they being good, simple people, the chances were that they would take us over without demanding any explanations from us. But in the event they demanded papers or such stuff from us, we'd do the next thing possible and row across ourselves. We were becoming quite desperate. By now, we surmised, our escape would have been discovered and Murmansk would be upside down.

We agreed beforehand that when we got into the boat Reno would sit on the bow so he would have a better chance to draw; and I would take my place between the two men facing the other man on the stern.

They came over. We asked them if they would take us over to the other side. They immediately agreed. We stepped into the boat and took the stations we had agreed upon beforehand.

The fellow sitting on the stern talked first.

"We saw you fellows this morning and thought you might want to get across. But we were afraid to come over to you because there were too many people on the road. Now everything is alright."

It turned out that this man was a Latvian engineer on the nearby railroad. He lived there too, with some other workers.

When we got to the other side they told us the direction we should take. We told them we were on our way to Kandalashka. But when out of sight we walked the opposite way.

The bay above Kola was pretty long and we walked all night. At the end of it we could make out a few houses. Finally we came to a stop before another river.

On the other side of the bank there was a house and a boat graveled on the shore. Nearby there was a man. We shouted to him. He came over and took us to the other side. He was a native Karelian and spoke Russian poorly. He was a good fellow and told us the natives hated the British because of their tax collectors. He said, "The Bolshevicks left us alone but now every chicken is marked in a book and we have to pay taxes for them."

He gave us breakfast and told us to follow the river until we came to a village where they would tell us how to get over to Vaidacube. We did as he told us. We came to the village but couldn't talk to the inhabitants at all. Nobody could talk Russian. Finally a boy came to us. He could speak Russian. We told him where we wanted to go and he told that to the standers by. But they only shook their heads, and talked among themselves. We could see there was something wrong here. The boy then told us that there was no road there and that the country past the village was wilderness and that if we tried to go over that we'd never get over to the coast. Finally they began to see who we were. They spoke among each other for awhile. Then the boy said: "We're from Drenevo. We have a boat moored here and we are going over tonight," and that they would take us over with them and put us on the right road.

We were a bit hesitant about this offer because going to Drenevo we would have to go by Kola, and Drenevo wasn't far from Murmansk but just on the other side of the bay. We told them we didn't want to go to Murmansk but they assured us that the dock guard was one of their own men and that everything would be alright.

We accepted their offer and shortly after we were glad that we did. We landed at Drenevo about two in the morning. We came down the bay pretty fast. We passed the English garrison at Kola no farther than a stone's throw.

Landing at Drenevo we were met by a militia man on the dock. They said a couple of words in their own language. The militia man nodded his head which we took to mean that everything would be O.K. We helped the fishermen carry the food they fetched over from the farms to their home. And the women made up something, quickly enough, to eat and about an hour later we were on our way. The boy followed us out to show the way.

We walked nearby Murmansk. The warships were quietly laying on the bay. A balloon was up, and we became actually frightened that they might spy us. About six o'clock we came off the road and picked out a safe spot where we went to sleep. Towards evening we started off again and kept a good lookout behind us.

We had to climb up mountains again. One had snow on the top. The walk was hard. Up the mountain and down the valley again, and up the mountain and down the valley. And every top we climbed, the other one got just a little higher. Finally we came to the snow capped one. And not until we were on our way down we began to see the nice things that the mountains are supposed to have. Yet we would have to climb some more before we came to the seacoast. Then we picked the telephone track. This we followed until we again came to another river. It was a large one and with a strong current.

There we had to build a kind of a raft from a couple of logs. We tied these logs together with some branches, piled our clothes upon the raft and swam across holding with one arm onto the raft.

We landed not very far away from our road and the raft was better than getting our clothes wet. This was the only time we had to do this. The other rivers across our way were small and shallow.

Finally we came within the view of houses. It turned out to be a small village. We got some bread, butter and milk.

At last we came to the shore. Many motor and sail boats were there. We went into a house and inquired where we could get a boat for Norway. We found only women in the house. We introduced ourselves as Norwegian and American journalists. They gave us something to eat.

After a while a man came in. The woman told him about us. He looked at us with suspicion and wouldn't talk. He shunned us. Finally he said the boats they had were only for fishing and they weren't permitted to go to Norway. "But," he said, "you may find somebody further down, where the boats are larger and have permits for Norway." As soon as we got through eating we left.

Towards evening we came to another village. We made for the first house. To our surprise we found one of our former brother prisoners. He had been released and was sure glad to see us. It happened to be Saturday that day and he was visiting his relatives. He was living in another village. We told him we wanted to get over to Norway and he promised to help us. "Some of our boys are going over there tonight and they'll take you over with them," he said. We told him of the house in the last village and described the conduct of the master and he looked worried. He said that that man was the local representative of the present government and that he was largely responsible for his arrest, along with that of the other members of the soviets.

We felt sore that of all the houses we had to stumble in that stool pigeon's.

Our task was now to go as far and as fast as possible. They gave us supper and after that he informed us that the boys had decided not to go to Norway this week. This news sounded phony to us. We suspected they were in this smuggling business too. But we couldn't make them to go if they didn't wanted to.

They gave us plenty of food to take along with us, and a young woman of about 20 years of age came with us to show us the way to the next village. The village was about 10 kilometers away. She walked with us for about a half an hour and we talked about the new society with her. We bid her bood-bye and she wished us all the luck in the world.

We came to the other village about one o'clock in the morning. There were many sailboats laying at anchor in the harbor. Many light skiffs too gravelled high and dry on the beach. Without delay or hesitation we decided to push one of the skiff to the water and row out to one of the sailboats, make sail and make for our destination.

But a dog made such a rumpus that we feared it would wake the whole population of the village. Everytime we put our hands on the skiff he would bark. We'd have him shot but the pistol's report would rouse somebody and that saved him.

We were about to give up when we heard the squeak of an opening door. A man came out of it and walked towards us. He recognized us right away. We had met at Petchinga where he was digging trenches for the Allies. He invited us inside and warned us that the militia man was in town, but he was staying for the night in one of the houses further up the creek. This wasn't welcome news and the least thing that we desired just then was to come face to face with an officer of the law. But our host assured us that we weren't in danger and that everything will be all right. He said that this village was about seven miles from Petchinga and no telephone connections between the towns; and that the militia man had to be very careful because none liked him. He came here to recruit men for the White Army and all the young men had taken it on the run; they were in hiding among the woods.

We let him know that we wanted to get to Norway. We had no business in Petchinga. We were looking for a boat to take us to Norway and we were willing to pay the price.

He promised to do all he could to help us. In the morning a fellow was leaving for a village close to the border and he would try to straighten things out for us so we could go with him. Then he handed us a reindeer skin. We were dog tired, stretched the hide out on the floor and ourselves upon it. It felt comfortable and we went to sleep.

In the morning the fellow who was to sail for the village next to the border came to the house and consented to take us along, and we sat down to have a farewell breakfast with our friend.

By the time the breakfast was over the news of our presence was spread and I was surprised at the large group that had gathered outside of the house to have a look at us. Among them I recognized the militia man.

I talked with some of the people about the Allies, Kolchack, Deniken, the Bolshevicks, for some time, when our boat showed up. We were picking our things from the floor when I noticed the militia man's face turn white, blue and red.

He was on the spot. As the representative of law it was his duty to have us arrested. But he knew that such an attempt would be his unmaking. Reno's gun was strapped hanging down his side in plain view. He had to put up some kind of a show, though.

He made what he considered a bold stand: he asked for our passports. I pulled out of my pocket the American seamen's certificate. He looked at it, professionally like, but I knew he couldn't understand a word of it. Then he pulled a note book out of his pocket and asked my name. I said it. As he was jotting it down his hand was shaking like a leaf in the wind. Then coming right up against me, with low voice, he said: "I've to do this as a bluff. I got to show these people my authority. Then he asked me of my partner's name. He scribbled something under the names and shouted out aloud: "Alright, gentlemen, you can go on your way. Your papers are in order."

We got into the boat and as we sailed away the people were standing up in bunches on the shore.

We didn't come to the next village until two hours later. We went ashore and had something to eat and some of the townfolk invited us to stay for the night. But no militia man could be trusted. He knew where we were headed for. Petchinga was only a short distance from here and he could have been there by this time. We decided to keep on on our way.

We paid the boatman the sum that was agreed upon, 500 rubles, and left. The way over was hard walking. We had to climb over many hills. Finally we decided to look for a place for the night. We found one and there we lay until the morning.

At dawn we started off again. There was a village ahead of us, the Warima. This village was closely by the Russian border and it was best that we should keep clear of it. On the border about Warima six patrolmen were stationed.

Just after descending a steep mountain we crossed a river. The water was cold and we waded over with it on our shoulders.

We had an idea that this river marked the border line, but we weren't sure. We followed along the stream on the bank down a little way and came to a road and few houses. Some women were standing outside the houses. But we didn't greet them. We kept on our way and made out we didn't see them.

Now we were noticing that the telephone posts weren't like those we passed. Their bottoms were soaked in creosote and the ground around them was covered with stone. The sight of these posts made us feel better. They were signs, to us, that we were over the border. Shortly after we came to another village. Reno, who spoke Norwegian, inquired of our whereabouts and we were five kilometers inside of the border and about 25 kilometers from Kirkeness.

THE END.

Behold in Spain the Symbol of May Day!

By **JUSTUS EBERT**

1937 May Day is a May Day such as labor has never enjoyed before. It is a May Day calling for enthusiasm and a mighty movement forward. A real May Day with international labor triumphantly fighting international fascism, the last resource of a decaying capitalism.

Years ago we rejoiced in the Paris Commune, the first attempt of the working class to rise to power. Next came the great Russian revolution. Now, as a glorious climax, comes Spain. Each successive historic episode records, barometer-like, the upward climb of the world's workers.

No longer do we dream of working class ascendancy. We see it becoming a fact before our very eyes, on a scale, too, impossible of either denial or frustration. Behold in Spain the symbol of our 1937 International May Day. There converge workers from many distant parts of the world, saying to Fascism "Thou shalt not pass"; and pass it does not.

Observe the anti-fascist armies of Italy in Spain. They flee, rather than fight their working class brothers in Spain, a fore-runner of the day everywhere when the workers will desert Fascism, and, in deserting, destroy it! Observe the Nazi bombs dropped on Madrid; forty per cent of them were duds. Some contained the salute of the anti-fascist German workers to their Spanish comrades. Observe the German, British, Italian, Belgian, French, Russian, Canadian, yes, and our own American comrades of the International brigade, all marching abreast to the defeat of Fascism in Spain, and the beginning of the social revolution throughout the world.

May Day of 1937, the real International Labor Day, we salute thee! Onward labor! Forward to the new day; to the new time no longer coming, but well on its way.

Turn now to the glorious United States, as fine a land as nature ever made, and, as ever, capitalism-defiled and devastated. What is it that makes the front pages of its servile press, and intrudes itself into the affairs of its capitalist state? It is the myriad working class, pushing its way up out of corporate exploitation into the august legislative chambers of the country's owners and controllers, the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives. Especially impressive are the sit-downers, in their prologue to the lockout of the capitalist masters of industry and America.

Never before have the naturally wonderful and capitalistically blighted United States been as profoundly stirred.

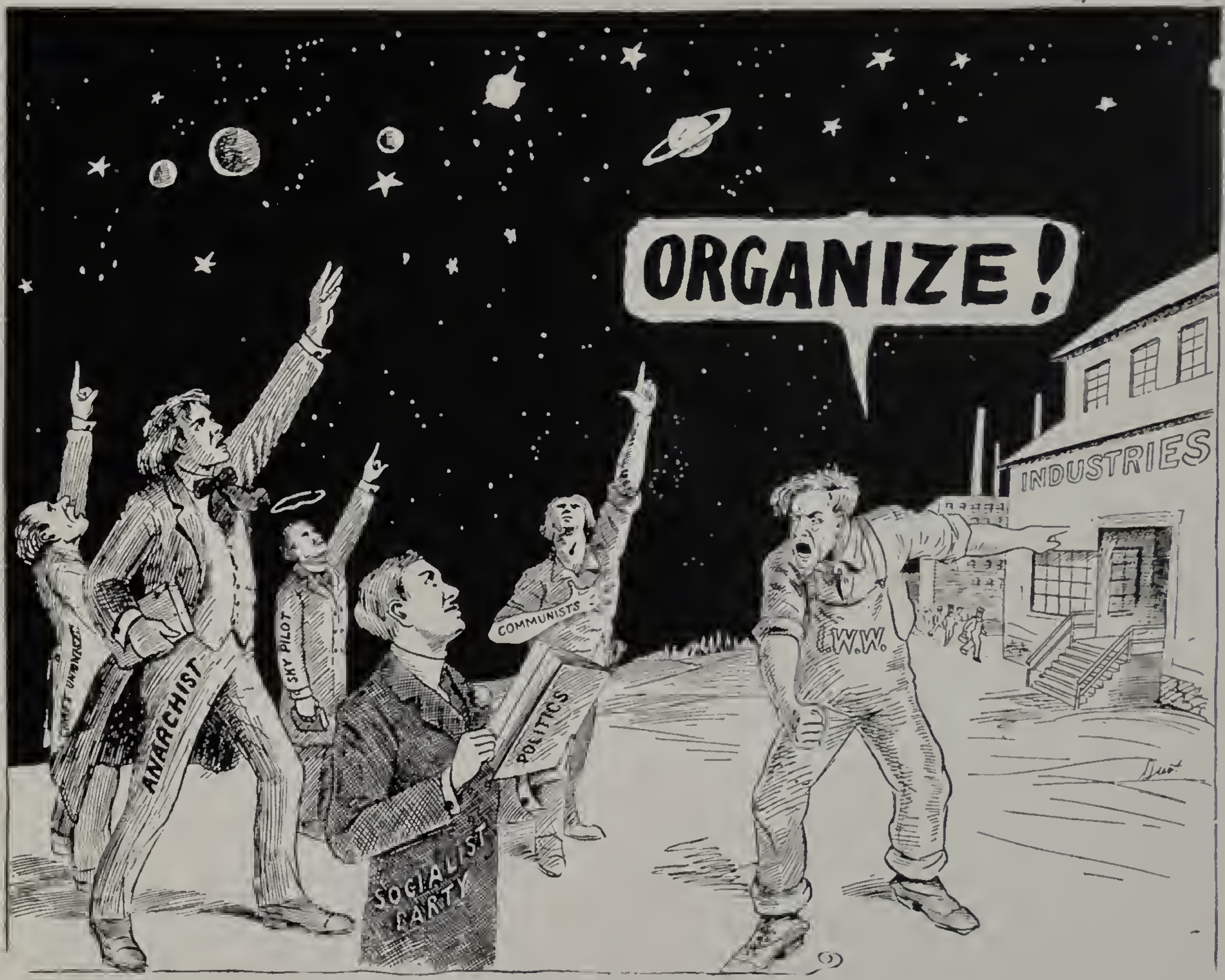
It is agitated, from its economic base up to its political and cultural reflexes. Labor is moving. Well it should, for in the language of the day, "the worst is yet to come"—the worst of, and for, capitalism, with labor involved as never before.

With 42,000,000 workers employed and 10,000,000 unemployed, with output, prices and profits rising out of all proportion to employment, wages, and purchasing power, with the war industries making the country a part of the European war system and U.S. participation in another world war and its disastrous aftermaths a certainty, with the present industrial boom heading for another and more ruinous bust, an aroused working class will be a necessary requirement to further working class ascendancy—to the social ownership and operation of industry, by and of labor, industrially organized.

Thus our 1937 May Day is not only a day of real working class internationalism, and it is not only a day of encouraging historical review and contemporaneous rejoicing, but also of future constructiveness. Ours is the working class duty, not only to rise to the mastery of our social destiny, but also to make our rise on a foundation that will admit of no destruction or overthrow. Such a foundation will be found in industrial democracy—in the real, revolutionary industrial unionism propagated and practiced by the I.W.W.—the Industrial Workers of the World.

The I.W.W. is erecting the framework of the new society in the shell of the old.

★ ★ ★



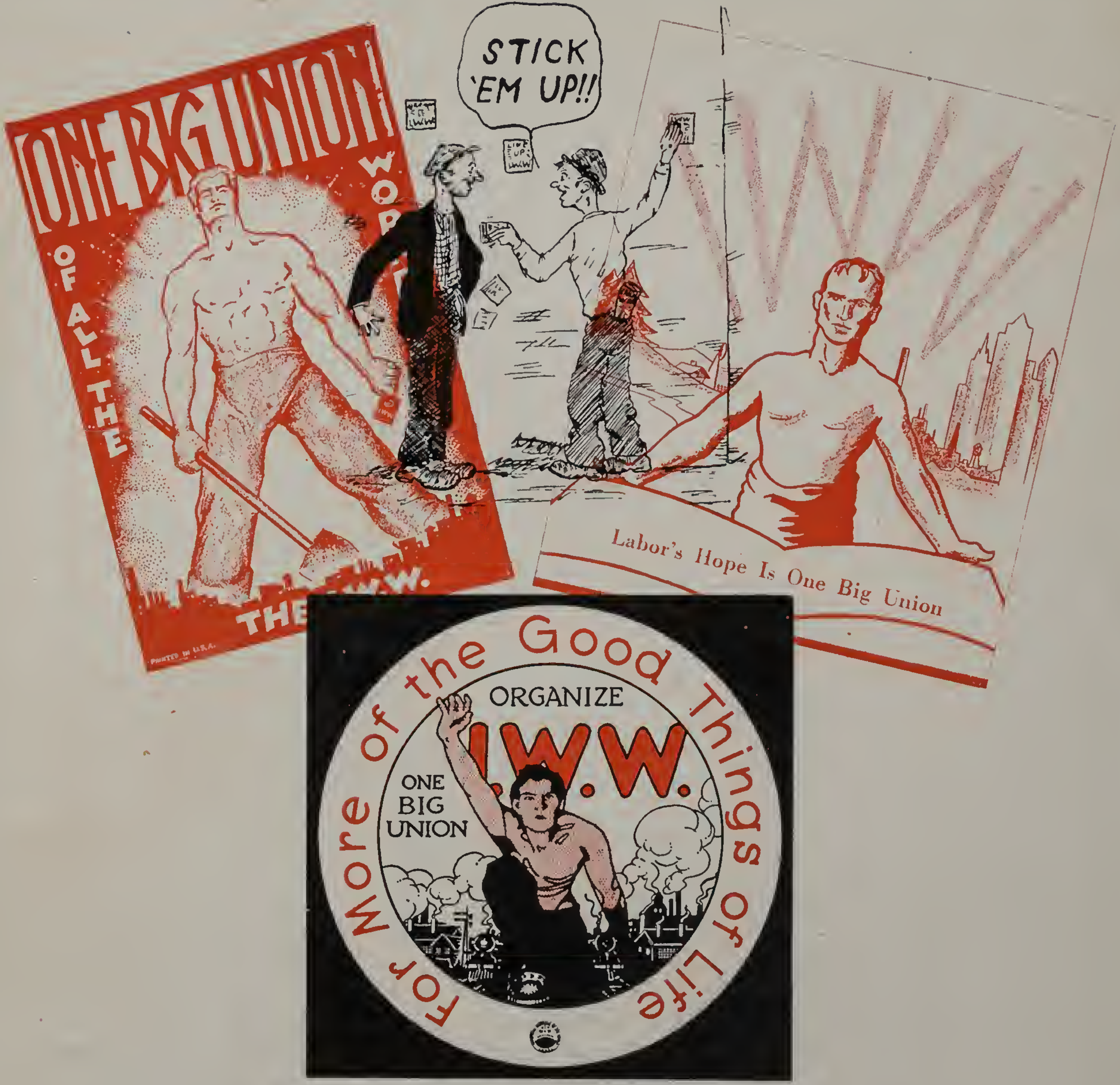
Education ★ Organization ★ Emancipation

Knowledge, like energy, is power only when it is put to work to get results.

All together, the working class knows how to make everything, how to do everything, how to create abundance and the necessary conditions for happiness for us all. But to put that knowledge to work requires organization. To get the full results that can come only from using all of it, requires organization as a class—One Big Union.

Science is knowledge organized. The I. W. W. is the working class organized—just the working class, with everybody from the coal miner to the chemist who figures out how to make a new flavoring extract out of the coal, organized to use our brains for ourselves. And it spells emancipation and a new era of abundance and security.

To start the process takes scientific industrial union education—such as you spread when you get new readers for the I. W. W. periodicals and pamphlets, pass-out I. W. W. leaflets, or put up I. W. W. stickers. Educate to organize, and organize to educate—that's the road ahead to freedom. That's where the I.W.W. is marching, and you are cordially asked to hop into the parade.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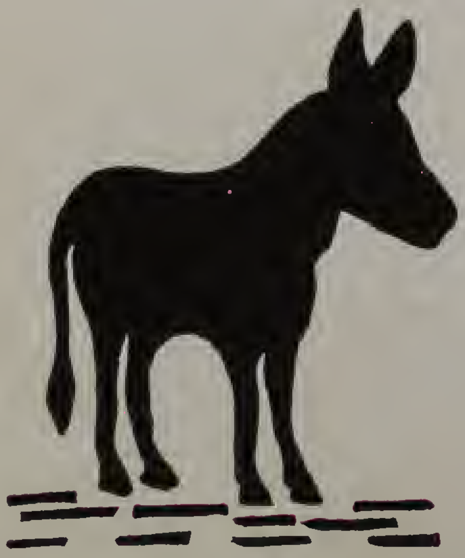

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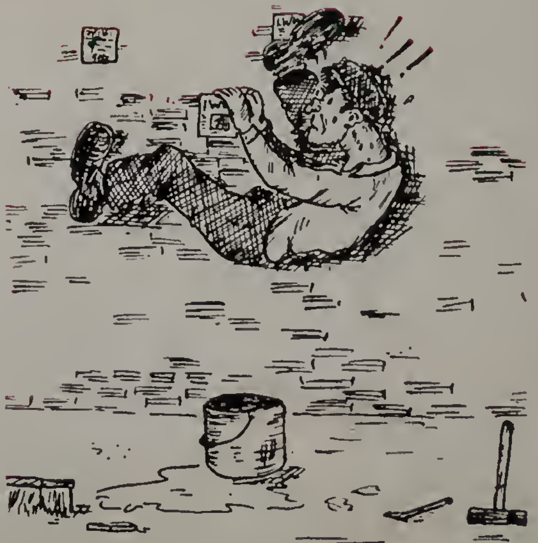

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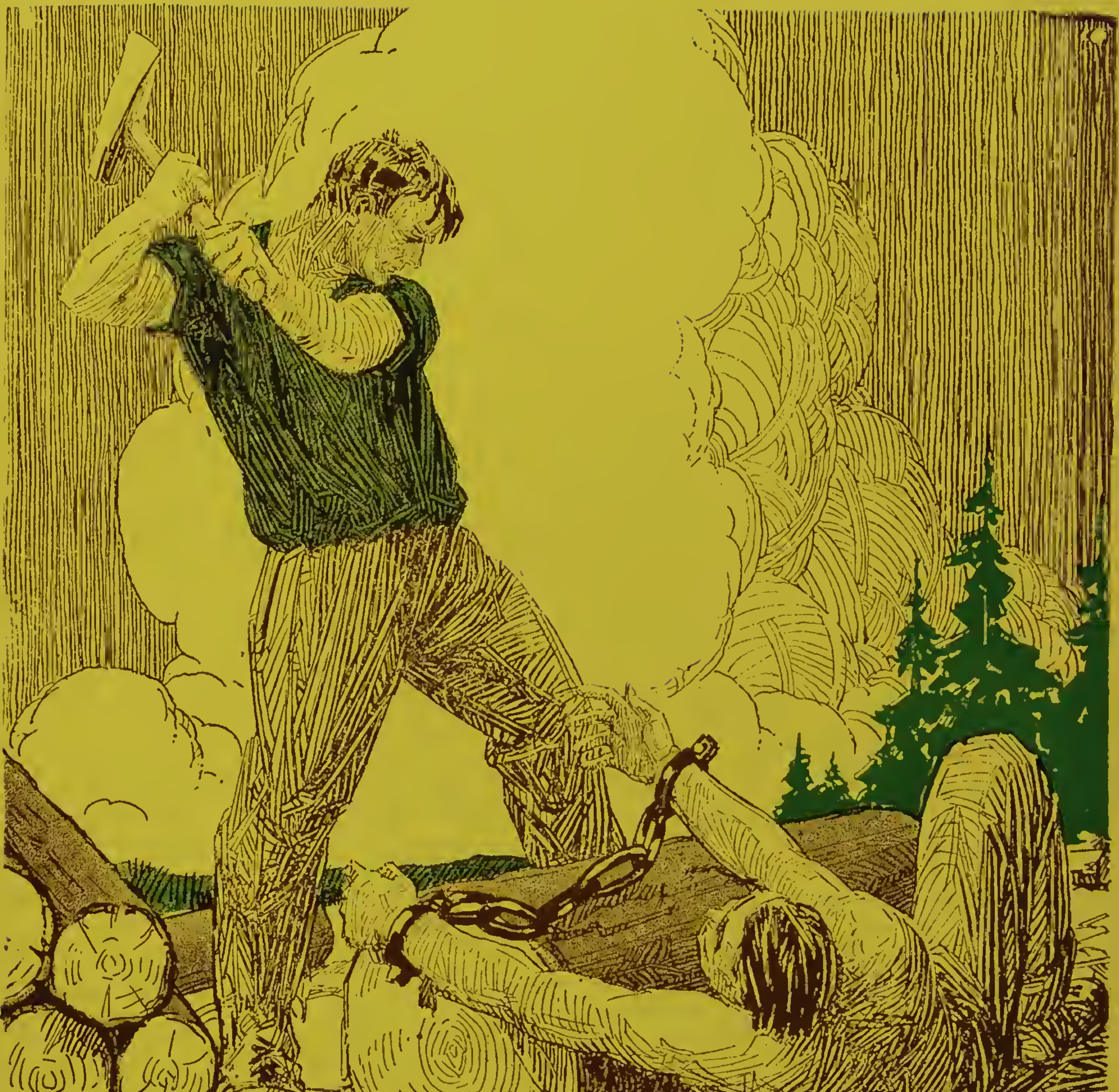
The ONE BIG UNION Monthly



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Too Many Organizations?

Sure—that's why we've been arguing for One Big Union all these years. One's enough. Any more is a nuisance.

We want to ask you fellow workers who do not as yet belong to the I.W.W., a question.

Laying aside all your organizational prejudices and alignments, just suppose that the American working class stood before you, asking you what it should do.

Would you counsel them to divide their forces? Would you urge them to build craft and separate industrial organizations that would lead to jurisdictional wars with each other? Would you tell them to let their own invincible power remain unborn for the lack of compact organization and advise them to content themselves with the hope that somebody might be elected to do for them a part of what they could do much better for themselves?

Or would you tell them: let's ALL organize together, making merely such subdivisions in our organization as circumstances make practical; let's rely on our own organized strength; let's undertake doing for ourselves what that power enables us to do in the way that we by majority rule decide to do it.

The American working class is standing before each one of you asking your measure of advice and example what it should do. Think it out clearly, with all honesty to yourself and futurity what advice and example you shall give them—and we are satisfied that you can adopt no other course of action than to join us in building a One Big Union of the Working Class.

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The Labor Movement in Mexico

By Card Number 372561

Ever since the CROM was replaced by the CTM as the predominant union movement in Mexico, there has been much bewilderment as to what is going on in the unions to the south of us, and in their relations with the Mexican government.

Now that President Cardenas has ordered the recognition of the CROM, and Morones has returned to Mexico, and railroad workers, electricians and communists have made a split in the CTM, the situation is probably the more bewildering.

For this reason we believe our readers will welcome this study by a member of the I.W.W. of the Mexican labor situation and its historial background.

On the eve of May Day, the big drive to bring Mexican labor under a centralized leadership met with a setback that seriously lessens the prospect for unity in the immediate future. At the fourth National Council of the CTM (Confederation of Mexican Workers) the delegates of the railroad workers and the electrical workers of the Federal District walked out together with representatives of the Mexican Communist party. This split, according to "Mexican Labor News," will possibly cost the CTM a full one-fourth of the nearly 600,000 members.

Unquestionably the loss to the Confederation is greater than is indicated by the number of workers involved in the split. The electricians, the railroad workers, and various state organizations which may also be involved, are organized in powerful unions which have supplied the CTM with much of its genuine, steadfast labor union character. It was the Electrical Workers Union that won a brilliant victory in an eight-day strike last July during which Mexico City, the Federal District, and five neighboring states were without lights and power.

Vicente Lombardo Toledano, General Secretary of the CTM, seems to blame the communists for most of the trouble, charging that they imposed their own party discipline on their members within the trade union movement. He condemned in the strongest terms the action of the party in precipitating a break in labor's ranks on the very eve of the First of May, the labor anniversary which should have found the Mexican movement more united than ever.

On the other hand the seceding non-communists, no less than the party adherants, charge that the CTM is mismanaged by its leaders. They accuse Lombardo and his associates with attempting to set up a "bureaucratic, personalist control over the CTM to the exclusion of all those elements unwilling to submit themselves to such dictatorship." They claim the ruling clique overrides the wishes of the rank and file, that it has excluded bona fide delegates to the Council, and seeks generally by all possible means to use the organization for its own personal advantages. They are especially critical of the actions of Lombardo.

The conflict first came out in the open last February at the Third National Council in Vera Cruz when the electricians protested the seating of delegates from unions that were in arrears in the payment of dues. Claiming this was in violation of the by-laws they refused to participate in the deliberations but took no further action at that time. The immediate cause of the break in April was the refusal of the Council to seat the delegation from Nuevo Leon on the grounds that it had been improperly constituted. It is in the State of Nuevo Leon that the communists are charged by the Council with having applied their disruptive tactics. Hence when these delegates were unseated it was the signal for the communists to leave. However, it does not follow that the union delegates who joined in the walk-out were necessarily lead out by the communists. As already indicated the unions had grievances of their own.

What is the CTM?

The Confederation of Mexican Workers or, giving it its native name, **Confederacion de Trabajadores de Mexico,** is a new federation of Mexican labor unions formed in 1935 and claiming now to embrace 90 percent of the country's organized labor. It is affiliated with the Amsterdam International, favors industrial rather than craft unions, declares itself 100 percent for the Spanish loyalists, and has sent fraternal greetings to John L. Lewis's CIO. It has proven itself more militant than its predecessor in action against the employers, it has promoted workers' education on a grand scale, having established the Workers University at Mexico City which enrolls over 500 students; it has demanded confiscation of private property for the workers in certain cases, and supports general revolutionary propositions in principle.

In short, the CTM is many things that its immediate predecessor as the dominant Mexican labor movement, the CROM (Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana), was not—especially in its later years. Yet for all that the new movement is, in a sense extremely important to labor, new only in name.

The CROM from the very first was enmeshed in politics. It was born in 1918 when the trade unionists joined hands with the Carranza government in opposition to the Mexican I.W.W. which, in the labor union convention of the preceding year, had been the leading organization. Under the leadership of Luis N. Morones the CROM continued as it started, the labor front of the government. Later, in 1920, the CROM was used to help make Obregon president of the republic. Morones used his position as the capitalist government's favorite labor lieutenant to entrench his organization at the expense of independent unions and, of course, to enrich himself.

Under Obregon he fared fairly well in spite of some double-crossing by the president who developed a fine technique in playing one labor group against another. Obregon evidently did not feel it necessary to divide the plunder with labor bosses. At that time the new statesmanship which requires government-labor co-operation for the sake of more peaceful and effective exploitation had not yet been fully worked out.

But in 1924 Calles, the "labor" president, was elected, naturally with the help of the CROM. This time Morones' reward was great indeed. He was given a position in the government, that of Minister of Commerce, Industry and Labor. Next to the president he became the most powerful man in the government. His opportunities for cashing in on his labor racket were immensely increased and it is a matter of record that he did not fail to take advantage of the opportunities.

Skipping a few years, we come to 1932. Calles was no longer president but he was still the big boss in politics and Morones was still the big chief in the labor movement. These two combined forces to rule Mexico. They selected Cardenas for the presidency and put him into office in 1935. Then came the big surprise maneuvre which is supposed by some to have suddenly cleared the way for the industrial commonwealth in Mexico.

Calles and Morones Exiled

Early in April, 1936, the government exiled both Calles and Morones to the United States "in order to forestall fascism and save democracy for the workers." While Calles was grooming Cardenas for the presidency, the latter was building a few fences for himself and while labor leader Morones was helping Calles, a new star was rising on the horizon of the labor world. The new hope of the working class, Dr. Vicente Lombardo Toledado, managed so well that when the decisive moment arrived he was able to supplant Morones as the labor chief.

Thus out of the CROM grew the CTM. The CROM has not been completly obliterated; it still retains some union allegiance, notably in the textile industry.

Since personalities play such an important part in Mexican labor affairs, a few words about Toledado, the new head of the movement, may not be amiss.

"He came into the labor movement as a teacher and student of economics, history, sociology and law. And he came calling himself a Simon-pure Marxian. He is a slight, handsome, sad-eyed and sad-faced Creole, a typical Latin intellectual. He is, though closely seconded by Xavier Icasa of the Mexican Supreme Court, the outstanding intellectual of the Mexican labor movement." (Wm. E. Zeuch in Common Sense.)

From 1915 onward every aspirant for political office in Mexico has known that he must have organized labor backing to win. And labor in Mexico has learned to hope for its reward for support given to successful office seekers. This mixing of politics with unionism goes on now just as under other administrations. Carranza and Calles had their Morones and now Cardenas has his Toledano.

It is not intended to infer here that Toledano is a crook, as Morones certainly was and is, or that

Cardenas aspires to be a dictator. The point is that guided by politics and influenced by party policies, the splendid combative and socially creative powers of the Mexican workers are not allowed to develop.

Unions ought to be and must eventually be complete, independent, self-running institutions: they must learn to move along under their own direction as well as under their own power. The main course of development is not along that line in Mexico today. Instead of less government interferance in union affairs there is more than formerly. President, governors, and courts are repeatedly called upon to intervene in disputes between workers and employers and to settle differences between unions. There is a Federal Board of Conciliation and a labor court; and there is a "standard collective contract" which is favored by the government as being just the thing to protect the interests of labor and to promote industrial peace. This contract is now in effect in several industries.

Laws Regarding Strikes

When the Mexican worker wants to strike, he follows a course laid out for him by the government. Here are some of the rules established by law:

1. When workers make any demands of their employers that may lead to a strike they are required to present their demands in writing at least six days before the strike. In the event they are employed in a public utility they must give at least ten days' notice.

2. At least 51 percent of the workers employed must vote in favor of the demands in order that they may be legal; 51 percent of the workers attending the meeting at which the vote is taken may not be enough.

3. In presenting the demands a showing must be made that the demands are within reason, that they can be granted under existing conditions. A copy of the demands and arguments in favor of them must be presented to the government as well as to the employer. The government then refers the matter to a board of arbitration composed of three people, one representing the government, one representing the employer, and one representing labor. If this board fails to conciliate the parties to the dispute it issues a public statement with a declaration that the proposed strike is legal or illegal according to its findings.

4. Even when the strike is declared illegal the workers may go ahead with it. But in case it is decided that the grievances are fully justified and that the strike is a legal one the employer is required to pay wages to the workers while they are out.

Sympathetic strikes may be legal. Court injunctions in labor cases are prohibited by the constitution. But recently the government has banned teachers' strikes, the Minister of Education declaring that such strikes are a betrayal of the teachers' obligation to the children of the working class. Postal workers have also been denied the right to strike but President Cardenas has promised them a wage increase beginning January, 1938. The official announcement in the case of the postal workers states that no federal employes are allowed to strike under the law.

Undoubtedly the Mexican labor laws are more advanced than those of any other country, except Russia. But whether this state of "advancement" will ultimately be beneficial to the workers may certainly be questioned. Capitalism the world over is busy devising new schemes to keep the working class under control and there is nothing in the Mexican model that seriously threatens the position of the employers. Like the Roosevelt legislation in the United States, it makes a great show of being fair to labor, but this is sound diplomacy and not a retreat on the part of labor's enemy. There is no point in using force against workers when they can be fooled by soft words.

Compared to the United States the Mexican labor policy appears to be extremely radical. This, however, is due largely to the conflict between native and foreign capital in the country. The Mexican ruling class is not adverse from exposing the foreign exploiters to the wrath of the dispossessed wage slave and peasant. Meanwhile there is no great harm to the ruling class and no great gain to the workers in taking off the ban from socialist and revolutionary talk. It is even an advantage to the capitalists to have the government use the language of rebellious workers. One talks gently to the restless horse that is to be harnessed for a hard day's work.

In justice to the leaders of the CTM it should be stated that they are aware of the weak spot in the movement, even though they do nothing about it. Mexican Labor News which expresses the official CTM view states in this connection:

"There appears to be good reason for supposing that a large part of the present difficulties are at least indirectly due to maneuvres and intrigues fomented by certain members of the government attempting to use sections of the trade union movement for their own political purposes . . ."

In another statement of the CTM it is declared:

"We will co-operate with the government in every respect so long as the government responds to the social needs of the workers. When the government ceases to respond to our needs we resume the right to be for the revolution."

On Reformer Boulevard, one of the principle thoroughfares in Mexico City, an arch bears this inscription: TO THE REVOLUTION OF YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW.

Again it must be said that all of this means little more than momentary inspiration as long as the workers are wage slaves, pitifully paid and living in the utmost squalor.

As in other countries the hope of the Mexican workers lies in a rank and file movement such as was started there 25 years ago. This movement was shattered but the elements of which it was composed are still present, active and powerful throughout that stratum of the population in which is generated the force of the social revolution, that is, in the working class.

The I.W.W. in Mexico

Back before 1910 there wasn't much of a labor movement in the country. Practically everybody that had any liberal, to say nothing of radical, ideas kept them strictly to himself. There were a few exceptions, among them Librado Rivera and Ricardo Flores Magon, who ventured to tell the workers the whole truth about the dictator, Porfiro Diaz, and about capitalists and governments. Their agitation bore fruit and the revolt started. But seeing an opportunity to aggrandize himself, Madero, a man with plenty of money, capitalized on the propaganda of the radicals and on the poverty of the people and made himself leader of the movement. Diaz was overthrown and the "liberator" put in his place.

At this time there were thousands of Mexicans living on the American side of the border who were either I.W.W. members or strongly influenced by its teachings. In Phoenix, Arizona, alone there were at that time over 500 Mexican I.W.W. members. When the revolution broke out these workers moved back across the border almost in a body to take part in the great event in their home land.

One group of Mexicans living in Texas armed themselves and under the leadership of Captain Cline started their march to the border. They were stopped on the way by Texas officers whom the marchers promptly took prisoners. There was nobody hurt and when the officers promised not to molest the men they let them go. But later a reinforced gang of deputies attacked the Mexicans again. This time there were dead on both sides. Rangle, Cline and several others served many years in Texas prisons as a result of this affair.

In 1911 there was another invasion of Mexico by I.W.W. members. This was in lower California where on January 29 an I.W.W. "army" under the leadership of Wm. Stanley took Mexicali. In the engagement Stanley was killed and General Pryce elected in his place. Another successful engagement was fought at Lee Little's ranch on April 8, but the battle of Tia Juana did not turn out so well and soon thereafter the rebels retreated across the American border.

But by 1911 the character of the struggle had changed. After Diaz had been disposed of, Madero turned against the principles and ideals that had inspired the workers who did the fighting. In February of that year, Magon denounced Madero in his paper Regeneracion as a traitor to the revolution and added some good anarchist philosophy to the effect that "there is not and cannot be a good government."

The revolt against Madero was not successful, but the labor movement had at least some chance to grow and express itself. In July, 1912, there was organized the Mexican I.W.W. under the name Casa del Obrera Mundial, the House of the Workers of the World. By 1917 this organization together with other syndicalist movements adhering to it constituted the leading force in the Mexican movement. How it was defeated in 1918 by the reactionary union leaders in co-operation with the Carranza government has already been noted in this article.

What the next move in the Mexican situation will be is hard to predict. It may be taken for granted that if the workers refuse to remain sufficiently docile and if they refuse to restrict their more drastic efforts to attacking those employers who don't happen to suit the government too well, this same government, now so friendly to labor, will find ways and means to restrict its further growth. At least it will try to do that.

It may even be that the current split has been occasioned by fear that the CTM is getting too big. It is worth noting in this connection that the arch labor traitor, Luis N. Morones, has come back out of exile and is now in Mexico. It is also worth noting that in the recent dispute between unions in the textile industry the president did not deside in favor of the CTM.

Whatever may be the immediate outcome, the future belongs to the workers—when they have learned to organize the I.W.W. way.

ESCAPE!

By a Convict

"A jail is a poor man's home," said Gene Debs, and he said a mouthful. Here is a story of the hopes of escape from one such "poor man's home," where thousands of the working class are locked up for the folly of trying to get back the world that has been stolen from them in individual pieces, instead of taking it all at once.

Cruel as the world outside may be, the dominant idea of men in prison is to get out. It's better to be hungry and not have a guard looking down one's back than to be full of beans in the big house. If one doesn't have hopes that some pull will be exercised on a parole board, or some assurance of a tolerably short section of one's indeterminate sentence, the saving thought that stops him from going nuts is the notion that he may escape.

Since those in charge of the prisons are well aware of this there isn't much chance left for it to be accomplished. But the fact that there have been escapes from even such fortresses as San Quentin makes hope persist.

How? Successful escapes usually do not leave any record behind them of how it was done. San Quentin is on a peninsula with a narrow causeway connecting it to the mainland, and that's too well guarded. On the one side are the mud-flats where those who have got past the many walls have floundered around until they were either sucked to their death or captured. On the other sides too far a stretch of water to swim. One fellow who got past the walls tried swimming and holding on to the ferry going to Richmond, but he was caught and then died of pneumonia. A convict crew longshoring on a barge of supplies for the prison once commandeered the tug that brought the barge in—but airplanes were circling them long before they could get anywhere with it.

In the nature of things, it's only of the escapes that do not succeed that much of the ins and outs are known. There are so many cases of those who almost made it.

There was the Swede who worked in the tailor shop. As prison jobs go it wasn't a bad job, and there was always the chance of getting a little extra "weed" (Bull Durham) for some little extra service on the convict garb of some fellow who wanted to be well-dressed even in stir, or on making a "going out" suit so that every policeman in the land wouldn't recognize the wearer as one just released from the big house. There was work to be done for the warden who lived in a fine house just a bit outside the furthest wall. The civilian suit that the Swede had to take out with him fitted him pretty well. He had secured a cap to put in his pocket, and somehow had got hold of some dark grease paint such as an actor would use to convert himself into a Mexican or Spaniard. On the way out past the visitors' room, he managed to slip into a toilet placed there for their convenience, put on the clothes and the grease paint. He had a few dollars (which was also contraband) and stepped out to the bus stop. He had to wait awhile, and the guard it seemed kept watching him though evidently seeing nothing out of the way. It was warm, and he got nervous pacing back and forth waiting for the bus. He began to sweat, and took out his handkerchief to wipe his face. So one side was dark and the other was light wherever his handkerchief had touched it. That something was wrong was evident even to one with the I.Q. of a prison guard—and so that was that.

And then there was the fellow who worked in the library. When books needed rebinding, they were shipped in large boxes to the Public Library in San Francisco. He managed to get himself crated in with the books. It was a strenuous trip to San Francisco, sometimes head up, sometimes feet up. He survived—but when they opened the box, his muscles were too cramped to move. And so that was that.

About the only successful get-away where much is known of how it was done was the beautiful lam of Simple Simon. He faced life, and it was too much for him. His nerves broke, and he went screwy. That happens quite often in the Big House, and one of the most dismal sights in San Quentin is "Crazy Alley," a fenced off court between two old jail buildings, where the sun seldom hits, and where those who have gone simple minded are locked up with those who have gone insane, as though to make sure that their nervous disorders get worse. That's where they put Simple Simon. He got worse and worse, singing and howling despite all the punishment that could be inflicted on the poor fellow. There is a law against using the old strait-jacket in the State Penitentiary ever since the exposure of the horrible days of old in San Quentin that Jack London made in his "Star Rover." Ex-convicts went around the State with the Oregon Boot to show it to people, lecturing on the punishments inflicted and so the law was passed. So the extremely insane are sent to the state asylum further up the line at Napa, where of course strait-jackets are permitted.

Simple Simon was to go to Napa. A guard was going on his vacation past Napa up to the beautiful red wood forests. So the guard wore civilian clothes—for who could have a good time among decent folk if it was known that he was a prison guard?—and carried a gun and a star, commitment papers for Simple Simon, handcuffs, a valise, his two weeks' vacation pay, and what else he had taken along for his fling, and got in the train with Simple Simon who was also dressed in civilian clothes. It was a hot summer afternoon. The guard dozed. Simple Simon got the key to his handcuffs, unlocked them, got the gun, the star, the commitment papers, the money. It wasn't so hard—picking pockets had been one of his trades before. There were other passengers in the train, but they hadn't noticed.

The train gave a lurch and the guard woke up. Simple Simon pressed the gun on him. The guard let out a howl:

"This man is a convict and a lunatic! He's taken my gun! Look out!"

The astonished passengers looked around, not certain which way to move. Simple Simon put them at ease, telling them in the most re-assuring tones:

"Don't be alarmed, folks. I didn't like to keep handcuffs on this fellow unless I needed them, for sometimes he's all right, and then sometimes he goes berserk."

He handcuffed the guard whose continuous howling was enough to convince anyone that he was dangerously insane, while Simple Simon politely expressed his deep regrets for annoying his fellow passengers.

At Napa they got off, and Simple Simon took the guard to the asylum. Again the guard protested with all the vigor in him. Again Simple Simon was calm and collected. The doctor in charge of the receiving office took it all with a serious countenance and informed the guard, that it was quite right for him to be the other fellow, that he'd meet Caesar and Napoleon and General Lee in there anyway.

Nothing since has been heard of Simple Simon, where he went or what he is doing—so he remains a sort of legend around San Quentin, filling lifers' souls with hope, evidence to them that after all it can be done, and probably saving a good many of them from nervous breakdowns and a trip to Napa.

The guard didn't get his vacation in the redwoods. He spent it in Napa instead. The commitment papers were properly signed and mailed back to the Warden's office, and there was no occasion to look into the matter until the guard failed to show up at the end of his holidays. The asylum at Napa was called for any chance information they might have of where he went. "Oh yes," the Warden was informed, "there's a fellow here he insists that he's him—you can talk to him if you want to."

A Traveler Makes Camp

This isn't a story. It's a very matter of fact account of a typical day in the Clearwater section of Idaho for a traveling delegate of Lumber Workers Industrial Union No. 120 of the I.W.W.—a man whose job it is to make contact with workers in these camps and carry on the work of building a union in the lumber industry despite the blackball and intimidation of the sawdust kings.

Remember, his success requires your co-operation.

A traveling delegate walked up the flume to the big camp on the hill. He stopped at the rag barn to rest his weary carcass before proceeding to the bunk house.

It was quitting time and the crew were just coming in from the woods. The delegate had worked in this camp the summer before, up until the strike. So he was naturally interested in seeing who was on the job, especially since C. L. Billings, and Fellow Worker Bradbury, two fascist-minded officials of Potlach Forests, Inc., had inaugurated the blackball system through a clearing house in Orofino.

Down the trail toward the barn came a heavy pair of horses. The traveler knew them well—old Rock and Baldy. Behind them came something dressed in the clothes of a man, but a second look revealed that he looked more like a cross between a rat and a weasel. When this weasel-faced ape saw the traveling delegate sitting on the stump, he wheeled for the barn on double quick, forgetting in his haste to take the bits out of old Rock's mouth so that he could get a drink of water.

But the traveler went over and removed the bits so that the horse could drink. Old Rock turned around with as much of a look of scorn as he had in him at the retreating figure, and winked at the traveler as though to say: "You son of a gun, so you're here again."

The next pair of horses to make the trough were Jim and Dan.

This is a sample of the camp conditions that will disappear as lumber workers organize in the I. W. W.

The Traveler knew them too. Behind them was a rather good looking young fellow, though the traveler, long in this part of the country, could easily enough tell that he was a stranger to the forests of Idaho and among the men who make their livelihood in these forests. He had come from the Dakota prairies. Most of his life so far had been spent around barns and cows and calves. Only lately had he joined the caulked shoe brigade. He was out to make a big stake this summer, then go back to Pumpkin Center, marry Susan, and be damned to the "big fellow" who had bawled him out the day before for dropping a log off of the skidway on to the running chute where the "big fellow" was rolling in. He didn't have much use for that big fellow anyway, for he was always talking about Industrial Unionism, and the 1936 strike, and finks, and men who would not organize but who were willing to take advantage of the conditions and wages that someone else had got for them. That sort of talk made the fellow from Dakota feel uncomfortable—for he did have a bit of conscience, and it hurt, for he knew right well he wasn't doing the right thing by remaining unorganized.

* * *

The traveler arose from the stump and started up the trail. On the way he met several stuttering and sputtering caterpillars with their crews. As he passed the office out came the "push."

"What business have you got in my camp?" asked the hoary headed old son of the forest. The traveler informed him that his mission was most peaceable, to fix up those of his crew who wanted to join the I.W.W. for more of the good things of life with the little red card that every self-respecting workingman ought to carry.

The "push" let out a bellow or two like those of an angry bull. In one breath he expressed the wish that all the I.W.W.'s were in a place a lot hotter than it ever gets in Idaho. In the next he was lamenting that the Wobblies at least knew how to trim these Idaho peaks of the virgin white pine, and he'd be damned if he wasn't getting tired of that sorting gap in Orofino, and consequently having to get out timber with this green, raw labor.

* * *

The traveler stayed overnight in camp. He had business there all right. There were lumberjacks whom he knew, and whom everyone there knew to be Wobblies, who wanted their cards stamped up, who wanted to kick in with a bit extra to keep the ball rolling, and who had meanwhile convinced others that it was time to stick together in One Big Union to get better camps, better chuck, better wages, better hours.

There were some who wanted union cards and were a bit hesitant about showing their hand—and the traveler obliged them too. There were men hungry for something fit for a self-respecting worker to read, a pamphlet to think about, a magazine or paper that was more concerned with the troubles workers have making ends meet than with the troubles of Edward and Wally.

Yes, clearing house or no clearing house, the Lumber Workers Industrial Union, the reliable old "120" that had left the brand of the I.W.W. on every improvement the lumberjacks had ever got, was going to grow. It showed that early in the spring when things were not going full blast—and the traveler had his own notions of what it would show later in the summer.

* * *

Next morning he started down the trail for the end of the steel. He had worked in these woods for thirty-five years, so he took stock of his surroundings and the methods used to get out the timber. It was easy for him to tell whether efficient methods and skilled labor were being used or not. And it was plain to him that in this Clearwater country where the sawdust barons are destroying the last stand of virgin white pine in these United States, they are using neither efficient methods nor efficient labor—and he knew well enough what the explanation was—companies will use all means at their disposal to freeze out such organized labor as shook the teeth of the Weyerhaeuser

A "wannagan" such as is used on the spring log drive in Idaho.—Note conditions under which cook performs.

timber trust there last summer. As a man who had long taken pride in his savvy how, it was a bit depressing to see millions of feet of the finest white pine that ever laid out doors being destroyed by inefficient slack methods of logging. He knew the story well enough. Machinery unnecessarily broken up every day. It wasn't that he was sorry for the machines — but it meant horses and man power crippled.

These men are the sort who know how to get out the white pine —but in an effort to keep the Idaho camps non-union, company hospitals are filled with inexperienced men crippled in the company's greed for profits and desire for no union on the job.

Down in Orofino every bed in the hospital has a lumber worker in it from this Clearwater country. No need for that. When there is a union control on these jobs there will be more empty beds in the company hospital. Men have been induced to come from other industries and other parts of the country to help discourage organization and produce more profits for the Weyerhaeusers. But without the men who savvy how, the sawdust kings find they produce cripples and not the profits they wanted. And as fast as the men learn how, they seem to learn something else—that organization can make the lot of the lumberjack something that stacks up against the hazards of his strenuous employment.

* * *

It's a beautiful country this Idaho, thought the traveler as he went along getting the smell of the bunk-house out of his nostrils and filling them with the aroma of the pine. An infinite variety of greens and gold wove as fine a picture before him as the eye of man has seen. Should such a country remain the prey of parasites? Should men needlessly get killed converting this fine stand of timber to the needs of man? Should some two-by-four would-be Hitlers attempt to tell these loggers whether they could have a union of their own?

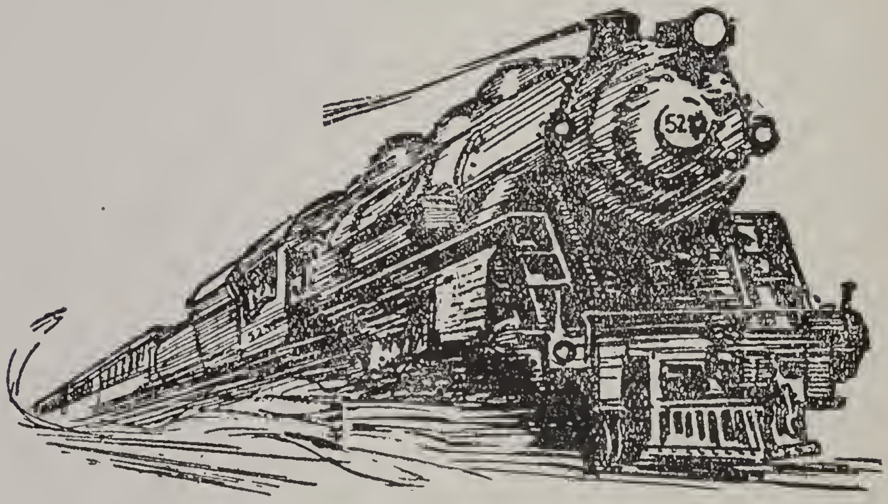
He thought of what some of the men had told him around the bunk houses last night. He thought of his fellow workers that would sooner or later be in here logging despite hell, high water, and the office in Orofino, and he thought of "Old Country Mike" and Al Gentry lying on two white cots, victims of the company gun thug's dum-dum bullets in the strike last summer, their bodies broken, but the light of genuine revolutionary industrial unionism shining in their eyes. You might as well try to root up these mountains as root up the I.W.W. he figured as he went his way with the confidence that is known only to a man who knows what he's about and knows that it's well worth while.—**X242667.**

* * *

"No One Shall Go Hungry"

By

PAUL KOLINSKI



You see them at the edge of town flagging a ride or dangling their legs from a box car—the rising generation of America. In this travelog of a hitch-hiker you read the typical experience of these millions for whom capitalism offers no job. It's no lark even for adventurous youth, and the author writes: "Knowing that the I.W.W. is a working stiff's organization, I submit this article in the hopes that some youth living in a poverty-stricken home may heed and stay off the road."

This is a story of seeing America the American way—a journey of three thousand miles across ten states on a sum of two dollars. It took twenty-seven days, hitch-hiking, riding freight trains—and walking—with a piece of canvas the size of a blanket, tooth brush and a shaving kit.

The journey began one wet morning in San Francisco. To save car fare I walked seven miles to the city limits. I soon got my first ride, about thirty miles. It was raining when I got out, so I wasn't able to hitch another ride very soon. My day's thumb wagging ended about a hundred and fifty miles from San Francisco. It was still raining so I had to get a room for the night. That cost fifty cents. For dinner I spent a quarter. That left a dollar and a quarter of the two dollars I had set out with.

The following day was clear, and after several short rides, I got a ride with a truck into Bakersfield. That ended the day. I had seen a number of auto accidents these two days. The first was between a passenger car and a truck. The second was an overturned truck in a very deep ditch at a cross road. There was another truck that had skidded off the road deeply imbedded sidewise in a mud bank. I asked the driver who took me into Bakersfield why there were so many truck accidents. He explained that trucks were wheeled as much as eighteen hours a day, that sometimes he didn't see a bed for a week at a time, snoozing a bit while he was waiting for some pick-up or delivery; that if drivers kicked about such conditions they were likely to be fired, but that unionization was going ahead and would end such conditions, and do away with many an accident.

My expenses for that day finished my funds. In the morning I caught a single ride all the way to Los Angeles.

The police of Los Angeles are a curious sort. They devote an amazing amount of their time to the search of hungry and indigent wayfarers. Once they find one, he is so cordially invited to partake of the city's hospitality for two days in jail that he cannot refuse, and then he is told to get out of the city. As I didn't want to get acquainted with these guardians of the hoboes, I started at once to walk out of town of my own free will. I was hungry, and went to a restaurant and asked the owner if he had any work I could do for a meal. He didn't have any work, but he gave me a meal. (It may be that his generosity was inspired by the fact that several customers were eating.)

I devoted the following three days to a diligent search for work, eating very little and sleeping in an abandoned house. Giving up the quest for work, I started south in search of it. A meal and twenty-five cents in cash earned washing some windows gave me an encouraging start. A day's thumb wagging landed me in Indio, a desert town about a hundred miles from Los Angeles. I put in a comfortable night in a refrigerator car, and got a loaf of bread and some lunch meat for sweeping the walk in front of a store.

For several hours, and without success, I tried to catch a ride. So a freight train pulling out of Indio had one more uninvited passenger in an empty box car. In the car I became acquainted with several others. One boy, about sixteen years old, told us that he had spent the last two days in Indio jail. He had got in Indio after two days' hitch-hiking across the desert with nothing to eat. In Indio he asked a lady for something to eat. The lady called the police, so he got bread and water for two days. Before we got to Yuma, Arizona, we had finished the bread and meat.

The train leaving Yuma had an increased passenger list with some fifty riding. There were no empty box-cars, so we rode in cattle cars. The boy who had been in jail had managed to get a head of lettuce and a grapefruit, which he offered to share with me.

There was a Mexican boy about twelve years of age with us. He wanted to know how long it would be before we got to El Paso, Texas. When we told him about thirty-six hours, he smiled. He had had nothing to eat for three days, and El Paso was only sixteen miles from his home.

The night turned cold, but my piece of canvas kept me fairly warm. The others paced the car all night long. Before daylight we were in Tucson, and a grass fire kept us warm until the sun came up. Then everyone scattered for food. A little restaurant by the railroad yards got my quarter for breakfast.

Out of Tucson we rode a bit more comfortably in an empty box car. In the same car rode a family of three, the mother, about thirty, and quite hefty, nursed a four months old baby while the hoboes looked on.

In El Paso I went to the jungles to wash and shave. The gossip there was that it was pretty hard to catch a train out because of police interference. Two boys had been shot by railroad bulls, and plenty of help was needed on a newly started pea farm; the state was to be made the most beautiful in the union by train riders visiting Texas.

Someone informed us that all trains stopped at a town twenty-nine miles east, and many decided to hike there. Foraging several breakfasts, I started hiking there, too. Thumb-wagging was useless for about twenty were already parked on the outskirts of town. Every mile I walked found a few more resting alongside the highway. Night came without a ride and nothing to eat.

As I walked into town a group of people told me that they had just been ordered to get out. "We had a fire going alongside the railroad tracks to keep us warm," said a woman, "and for that the cops chased us out." I walked six more miles to the next town and got a box-car to sleep in. So ended another day with me still hungry after thirty-five miles of hiking.

In the morning I tried to get something to eat from the stores but didn't succeed. Then I got a bit of breakfast from the people living in a small unpainted shack. It had but two rooms. One contained two full-sized beds. The other had a full-sized bed, a stove, and a dining table. The place was filthy and the bedding ragged. Seven grown people lived in the hovel. This was a small town surrounded by desert, and the most valuable possessions of this family seemed to be a skinny cow and two automobiles of questionable age.

I got tired of waiting for a train to stop for they seldom stopped at this small town, and again tried the highway. Luck—a well-loaded topless car stopped. Between baggage, a young boy, several dogs, and three grown-ups, I found a precarious seat. The grandmother told me their story. The family consisted of seven grown-ups and six children. The rest of the family was in another car with more baggage. "The oldest child is eight years old, and I am sixty-eight," she said. "Grandfather is seventy-four. We couldn't make a living picking cotton in Arizona, so we are going back to Oklahoma. We have gas for about a hundred miles, but we haven't eaten anything yet today. We were told that there was plenty of work picking cotton, but work was scarce and grandfather and I could earn only about ninety cents a day." Local officials refused them aid, and they were begging their way back.

On the outskirts of a town a freight was standing, so I left these people who didn't mind adding me to their troubles. But the train was going the wrong way, so I hit the highway again. Six days of traveling brought me to Fort Worth, Texas. I had a ride with a blind man and his wife who were begging their living. (Those who are up against it always seem the biggest hearted.) Another ride was with the truck driver for an oil company; he was paid a dollar a day and expenses for unlimited working hours. I earned a half dollar and a meal for cleaning a chicken house. It was eleven days since I had slept in a bed, so with my fifty cents I became extravagant. A mission-run hotel had beds for twenty-five cents. My shoes were worn out, and I asked the clerk if he had any old ones. He had an almost new pair of army shoes that he let me have for my remaining two bits. So I was broke again.

In the morning I had an early ride with an oil worker. He bought me breakfast and lunch, and took me as far as Oklahoma City. By evening several short rides got me some fifty miles nearer to Tulsa. The night began cold, and there were no box cars to sleep in. A friendly Marshall let me sleep in the town jail. It was a stone building about six by ten with an iron cot and a pot bellied stove. I kept a wood fire going all night and slept very warm. In the morning an owner of an oil drilling outfit picked me up. He gave me a lecture on the oil industry and sit-down strikes.

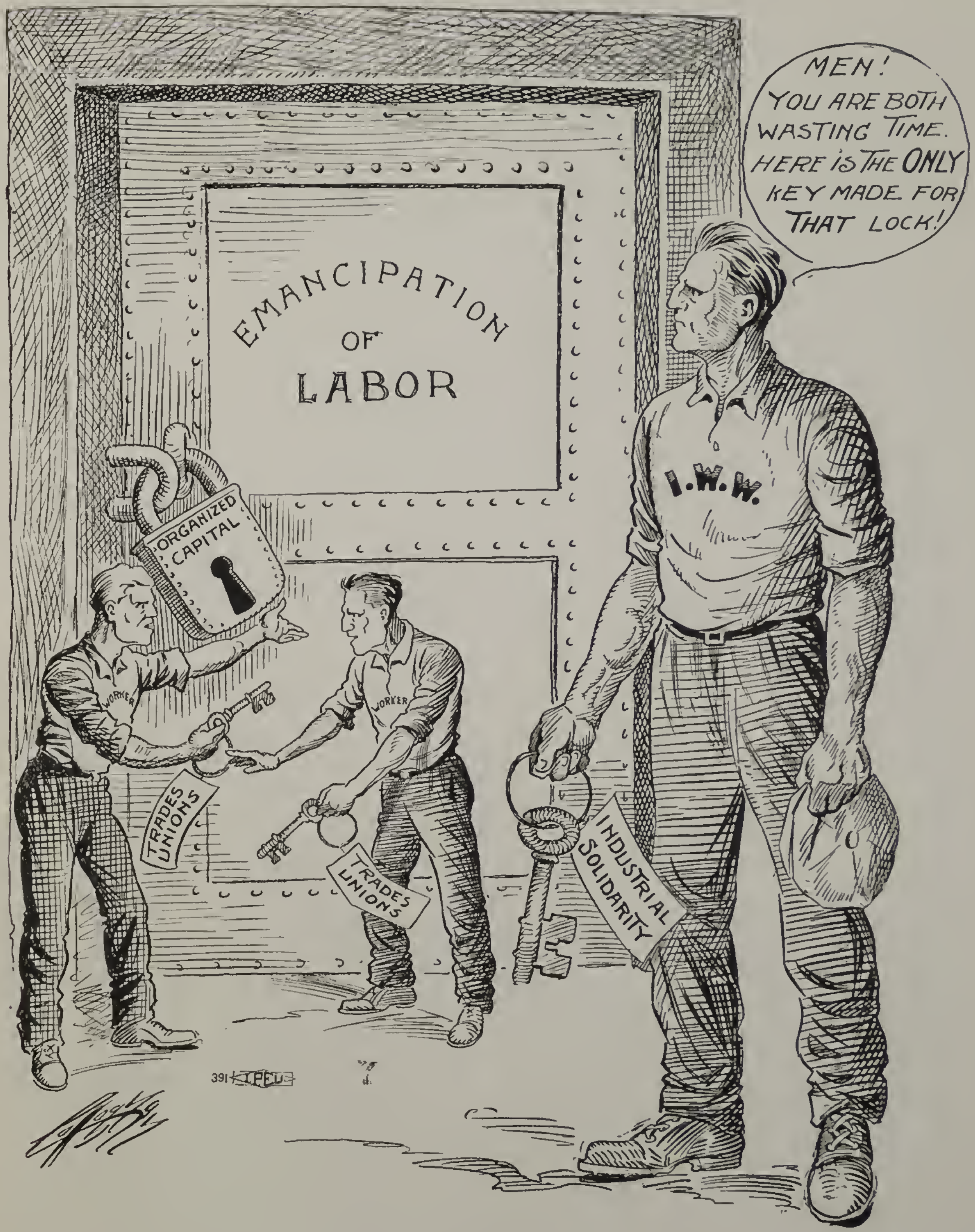
"The workers in these oil fields don't have to organize for better wages," he assured me. "We pay them the highest wages given to skilled workers . . . These sit-down strikes are illegal and un-American . . . The strikers have confiscated the factories. The next thing they do will be to take everything you have . . . Do you want somebody to take everything you have worked for? . . . Do you want a dictatorship? . . . In America everyone has a chance to get to the top . . . Don't you want your children to have a chance?" etc.

It amused me to listen. I wondered what I had to lose. What chance had I to make a decent living? I recalled the ride with the oil company driver, and conversations with laborers in the oil fields of Texas who were paid forty to fifty cents an hour. The homes of these workers were not even painted, and I didn't see any of them drive $2000 cars. The ride ended in Tulsa.

That day I had ridden sixty miles and walked twelve. I was cold and asked a policeman if they had a place I could sleep. They did. It was a basement floor of concrete. Two boys came in, sixteen or seventeen years old, unwashed and hungry. They asked how I am making out. They are headed for California and were having a hard time of it. They had taken bread from in front of stores in the early morning hours, and milk off porches. At two in the morning a policeman came in and said a dishwasher was wanted up the street. I worked about an hour and then the cook said "That's all." He gave me a meal for my labor, and I went back to the jail basement until morning.

From Tulsa to Saint Louis I put in seven days across a poverty-stricken country of farms and lead and zinc mining districts. The army shoes were too heavy, and I got blisters on my feet; but the weather was too cold for me to stand still, and rides were far between. When I asked for something to eat I got little except complaints about their own poverty. Between St. Louis and Indianapolis I was more fortunate; it took only two days. I was tired, and seeing several men standing in front of the Salvation Army Citadel, I asked if the beds there were free. They told me I had to go through the transient bureau. As they were giving me directions about the procedure for obtaining a bed one fellow listening said he had a room paid for that he wasn't going to use, and that I could have it.

Next morning was cloudy, and it sprinkled as I left Indianapolis. A ride in rumbe seat almost froze me. At a likeable restaurant I asked for a cup of coffee, and a young girl told me to go to the city community house. I wasn't interested in that suggestion and went on my way. Another ride got me to Fort Wayne by two o'clock. Toledo is my destination—could I get there today was the thing uppermost in my mind. A ride at fifty miles per, and I'm in Findley, Ohio. It's five o'clock and forty-five miles to go. I walk to the edge of town flagging cars, and wondering whether it will be a through ride to Toledo or just a short one that prevents me from making home that night. A car stops. "Are you going to Toledo, Mister?" I ask. "Yes," he says. So after three thousand miles of traveling in all kinds of weather the trip ends.


MEN! YOU ARE BOTH WASTING TIME. HERE IS THE ONLY KEY MADE FOR THAT LOCK!
EMANCIPATION OF LABOR
ORGANIZED CAPITAL
I.W.W.
WORKER
WORKER
TRADES UNIONS
TRADES UNIONS
INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY
391 IPEU

Current Lessons from the Experience of Labor

By

Card No.

X-22063

The record shows that unions cannot be turned into the forward road by changing officials; that old line unions make old line leaders of progressives put in office.

Reaction in these unions is embedded so deeply in constitution and traditional procedure, and the perpetuation of their policies is so enforced by their general relations to society and their current business as going concerns, that an aggressive labor movement can be built neither by boring from within these unions, or re-aligning them in new federations, but only by a clean start from such a foundation as that of the I. W. W.

If unionists looked more to the past to avoid repeating the errors in the trial and error method by which labor progresses, the future would look and be much better. It is only by memory of some type that any new capacity is acquired. That labor does remember something, and does eliminate some of the blind alleys up which it has gone before, is shown by the fact that we don't find the boycott mania, the colonizing panacea, the change-the-currency cure-alls enjoying the vogue they once did. Even in our own times the bitter lesson that we can't usher in a new social order by clipping coupons or by labor banking has been learned so that even should some return of prosperity be coming, we cannot expect our fellow workers to fall for that bait.

Bait for which our misguided fellow workers do repeatedly fall is the notion that "electing good men to office" in the unions that have failed them, will make these unions the aggressive and progressive institutions that they desire. Yet that this notion does not work out is one of the most conspicuous lessons to be found in the history of labor.

There is scarcely a labor official damned today as a "reactionary" but what got in office as a "progressive". And this is as it has been all along. There is scarcely a labor organization engaged in red-baiting, or disavowing all radicalism and all policy looking forward to a new social order, but what it has been started and kept alive by these self-same radicals.

Outside of a few choice chances for unadulterated racketeering, unions have not been built by conservative minded workers. It is the radical ready to start something that has started the unions too. A man so devoid of social vision and far-reaching purpose as to qualify as a conservative would neither have the incentive or gumption to build a bona fide union in opposition to employers, nor the human appeal to get his fellow workers to act together through it and get it going. Even the long dead Samuel Gompers, long the symbol of craft scabbery on craft, of class collaboration, and of every form of treachery to the working class that the term "reactionary" implies, boasted of the radicalism of his youth, of his study of German to read the works of Karl Marx in their original purity, and was well able to talk radicalism when it served his purpose. (Many another, lacking this training of Gompers, has had to secure professional radicals to talk radicalism for them when occasion required it.)

The unions in the garment industry well enough illustrate the point. These various "needle trades" unions are often referred to as the left wing of the trade unionmove ment, and the degree of class-consciousness shown by them has been attributed to the predominance of non-English speaking members. But the early struggles of these unions show that so far as any such "foreign" influence shaped their policies, it was to make the lot of the little business man easier as these people hoped to be little business men themselves, and they had selected America because of their preference for its business and political practices. Always it was the worker with some socialistic tinge who started these unions. Largely because of the seasonal nature of the industry, and its previously small scale of operation which often made it a sort of family affair, there had ben no opportunity to crystallize the sporadic struggles into a union until 1891 when socialist workers in the industry formed the United Garment Workers. In the hopes that by doing so, they would avoid frightening others away, they put non-socialists in control from the start, joined the A.F. of L., and adopted very conservative policies based mostly on the sale of the union label.

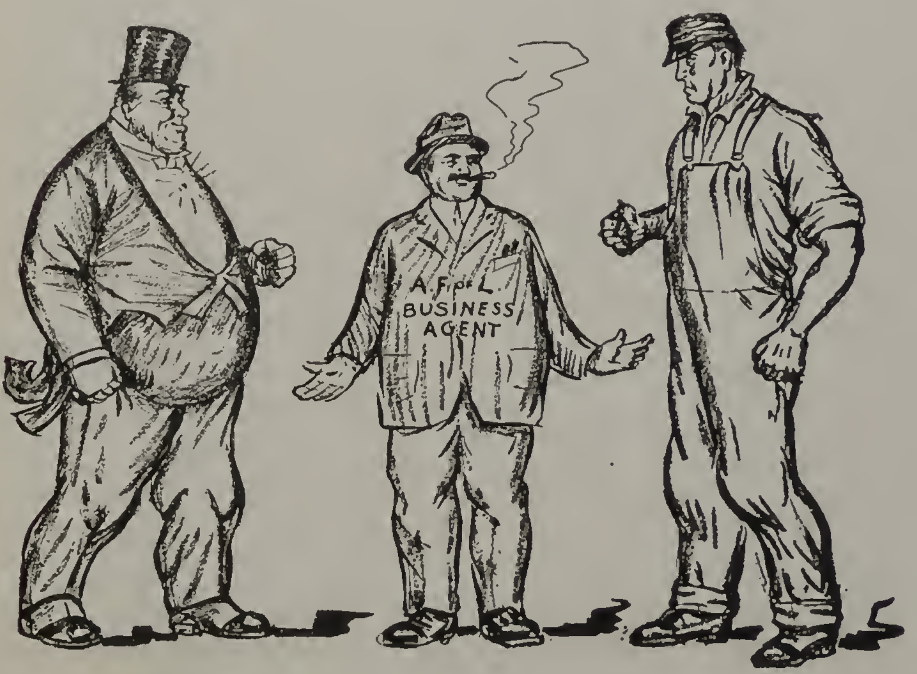
In 1901 the International Ladies Garment Workers was formed, given birth likewise by radicals and from the same philosophy of creeping before you walk, turned over to conservatives at once. Since conservatism wins nothing, its first success was forced upon it in 1907 in a nine weeks strike of reefermakers led by refugees from the Russian revolution; their militancy lasted long enough to encompass the 1909 strike of 30,000 waist and dress makers, the greatest strike of girls and women known to that time. By the end of the "great strike" of 1913, this militancy had been replaced by the famous Protocol, which sounded like a treaty but actually meant the subjection of the workers to innumerable types of petty graft.

The United Garment Workers remained aloofly conservative, specializing in men's clothes and the sale of the label to Hart, Schaffner & Marx until 1914, when an ousted left wing formed the Amalgamated Clothing Workers on a program of replacing all this with a supposedly militant and socialistic union, but in reality to take up the label business where the United Garment Workers had left off, and twelve years later to consumate an agreement with "Golden Rule" Nash that to many of its members looked like a company union contract, entered into at the request of the employer.

The various needle trades unions, while we are mentioning them, might as well be drawn upon for another lesson, the complete failure of political radical groups to make such unions progressive. In them the issue of progressivism has almost always been bound up with some political sect, and its wars with some other sect, and resulted, as in the long fight between the Socialists and Communists for control in making confusion worse confounded, in pocket books emptier and dividends fatter. (Anyone interested in following up the record of the needle trades can find fine slices of it in Budish' "New Unionism", or in a series of articles by Solberg on "The Collapse of the Needle Trades" in the New York Nation back in 1929.)

That labor should aim high has been felt by other organizations than the I.W.W.—and the presence of the radical in their founding is often enough recorded in their preambles — about as effectively as the radical exhortations that perhaps the self same people have inscribed on the walls of jails. The preamble of the Cloth Hat and Cap Makers (organized in 1901) includes among its purposes: "to co-operate with the national and universal labor movement for the final emancipation of the wage earner, and for the establishment of the cooperative commonwealth." The 1914 Preamble of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers goes even further, and says: "The same forces that have been making for industrial unionism are making for a closer inter-industrial alliance of the working class. The industrial and inter-industrial organization built upon the solid rock of clear knowledge and class consciousness will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it." (One might well ask: If you know that much, why not join the I.W.W. and do something about it?)

The railroad workers have had the experience also of electing progressives to make unions of their organizations. The first of the railroad unions, "The Brotherhood of the Footboard", formed in 1863 by the enthusiastic efforts of an engineer, Robinson, and the ancestor of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, remained radical for just one year, and changed its policies with its name. Charles Wilson, an engineer on the New York Central, aware of the fact that that road was favorable to the idea of a conservative union for its engineers, schemed to get control by charges against Robinson, and convinced the members that it would be a clever policy to assure the roads that the union would be concerned with raising the efficiency of its members. In 1866 and 1868 strikes were forced on the men, but the union officials would have nothing to do with their strikes. Wilson's denunciation of these strikes was followed by a similar denunciation of the strike on the Pennsylvania in 1873 when the company cut wages without so much as a day's notice—and that straw broke his back. A convention was held in Cleveland, Robinson cleared



of charges, Wilson forced to resign, and P. M. Arthur elected as an "insurgent" in his place. But he followed the policies of the "reactionary" over whom he had triumphed to such an extent that the labor historian, Commons, says he "made conservatism the permanent and distinctive characteristic of the Brotherhood." Their progressive candidates since then have given them similar treatment, and led them into the fiasco of banking and real estate. The story is the same from these aristocrats of the road to the poor gandy dancer in the Maintainance of Way. Their 1922 convention got rid of Barker for pocketing some $222,000 of their union treasury and squandering some $770,000 on business union ventures. Then it got rid of Grable who had dictatorally called off the strike that year, contrary to the vote of the members, and thus contributing in no small degree to the general mess of mutual scabbery into which railroad labor got itself. Then it elected the progressive candidate Fljozdal to find him fit in the same groove from which they had ousted their previous leaders.

One might almost think that men who knew enough, when their cars won't steer straight to look to the mechanism of the steering gear and not content themselves with putting on one tire after another to go the way of is predecessor, might know better how to get satisfactory results out of their union.

The record of the coal miners is particularly important in these days when Lewis of the UMWA is selling the CIO to the American working class on assumptions that he can give them some bona fide industrial unionism that the coal miners certainly have lacked themselves. Of course, Lewis did not start the Mine Workers in their ways of district scabbery or internal corruption. That goes back to the days when the regard for public opinion changed Mitchell from the battler who practically built the miner's union to—well here is how Debs painted the transformation:

"There was a time when I admired and applauded Mitchell's leadership. I thought I saw the coming of a man. But, alas! little by little I have seen him succumb to the blandishments of the plutocrats. He is today their beau ideal of a labor leader."

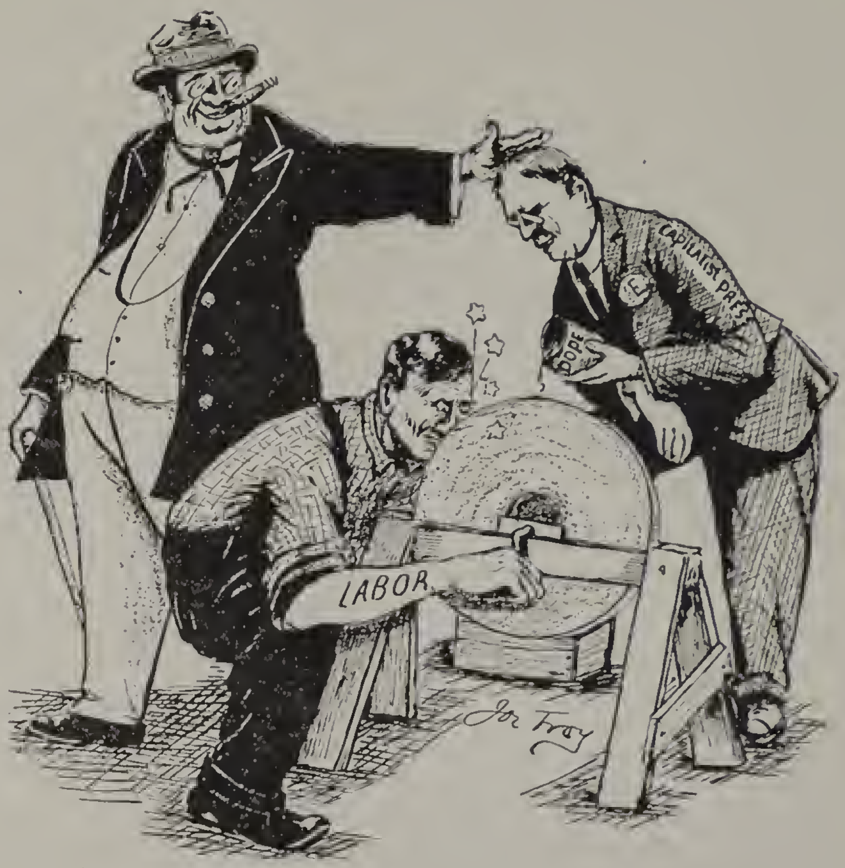
It was regard for public opinion presumably that led Mitchell to stop the bituminous and anthracite miners from striking together in 1902, and next year split the southern field of Colorado from the northern, so that this breach of solidarity was never healed until the successful strike of the I.W.W. in 1928 when north and southern fields were out together again. It may even have been this same esteem for public regard that made him conspire in 1904 to have a wage cut accepted when the union had voted to strike. But his similar actions in later years most likely were influenced by other regards as well, for he left extensive personal property already transferred to his family besides assets of $244,295.

There is often so a high regard for dead labor leaders as to remind one of the definition of a statesman: "a successful politician who is dead." But it does no good to labor to disregard the lessons that can be learned from labor's past. While Mitchell Day is still celebrated back in the anthracite region, his deals with the National Civic Federation (whose preamble includes as its chief object "to show that capital can be taught the practicability of securing industrial peace in accordance with business methods and that the twin foes of industrial peace are the anti-union employers and the socialists") resulted in the UMWA ruling that no member of that union can belong to this class collaboration institution. That keeps Lewis out of the NCF and has kept Green outside it, despite his Rotary Club speeches that surely established his eligibility otherwise. After the miners got rid of Mitchell as president they had a rapid succession of presidents who temporarily filled their hearts with the hope that a real miners' union might be built—Tom Lewis, John P. White, Frank J. Hayes, and then John L. Lewis himself whom the miners have never been able to rid themselves of since, despite the resentment aroused by his betrayal of the miners who came to the aid of the UMWA in 1922, and his autocratic control over the union with the payroll vote and the blue sky local and the complete disregard for how votes are counted anyway.

The record of what happens in unions that are not controlled by the majority decision of their members would fill a book of tragedies and hopes turned sour. The current scene on every front brings to the mind of the student of the record another case that somehow should be pointed out. In Chicago a murderous jurisdictional war between the independent Chicago Teamsters' Union and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters recalls Phillip Taft's summary of the Chicago independent union in his continuation of Professor Common's uncompleted history of Labor in the United States:

"Originally a reform movement against the survival under Shea of the Young-Driscoll methods, this union ended by adapting these methods in full and improving on them."

Or the evening broadcast contains a eulogy of Major Berry of the Pressmen's union, now associated with John L. Lewis in heading Labor's "Non-Partisan" politics; and one is reminded that while the Major came into the labor movement when a card was given him while he was scabbing in St. Louis to get him to quit scabbing, still he rose to power by overthrowing the previous administration with a minor rebellion when it wanted to agree with the United Typothetae for the eight-hour day and an open shop. Since then alike in his exalted position in the American Legion and in his command over his union, he has sent in "union" scabs to break many a strike, even working with the Burns Detective Agency to secure scabs at $20 per day.*



The Capitalist Press Has Corrupted Many a Labor Leader

Why is the record what it is? Is it that human nature is not to be trusted? Is it that only the exceptionally crooked become the leaders of labor? Fortunately it is neither. People aren't bad—they merely have conditioned reflexes. And as the A. F. of L. quite honestly said in defense of the charge that its officials have grown rich with bribery and corruption, its officials are by and large as honest as any officials in the public life of America — and neither this or any other country is a safe place for leaving your week's pay envelope on the front door step overnight.

The perpetual hope of workers that somebody would get elected to some office and fix things right for them is what is to blame. No doubt many of the most corrupt of union heads set out in the labor movement as class conscious workers who felt that it was up to them to get the boys to stick together and make the boss shell out with bigger pay checks. They didn't corrupt the labor movement. The labor movement corrupted them. Even such a character as Tobin of the Teamsters reminisces of the days gone by: "In the old days," he says, "when men fought for their unions there was a certain militant spirit pervading the air, and you heard of the union around the freight houses, wharves, and other places, you found men at meetings, you heard them out among your friends discussing the plans of the union. Today you seldom hear members discuss anything of serious importance about the union."

What makes the record what it is? It's the way the unions are built. It's in their written constitutions and in their traditional procedures. It's in their established relations as going concerns with the entire social and economic life around them. It's in the ruts and grooves into which these unions have worked themselves. It's in the make of the car, and not merely in the driver—and changing drivers will leave the rut and the steering pretty much as it is.

The militant elected to office in one of these unions, even though his intentions may be of the best, finds himself very much in the position of the fellow who buys out some store. Both are going concerns with customers and salesmen coming in, so to speak, expecting business to be conducted pretty much as it was—and accordingly it is conducted pretty much so. Union members accustomed to a type of business unionism that has bred fortunes exceeding the officer's salaries, and employers accustomed to avoiding trouble by offering the hard cash or securing good will by more adroit means where such crudeness seemed out of place, and union constitutions and procedures that left important decisions regarding working practices and conditions in the hands of business agents and higher officers, all breed the labor racketeer, and no doubt have twisted honestly inclined men into such racketeers.

Where a union is looked upon solely as a business venture for "collective bargaining" it is by no means illogical that the "brokers of labor power" will seek and secure their commissions; that the consciences of Farrington's will not be hurt by an additional $25,000 per year from a coal company, or a T. V. O'Connor hop from presidency of the Seamen's Union to a position as Chairman of the U.S. Shipping Board where he did everything against the union that he could do. In the light of business practice it is viewed as no more unethical than the switching of an ace salesman to the service of some competitor. Even Lewis no doubt is not as embarrassed by the disclosures of his deals with Myron Taylor of U.S. Steel as most people were surprised by them. It is the logical tendency of business unionism, and almost certain to come about wherever contractual practices and constitutional provisions enable labor leaders to sell their services to employers.

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* Major Berry has now been appointed to the U. S. Senate by the Governor of Tennessee who comments on his success as a capitalist and gentleman farmer.

But it is not always a matter of hard cash. It is reasonably certain that Gompers got no more out of the labor movement than a salary that enabled him to live luxuriously, even though not as much as might have been paid in other positions offered him, and the glory and praise that was lavished upon him as the nation's safe and sane labor leader. It was this regard for public opinion—the sort of public opinion that the economic masters of America create through their daily press — that started the railroad unions on a policy of obnoxious conservatism, that led Mitchell to establish the practices of sectional scabbery among the miners, that made Powderly of the Knights of Labor give up the battles that well might have made that Order the means of solidarity that American labor has long been seeking. The role of this same factor of public opinion is so obvious in the current case of Lewis that to mention it is almost to rub a sore toe — and the newspapers play the game as they though recalled and relished their previous triumphs in the seductive power of a headline.

The dangers in the perpetuation of this record are great. But they are not those most emphasized by the press. It will do no great harm to American labor that some fellow who lacked the backbone to go look for a union is compelled to join one, or to accept some increase in pay forced by others from his boss even though he has to pay most of it back to the union, or even go on strike and act like a man when he would prefer to scab. That in actual fact is the excuse for labor racketeering that gives it reason to endure. It is that we need unions, and these blamed things aren't unions no matter how they are dressed up. We need a means of acting together, and these are devices to stop us from acting together. We need arrangements for coming to majority decisions for ourselves, and these are contraptions to make any such majority decision still-born. We need weapons of offense and defense in the struggle for existence, and organizations that we do not control can certainly furnish us no protection.

The hazards and oppression to which labor is subjected are in no small degree the by-products of the sort of thing that has passed for labor unionism in America. The rustling card in Butte by which a blacklist is maintained, was established with the connivance of union officials, partly out of a racial "consciousness of kind" to keep the Finns out of the Butte mines because they wouldn't swear in plain English, and largely to get rid of those who in their sense of what a labor movement ought to do, were a nuisance alike to the union and the company officials. That Butte rustling card is a material embodiment of the relationship into which accepted practices put worker, employer, and union official in the majority of industries. It is the sort of arrangement that we can expect to see fostered in these days of increasing regimentation and attempt control over labor. "The One Big Company Union"—the C.I.O.—is laid out to function very much in accord with such a policy—and the workers are few and far between and exceedingly dumb, who will like the results when they get it.

The remedy? Start off fresh and clean. Get out of the ruts in which unionism has been cast. Sever completely the "established business and going concern" of business unionism by starting out on the matter of fact premise that worker and employer, no matter how collectively they may bargain, are in the position of owner of the earth and wage-slave existing by permission of the owner, until, and unless we dump him off his throne. Remember that the aim of a union of wage slaves is emancipation from wage-slavery—and that will never be achieved by getting the boss to sign a contract providing for our emancipation and our concomitant recapture of Mother Earth. Build unions for solidarity, and there will be no jurisdictional points with which business agents can juggle. Build a union in which the majority of the members exercise as complete a control over all policies and decision at all times as is at all possible, and then the boss will have to buy the whole works out, for the union officials will have nothing to sell. And if you want your union officials to be of you and not over you, to see things as you see them and not as your boss sees them, change them from time to time, get them back on the job as a wage earner occasionally, and keep their salary down with your earnings, so that their environment is yours too—for a man is as filled with his environment as a sausage skin is filled with whatever it is they stick in it.

It is because of these facts that the record of the I.W.W. is so vastly different from the record of the rest of the labor movement. And the point, if you please, is not merely that we have a past in which we can glory, but a process in motion, and a highly advantageous starting point from which to take off for new achievements in the battle for the good things of life for us all.

What Excuse for Capitalism?

By

FRED THOMPSON

From Adam Smith to Thorstein Veblen the successive apologies for capitalism and exploitation, and the successive punctures that these excuses have received, are reviewed in the hopes that they may stop someone from falling for some of them.

Those who have ruled us have always tried to assure us that it was all for our own good, that the interest of the race, the interest of all things we held good beyond our own lives, the interest of society, and what they found good to do, were all one and the same. As we have rid ourselves of one master after another, one set of economic notions after another has been scrapped as absurd; but today, in the long-winded economic arguments that get people seemingly nowhere, these outworn and rejected notions are brought up to "make confusion worse confounded."

When kings and emperors ruled for their kind it was simply taken for granted that whatever economic policy brought them the most revenue without immediately killing the goose that laid the golden egg, or hurting the upper crust on whose favor they held the reins, was a good economic policy. The fact that these policies made deserts of their wheat fields, widows of their subjects' daughters, ruins of their cities, until their very gods were forgotten, did not bring into question the premise: What is good for the state is good. And today without hesitation it is the test of an economic policy: Will it help balance the budget without soaking the rich? Science goes ever ahead to new achievements, but the economic thinking of a ruling class never.

So long as the great fortunes of the world were in landed estates, going from father to son, it was considered a great sin to charge interest on money loaned to the owners of these lands, for then some of the products of the serfs' labor went to rank outsiders. Today this usury is a very highly honored business of banking and finance capital and it is no longer sinful to charge interest.

When the fortunes in shipping became great enough to dominate over all others, it became the accepted view that the nation itself was a great mercantile concern. It was believed that when more money came in by the end of the year than went out, it was good business for the entire nation, even though to accomplish this, millions of the nation had to be changed from relatively happy cotters to miserable vagabonds. And we still hear learned men talking of this "favorable balance of trade."

When the business class in England, America, and France thought it time in the light of their growing importance as a class to start running the world themselves, they had to challenge much of the arguments that the nation was a great mercantile concern, and that the test for an economic policy was how it affected government revenue. In fact this new class made its revolution largely because it wanted government to attend to just two things: to grab the world for its exploitation and to stop the working class from organizing and grabbing anything for itself. By its revolution it not only established capitalism, but it gave birth to the young science of economics as well.

An "Unseen Hand" Discovered

Adam Smith looked at the stirring world about him, grew enthusiastic about the division of labor in the manufacture of pins, and in all things else. He saw in this division of labor two objects to study. One was the fact that men working together in this way turned out far more than they would if each worked for himself. The other was that this division of labor meant at the same time the dependence of each on the other. It was a tie that held them together. It indicated to him that the parts of the economic world were held together by this division of labor and the consequent mutual dependence of man on man, much as the parts of the physical universe were held together by the gravitational attraction of mass to mass. And it occurred to him further that the economic relations of man to man, if studied and found to yield general truths similar to those "natural laws" whose discovery had so caught the fancy of the times, would dispense with the notion that these economic relations could be maintained only by the ever present interference of the state. This fitted perfectly with the ambitions of the business class. So the world was soon properly impressed to observe the division of labor between country and country, between city and rural districts, between city and city, between shop and shop, all busy working apparently indifferent to what the other was doing, bent each only on his own profit, all in apparent chaos, and yet somehow all dovetailing together, doing the work that they could best do for others because that was what it was most profitable to do. In fact the only thing, in this scheme of things, that could disrupt perfect harmony, was some interference with the operation of self-interest.

On this basis, from Smith's "Wealth of Nations" (published in 1776) the idea of some benevolent "unseen hand" guiding our destiny so long as some state interference didn't stop it, was elaborated by a host of writers, who while developing theories of rent, currency and ways to raise revenue made it their chief business to show that the working class should be content with long hours, low wages and the starvation of unemployment.

"The Dismal Science"

Labor was stirring, and its condition was so wretched that even the decent-minded of the ruling class felt something ought to be done about it. But the economists all urged that to do anything about it or to permit labor to do anything for itself, would destroy the natural harmony that self-interest would work out by itself. Reform was damned as "misguided idealism."

Malthus proved to the satisfaction of every coupon clipper and politician, that if higher wages were paid, the workers would just marry earlier, raise larger families, produce more unemployment by their larger numbers, reduce wages again by their increased competition, and meanwhile so press on the margin of cultivation that it would result in starvation and ruin for all. (And meanwhile the notion that workers should check this competition by organizing unions was held to be such a disastrous interference with natural economic law that was forbidden by the laws of Great Britain.) This masterpiece of reasoning came out in 1803, and it was the accepted doctrine until quite recently despite the readily observed fact that those with higher incomes usually have smaller families, and if anything, are later in settling down in marriage.

It was a time when the first epoch making impetus was given to the productivity of labor. Every day new machines were changing the face of the world. It was the steady boast how much more could be produced with them than with the old hand methods. Yet the standard of living of workers in England was definitely going down. It took no theory to convince any sensible workingman that he was being gypped—that the rent, interest and profit that others lived on was something that he turned out but didn't get. What were the economists to say in explanation of this income of the upper classes?

The answer given by the capitalist economists was that wealth was producted by the combination of land, labor and capital, and that each earned its share as rent, wages, and interest—and, of course, as payment for the specific earnings of the manufactureer or industrial capitalist—the wages of superintendence and the reward of enterprise. Rent, Ricardo had explained, was payment for the advantage of the soil over the margin in use—that, if land could be had for nothing that produced four bushels an acre, then it was worth while to pay the price of three bushels to use an acre that would raise seven. So as cities grew and gave advantage to locations, or as the expansion of agriculture brought poorer land into cultivation, the owner of the land earned a larger and larger share of the national production by doing nothing but owning it.

Interest—why certainly it has to be paid as a reward for abstinence or people would not save money to invest in business enterprise; and so those who could not use up their incomes accumulated bigger and bigger incomes as the reward for an abstinence practiced only by those who received no interest.

It was explained further that capital produced most of the wealth, and not labor; that if a man with machinery could turn out ten times as many socks as he could without the machinery, then certainly the machine turned out nine-tenths of the socks and the owner of the machine was actually being exploited by the exorbitant demands of labor if he did not get nine-tenths of the product. They didn't check their calculation by figuring what the machine would produce without the men.

And the simple fact upon which Adam Smith had so elaborated—that men co-operating and dividing the work among them could do much more than they could without this co-operation and division of labor—this fact was used to argue that if an employer hired a hundred men to work together under his direction then the excess they produced in this way over what they would each working alone, was really his product and should go to him as the "wages of superintendence." And enterprise should have its due reward even though it be enterprise that cast thousands into poverty.

In short, with such splendid arguments for rent, interest and profit, it seemed that the operation of industry and the employment of workers was a philanthropic enterprise to give people work, and that for workers to insist upon any wages at all was an ungrateful way of biting the very hand that fed them.

* * *

The Marxian Analysis

Such reasoning was forced to take a back seat by the analysis presented by Karl Marx. The assumption of "freedom of contract" that workers offered their services of a free will and from no coercion, was blown up by pointing out the actual slave-like status of the modern wage worker. He is no more free while others own the means with which he must work to live, than if others owned him outright. Like the serf and slave, the wage-worker works with material owned by others, with equipment owned by others, and the product is owned by these others. His standard of living, while it may have doubled between the horrors of 1820 and 1929, certainly did not keep pace with an increase of several hundred fold in his productivity.

The entire explanation of modern economic facts, Marx urged, was therefore to rest on the surplus that labor consequently produced but did not get. The premise to start with is not some assumption of freedom of contract, natural law, and what not, but the readily observable fact that man's labor, applied to natural resources, produces all the goods and services on the market. Those who do this work for those who own the equipment get their subsistence or as much more perhaps as their organized strength may win for them; the rest of what they produce goes to the owners of the equipment to be divided up as rent, interest, profits, taxes to support non-productive workers, as in the "legislative, executive and judiciary" branches of government, etc.

This Marxian slant that these various items of "unearned incomes" are not directly filched, but are derivatives from the surplus produced by industrial labor, indicates that the host of reforms to decrease rent, alter the basis of taxation, or limit interest, are of no substantial concern to the worker. His battle is with the employer; the job where he produces this wealth that he does not get is his battleground. Thus one practical advantage of this Marxian outlook on economics has been to focus the attention of those workers who have understood it, on the points for effective attack against their exploiters.

The view of Karl Marx on these fundamental questions of economics have become much more widely accepted in recent years largely because the historic trend of capitalist economy has followed the predictions that naturally follow from them, and certainly have not followed the predictions natural to any economic thought that disregards the exploitation of labor as the forward pushing force in this economy. To the "natural harmony" way of thinking, crises were accidents; to Marx they were inevitable recurrences of capitalism. The general course of the history of our times, is all implicit in such a line of economic thought as he advanced. So today he receives the credit that comes to a scientist whose forecast works out. The test of truth is: "Will it work?"

* * *

Since the time of Marx the apologists for capitalism and for profits have worked on other lines. The old alibis for profits were supposed to fit in with the "labor concept of value" taught by Smith and Ricardo and the other founders of economic science, but now quite taboo because of the logical conclusions Marxians have drawn from it. In its place has been reared the notion of "marginal utility." It is considered, as one such approach, that in a competitive market, as long as a profit is made by producing any article, others will try the business, until those who turn out this article at the highest cost find that they make a loss instead. Thus the price tends to equal the cost to the marginal producer. Should the price drop, many marginal producers would be wiped out. Should the price rise, the margin would be shifted to others who produced even at a greater cost. So the formula while no doubt true enough, really means nothing, so far as an explanation of price is concerned. So the question is also offered that as the consumer has marginal wants and may switch from potatoes to rice if the price of spuds rises, that the marginal use of an item to its marginal consumers also sets the price. And so, of course, it also follows that price in a competitive market is such that the marginal use to the marginal consumer balances the cost of production to the marginal producer, if all that means anything more than a picture of the higgling process of the market.

"The Disutility of Working"

In regard to wages in particular this viewpoint (which pleases a consuming class because it implies that values exist because of these dear parasites' desire for things) is worked out this way. From the worker's side the utility of the wage is supposed to balance for him the disutility of working. From the employer's viewpoint the services of the worker are a "utility" only in so far as he can derive a profit from him. He has certain equipment and material, and certain orders to fill. If hiring more workers will give him more profits under these circumstances, he will do so. If he finds that it is more profitable to lay some of his force off, he will do so. And thus the wage the worker gets is said to be, by such economists, equal to the extra production of the marginal worker. (This, of course, doesn't seem to fit in with the experience that you have to get out the same production as the next man or go down the line. But such economic theories aren't to be expected to fit in with the facts of life.)

However, it all sounds plausible, and since it really has no meaning, it can not very well be proved untrue. It expresses the actual experience of the business man tolerably well, and also his muddle-headedness, and so has been accepted as the current and orthodox economics. It creates the impression that a society where industry is run for profits is really after all run for service, for that is the way to make profit, and that what the banker and landlord and businessman and industrial magnate get, is determined by the usefulness of their services to others; and that if the worker does not get very much, it is because his services are not very useful. Hence for workers to get more, they should make themselves worth more to their employers. This has been handed out in many editorials in times of industrial disputes without the attendent explanation that the strike, creating a shortage of labor and of its products was the one and only way to make labor "worth more" to the employers. Economics has thus been lifted to the plane of Rotary Club ethics.

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Veblen's Observations

While the more obvious and arrant nonsense of this system of margical utility and its conclusions —and preachments—were being modified and replaced by the more factual observations encouraged by such economists as Taussig, Seligman and Nearing in America, and as Hobson in England, the pin that put the hole in the balloon of marginal utility was put there by a rather erratic professor of economics in Chicago, Stanford and Missouri by the name of Thorstein Veblen. His first major work made a simple observation from which the rest of his precious logic readily flowed. He made a simple and obvious distinction—between business and industry. Industry is the process of producing things; business is the process of buying them cheap and selling them dear —if it is possible. Industry is owned by businessmen. The business men hire technical experts to supervise production and to see that the process is carried on in a somewhat efficient and workman-like manner, and that the product has at least sufficient serviceability to be vendable (Veblen's favorite term for saleable). No further degree of serviceability is desired by the businessman, and any greater degree of service is to be viewed as a waste of service, interfering with the wearing out of the thing sold, and thus interfering with a future prospective opportunity to sell it again at more than it cost. Here the purpose of business and industry conflict.

Again the object of industry, as taught by the technicians hired by the business men, is to turn out plenty, to establish mass production, to create an abundance at low cost. This will not do for the business man as his profit is contingent on keeping the supply down enough below the demand to make sure of a profit. And in consideration of this demand, the conflict of business and industry again comes out—for where it is the industrial outlook, the requirement of the technician that supplies be accurately labeled and be definitely up to specification. the business man hires the business man's apostle, the advertising agent, to put the wares on the market as though they were something far more excellent than they are.

To summarize the relation of business to industry, Veblen borrows a term of reproach that had been hurled at radical labor, at the I.W.W. in particular—the term sabotage—and, defining it as the willful withdrawal of efficiency, states that the function of business is the sabotage of industry.

But the business man's sabotage of industry and the conflict of business with industry does not end in these simple restrictions that the business-like owner imposes on his hired technicians and through them on the workman-like crew he has hired. This is the age of Big Business and therefore of more intricate and more colossal sabotage.

This is the age of the corporation, where over 90 percent of the wealth is owned by corporations. And these corporations in turn are owned by those who own stocks in them, pieces of paper entitling them—if they are preferred shares—to a fixed income taken out of the profit, and if they are common shares, to an income varying with the profit. The corporations may perhaps also be owned by bond-holders who are also promised a fixed percentage on their bonds, though these bond-holders can really not claim any single piece of the corporation's property and have dubious rights in controlling it. The actual property probably belongs, if it belongs to any one, to the owners of debentures and mortgages. In fact the ownership of many corporations is so dubious that it is almost impossible to affix responsibility for damages done by the corporation; but when the I.W.W. proposes that labor "takes possession," or workers sit down in their plants, these responsibility dodgers let out a howl.

Such being the set-up, the big business is the peddling of these shares of stock. There are the most golden opportunities.

In this businesslike process of buying cheap and selling dear, far more can be done to put stocks up and down than can be done to put the price of pork or pig iron up and down. And it is in these ups and downs that the businesslike process of buying cheap and selling dear finds its advantages. It is not always good business to have an industrial enterprise succeed; it is not always good business to have new capital funds flow to those industries where there is a need for expansion; it is not good business for example to provide good housing. It is good business to provide frequent disturbances in the economic process, for this makes up-and-downs that those who know where and when the ups-and-downs will oc-

Continued on page 26

Book Reviews

MR. JOHN PUBLIC: CONSUMER

The Decline and Rise of the Consumer by Horace M. Kallen D. Appleton-Century Co. 484 pages $2.75.

After we were neck-deep in this last depression, or economic crisis, many of our thinkers and philosophers began to discuss ways of avoiding future ones. The President sent a commission to the Scandinavian countries to observe the producers and consumers coöperatives. Many people are now believing that consumer coöperation offers the vehicle for peacable transition from capitalist to consumer economy.

Mr. Kallen is among those who hold this latter belief. The subtitle of his volume is "A Philosophy of Consumer Coöperation". In his building of such a philosophy he gets far astray and into deep water. His liberalism grants him little understanding of either socialism or communism. In discussing their relation to consumer coöperation he flounders terribly. Neither does he have a real conception of the causes of Fascism.

In the first few chapters, Kallen is decidedly dull. Therein he attempts to establish the primacy of the consumer over the producer; the idea that society should be chiefly concerned with satisfying the wants of the consumer rather than nurturing the wishes of the profit-seeking producer.

Kallen briefly sketches the evolution from serfdom scarcity through to the guilds and to early manufacturing; from the days when the producer had actual relations with the consumer, to the time when the circulation of goods separated producer and consumer. This latter period produced goods in greater quantities but of inferior quality. Developing capitalism was producing for sale and *caveat emptor* was the rule.

In England experiments were being made in consumer coöperation and were resulting in failures until the Rochdale Plan was established. In tracing the rise of coöperatives in England and on the Continent, Kallen stresses that successes were due to strict adherence to Rochdale principles. Despite the theories of the Owenites, Christian Socialists and manufacturers coöperatives, the real strength lay in retail and wholesale consumer coöperatives. Credit unions came at a larger date. Today in England their resources total $400 millions and 70,000 accounts. Gradients in the relations between coöperative employees and management are discussed.

In the United States the coöperative movement had a varied and hectic carreer—hectic with post-war frauds costing the gullible millions, and varied with divergent sponsors. However, American individualism kept down growth here. In its beginning consumer coöperation was associated with the National Grange, Farmers Union and the Farm Bureau. Today most of the coöperatives are among the agricultural populations. Those in the industrial centers are almost entirely among the foreign groups.

It can be believed that these co-ops have saved their members and customers millions of dollars. Among the petroleum co-ops the amount saved is fifteen cents on a dollar purchase. In this era of rapidly rising prices and receding real wages, there is a growing interest in consumer co-ops. However, to believe as does Mr. Kallen that consumer coöperation and credit unions in collaboration with the trade unions can subtly change ours into a consumers' economy is gazing through rosy spectacles. It is Kallen's belief that co-ops should steer clear of any political alliances in order to succeed. Without an infusion of other ideas they are to change our economic setup. There is a bibliography of data on cooperatives and an index.—**James DeWitt.**

* * *

A SAILOR WRITES OF BATTLE

Tsushima by A. Novikoff-Priboy. Translated from the Russian by Eden and Cedar Paul. Alfred A. Knopf. 425 pages $3.50.

Reading history, to most of us is like raking in the dust heaps. Accounts of great battles are usually glorifications of the strategical genius of some commander.

Here is the dramatic narrative of one of the world's greatest naval battles by one of the common sailor participants. For twenty years this account of a decisive battle of the Russian-Japanese War lay hidden in a forgotten place. Hidden originally from the eyes of the Tsarist police they were found again by the author and made into a volume that sold a million copies in the Soviet Union.

Upon the defeat of the First Pacific Squadron off Port Arthur by the Japanese fleet, the Russian Ministry of Marine hastily assembled the Second Squadron at Kronstadt. From the time it sailed on October 2nd, 1904, until the destruction of its 38 ships eight months later in Tsushima Straits by Admiral Togo's fleet, one can sense along with the author the impending disaster.

Novikoff-Priboy was a political suspect before his naval assignment. That is he presumed to dispute the divine authority of the Tsarist rule. Like many other political suspects in the navy he was sent to the Far East in the hopes that he would never return. It was truly remarkable that these aging and rusty hulks withstood the 18,000 mile voyage from the Baltic to the Sea of Japan. It was still more remarkable that the ship's complements with the knowledge of their inevitable doom preying upon them, were able to restrain themselves from mutiny.

It was not discipline that held the squadron together on this long voyage, but servility. A bootlicking servility to admirals and commanders who rose to rank because they were court favorites or because they were landed gentry. This servile dependence upon empty-headed commanding officers, afraid to accept responsibility even in emergencies, and a morale that cracked and brought about confusion at the first shot from the enemy's guns, was the immediate cause of the ignominous defeat.

The author dramatizes his action and writes with a clear insight that sets him aside from the older school of verbose Russian fiction. Being himself from the poorer classes he does not have to pretend to feel what he has never experienced. True understanding of his shipmates with an amazing grasp of naval practice and navigation allows him to write the best book on naval warfare that has ever been printed. Novikoff with many of his fellow seamen understood perfectly the part they were playing, fighting valiantly for a lost cause under handicaps. The utter destruction of the Tsar's naval forces at Tsushima was the symbol of the decay of the Empire and one of those defeats that led to the abortive revolution of 1905, and a decay that paved the road to the events of 1917.

There is a map, charts and tables of comparative strength of the Russian and Japanese naval forces, but no index.—**James DeWitt.**

What Excuse for Capitalism?

Continued from page 24

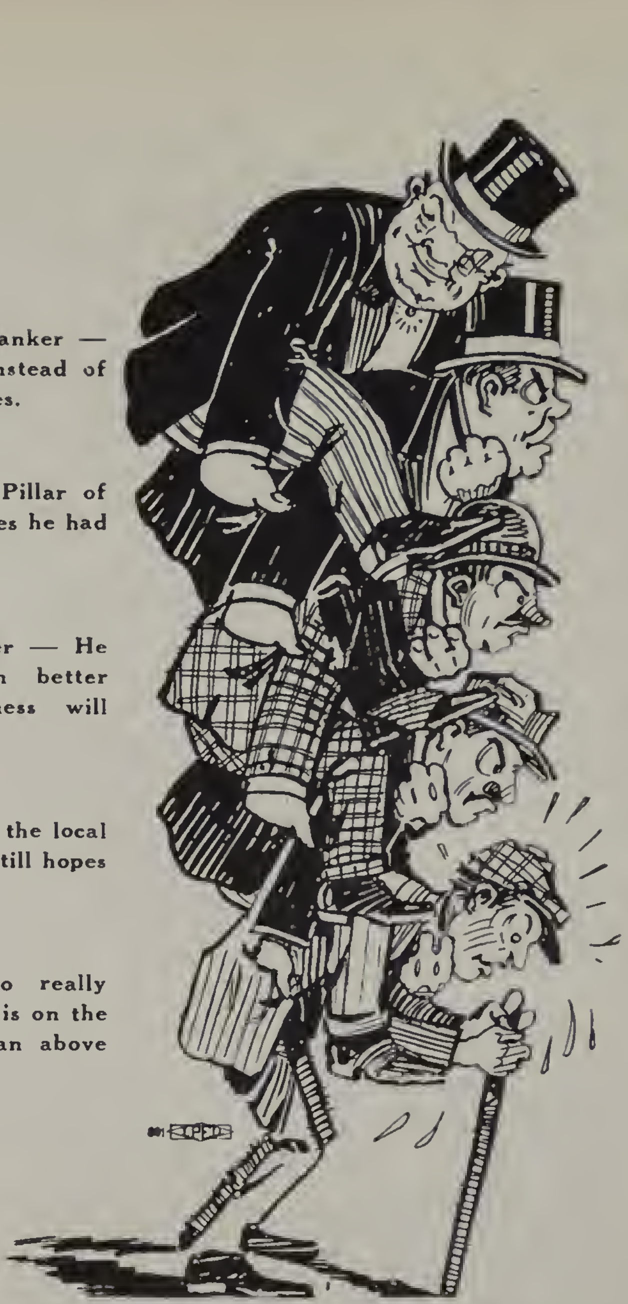
cur can use very much to their advantage in loading up with stock and letting it go, with gambling on the price of next year's wheat, or betting on foreign exchange.

Wars and peace are both excellent devices for producing profitable ups-and-downs; even the rumors of war can be turned into profits in handling the fictitious values of the stock exchange—and even should the rumors of war and the dumbness of those people who, because they couldn't become stock-brokers became statesmen instead, should this result in a real war where a few million workers were killed, it really creates a remarkable market for goods of dubious vendibility with few questions asked, and thus makes the floating of new issues of stocks, bonds, debentures, the promotion of new companies all possible, and above all makes shares in munition plants good stock worth holding on to.

Where Adam Smith 150 years before had looked on the stirring world about him and seen the working of an invisible hand providentially producing harmony and efficiency and progress through the search of each for his own advantage, the modern economist looks on a capitalism gone mad and sees a very sinister hand offering inferior and often harmful goods under bright disguises to a gullible public, another sinister hand of the same monster stopping the wheels of industry to insure that a tribute be paid; another sinister hand reaching out to stop capital being invested in the necessary repairs to a railroad bed, with the result of a smash-up and death, another sinister hand producing a depression, and an even more sinister hand of the monster ringing the tocsin of war and sending millions to their death.

There is but one excuse for capitalism—only one excuse for profits and the other fruits of exploitation—and that is "that the suckers will stand for it." It's time to end that excuse, too.

MAKE YOUR OWN INTELLIGENCE TEST



Big Back East Banker — He swaps shares instead of paying income taxes.

Local Banker and Pillar of community — wishes he had done the same.

Local Manufacturer — He swears that when better times come business will bring them.

He makes parts for the local manufacturer and still hopes to rise.

John Workox who really does the work, and is on the pay roll of the man above him.

John Workox's boss insists that he carries John on the pay roll. The local manufacturer boasts that he carries John's boss with his credit and orders, and the bankers boast that they carry them all.

Do they carry John, or does John carry them? If you insist that they carry John you may beome a professor of economics, but if you insist that John carries them you should join the I.W.W. to dump the bosses off your back.

* * *

When conditions get a bit tough, and John's knees get shaky, his local paper advises that it's time to get real radical, and form a united front of everybody from the local banker down to fight the big banker back east. Should John unite with the first four parasites on his shoulder to get rid of the back east banker—or should he get out from under the whole pile of them by ditching his own cockroach boss?

If you still think John should unite with all the little bosses to fight the big ones, you might as well join some political party until you wake up. If you're for dumping all the bosses off your back, join the I.W.W. and let's do it.

* * *

Someone told John that what made his back ache was that the bosses on his back were too big, and that he should have a law passed to have more bosses and smaller ones on his back instead of these big ones.

Who makes the laws—John or the folks on his back?

If the fellow on top represents a billion dollars, and the next high represents a million, would John be more comfortable with a different boss to represent each $10,000 involved in the picture?

* * *

John's boss has promised him that if he doesn't join the I.W.W. to dump the whole skedadle off his back, and sticks with him for ten more years, and business picks up, he will make him a foreman so that he will have someone to ride.

If business picks up, and John sticks, and his boss lives up to his agreement, will this make the load any lighter on John's back? (We didn't ask about his feet.)

* * *

Now it's time for you and John to join the I. W. W.

How We Got This Way

There are about two billion people on this earth. About a third of us live in countries where railroads, machines, and factories make us call ourselves civilized. We live in continuous worry about how to make ends meet without a job, or worry how to hold the job we have, and are beset with the menace of wars in which we may have to kill each other off. The rest of the two billion inhabitants of Earth, though they see much less of railroads, machines, electric lights, and porcelain bathtubs, are caught in the same trap of economic insecurity, and face the same danger of military annihilation. A world-wide depression has put wrinkles in the foreheads alike of the Detroit mechanic, the Lancashire weaver, the South-Sea Islander, clad in a necklace and loin-cloth, and earning a living by gathering copra shell, and the African elephant hunter who finds that the radio, displacing the piano, has wrecked the market for ivory. We are all in a mess—a mess into which we have wandered in our search for security—for safety, and enough.

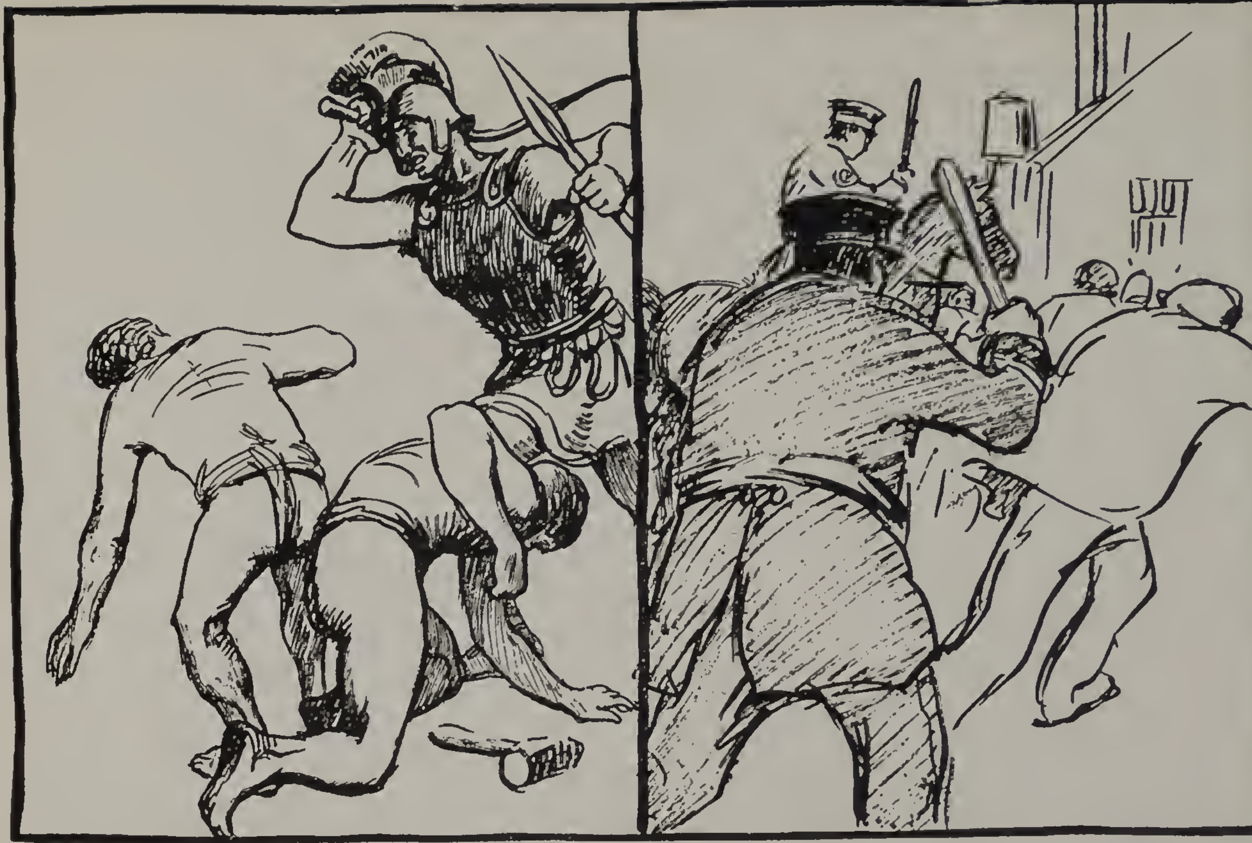
The Search for Safety

The human race has spent thousands of years, fought thousands of wars, devised thousands of inventions, conferred and deliberated on thousands of plans to achieve safety and security, that we might live to a ripe old age and see our young ones grow up around us. We started out in a world where every creature was armed to attack us and to resist our attack, while we poor human beings could neither fly like the eagle nor live in the water; we could not run as fast as the rabbit nor had we the strength of the bear; we had no tough hide like the elephant, no horns like the bull, no sharp teeth like the wolf, no fighting tusks like the boar; nor could we even defend ourselves, like the skunk, with a foul stench. But we had our heads more erect than they, for we had hands with which to grasp things and re-shape them to our fancy; and we had a voice-box that could develop language, and thus enable us to benefit from the experience of others, and become the wisest of all the inhabitants of earth. So we fashioned stones to hurl and cut, we conquered fire, we rolled great stones in front of our caves, we made clothing of the skins of the animals we ate, we learned to throw the javelin and spear, we drew the cord over the bow and sent the arrow on its flight, we made us armor, and built walled cities, we built us boats to go on the water, we conquered all the bears and elephants and tigers combined, we built submarines and torpedoes with which to sink our boats, Big Berthas with which to smash down the walls of our cities, great airplanes with which to bomb them. Our tanks were far tougher than the rhinoceros' hide; our aircraft outflew the eagle; our poison-gas outstunk the skunk. All this we did to make ourselves safe—and for four thousand years there has scarcely been a year of peace in which we were not killing each other; in 1914-18 we killed ten million soldiers and twenty-four million civilians; and ever since in a world in which there has always been a war we have been living in continuous dread of the far more terrible devices for slaughter that have been invented since—radio-controlled rackets; death rays; more powerful explosives; more deadly gases; and most terrible of all, the bacteriological warfare by which our drinking water is to be infected with typhoid, our clothing with anthrax, and our cities infested with rats to carry the dread bubonic plague—all to be dropped by aircraft. Such has been our progress toward shafety.

"The Conquest of Bread"

We have made similar progress in feeding ourselves. We sought the most fertile river valleys in the hope of always finding something to eat. We found we could grow our food and not have to hunt for it; we found we could raise our own meat. We settled and built ourselves towns—and the huntsmen from the hills raided our fields and herds and made themselves masters of the great river valleys. We were slaves and they were masters, except when in the wars they wages to levy tribute from other conquered valleys, the defeated lords of one valley became the slaves of the victors. We built irrigation systems so that our crops could always have water; and even faster our overlords built great empires, using us as pawns in their empire-building. They built and wrecked—they wrecked the cities they conquered and they likewise wrecked their native lands, for the tribute of grain they levied made it useless to grow our own crops. The land we had cultivated went waste; wind and rain made much of it desert; famine, pestilence, and the slaughter of our young men in war, all left ruin behind them. Where our labor and sweat and suffering for thousands of years had built gorgeous civilizations, we have left the sands of the deserts, and the great tombs that thousands of us died building, so that a few royal corpses might rot less slowly.

Once again on the ruin of these ancient empires, our class, though now of different race, set out in the quest of security. Once more we were entrapped as slaves and serfs, growing crops and building strong castles to house and feed those



The old fight of Spartacus, and the labor battles of today are all part of a struggle that must go on, until we, the last slave class on earth abolish slavery forever.

who laid waste the fields of our neighbors. Our wives and daughters spun and wove; we smoked and pickled herring; and merchants came to trade their spice and silk for these goods that we made for our masters. These merchants grew rich, and the richer they grew, and the more wars the kings and lords fought, and the more they borrowed from the merchants, the more favors the merchants exacted of them, until it came to be that the merchants either ruled through the kings, or had us, the working people, overthrow them. And we believed the tale of the merchants that if we would but let them rule, we would have peace and equal opportunity, freedom, and justice.

So we improved the farmlands and raised new crops, and learned to rotate them. We devised windmills and better water-wheels. We went forth in the merchants' ships and brought back to Europe strange things from many lands; and with the Chinese compass we sailed first over what we thought was the edge of a flat world, and discovered and conquered America. Our more adventurous sons went sailing everywhere, planting flags for the merchants, and bringing home rich treasure to them, or killed each other in the wars that the merchants and kings of one country waged with the merchants and kings of another. But despite their waste and wars and destruction, despite the horror of seeing our homes go up in smoke and our loved ones slaughtered, the world we were building grew richer; our knowledge grew richer; and our industrial arts surpassed those of the ancient world on whose ruins we had built a new one. That the merchants might have more cloth and trinkets to offer for pearls and gold and diamonds to the savages on the edges of the world, we built great factories where we spun and wove with the power of water. Our country homes were destroyed so that sheep could be raised where before we had raised gardens and children; and we with our children went into the great new cities, living in filth and wretchedness, making our tiny tots slave sixteen hours a day in their mills, or burn themselves crawling through their chimneys to clean them.

We built steam engines to run the machines, and dug mines to furnish them coal, taking down our women to crawl through the drifts on their bleeding knees as beasts of burden, while our children sat alone in the dark tending the trap doors of the mines. We worked as no slaves before had ever worked, and we lived in ever greater misery and squalor. We heard the boast that the machines we had built had made it possible to produce a hundred times as much as our fathers; yet we alternated our twelve and sixteen hour shifts with long out-of-work stretches, roaming the country, seeing our children die of hunger, and some of us, brutalized enough by this progress, ate our very children. We blamed the machine; and those of wood we burned, and those of steel we wrecked, even as centuries before the first knitting machines had been burned in the market-places to ward off what today we call "technological unemployment". But faster than those out of work could destroy the machines, those who had jobs built new ones that went faster. Secretly, and against the law of those days, we built unions, hoping thereby that some of the great flood of wealth that we were pouring out would come to us and bring us happiness; and though ever it was that the tale-bearer in our ranks worked against us, and men weakened under promises and threats and the sight of the hunger of their children in our long-fought strikes, yet the fact that we fought and were banded together to fight freed most of our children of the worst of their slavery, removed our wives from work at night and as beasts of burden in the mines, cut down our hours until we could endure them, and gave us hovels less disgusting than those we had before. Our unemployment of today is less wretched than our prosperity of a century ago—and whatever brightness and joy we have in our lives has been achieved by the fight we have made banded together.

Empire Round the World

But for every trivial increase that we got, our ever more wonderful machines turned out a hundred-fold increase for others. From the workshops of England and France, as from a seed-bin, we sprouted factories and machinery the round world over. We made steam carry us across oceans against the wind; we made steam carry our loads across continents on road-beds that we slaved in the sun long hours to build; we made steam, and even falling water, drive a mighty electric force through the cables that we made of the copper dug in Butte and Africa and Chile, and with which we had girdled the globe. With these mighty modern means we built empires such as Alexander could never have visioned—empires that circled the earth, and yet where messages could be sent to any point in an instant. Our sons went thousands of miles to kill other workers' sons, to build these empires and to die with the torment of the damned. And even as the empires of old gathered tribute from the territory conquered, and thus killed industry in the very seat of their power—so too in these empires of the great capitalists, conquest and expansion meant that jute was woven for a penny a day in India while jute weavers in Dundee went on a shilling a day relief; that copper was mined in Chile so cheap that miners in Butte went hungry; that the work of the world was done more and more where men wore only loin-cloths and brought up their children on rice.

Our class that for centuries has slaved for Pharaohs, Kings and Emperors, for lords and princes and merchants, now slaves for great corporations. The wealth we built in machinery, in mines, in railroads, in power and pipe-lines is so great that seldom does anyone attempt to own any piece of it. Instead the possession of a piece of paper—a share of stock, a bond or debenture—entitles him to more tribute than did the possession of a whole army or whole fleet in the days of old. So today the greatest merchant princes of all are those who buy and sell these tribute-bearing pieces of paper. A handful of these men make war or peace to benefit by the change it makes in their stock-market; they close down whole industries and blight the hopes and dreams of whole nations of people, to make sure that no wheel turns and no motor hums without paying them their tribute. So here we are—two billion people on this earth whose ancestors have been toiling and giving up their very lives these thousands of years to win safety and security for our kind; two billion people whose skilled hands and ever keener brains have harnessed the air, the wind, the water, the oil and coal from beneath the earth, and used this power to drive great arms and legs of steel to work that our bare hands could never undertake; two billion people whose skill and science and invention could readily produce all that these two billion and many more billion people could ever use; and these two billion people living on next to nothing, always in want, always imperilled by war and famine and pestilence, all because they let a hundred of them control the machines they have built and the power they have harnessed.

It is a blight that fell on us thousands of years ago when the hunters from the hills raided our garden plots in the valleys, and we let them remain over us as lords and masters. We who do the world's work, who have made this wild world over into a veritable Aladan's lamp that we need only to rub in order to have what we want, will not be safe, and will not be secure so long as we let any lord and master hold this Aladan's lamp that we have fashioned of oil and copper and steel for him, and permit him to tell us when we can rub it.

The great economic problems of today—the age-old quest for safety and enough—the endless urge to make our dreary lives full and rich and satisfying—these are problems that only our class can hope to solve; and our class is skilled and competent as no class of workers, slaves or serfs before us ever was, to solve them. And if our class does not free Aladan's lamp from the clutch of this modern Midas, then the hopes of mankind these many hundred years, and the chances to build on this decaying capitalism a new and splendid social order, will go down in war and pestilence and famine to the fate of Babylon and Greece and Rome.—**7-GO-8.**

A PAGE OF REBEL VERSE

IN LUMBERLAND

The time has come, the Logger said,
To talk of many things,
Of One Big Union in the camps
To fight the Lumber Kings.

Of men who went to prison
Because of Laws unjust;
Of how the Loggers held their own
Against the Lumber Trust.

Of the murderfest in sunny France,
The money-baron's war,
Of how men fell and did not know
What they fought each other for.

And last of all, but not the least,
Of the time not far away;
When men of worth shall own the earth
On "Emancipation" day.

HIS NAME:

I go into the lumber camps
And log drives on the river;
In camp and mill I'm never still,
My message I deliver.

In mining and construction camps;
To migratory workers;
I preach my creed, the crying need
To do away with shirkers.

In sweatshop and in crowded slum
I'm restless as the ocean;
I'm not dead, I raise my head,
Where'er I take the notion.

Although oppression weighs me down,
I'll never, never perish;
In every clime, through endless time,
I'll live and thrive and flourish.

Perhaps you know who I am,
I'm known to every nation;
Each tribe and race have seen my face,
My name is AGITATION.

DOOMED

A system is crumbling and tumbling once more,
As systems have crumbled and tumbled before,
Hark! can you hear the rumble and roar
Like the breaking of surf on a rock-riven shore.

A system is dying of age and decay,
The props that uphold it are rotting away,
A system is losing its terrible sway
O'er the minds of millions of workers today.

As clergy bow down to an altar of gold,
As pagans bowed down to idols of old,
Their hearts, like the hearts of the idols, are cold;
They've wandered afar from the Nazarene's fold

Labor omnipotent! Rise in your might!
Organized: disciplined, eager to fight;
Hasten the morning of Justice and Right,
And usher in Liberty's glorious light.

"When Better Times Come Business Will Bring Them"

A very short story

By Walter Pfeffer

You can't kid Suzanne. She works for a big shot who has a big mouth while she has big ears.

She dropped in one Thursday afternoon—that's her day off—while some of us boondogglers were arguing whether this here depression was coming or going. We asked her straight which way it was.

She took out her knitting and says: "Both."

"Now Suzanne," said I, "that's no way to answer a straight forward question about whether this damned thing is going or coming."

"Well then," she says, "it's going."

"You mean Bill is going to get a job?" piped in the missus.

Suzanne went on with her knitting so complacently that it was downright annoying, and looking us menfolk over opined: "I wouldn't say for sure that Bill is, but I'd gamble that inside of two months two of these five bums will have an honest-to-god job."

Biff moved about a bit uneasy and wanted to know how she figured that out.

"Last night" she says, "His Nibs was arguing with his father-in-law. It was about that strike down at Creosoto Motors—the Old Man owns most of that. His Nibs was telling him to make some kind of a settlement, and the Old Man got furious—you know the old line about who got fifty cents an hour when he was a boy, and what's the world coming to. So His Nibs told him what it was coming to. He says: 'We've got to create some prosperity,' and the Old Man wanted to know if his daughter had married a New Deal Democrat. So His Nibs told him there was a lot of things they didn't own yet, and the only way to get hold of them was to make some prosperity sort of spread around generally.

"The Old Man said that was the most cockeyed logic he'd ever listened to, and His Nibs told him how it's done. "We make a boom,' he says' 'and we tell the blooming world they can all get rich. We make contracts with the unions and perhaps even give them a bit now of what they'd get later anyway as business picks up, but peg it with time agreements so they don't get so much—and then we make them all buy cars on the easy payment plan. And we'll sell real estate to those we can't clean otherwise, and tell everybody to be thrifty and not waste anything but invest it so as we can get it later, and we make everybody happy and lend them money, and give them mortgages, and take their notes, and keep selling them stock, and showing them all how much richer they are, and . . .

" 'Where do we come in at?' asks the Old Man. 'Why, when we've got it all sprung, and everybody so prosperous,' says His Nibs, 'we'll tell them that the one thing holding back prosperity is this boondoggling, and that all relief and PWA and WPA ought to be cut out, and taxes cut down, and have the editors and Little Orphan Annie explain to them that that wouldn't take anybody's bread away from them because if the government didn't take our money from us to put people on the payroll we'd have that much more to put them on a payroll where they'd stand a real chance to rise in the world, and when we get that through we'll talk about unsound credit structures, and money being loaned too freely to speculators, and put the screws on, and leave the suckers selling the stock to each other until we pick it up for nothing, along with everything else that we have a plaster on, and . . .

" 'Have the blamed government on your neck,' says the Old Man, 'and have everybody raising Cain with us saying we're the ruination of the country. I want some peace in my old age.'

" 'The government won't be on our necks, it'll be in our pockets,' says His Nibs, 'and everybody'll be praising our generosity in picking everything up and saving the blooming country—and you know the only way to run anything is to run everything'."

"So they think they can do it just like that," says Biff.

"Oh, no" said Suzanne, "they're building higher fences around everything and putting juice in them."

"One Whale of a Difference - -"

It's less than one in five of the American Working Class that carries a card in any sort of a union. The aim of the I.W.W. quite naturally is to concentrate its organizational efforts on the four out of five who "belong to nothing". But meanwhile one can't help reflect occasionally on what a whale of a difference it would make if the one out of five that is organized, was organized right, the I.W.W. way.

For instance take this movie strike. If it had been organized in Recreational Workers Industrial Union No. 630 we wouldn't have this separate bargaining of some twenty crafts in the first place. We would have one union of all engaged in the making of motion pictures to fight out the issue. And if it came to a strike under such circumstances, we wouldn't have to ask the public to refrain from going to the movies—the workers in the motion picture palaces just wouldn't show any pictures if the union decided to fight the movie magnates from that end of the line. Under such circumstances there probably wouldn't be any movie strike in the first place.

Or consider our solidarity with our fellow workers in Spain. If transport workers were organized as they should be, taking I.W.W. direct action on the issue, would any supplies get to Franco? In fact would the Loyalist have run short of supplies? In fact would the fascist rebellion have ever got to first base?

Of course, with a start of several million I.W.W. members, the labor movement wouldn't have stood static at the proportion that it has roughly maintained to the working class at large over these last several years. It would have become truly a One Big Union of the Working Class. And we'll gamble that with that sort of a start, instead of us wondering how to win strikes, we would be putting across labor's own planned economy of abundance in mighty short order.

Why bother with substitutes? The I.W.W. is what is needed.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

THE working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

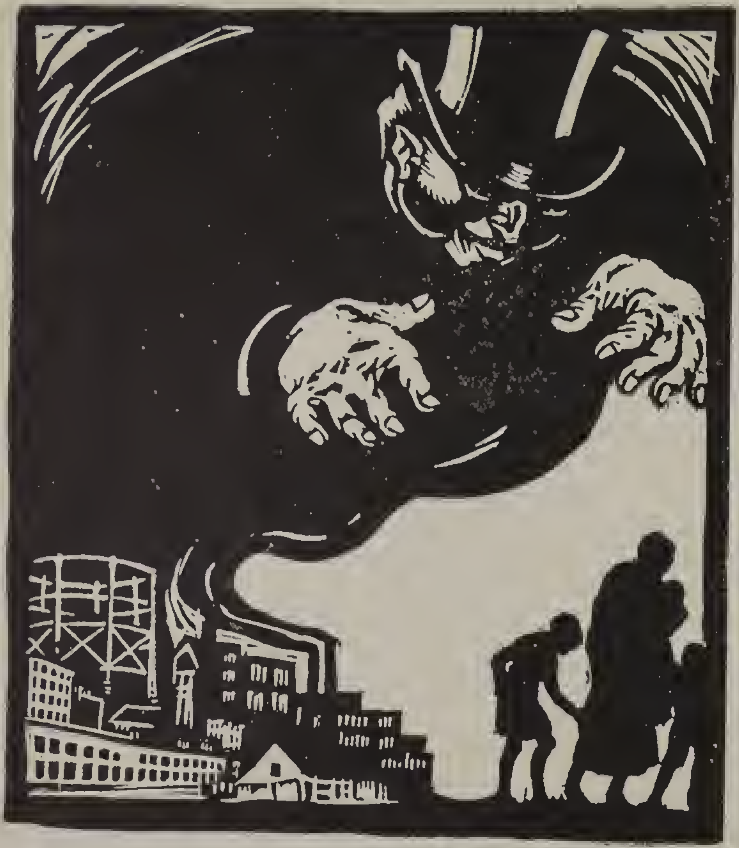
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work", we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



What of the Coming Generation?

That great glory of capitalism, the labor of children is not yet ended. In the fields of agriculture, in the street trades of the newsboy and the boot-black, even in many a manufacturing industry, and in the sweatshop work done at home, the labor of children still goes on for the enrichment of bankers, and publishers, and the other worthy citizens who preach morality to the community at large while they ride on the backs of mere kids.

* * *

The great menace that hovers over children is not merely that they are exploited, that they are working when they should be playing, that the earnings of their parents deprive them of the proper food to give them the right start in life. The failure of the older generation to organize in revolutionary industrial unions menaces this coming generation with even greater handicaps, and puts even greater obstacles in the way of their receiving the heritage that should be theirs.

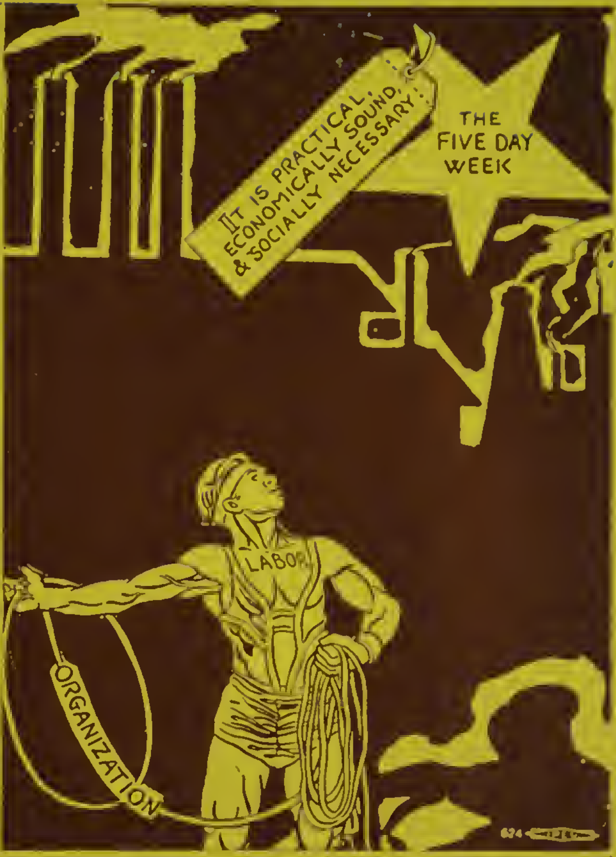
What is to go to this rising generation? We do not ask how many sticks and pieces of green paper can you pile up to bequeath your own progeny—we ask in what shape will this world be left to come after you? Will the insane exploitation of our natural resources have left the forest a waste and the fertile prairies a desert? Will the capitalist code of operating only for profit have left the mines flooded, and the physical equipment of production a menace to those who work with it?

It is bad enough to leave a social revolution as a task for this coming generation that should have been performed by our own, without adding to it the almost insuperable burden of restoring the potential productivity of the world they take over.

What are the social conditions under which they are to struggle? Do you expect them to do what you hesitated to undertake under a scheme of enabling civil liberties, under the handicaps of some fascist dictatorship? What do you leave them to undertake the struggle with? A "labor movement" over which the members exercise no control? A set of union racketeers fighting with each other like Kilkenny cats for the rake-off? An assortment of "radical" political parties that have discarded all radicalism in opportunistic subservience to the "big shots" that they know well to be the greatest enemies of labor? Are you priming them for the struggle with the prompting that each should look for himself and the devil take the hindmost?

You might do something to make up for all this by sending some of labor's kids to the summer courses at Work People's College this summer. (You can get full information by writing to Box 39, Morgan Park Station, Duluth, Minn.) But to live up to your responsibilities properly, it is time to build for them what they need above all else—One Big Revolutionary Union of the Entire Working Class.

That Five Day Week
Some Have It – Why Not All?


IT IS PRACTICAL, ECONOMICALLY SOUND, & SOCIALLY NECESSARY!
THE FIVE DAY WEEK
LABOR
ORGANIZATION

The Saturdays and Sundays that a workingman spends at the beach, picnicking with his families and friends—the sunshine—the fresh air—the beauties of nature—the good fellowship—the rest and relaxation of two days spent anywhere away from work—these are truly part of the good things of life. When they are had and enjoyed they are ours, and by no scheming and conniving can they be taken away, by taxes or price increases or any other maneuvers of the employers from whom we escape when we have the five-day week.

* * *

The shorter working day and the shorter working week for these reasons are among the most substantial gains of labor. They constitute the sort of gains that enable us to work to live instead of living to work. The five-day week should be made standard in all industries.

* * *

With 1929 production levels, but with millions still jobless and millions more working either for Uncle Sam or in private industry only because of the "make work" expenditures of Uncle Sam, it is time for shorter hours, shorter working weeks, higher wages.

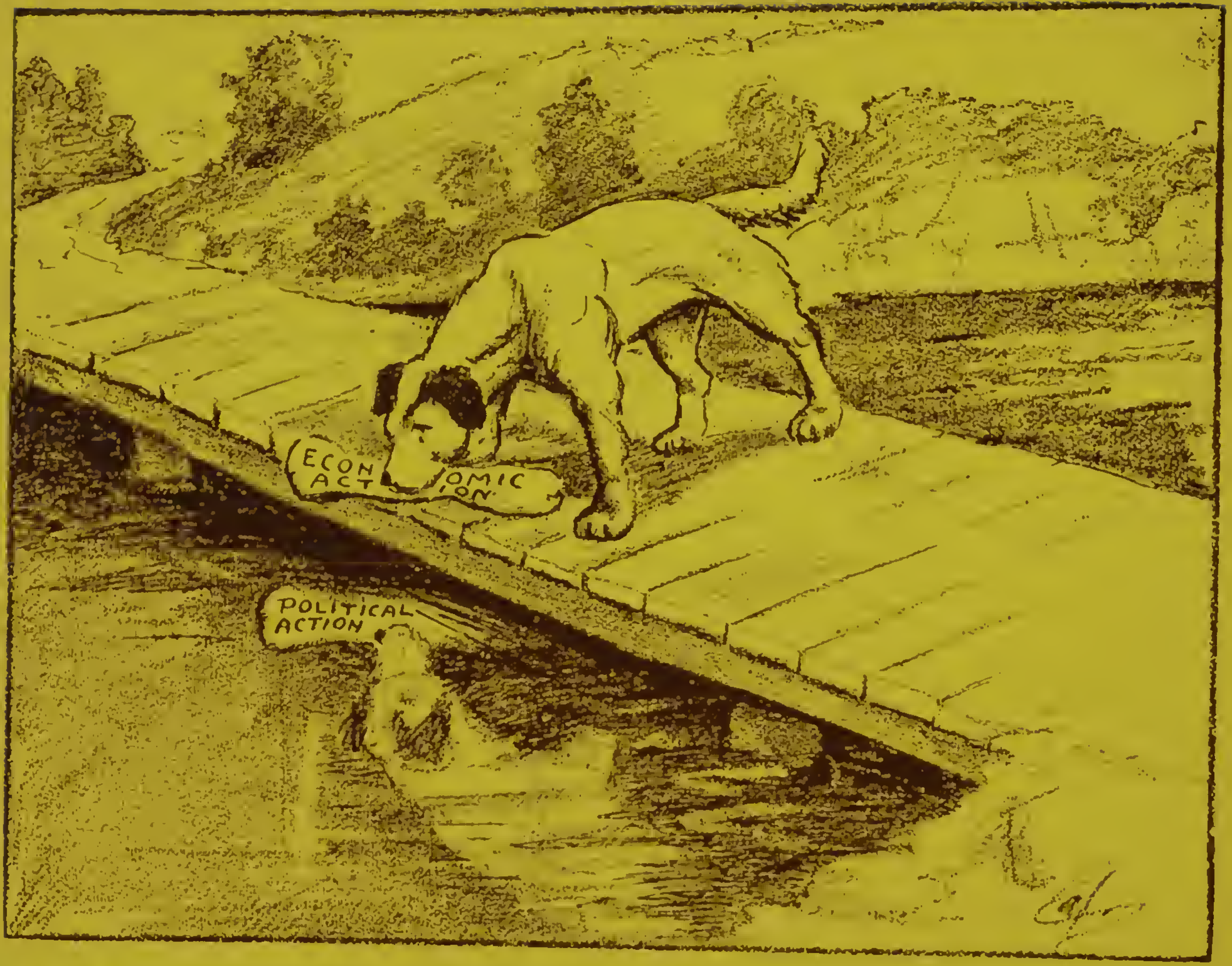
Shorter hours make for higher wages. Two men looking for one job put the wages down. One job looking for two men puts the wages up. The fight for a shorter working week is an intelligent course of action from which many benefits can flow. It tends to raise the standard of living, the cultural level, the intelligence of our class as well as the wages that we receive.

* * *

The five-day week has been achieved in various industries already. Let's battle to win it in the rest. Let's go ahead to make the six-hour day and the five-day week the minimum standard everywhere with conditions still better where we can achieve them.

* * *

The five-day week is practical, economically sound, and socially necessary. To make it general in all industries requires the effective organization of One Big Union of the workers in all industries. The I.W.W. is such a union, and the only such union—Make It Grow!



He Dropped a Bone to Seize Its Image

It was a fine juicy bone that Fido had in his mouth—but that one in the water was even bigger and juicier.

So he dropped the bone in his mouth and went after the one in the water.

The current took his bone away, leaving not even a smell by which he could recapture it, while he struggled in the water with a phantom dog to get a bone that somehow he could never reach.

* * *

A workingman produced many times what he got as wages, and often had no work and no wages at all as the result of it. When he worked he worked long hours with his boss bawling him out. When he didn't work he stayed in a mean shack where his wife bawled him out because she had no new dresses.

He listened to an I.W.W. organizer who was so honest that he said he could do nothing for working people because they were the only people who could do anything for themselves—that they had all the power there is on the face of the earth. All that they needed was to organize this power.

Then along came a great friend of labor who promised him laws, and more judges, and bigger and fatter and better judges, and justice and emancipation.

The workingman grabbed at the promises—and he still works long hours for a domineering boss who pays him so little that most of the time he and his fellow workers are home getting bawled out by their wives because they haven't bought them a new dress yet.

Don't be like the dog that has been the symbol of folly ever since Aesop, the hunch-back slave, wrote about him 2500 years ago. Organize in real power that you and your fellow workers have by building the I.W.W.

616

The ONE BIG UNION Monthly

New Series: Vol. I.–No. 7 JULY, 1937 Price: 15 Cents

ORGANIZATION CONTROL

American labor is up against a proposition that requires clear thinking and drastic action—direct action. The thinking no less than the acting will have to be done by the workers and not by the new crop of professionals who are undertaking to handle labor problems.

Labor leading has become a bigger and better profession than ever before in history. Many men are taking it up as others take up medicine or engineering, they expect to grow prosperous out of it. And, it must be admitted, any number of workers are ready, and in some cases even anxious, to place their organizational worries in the hands of this or that set of leaders.

On the surface these tendencies seem harmless enough. When people need a plumber they try to get an experienced one, and they let him do very much as he pleases on the job that is his specialty. Why not, then, take the same attitude when there are unions to be organized and strikes to be managed, and settlements to be negotiated?

The cases are vastly different. The specialist in the one case is placed in charge of mechanical, inanimate things, in the other he is placed in a position where he directs humans who, while they learn how to obey orders, soon lose the capacity of self-direction.

The chosen leaders in the end become tyrants whom they cannot shake off without extreme difficulty. This is the lesson history teaches.

Workers as they build their organization today, must be firm in their determination to run it, and diligent in their efforts to learn how to run it efficiently, otherwise they will be taken over by a leader who needs a job.

Also Issued by the I. W. W.:

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKER
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THE CONSTRUCTION WORKER

By PEO MONOLDI

The construction worker is in the vanguard of the army of production. He builds the roads along which civilization moves, and he constructs its most enduring monuments. His occupation is most hazardous and often takes him into places where for months he is compelled to get along with less than the ordinary necessities of life.

For his service to society the builder of roads, dams, and tunnels gets pay that is wholly inadequate.

Necessarily his work is irregular, for once a job is finished he has to move away in search of another one, sometimes traveling across the continent to find employment in the line to which he is accustomed.

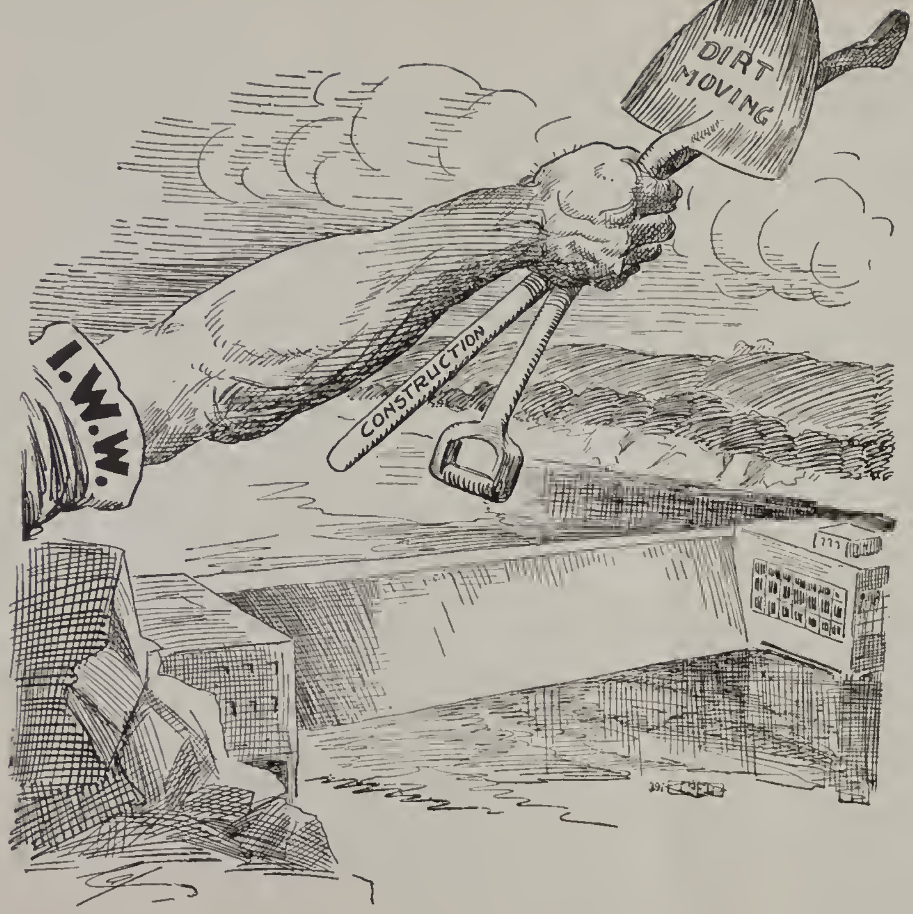
The experiences and necessities of these men has developed in them a spirit of independence that makes them good material for membership in the I. W. W. which fosters individual freedom and initiative in its rank-and-file controlled unions.

The workers in the construction industry, next to those in agriculture, have been the pioneers who have developed virgin territories to the point where they are today. Their industry has made it posible for new population to flow and find means of life. These builders, the vanguard of progress, have gone into the far places to build trails and wagon roads, and to provide the houses that sheltered the pioneers. They have bridged the streams and pierced the mountains in order to give us the railroads and highways.

Without the construction workers millions of acres of desert waste would have remained unreclaimed. The city of today would have been impossible if the construction worker had not applied his brain and muscle in the construction of its water system, and sewers to take away its waste, and in the building of houses and streets, and the road beds for its fast transportation. Water transport would still be a slow motion process without the docks, deepened channels, and modern vessels that the constructor has given society. Aeroplanes would not be able to take off or land without the service rendered by the construction worker in building run-ways.

These builders of progress have made it possible for all of us to travel from one end of the country to the other in comfort by rail, highway, water, or the air. They have gone into the far places to harness raging waters to be converted into power and to irrigate the desert waste for the further advance of the cities and so the good of one might be brought to the other.

From the exercise of brute force and more or less haphazard figuring the construction industry has changed in a short span of time into one of



The short handled shovel is almost purely symbolic. Modern construction work is carried on with power-driven machinery. The machine operator to a great extent has replaced the "shovel stiff."

complicated and minute calculation carried to an actuality by gigantic and powerful machinery operated by a handful of men as compared to the number necessary under the old methods. What were considered Utopian dreams yesterday are today simply some more engineering facts. Mile-long bridges span immense chasms, towering dams hold once raging streams under control, forming vast new lakes to be put to the use of mankind for irrigation purposes, for water transportation, for city water, for flood control and electrical energy; concrete roads thread the continent in a magic web of transportation channels, and electrically driven motors haul seemingly endless serpentine strings of box cars over steep mountain grades diving into tunnels many miles in length to emerge once again on their cross-continent journey.

One might suppose that the hardship of remote scene undergone by these workers would be compensated for by higher financial return for labor and less stringent working conditions. One may also suppose that with the vision of the physical wonders he builds and the advancement of civilization he promotes the construction worker would also carry with him a vision of social advancement to keep pace with the physical improvements he is creating. But not so with the great majority of construction workers.

The Construction Wonders of the Age

The gigantic projects of this day and age would have been impossible with the old shovel-board methods of construction. Such mighty undertakings as Boulder Dam, the Tennessee Valley project, the Bonnerville Dam, the Grand Coulee Dam, the San Francisco Bridges, the Tri-Borough Bridge of Greater New York would only remain a dream without the means and methods evolved in our own day.

Due to scientific research labor saving machinery has reached the construction industry and we no longer see a beehive of humans engaged in building highways, railroads, drainage systems, etc. The construction laborer is becoming more and more just a machine tender. The steam shovel, concrete mixer, road grader, steam roller, dump trucks, drilling machines, mucking machines, track layers, and countless other modern implements too numerous to mention have made possible these wonders of the age. These modern construction projects, big in every way, are being carried on with the greatest precision and efficiency.

We know how great a part concrete and steel play in the erection of dams, bridges, and skyscrapers. The modern concrete mixer is electrically driven and controlled. Huge trucks dump the sand and gravel into giant hoppers. Bucket elevators convey the sand into one bin and the gravel into another. From these bins the sand and gravel being automatically stopped when the correct measure has been determined. The material is then carried into the mixers. Water is likewise measured automatically. If it is a skyscraper job the concrete is carried by chutes, buggies, buckets, or hoppers to the floors required.

On dams, such as the mighty Bonnerville, Grand Coulee, or Boulder, down a few thousand feet in a canyon a man waves his arm or rings a bell to signal another man who pulls a lever in a grotesque traveling crane. The crane reaches out like a heron spearing a fish, trolleys whine and cables jerk, a bucket-shaped steel receptacle moves downward, concrete pours from its jaws, and one more timbered frame has been filled. Block bv block, level by level the dam rises from the river, already the water foams furiously against massive foundations and piers.

The herculean task is almost complete. The surging stream is about to be vanquished. Huge gates of iron and steel will slide between the spillway piers. The river will be diverted into yawning penstocks, generators will start to roar, turbulent rapids will be inundated beneath a smooth lake, ready to be used for any desired purpose. The product is hundreds of thousands of kilowatts of electrical energy and available water for millions of acres of desert and waste land—and the possibility of homes for millions of people.

But as we read about these wonderful accomplishments little do we realize the hardship and degradation that these construction workers have been up against, standing on a girder of a skyscraper or hanging on the side of a mountain chipping away rocks or hewing a base for the steel and concrete out of the rocky banks. Always facing the danger of a line snapping, a rock falling, a scaffold breaking, or a whole embankment coming down to bury them alive. And while these workers are sweating and bleeding, losing limbs or lives—for there isn't a dam, a bridge, a tunnel, or skyscraper that has been built or is being built in which the sweat and blood of these workers is not buried in its concrete, brick or stones—we find parasites lurching around, pushing and driving these workers to greater and greater speed so that their sweat and blood can be turned into profits in the quickest time possible.

While the construction workers who build homes and skyscrapers have a semblance of freedom with boarding houses, restaurants, homes, and stores to choose from, the workers on dams, bridges, tunnels, railroads, levees, or irrigation projects are at the mercy of belly-robbing company eating camps and commissaries. Generally the feeding and housing of these workers is left to a sub-contractor who has to make not only a profit for himself but also has to pay so much a day to the contractor for the right to exploit the workers' bellies.

Recreation in such construction camps is, as a rule, non-existent. Only where the number of men employed is large enough to run recreational features at a good profit is it given a thought. Liquor of course, is easy to obtain and there are always opportunities to gamble. Gambling and liquor help keep the workers broke and submissive. The isolation of these jobs makes existence there virtually exile.

The chief cause of the low wages in construction work, the dangerous working conditions, the poor food and housing, the endless speed up, and all the other misery the workers suffer from is that they lack proper organization to take care of their interests.

Organization

All operations on construction projets are simple and direct. All unnecessary movements are eliminated. Each and every classification of work is carried through with an eye to strict coordination. Each individual operation is performed in conjunction with some other. Cooperation is the keynote that is sounded through the whole project. United effort and the subordination of the individual to the whole makes it possible to complete the project. Woudn't it be great if we workers could run our affairs in as efficient a manner?

If we workers could organize as well as the bosses and forget our differences while striving for some gainful end how much better off we would be. We would then have no more use for a couple of dozen craft unions but would unite in one union of construction workers. And not in a state controlled union, or in unions such as those affiliated with the C. I. O. and directed by Lewis and company, but in a union directed and controlled by the workers themselves.

The working class must watch and prepare its every move so that it will not fall into the same trap as did the workers of Italy, Germany, or Russia where they must either be yes men or go to the dungeon, or be placed against a wall and shot for expressing their opinions or demanding some of the good things of life.

The C. I. O. was born at the A. F. of L. convention of 1933 when General Johnson was sent there by the powers that be to [illegible] the delegates that they must organize industrially—a move to control labor a la Mussolini, Hitler, or Stalin. Before the close of 1936 not less than ten company unions were turned over to the C. I. O. by the steel trust. Who ever heard of a leapord changing its spots?

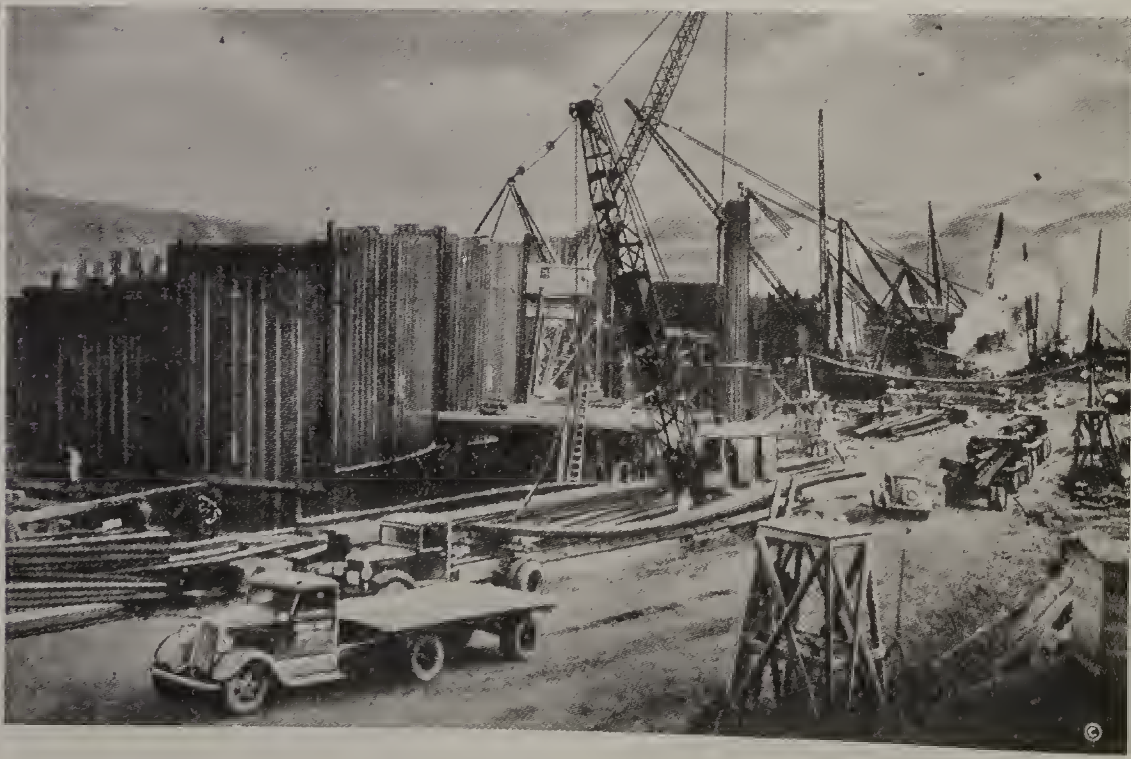
Neither must we be fooled by the C. I. O. activities in the automobile industry in Michigan and other states. Mussolini called strikes and supported others in Italy. In this country Lewis is the tool of capital and as soon as labor is brought under its control a sit-down or any other kind of strike will be a thing of the past unless labor refuses to be bridled. Fascism expresses itself in the employers' cultivating of a one big union without class- consciousness. No one can deny that Lewis and company want to retain the system of exploitation; they have stated so in unmistakeable terms from the house tops. How soon this American fascism will show its fangs is a question that only time and conditions can determine.

It also may be possible that the industrial conditions of 1932 and worse may take longer to reach us again than we anticipate. In that case the C. I. O may develop along the lines of the British unions—just a tool of the political manipulators. In any case it will not be the tool for labor to use to emancipate itself from this damnable system of exploitation.

In order for the construction workers to enjoy the beauties that they create it is necessary that they develop their own organization so that they may determine their own line of action and purpose. Industrial union without class interest is no union, nor will it get us anywhere. It will be only a makeshift to keep capitalism on the backs of labor as long as possible.

Our industrial union must be based on the revolutionary interests of the working class. It must bind all the workers in powerful revolutionary organs to the end that the power of these industrial unions be used to regain for labor the means of production of which it has been robbed and which are being used to sap our energy to aggrandize and enrich the few. The time to call a halt is at hand. Shall we keep on building projects for the few to keep on exploiting, or shall we in one mighty wave of solidarity take over the industries and the means of production and build the future monuments of the construction industry for the working class to use and enjoy?

If so, the I. W. W. is the union that is needed. It is the only industrial organization in this country that has never deviated from the revolutionary working class mission—to fight for our every day needs and to prepare for our ultimate aim, the abolition of capitalism. On with the class struggle!



Papa Schaefer Is a Man Again

A Short Story

By S. I. Stephens

"Papa! You're going out!" Mama Schaefer's voice rang accusingly through the flat, soared out the open windows into the soft May air, and fell, no doubt, into the startled ears of her neighbors on the street below.

"Papa Schaefer!" she repeated.

Scraping sounds issued from the bathroom but otherwise nothing that resembled a human voice.

"Papa Schaefer! I'm speaking to you!"

There was a pause in the bathroom. "I heard you the first time, Nettie." The scraping sounds continued for Papa Schaefer was in the process of shaving himself. It was Saturday morning, the first of May.

Nettie Schaefer, clad in a faded lavender housedress, turned in exasperation toward the coffee pot she was washing at the kitchen sink. "I know you're goin' out or you'd wait to tomorrow to shave." She glanced sharply at her second eldest daughter. "Elinor—put your leg down from that chair! Is that anyway for a lady to sit?"

There was a movement in the next room, the linving room.

"A lady? Did you say something about a lady, mother?" And a tall, dark, thin, flat chested like her mother, appeared in the doorway, a heavy book under her arm. As she considered her younger sister through heavy rimmed spectacles, her large mouth twisted upward in an ironic smile.

Elinor, pert, ruby-lipped, saluted her with an outstretched tongue, and then carelessly flipped another page of the fashion magazine she was examining beside the kitchen table.

Someone near the window giggled—a gaggling fourteen-year-old with blond bangs that seemed a trifle too heavy for her small, pale face. She was struggling with needle and thread, trying to attach a button to a ragged sweater of flaming red.

Scraping sounds still continued in the bathroom.

"Babe—throw that ragged mess away—I'll buy you a new one when I get my first check from the Youth Program."

Babe turned stubborn eyes upon her eldest sister and shook her head vehemently. She loved the flaming red sweater.

Margaret addressed her mother again: "You were saying something about a lady."

"Nev' mind, Margaret—don't make fun of your sister."

"But you were criticising her yourself."

"Nev' mind—"

"Well, you would have minded—if you'd seen her last night coming out of that Third Avenue beer parlor—"

Elinor tried to interrupt, "Say, mom, there's the darlingest sun-back dress here—can't I have one when pa gets his next WPA check?" She held the book up, pointing to the dress.

"She was coming out of that beer parlor with the Miner boy," Margaret went on.

Papa Schaefer in the bathroom spoke up: "The one whose uncle scabbed in the street car strike?"

Nettie Schaefer, drying the coffee pot, raised her eyes to the smoky ceiling, "Now you got papa started."

Water gushed from the bathroom tap. Papa Schaefer was cleaning his shaving apparatus.

"And," persisted Margaret, "he was so drunk! I was walking along with the assistant librarian from the branch—and Elinor was just as brazen as you please. Imagine my feelings!"

Mama Schaefer uttered clucking sounds, like a hen, "No other woman's ever put up with what I've had to—when I think what I give up—your grandpa owning the biggest store in Hayfield, and Uncle Torrance with the tile factory—" The clucking sounds continued.

Elinor slammed the fashion magazine down on the table and glared at her sister. "Well, smarty, Ray doesn't think any more of you—the first time he ever saw you, he asked who that freak was—an' I had to tell him you was my sister!" Elinor grimaced, "I felt like a damn fool—"

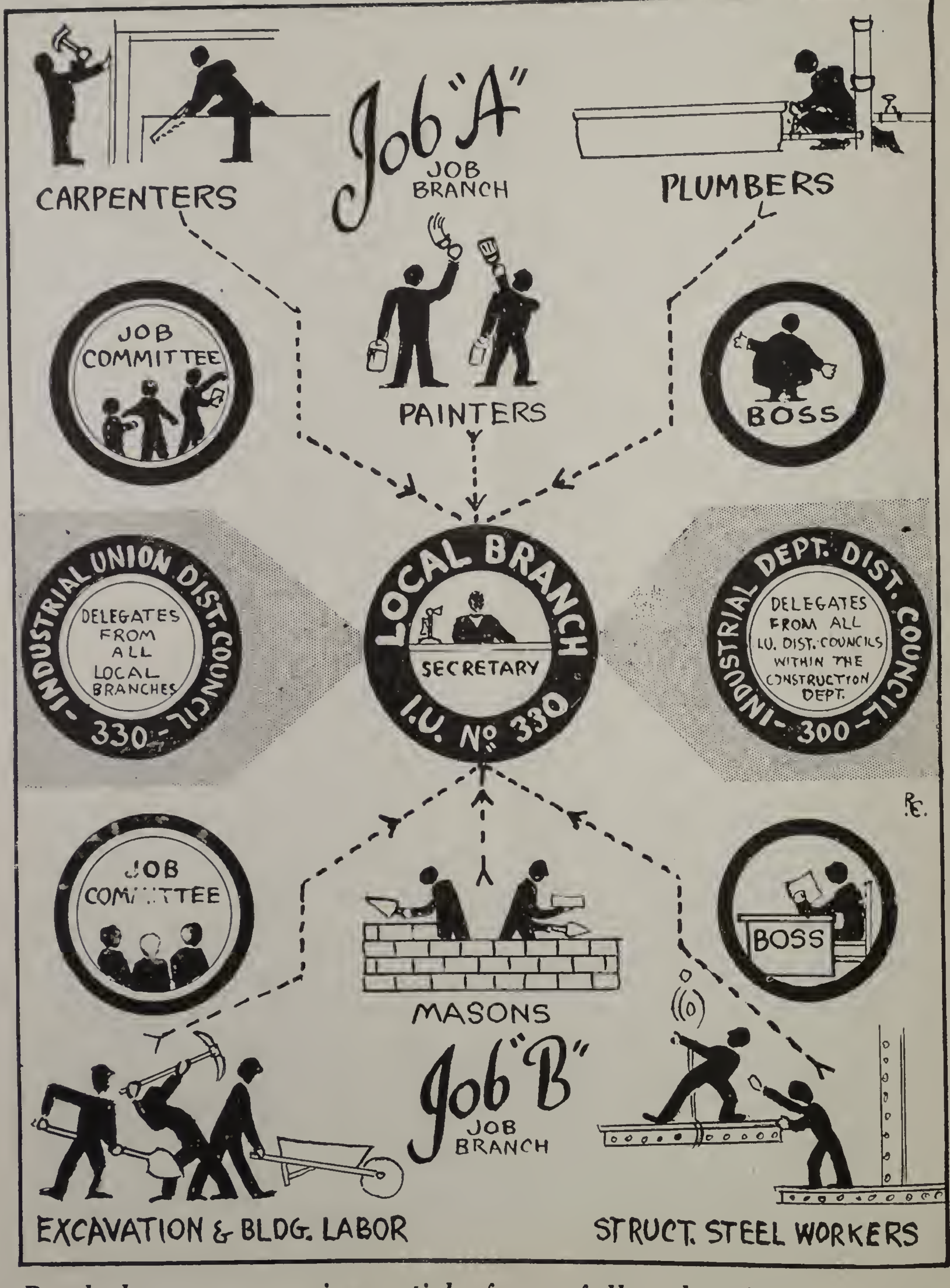
"Don't swear, Elinor," interrupted her mother. Regardless of WPA and the Youth Program she still clung to a few empty symbols of respectability—ladylike speech was one of them.

Margaret advanced into the kitchen with head high and tears in her voice, "Haven't you any control over your daughter—I won't be insulted."

"An' look at the way she talks," Elinor's voice rose, "so smart alecky—one year of college was too much for you—you'll never get over it!"

Margaret burst into tears. "No, I won't get

(Continued on page 31)


Job "A"
JOB BRANCH
CARPENTERS
PLUMBERS
PAINTERS
JOB COMMITTEE
BOSS
INDUSTRIAL UNION DIST. COUNCIL - 330 -
DELEGATES FROM ALL LOCAL BRANCHES
LOCAL BRANCH
SECRETARY
I.U. No 330
INDUSTRIAL DEPT. DIST. COUNCIL - 300 -
DELEGATES FROM ALL I.U. DIST. COUNCILS WITHIN THE CONSTRUCTION DEPT.
RC.
JOB COMMITTEE
BOSS
MASONS
Job "B"
JOB BRANCH
EXCAVATION & BLDG. LABOR
STRUCT. STEEL WORKERS

Read the accompanying article for a fuller description of how these structures that make for genuine industrial unionism work.

INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM IN THE I. W. W. THE JOB BRANCH

A Functional Organization of Workers

By RAYMOND CORDER

> *"The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall be overthrown. By organizing industrially, we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."*

A genuine industrial union is a syndicate of workers or unions, organized around the production of a commodity or the rendering of a social service, such as the construction of a building, the transportation of people and goods, or maintenance of health and sanitation. Craft unionism, on the other hand, is organization of workers grouped according to tools used, or functions on the job. Fake or compromise so-called industrial unionism, though it may be organized semi-industrially in certain mass-production industries such as coal-mining, steel and automobile production, still recognizes craft division in the industries especially among skilled workers and the white collar element. The CIO falls into this category. The CIO has inherited a top-heavy load of craft-union labor-leaders, craft-consciousness and a belief in the profit system, and the equality of both workers and capitalists within the democratic state, and, as such, it avoids and condemns revolutionary action.

The CIO, to begin with, resulted from a rank and file revolt against antiquated craft unionism and sell-out leadership, which was taken advantage of by John L. Lewis and his lieutenants. These fakers, viewed in the light of their slimy histories, are rank opportunists. Although the CIO may be workable in a clumsy manner as a bargaining agency between bosses and workers, its most outstanding earmark is that it is one of the most efficient instruments ever devised for the Fascist regimentation of a misled working class.

The CIO carries a hangover from the reactionary AFL: its lack of class consciousness, the fact that all organizing is done from the top. In spite of all the smoke of a three-cornered sham battle between Lewis, William Green and the moguls of industry, the time will come when the rank and file in the CIO will taste the bitter disillusionment at being sold out and led into Fascist regimentation by their smug and scheming leaders.

The so-called liberal section of the capitalist press is saying nice things about John L. Lewis. They even hint that he has presidential potentialities! Experience teaches us, that when the capitalist press begins to speak well of a labor leader, it is high time for the workers to dump him overboard. The line-up of CIO affiliates will convince any intelligent worker that it is not real industrial unionism, that it is satisfied with the capitalist system as such, and has no revolutionary principles.

This article was not primarily intended as an argument against Lewis or the CIO, but to show how a rank and file controlled Revolutionary Industrial Union is built and how it should function in the everyday struggle with the capitalists, and become, automatically, a working class administration of industry after capitalism shall have been overthrown. Such an industrial union has its roots in the job. The job is the basic or fundamental unit of revolutionary industrial unionism. The producers of goods and services are the rulers, the highest authority.

Let us consult the accompanying chart. Two jobs in the building industry have been chosen to illustrate our point. Of course, there may be several building jobs going on at the same time within a given district, but for the sake of simplicity we select job "A' which is, let us say on

First Avenue, and job "B" a few blocks away on Sixth Avenue. For the same reason we have chosen three different groups of workers on each of these jobs as members of our job branches. On job "A" for instance, we have graphically portrayed carpenters, plumbers, and painters. Now, in a craft union setup, each of these groups of workers, including the workers on job "B", would be members of separate craft unions. In the IWW however, all of them, regardless of craft, or the kind of tools they use, belong to Building Construction Workers' Industrial Union Number 330. The IWW does not organize the workers according to whether one man uses the hammer and saw, another a brush or another a pipe wrench. The IWW organizes according to the product, and in this case the product is to be a building.

The craft unions would not only have these workers organized separately, but each craft would, more than likely, have differently dated contracts with the boss, each contract expiring on a different date. Thus, we have often witnessed carpenters on strike and picketing a building while the painters and plumbers are "compelled" to work with scab carpenters because they have been tied up for six months or a year longer by contract. While we are on the subject of contracts, let us not forget that the CIO is entering into contracts with he bosses —more evidence of the old craft-union hangover. The automobile workers in Detroit and elsewhere, have signed up with General Motors and Chrysler; and John L. Lewis, just recently, signed a contract with the coal barons for the "industrial union" he carries around in his pocket, the "United Mine Workers of America." The UMWA is the largest union in the CIO but they are bound by a two-year contract and thus cannot strike, unless it be an outlaw strike, to help their fellow workers in the steel and automobile industries.

But let us get back to an IWW job. Here on job "A" and job "B", as well as all the other jobs from "A" to "Z", all the workers carry the IWW card showing that they are members of B.C.W.I.U. No. 330. It is, at the same time, the same card carried by the workers in all other industries, but which, for the sake of simplicity, we will not go into here. As a unit, they face the boss in Industrial Union Solidarity, and as a unit their aim is to overthrow capitalism and the wage system, and to erase the circle in which you see the boss, and put him to work as a producer. The first thing the workers on the job did, was to hold a meeting, perhaps on the job, or perhaps at their local branch hall, and elect a job committee. In order that full representation be obtained, a committeeman is elected from each group according to his function. Referring to the chart, you will note that there is a job committee of three. One of them, a carpenter, another a plumber, and the other, a painter. The same kind of representation on the committee is found on job "B". The committee elects, from among themselves, a chairman. As they work, they keep their eyes on the job and the boss between shop meetings. The job committee is under direct control of the rank and file. They themselves are workers and we have here the nucleus of industrial democracy. The boss doesn't like this, but what can he do about it in the face of working class solidarity?

It will be noted, that, at the convergence of the dotted lines from the functional groups on jobs "A" and "B", there is shown a Local Branch of B.C.W.I.U. No. 330. Jobs "A" and "B", in common with job units in all other industries, enjoy full job autonomy within the structure of the IWW. This autonomy is used by the rank and file through their democratically elected job committees, regarding matters purely relevant to each job. But in matters concerning the workers on both jobs, or on all building projects within the local area, the building workers find their common meeting place within the Local Branch. It is here that they discuss and vote on matters of joint local concern, and call for local joint action. It is from here that delegates are elected to represent the workers in the Industrial Union District Council, the Industrial Department District Council, and, though not depicted on the Chart, the General Industrial District Council. Delegates to the Industrial Union Convention are also elected from the Local Branch. The Local Branch is composed of all workers in a given industry, in this case the Building Construction industry, within a local area. A branch secretary, nominated and elected from the floor for a term of six months, takes care of branch correspondence, receives dues from job delegates, or job committee chairman and generally oversees the affairs of the local organization, and is subject to recall for cause at any branch meeting. An IWW official, from branch secretary to general secretary, is a servant of the rank and file.

Let us assume that this branch is in the city of New York, and that it is the local branch for the borough of the Bronx. The Bronx is a large area in which many workers are engaged at building work, and it is at the same time, quite a distance to Brooklyn or Staten Island. Therefore other local branches, not shown on the chart, are located in the boroughs of Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens and Richmond, and in Yonkers and the upper Westchester communities. Now let us suppose that an issue has arisen, such as the contemplation of a city wide or general strike in the building industry or in all industries, on which the membership must vote. Through what agency would it be put into motion? Naturally, if the issue pertained only to the building industry, the matter is discussed in the Industrial Union District Council by delegates elected to the I.U.D.C. from the Local Branches, and recommendations carried back to the branches. At the left, on the chart in the shaded section, we find I.U.D.C. No. 30 It is a deliberative and coördinative body for the Building Construction Workers Industrial Union No. 330 within the Greater New York district. The I.U.D.C. No. 330 may look as though it is far away from the job. But it is not. It is an assemblage of delegates from your own branches.

In the right hand shaded section is the Industrial Department District Council No. 300. This is a deliberative body of elected delegates from the Industrial District Councils or branches of the three industrial unions,* within the Department of General Construction No. 300 of the IWW: Railroad, Road and Tunnel Workers I.U., No. 310; Shipbuilding Workers I.U., No. 320; and Building, Construction Workers I.U., No. 330. In the Industrial Department District Council No. 300, the delegates compare notes and discuss conditions within the General Construction Department, and carry back to their branches and Industrial Union District Councils, recommendations and resolutions acted upon by the delegates. The I.D.D.C. No. 300 acts as a clearing house for information of general organizing activities within the Industrial Department. The same applies to I.U.D.C. No. 330 except that it confines itself to District 330 business. In forthcoming articles the functions of the I.U.D.C.s, the I.D.D.C.s, and the General Industrial District Councils, will be taken up, as well as representation from the local branches to the Industrial Union and General Conventions.

For 32 years the I.W.W. has propagated Revolutionary Industrial Unionism and it is certain that the effect will tell in the end. Where I.W.W. members have job control, as in the metal industry in Cleveland, in the Northwest woods and other localities, they are satisfied with their organization as a bargaining agent, but better than that, it points the way to the new society, to a Workers' Industrial Democracy. We of the I.W.W. have been a whip, lashing at the flanks of reactionary unions and we must continue to be the Revolutionary Industrial Union whip against C.I.O. reaction and misleadership. The workers are on the move. They wanted Industrial Unionism but have been headed away from the real thing by reactionaries, and their tools the political radicals. The Commies and the Socialists, are backing Lewis as zealots back a Messiah, but the time will come when Lewis will kick them all out, that is, when he feels that he has no further need of them. In time the C.I.O. workers will come to the realization that the I.W.W. is their Union. In the meantime the I.W.W. is the whip. The C.N.T. of Spain is not only an arch foe of, but also the greatest bulwark against Fascist dictatorship, as well as all other dictatorial isms. It is likely that the I.W.W. may very soon have to take charge of a like situation that is fast coming to a head in this counthy. We must keep to our principles; organize for rank and file job control, and abolition of the wage system.

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* Last fall Railroad, Road and Tunnel Worker Industrial Union 310 and Building Construction Workers Industrial Union 330 held a joint convention, and decided that since much of the current construction work requires their joint operation to function as one consolidated industrial union. This article writes of the structures of the I.W.W. in this specific industry as provided before this step, or as they would be should circumstances cause the members in this industry to make Industrial Unions 310 and 330 function as they did prior to the last convention. (Ed.)

The Future of Spain:

Industrial Democracy or?

By CON DOGAN

Con Dogan, member of the I.W.W., soldier and scholar, and worker with the fighting spirit of the Irish in him, weighs the forces at work in the scales of history to determine the future of Spain.

Philosophically society can be divided into two classes—those who in their ignorance are unable to recognize the operation of social forces, and those who in their enthusiasm translate the bellyache of a group into a clarion call to a new era. But it is part of our equipment as true Wobblies to be able to guage correctly every movement and its potentialities to weigh every social factor in a given situation, and to remember always that what happens tomorrow is the continuation of the workers' activity—or inactivity—of today.

Spain is in a period of transition. The old order where industrialism had made its peace and operated only by the grace and consent of medieval feudalism, is definitely a thing of the past. It is well to stress this point. The political union of all parties in La Frente Popularia has as its goal victory to maintain the Republic. The operation of industry by the workers is called a "temporary measure dictated by military exigencies." As with the Gironde in France in 1789, there is a conscious and unconscious attempt to minimize the emergence of the Mountain, to restrain as far as feasible the ideology and terminology of the old order. But France witnessed the transference of power from the States General to the Jacobin and Cordellier clubs, saw the Mirabaeus fade as the Marats and Robespierres emerged. So also with Spain, standing now much where France stood at the time of the second election to the States General.

Let us face the facts calmly. All the heavy industry and most of the light industry in Spain is being operated by the workers under sanction of the government. Every Church in Republican Spain has been damaged—(This is because the churches were so built as to dominate the villages from a military point of view as well as from any other point of view—and consequently they have been the targets in the civil war.) Never again will a feudalistic religion regain its power.

A third fact is the organizational unity between the large socialist party and the communist party which has grown during the war. Fourth, the requisitioning of buildings, factories, etc., has been done in the joint name of two unions, the C.N.T. (the syndicalist organization) and the U.G.T. (the political unions). Fifth, and not least, is the military training of the vast majority of the workers. These are facts that are also big factors in the coming struggle for power in Spain.

It is an axiom of history that every dominant class has been opposed by a movement that in essence was two movements: one, the group desiring to replace the power of the old regime by the power of the new; the other groups, truly materialist, believing that the abuse of authority was inherent in authority itself and not in the individuals wielding the same, attempted to usher in a thorough democracy as the result of the revolution. Even a superficial reading of history will reveal the fraternity and common interests of such diverse characters as Lilburne, the Leveller in the Cromwellian revolution in England, Marat and Babeouf in the French revolution, or Jefferson and Shay in the American revolution. The working class movement is no exception to this historical law. No resolutions of good will and unity, no conscious act of abnegation by individuals, can conceal the chasm between the syndicalist and socialist concepts of a free society, or of the methods to achieve the same. The various socialist parties and communist parties may unite—indeed, logically, there never was any reason for disunity among them. But honest and logical adherence to the philosophy underlying the syndicalist position precludes forever the organizational and ideological unity called for by designing or half-witted politicians. "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", "the Socialist State", and "Industrial Democracy"—these are not mere phrases. They are the very hearts of the groups using the terms—crystalizations of all the philosophy, strategy, and tactics of the varying forces of the movements. Moreover, they are terms that entirely overshadow everything else in modern Spain. The very fact of the war itself pales in significance with these terms.

* * *

Make no mistake about it. The "civil war" in Spain is already won. No intelligent person can doubt that the only alternative to a Republican victory in Spain is a World War which will engulf not only bourgeois society but in all probability everything that man has produced in the long upward climb from the jungle. Granted that economic forces within Italy and Germany may force Mussolini or Hitler to "bet the limit", to transform "friendly aid" to "hostile intervention"(*)—but presuming that both pseudo-Alexanders have the sanity of half-wits, and that the present non-intervention pact is even one per cent efficient, then Fascism in Spain will be defeated before Christmas.

What then? Is it possible for a backward feudal country to enter the capitalist sphere in an industrially sated world? Will the Spanish people be content with the cultural level and economic standards of the little "banana republics" of South America? Spain, with no industrial machine, with only fruit and mercury as raw materials for exchange! Spain, with its splendid syndicalist traditions, its parliamentary socialist majority, its people imbued with the recklessness and camaraderie of one of the most bitter "civil wars" of history!

Eschewing every iota of "wishful thinking", we can arrive at only one conclusion: *Modern Spain MUST attempt one or the other forms of Collective Social Civilizations.* Here, ideologically at least it the finest country in the world for testing the three main channels of workers' revolutionary hopes and ideals: Socialism as taught, Communism as preached, or Syndicalism the philosophy that grew without "philosophers". It is more than an interesting speculation. It is a vital question confronting the workingclass movement. On the answer depends the forms of the "new order" in all countries, and the disintegration or emergence into greater strength of all working class organization in the modern world. It can be symbolized roughly —if we care for symbolism—by the two countries that have been the only true friends of the Spanish workers in the hour of need—Mexico and Russia —Mexico with an inkling of an ideal of a country of Industrial Democrats—Russia with a practice and precept of "freedom through Praetorianism". It revives again, with new facets, the Plekhanov-Lenin debates. It calls for exact knowledge of the economic status not only of Spain but of all the modern world, together with the political factors arising from the economic basis. It demands an accurate appraisal of the strength and weakness of all working class organizations throughout the world. It cries for a refurbishing of our "knowledge boxes" of dialectical materialism, of revolutionary history, of our economic and determinist premises. Can an Industrial Democracy exist in a void? Can this particular Industrial Democracy survive? Can a communist led Spain exist, with or without the help of Soviet Russia? Can a truly Socialist Spain exist—with a practical monopoly of such a necessity as mercury, and lying athwart the "life line" of the British Empire, and controlling the front door of fascist southern Europe? Is the world working class movement strong enough and willing enough to force the parasites to leave Spain alone? Is the economic wealth of Spain sufficient to establish a criteria of any form of workers' social organization? A criteria acceptable even to the Missouri scissorbills who will accept anything so long as "it works". These are important questions, questions that we as Wobblies must be able to answer. I sincerely hope that some fellow worker, more in touch with conditions than I am here in the trench in Spain, with greater deductive powers, and with more opportunity to brush up on the "forgotten knowledge" we all have, will try to answer.

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(1) This was written before the Italians sank the Ciudad de Barcelona and the Germans shelled and destroyed Almeria.

Sarah Plants a Garden

By a Ventura
Working Woman

The experience of thousands who try to break away from the clutches of exploiters by building a home on the farm.

"They shall rise up and call her blessed—this woman... Well does she look to the ways of her household."

There had been a rift in the Warren household. Sam Warren had always been a conscientious husband and father but since unemployment had sorted out all classes of workers en masse he had become bitter and irritable. He had previously been employed as steadily as the average. While with four children to feed and clothe it had been a constant uphill climb, thanks to his wife's thrift they had kept up somehow. Although at times he had become discouraged with the effort it took to just keep going it had been a satisfaction to know they had a home. He used to look down from the hill at nights and it was good to see how his place stood out from all the rest. The lawn and the flowers were always so trim and fresh. Three more years and they would own it completely, he had figured. Naturally, it was pretty hard to stand by as useless as a withered limb and see everything go. He tried to recall the details of the final surrender in the lawyer's office but everything seemed cloudy and unreal. It was a Frankenstein that he couldn't quite comprehend.

That had been several months ago and the beaten expression had turned to one of cynical defiance. He could explain everything now—it was all so clear. He'd gone to meetings and he had read—yes, long after the family had gone to bed he'd read until his eyes were bleary. He was naturally a thinker and it puzzled him why he hadn't seen it before. "Hm! God's country!" he muttered. "Well, He ought to know, He and the racketeers had it!" He had become disgusted with all political panaceas as he'd watched their bubbles swell and burst consistently into nothing but further disillusionment. But out of labor's age long struggle he had gleaned one fundamental on which to set his feet; organization! organization!—that was the key—but, it had to be right.

His wife had become impatient and was too busy to absorb much except the fact that something had to be done. They had moved to the country as she felt the relief would go farther where they could have a garden. "Organization—hm—she said to herself. I'll show him organization that means something!"

Spring was in the air and she drank in its freshness. She had been born and raised in the country and the smell of growing things stirred her. She recalled the green acres of her father's farm and the peace of the cattle grazing. At sixteen she had won the prize for the county's best garden. That was a long time ago but when the ploughman came that afternoon she stood out in the tract and eagerly watched the turning of the moist furrows with equal enthusiasm. No, you couldn't fool her on soil—she was like her father. She enjoyed spreading the manure and handled it as she had always had to handle luxuries—dividing it with machine-like precision. Daily, after the seeds had been planted she watched for the sprouting shoots. When thinning and hoeing time had come the children had entered into the spirit of it wholeheartedly. Vaguely they sensed her resentment. Frequently they had heard her say to Sam, "I'll show you!" until Timmie who was scarcely four, was repeating it after her.

How the months had flown. It was almost fall and the harvest had been a full one. Everything had been in her favor and Sarah Warren had experienced a certain spiritual uplifting. She had always known that the country was her rightful place and it almost seemed as though God had helped her. As she opened the door of the bulkhead to add a few jars to the already crowded shelves, she glanced over the assortment arranged meticulously according to color and size. The appraisal having been made she closed the door and hummed a familiar tune. There was still plenty to do. She had to pack for the blueberry picnic. It was to be a two-day excursion and the children could hardly wait. She guiltily wondered if she should share their secret. After all there were many other people who needed food. But of course, their family was large she reassured herself.

(Continued on page 16)

THE STRAIT AND NARROW

A Short Story

By Walter Pfeffer

"When did you get out and how did you get in?"

"I got out today, and," Bob paused to take in the lay of the apartment, "I got in this way." He held up a little wire bent in various angles and curves.

"That's interesting. What is it and where did you get it?"

"It's a paper clip. I dropped in at a bank and picked it up on the writing desk."

"I'll be damned if it isn't; but where did you get the trick?"

"Oh, just some post-graduate big-house work. Rather neat I thought."

"I'll say it's neat. Show me how."

"What good'll it do you? You've always played the legit."

"Still do. Nothing beats it. But I can use that and it'll do me more good than it will ever do you. You'll only use it to get in again."

"Well, there's nothing suspicious about having a paper-clip in one's pocket. No, Dave, can't show you the trick. I got it confidential. It's just for a few of us boys and not for absentminded followers of the straight and narrow path who forget their latch-keys."

"Say, kid, that thing means big money to us. We can make a thousand times as much, and no trouble, playing that inside the law, as you ever can with your petty larceny glommin'."

"No kiddin'; spill the big idea."

"That can be used on all latch-locks, can't it?"

"Sure."

"There's money making locks, isn't there?"

"Suppose so; but I don't want to make them."

"You don't have to make them; we'll fix up a lock that won't work on."

"That sounds more like work than like money to me."

"Then we'll patent it."

"What, the paper clip?"

"No, the lock, you fool."

"What then?"

"Then we'll put all the other locks out of business by showing how they can be opened."

"You're not so dumb."

Bob showed the mystery of the clip. "You straighten it out and then you put it in the crack there. Then you bend it this way. Then you push it that way. Then you put this kind of a crook on her. Then you give her one more turn and push. Then you make a little handle on the end for leverage, turn it, and there your latch is sprung back. See?"

Dave tried it again and again until he had it perfect. "Yes, it's very neat; now what would we have to do to make a lock proof against it?"

"That's simple. Just make the projection of the latch past the door jamb a bit longer than the height of the metal box into which it slides, and then you can't turn your hook."

"Then it's all fixed. I'll make the model and get the patent, and you I will be sitting on swivel chairs, smoking good cigars and giving orders to a bunch of beautiful dizzy blondes."

"Don't talk about 'em, Dave; I've been in the monastry for two years now."

"And come out with a five-spot, I suppose. Well, here's a hundred. Go make up for lost time. I'll show you that the straight and narrow path beats your kinks every time.

* * *

Dave sat and scrached his nose. "Yes," he mused, "Bob's right. This is too damn much like work." He laid down the pencils that he had been trying to use as triangles, rulers and T-squares for his sketch and reached for the phone.

"That you, Jim? . . . You're up on things in Lasalle Street. When does the board of directors of the Ralston Lock Company meet? . . . Alright . . . Tomorrow afternoon? Good . . . Yeh, I was just obligin' a lady friend Her meal-ticket said he had to attend that meeting and she wanted to make sure that there was one . . . Thanks . . . Yeh, any time."

* * *

Dave left the elevator at the seventh floor. In front of him was a spacious office where sleek young men, observant of all the ads about clean shaving, clean collars and halitosis, were patiently waiting their appointments. Dave had been particularly careful not to shave and to dig up a dirty collar out of the laundry bag. He walked down the hall until he read a sign, "A. C. Rumlidge, President, Private." He took a paper clip out of his pocket, bent it, pushed it, bent it, pushed it, bent it, pushed it, turned it and walked in.

Mr. Rumlidge turned away from his seated visitor with a "How did you get in?"

"With this," and Dave held up the wire.

Mr. Rumlidge coughed. It was a cigar that he reached for, but nevertheless he was nonchalant. "Oh, yes, just a minute."

He soon dismissed his visitor and inquired further into the mystery of the mysterious stranger.

"Yes," said Dave, "I've always admired Ralston Locks, even though they have been a set-back to the profession. This little paper-clip is almost handier than a key, and well, more uh, more universal."

"Indeed, indeed," mused the executive as Dave showed him the trick. "I'll have to show this to my engineers."

"I don't think so."

"But I surely will."

"It would be poor business."

"How so?"

"First, it isn't necessary, Second, it would cost money to change your type of lock—just think of all the new dies! Third, it would ruin your reputation if it became generally known that you've equipped most of the homes in America with locks that can be opened with a paper-clip."

"It is a predicament. Now just what have you on your mind?"

"Just to let you know about it and not tell anybody else."

"That's very considerate of you indeed. I'm sure that the company will be pleased to give you some mark of its appreciation."

"How much appreciation?"

"Well, I can't just say. The Board of Directors meets this afternoon. What would you think right?"

"Oh, five-hundred thousand."

"Tut, tut, man that's exorbitant."

"All right then."

"All right, what?"

"Well just picture to yourself all the hardware stores in the nation with nice window displays showing a burglar as he opens all your locks with a paper-clip. Just picture big display ads in all the papers showing that only a lock with a cut in the jamb deeper than the height of the latchbolt can stop this little clip from opening doors. Just picture the nice copy explaining that IXL locks alone have this feature, and that it's patented."

Mr. Rumlidge was an imaginative executive and he did picture it. Dave was a stubborn salesman and wouldn't drop below his original figure. The deal was put through.

A month later Bob came in after the night before.

"Say, Dave, the taxi driver is waitin'. I didn't have anything in my pockets when I woke up this morning."

"Here, pay him then," snapped Dave.

"Say, what's the matter, snapping and giving me a measly five-spot?"

"Don't argue, Bob, we've got to economize. I've spent a thousand on you in the last month—but hurry, pay that driver; then I've got some bad news for you."

Bob hurried like a slow motion picture and came back slower.

"The deal's off, Bob. Ralston Lock has our stunt patented."

"You're not spoofin', are you?"

"I never do. Here's the letter from the Patent Office. Read it and weep."

Bob read it but didn't weep.

"All my work gone for nothing, Bob. Well, let's not cry over spilt milk. If you want to do anything with your paper-clip you had better make hay while the sun is still shining. But for me the straight and narrow path. And here's a hundred to give you a start and keep you out of temptation."

"Say, Dave, I always knew you were a square shooter. La, La."

Sarah's Garden

(Continued from page 14)

They were gone the full two days. They couldn't resist filling all the containers. As they turned up the driveway Sarah noted as she persued the garden plot that the corn would be ready before long. Sam would have to add more shelves to take care of the later things. Sam got out first and was about to put the key in the door when he saw the lock had been broken. He went to the bulkhead but the door was open. He had never thought he was a coward but he just couldn't face Sarah—at least for awhile. He stood wondering what to say—what to do. But the children had followed him in and it was out of his hands. He turned to watch Sarah but she was climbing back into the car apparently insensible to direction. She clutched the upholstery as if nothing were sure any more. She heard Sam say faintly—"whoever stole it must have been hungry." Everything was blurry and the children were strangely silent. Perhaps in their childish way they realized too that something had to be done but it was more than planting a garden.

In the Name of the Working Class!

By Bert Russell

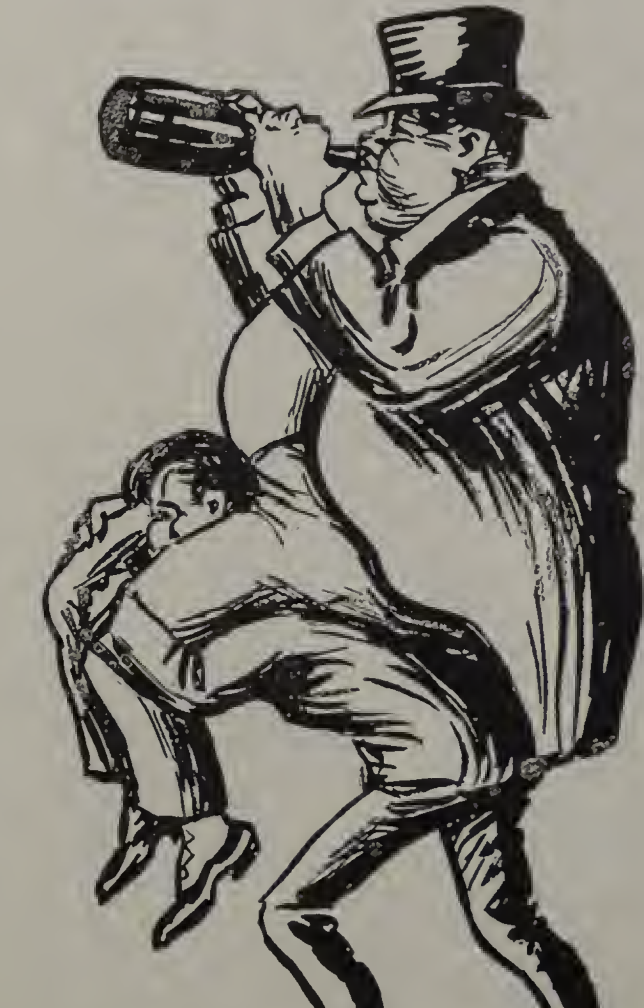
An account of the mad rush of fakirs and new intellectuals to get a good seat on the backs of the producers.

Mark Twain's remark that "Everyone talks about the weather, but no one does anything about it" applies well to industrial unionism among those in the C.I.O. and federation of craft unions. Their protests that they "are doing something about it," can be placed in the same category as the protests of a primitive witch doctor against those who doubted that he had any control of rainfall when he climbed a tree, sprinkled water and indulged in exhortations in an attempt to get a moist response from the clear skies. When their claims that industrial union exhortation makes for the real thing fail to convince the skeptics, they follow the illustrious example of their sorcerer predecessors and go through the same imaginative process to prove that their unagreeable critics are moved by the spirit of evil.

Foremost among the chanters is the C.I.O. which has seized the limelight with its high powered press agents and tub thumpers leaving only the shadows for the other industrial-union-panacea-patterers. Hitler's sage advice to tell a big lie if you want people to believe you, is heeded by the C.I.O. John L.'s followers tell the big lie and say that it is industrial unionism, but the lesser prophets, such as the federationists among the marine, lumber and film workers, evade the big lie and merely infer that they are industrial unionists. The I.L.A. spokesman during the embroglio, to use John L.'s choice term for such disputes, between them and the teamsters said, "We believe in industrial unionism. Our strike taught us that." Their recent strikes would have taught a halfwit the need of industrial unionism but there are no signs that this great lesson has been taken to heart. The inference that they are industrial unionists fails to find support in the actions of their officials.

Ambitious Exworkers

This mouthy reverential regard for industrial unionism unaccompanied by any exhibition of its practice is exciting curiosity in the minds of many. There is an attempt to explain this imitation industrial union bogey on the grounds of a misunderstanding of industrial unionism. This is to underestimate the knowledge of the labor leaders. Likewise to approach it as a sinister plot covertly hatched among the labor officials and the capitalist class to lead the working class into a worse



state of slavery is to over-estimate the intelligence of the capitalist class and to presuppose a state of harmony between these two predatory cliques that has not hitherto existed, in America at least. That this harmonious relationship has been entertained by some labor officials, to their benefit, and that it may be entertained by a majority some time, is granted but the petty intrigues and tempests in the union pot hardly lend themselves to such a dogmatic explanation. Such dogmatism condemns some, though few, well meaning officials to a part they are not playing and is a blanket vindication for the rank and file as being sinned against but without desire to sin.

Conservative labor leaders with few exceptions are still adherents to rugged individualism. Ambition, power, position and money is their objective. That some times their method to achieve this, advances the interests of the boss or is sometimes accompanied with improved conditions of the workers is interesting to the officials only in so far as it serves their ends. They maintain with the employers and among themselves that friendly disagreement of competitors in the same field of exploitation. Any amalgamation and egreement with their competitors wherein their individual personality is submerged is abhorrent to them. But the "trust" and "amalgamation" days of labor unionism and capitalism are coming and if the C. I. O. is not the first growth of this tendency it is at least the first that has developed sufficiently to forecast its character when, and if, matured. Even here the individual desire for power and prestige is playing a greater part unconsciously than any deep laid plain of the employing class.

Plus Politicians

This line of development of labor union officials exemplified in the C.I.O. and to a lesser extent because less powerful, in the federations of lumber, marine and film workers, converges with the path of development of another group entirely divorced from the struggles of labor unionists: a group, hanging on the fringe of the labor movemovement whenever employment in their chosen lines becomes scarce, made up of students with somewhere to graduate from but no where to graduate to, ministers without parishoners and declasse intellectuals and would-be intellectuals. Down on their uppers they have been thumbing a ride unsuccessfully from the labor unions for years. But their vague plans and far distant utopia of working class freedom from the capitalist class and their subjection to the intellectual class is gradually gaining recognition from the labor leaders who hitherto have scorned their attempts to encroach on the privileged hunting grounds of the ex-workers.

Now, pushed from below by a rank and file growing restless with the unfilled promises of higher wages and better working conditions, beckoned onward by the mirages of political power and prestige painted by the intellectuals (to be shared by the mentors), encouraged by the suggestions of the employers that labor should share in the responsibilities of industry (the losses) during these critical periods, the labor officials prepare for the new era. They welcome the assistance of those intellectuals and would-be intellectuals, without actual contact with the laboring masses but well versed in abstract political theories and political wire pulling when it is offered.

Unity Preached, Division Practiced

All the talk of industrial unionism, solidarity and progress, accompanied by craft and district separation, internal jurisdictional fights, the vascillating and conflicting policies of the tangle of cliques within the federation of craft union movements finds its cause in the struggle for power and influence of ambitious leaders bitten by the political bug. Industrial unionism is but a political slogan with them. It is not only not desired but positively opposed by them. Industrial unionism is packed with dynamite for political aspirations, and so long as it can be talked about and not achieved, further steps do not have to be considered. Industrial unionism to the worker is like a flea to a dog, as long as he fights to get it he forgets he is a dog, but when he does get it his mind dwells on his position in society. With nothing more in their bag of tricks the politicians would have to stand aside peaceably and see this weapon used or denounce it. In either case their privileged positions disappear.

The events within the federation setup offer themselves to this explanation only. In the Maritime Federation more energy is expended building up reputations for one leader and tearing down that of another than would take to build industrial solidarity and take over the shipping of the United States. Patriotism is said to be the last resort of a scoundrel. The exhortation of unity (how that word just rolls over the tongue of the political sect) is the last resort of the same bird in labor unions. It is the stock peroration of orators through the federations and the honeyed flow is followed by an avalanche of charges and counter charges regarding someone's morals, past, present and evermore. Those in glass houses should not throw stones but throwing meadow mayonaise is permissible and advisable. It serves a two-fold purpose; exhiliaratingly entertains the audience in the rank and file, and dims the transparency of their own actions and mistakes. Meanwhile the biblical admonition that he that is without "things" toss the first brickbat, is abided by.

Maritime Federation

Instead of trying to build an industrial union, and practice its most simple essential, all workers in one industry in one union, the divisions between the crafts are made more apparent by their fight over who should collect the dues of a winchman. That a winchman should pay his dues in the proper place is more important than the industrial union principle that he should get the highest wages for that catagory of work. It is only one of many contradictions that keep their official journal full of petty scandalizing and articles on "Ain't I a great guy." Absolute agreement reigns among the officials regarding not using direct action but "send us to Washington," and the conventions of the federations all propose political hookups. The editor of the official Journal sets forth his views in a head "I.L.A. Convention Goes Progressive." Perusal of the article discloses that the convention went "definitely political." His impartial editing while awaiting the election of a permanent editor (for which his application will be considered) is perhaps not so impartial and reflects the aim of the politicians to control the unions.

Woodworkers Federation

Any sense of industrial solidarity evidenced among the rank and file of the Maritime Federation registers a minus in the Woodworkers Federation. The solidarity of only partially organized workers expressed in 1935 has been destroyed by company und district division. The members are promised that they can take action next spring "all together," What progress! They could do that two years ago. Then just as they get so they can act with officials on their shoulders, and their hands tied with contracts, the way they could without these burdens the phonies plan to add another load on them to slow them down—a political one. Their convention endorsed the Washington Commonwealth Federation. Some say that it will be the straw that broke the camel's back but as a camel with a broken back is of little use the outlook it not favorable. The less said of the federation among the film workers the better. Even the federationists have a dark brown taste in their mouth from that one.

Political Prestige Depends On Labor Unions

It has been under this influence of the intellectual saviours of the working class that the craft and company union officials are working to tie the unions to political parties. A labor political party supported by the labor unions offers these college-bred intellectuals and self taught ex-workers all the advantages of the regular parties. Without this backing, a political party of the "masses" lacks that stability essential to successful political careers. Labor political parties in all countries, Germany, England and others are examples, have always depended upon labor union support for success. Mass parties dependent on individual membership are invariably subjected to large falling off of members swayed by the political winds. Witness the Townsend and Epic parties. The control of votes made possible by wooing the labor leaders warrants the labor politicians' demand for some control of political job favors. But in the meantime the loyality of the workers to the politicians depends upon the defeat and division on the economic field.

Poison of Intellectuals' Puppets

Thus the group controlled by the intellectual aspirants for political positions have cried loudest for unity but have done everything in their power to place obstacles in the way of it. To apparently strive for unity and being careful it's not achieved aids them in their propaganda that the easy road to working class unity is in politics with a Farmer-Labor Party and places the "out" politicians under obligations to the stooges when they become the "ins." When S.U.P. had its charter lifted and the I.S.U. convention made changes in the constitution that would have nullified the gains that the sailors made in the '34 strike and installed the fink hall, it was this group that lead the "Back to the A. F. of L." cry. Even until last fall they were still working to this end. Then just on the eve of the S.U.P. accepting their charter again the same group forms a secession "union" called National Marine Union, on the east coast. The decision to launch this new union was made by "the rank and file committee on the Atlantic and Gulf Coast." The power to make this strategy move, as it is called, was vested in this committee by no one but themselves and their intellectual guiders.

It was this same rank and file group that advised the sailors to accept the Copeland fink book and to send the leaders to Washington to fight it out. When the book was withdrawn they claimed it was the spineless finks that took the books who were instrumental in getting rid of it and that if everyone had done as the I.W.W. members on the east coast and as the S.U.P. pledged themselves on the west coast, not to take the book, the ship crews would have been filled with farmers and the real sailors would have been out on the beach. When ships get so that dust bowlers and fruit farmers can guide them over the main, it is time for a sailor to pack his sea bag and get a stump ranch to learn his trade again. Not that the N.M.U. is necessarily intended to last. Nothing formed by an autocratic few ever lasted so long as it becomes beneficial to these same few to disband it, but it is demonstrating to the high and mighties that the ones who breathed life into the N.M.U. have a number of sheep for sale to the highest bidder.

Home-Grown Product

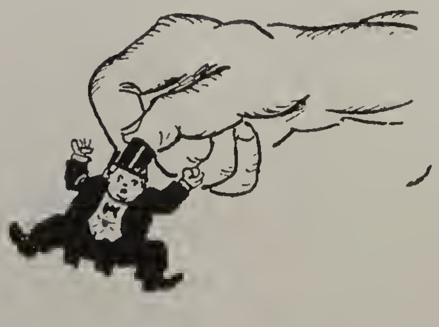
Steering labor unions down the political skidway while chanting industrial unionism is just the American expression of that tendency in European countries of fastening the claws of political parties into labor unions and promising socialism in the far distant future. Socialism is a discredited doctrine in this country, partially because it never gained the control it did elsewhere, but mostly because industrial unionism advocated and practiced by the I.W.W. took the wind out of the socialists' sails. Because of the fighting tradition behind industrial unionism it is today the most revolutionary idea round which the politicians can pin their slogans.

The late appearance here of this movement as anything more than the croaking of a few cranks can be accounted for mostly by the fact that industrial development has proceeded at such a pace as to absorb the local intellectuals as fast as they were made. But in the last ten years the supply has far outstripped the demand for intellectuals as well as workers. The political movement plus industrial unionism is the expression of their discontent; not that of the workers. The New Deal absorbed many of them but it merely whetted their appetite and those that are "in" are desirous of building a bulwark against their early displacement by supporting the lesser intellectual malcontents. Roosevelt doesn't need to be a communist to take lessons from Stalin who blew up Trotzky's greatest support in the U.S.S.R. by merely creating two or three hundred thousand more jobs for the intellectuals. Every liberal, progressive or "revolutionary" political measure has this one end; the increased control and regulation of economy by the state and the state controlled by the intellectual bureaucracy, the brain trust. A substitution of intellectual control for capitalist control. Just another class system.

That in those countries where such political control of unions was exercized the tide of fascism swept without resistance does not constitute a vital objection to their plans. After all the success of the corporate statists offers the same advantages, and if a number of these intellectuals experience a change of affection upon the rise of some fascist power this should be small reason for objection on the part of those who support government control of industry. There is no great chasm between the principle of the government control exponents, whether socialist or fascist. It is merely a squabble over which group shall rule the roost. As for the workers—it is merely a question of whether their children die for one fatherland or another.

But as the fascists upon achieving power have to fear those believing followers who take their promises seriously, so the politicians preaching industrial unionism fear that they may lose a power which may easily get out of hand.

That the workers organized in labor unions do get out of the hands of the politicians and others designing to ride on the workers' backs, is the aim of all revolutionary industrial unionists.



Songs of the Struggle

By Con Dogan

One of the things the working class movement is indebted to the I.W.W. for is the teaching of the value of songs to the struggle for emancipation.

The organization cannot lay claim to the invention of the idea of music as an aid to high spirits —Mr. Monk sang to his lady a few million years ago. Military songs were sung by the Phoenicians in their civilizing missions that made the average Phoenician almost as well travelled as an I.W.W. organizer. Military songs were sung by that half fabulous people the Fir-bolgs in their attempt to keep one corner of Europe free for the Ancient Faiths. But in the modern working class movement the I.W.W. alone has made a systematic attempt to popularize the songs of the struggle.

The songs the workers have sung are an accurate reflex of the struggle at any given moment. More though, they are the accurate reflex of the national and social psychologies of the differing racial groups.

Omitting the legendary songs of the Levellers of the Cromwellian period in England, modern working class songs begin at the time of the French Revolution. The "March of the Marseillaise" was composed in the heroic mood of the day—a people suddenly seeing the dawn of a new era, and willing to fight to retain it. "La Carmagnole" is the courage born of despair of the Paris fauborgs, "we'll dance with death—the Carmagnole," so sang the workers as they danced around the head of the finance minister who suggested people needn't starve as long as there was green grass. "Ca Ira" is suggestive of the debating clubs—the "shoemakers", the "Jacobin," the "farmers" clubs of the period. "What demands the republican? The liberty of all mankind." These songs have lived until the present day.

Of course, the most famous of working class songs was written by a Belgian. With a typical French air and a typical French ideology, it is still international enough to be sung wherever workers forgather.

Toilers from the ships and fields united,
  The union we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the workers,
  No room here for the shirk.
How many on our flesh have fattened!
  But if the noisome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
  The blessed sunlight still will stay.

During the period of the war and the reconstruction the favorite song of the Belgian worker was an adaption of "Marbrouck sa va t'en guerre." Marlbourough was one of the ancestors of the present hybrid Winston Churchill, an English rabble rouser of some notoriety. Marbrouck, according to the original and the adaption was also the ancestor of a good many other people, none of them very much worth while. A bawdy song, a rollicking song with a rousing air.

The only songs the English labor movement has produced are the familiar "Hold the Fort," and Carpenter's "England Arise," and the "New Jerusalem," both of them with unsingable airs and wording never used by the overall stiff. The English workers depend for their songs on the I.W.W. song book and the songs of the Scottish and Irish labor movements.

Burns' songs are the bible of every Scot. They contain a dignity and manhood that is sadly lacking in England where the ideology of the serf remains after all these years of industrialism. "A man's a man for a' that," is the song of Burns most often sung by the struggling toilers.

Jim Connell and Jim Connolly are the two most famous of Irish song writers. Jim Connell wrote the "Red Flag" to the air of the "White Cocade" a marching song of the Scottish clans during the Jacobite rebellion. But because the air of "Maryland," popularized by the American Fenians, was easier for the vast majority of voices, Jim's original idea was changed, even though James to the day of his death preferred the old Scottish air. Connell's "Stand up ye workers" was written to the air of "O'Donnell Abu" which, being written for Irish pipes, is hard on the human voice. Hence "Stand up" has never had the popularity such a fine song deserves.

James Connolly wrote many songs but the most popular "The Watchword of Labor" which is the song of the Irish workers and "Sing a Rebel Song" which is almost the official song of the English labor movement were written in the spirit of the French quotation which Connolly most admired: "The great appear great only because we are on our knees. Let us rise." The music of both was written by an individual named Peter Kearney, who after a life of service to the labor and republican movements, ended his carreer as a governor of a jail during the period when jails were places where a man rested for a few days before saying "good morning" to a firing squad in the days of the Civil War.

Connell and Connolly are not the only song writers the Irish struggle has produced. Almost all the songs of the national movement are couched in revolutionary terms. The songs of Mangan, of Kickham, especially, with a few alterations stand head and shoulders over most of the songs of the modern labor movement. The more so because of the fine harmonic airs, the plaint of the pipe drone that runs through all Gaelic music, makes these songs especially suited to solos and part singing in halls.

My own favorite in working class songs is one of the oldest songs in the world—a song which, as tradition has it, was first sung in the clan wars of the pre-Christian era.

"A rebel heart, a rebel heart,
From taint of slavery free
O grant there still through good or ill
A rebel heart in me"

is a sentiment we cannot have too much of in this day and age.

For the songs most suited to the needs of the struggle the prize must go to two American Scandinavians—Joe Hill and the man the world knows as T-Bone Slim. With pure genius, these boys have taken the songs of the witch doctors, medicine men of the street corner and made of such material songs that are sung all over the globe. Think of the glorious, impudent phrases of Hill's that have passed into the language: "Halleluiah, I'm a bum," "Pie in the sky," "Why the hell don't you work" —these are phrases used now even by people who holler "cop" when the name of the I.W.W. is mentioned. The puckish humor of Slim—"the wise guy sleeps in hoosier's barn," "they go wild, simply wild over me"—surely no other movement in the world has produced two such individuals with the capacity to use the earthy humor of the street corner and produce songs that are classics of their kind.

The I.W.W. is fortunate too, in having—as far as I can find out—the only song writer who is also a poet. Chaplin must feet honored in the knowledge that "Solidarity" is almost the official song of the comedians of Stalin's Church—English section. The fact that the English comical party is much more of a union busting outfit than their American comrades—though by no means as smart at the racket—adds irony. Chaplin, out of the kindness of his heart should write "a thesis" for the "praesiduum" of the Comintern on Solidarity. I don't suppose for a moment they will understand it, but it might stop them from singing "Solidarity" in public. Those welshers have voices that only Jesus could love.

(Continued on page 34)

Yours f t OBU
Jo Hill

JOE HILL

Workers War To Stop Fascism

Reports on the Events in Spain by the Secretariat of the International Workingmen's Association

Translated by JOSEPH WAGNER

The Development of Anti-Fascist Spain after July 19, 1936

In Spain, as elsewhere, the democratic bourgeoisie proved itself incapable of overcoming fascism. The Azana regime prepared the way for the clerical and military rebellion in the same way as the Weimar Republic had prepared the way for nazism. In the meanwhile, on July 19, 1936 a strong popular movement prevented the success of the military putsch in Spain, and if the traitor generals gained the upper hand in Saragossa, Palma, Seville, it was but due to the failure of the republican authorities. In a large part of the country the rebels were defeated only thanks to the heroic action of precisely that part of the population that was most relentlessly persecuted by the Azana regime: the revolutionary workers. The labor union organization of the revolutionary workers of Spain is the C. N. T. Its tactics resulted in the July 19 victory in Catalonia. The triumphs of the workers in this economically very important region of Spain created the possibility of seriously undertaking the war against fascism.

After the victory in the streets, the column of popular militia, proceeded to the other districts dominated or menaced by the rebels; and in the rear, the social transformation of the economic life was begun. In this, it was the labor unions that took the initative. The social renovation of Spain began at the bottom: it was the workers who took the direction and the responsibility of the economic organization of the region. The only function that the state had left was to give sanction to the accomplished facts.

The Position of the Syndicalists and of Anarchists

With a clear view of the possibilities of the moment, the C. N. T. declared itself for the immediate realization of its own goal; libertarian communism. The C. N. T., through its syndicates, (labor unions), undertook the collectivization of the large and medium sized industrial enterprizes, and declared itself for the substitution for the old State institutions, a new economic, political and cultural organism under the control of the labor unions. The position of the C. N. T. on this subject had been clearly set down prior to July 19, but alone, the C. N. T. could not accomplish this task. Therefore it proposed a revolutionary alliance between the anarchist and socialist labor unions: between the C. N. T. and the U. G. T., in order to be able to carry out these objectives. Starting from this viewpoint, the C. N. T. granted the U. G. T. equal representation with itself on all committees, although the U. G. T. was not a labor union force in Catalonia prior to July 19, and after that date its growth was due to the fact that it became a haven of refuge for a certain moderate layer of the proletariat, and of the entire lower middle class.

At the time the battle was raging at the gates of Madrid and the defense of the capital city had become the crucial point of the struggle (the socialist-bourgeois government had fled to Valencia), the C. N. T. demanded the creation of a Defense Council that should replace the central government. The Marxists and the republicans refused to accept this proposition. The C. N. T. wanted the unity of the people against fascism, at all costs, and considered it its own mission to establish such a union. In order to facilitate the people's union against fascism, the C. N. T. laid aside its own tactical conceptions and consented to be represented in the central government. The workers of Madrid rallied for the second time in order to block the road to fascism and Madrid was saved.

Since July 19, the C. N. T. never ceased making sacrifices; many of its best militants died on the front and the C. N. T. did not insist on the unconditional immediate realization of ts own social aims. In spite of its being a powerful revolutionary organization, it abstained from imposing its own dictatorship, which it could have easily done in large portions of the country. The C. N. T. was inspired consistently by its traditional principle of liberty and free and voluntary collaboration, in its relations with the other anti-fascist organizations that used to consider the C. N. T. as the enemy organization and treated it as such. The disinterestedness of the C. N. T., its generous tolerance towards the others and its readiness to forego, temporarily, the pressing forward of its own particular aims, all this was taken to be a sign of weakness by the old-line professional politicians—republicans, socialists, communists—and they took advantage of this to push forward their own political plans and to lessen the direct influence of the workers on the economic life of the country and to restore the old priveleges. And discontent grew among the masses of workers, particularly in Catalonia. That was the real source of the tragical events of May 3-6, where the anarchists again gave proof of their strength and of their willingness to understand.

The Road Followed by the C. N. T.

The C. N. T. is a labor union organization; it considers that the building of socialism is the mission of the economic organization of producers and consumers, and not of a totalitarian State or of some political party with a dictatorial character. If the C. N. T. had followed, since July 19, a policy of understanding with the other anti-fascist sectors and had made numerous sacrifices in order to allow the common policy to be carried out, this was because it considered that in this manner it is possible to build up the libertarian and anti-dictatorial socialism. Its tolerance, its rapprochement to the U. G. T. had a constructive character and was directed towards a positive goal.

"No other organization works with so much zeal for the economic reconstruction of the country, in a socialist sense," recently wrote **Fragua Social**, Valencia organ of the C. N. T.

"The collectivization movement developed rapidly as soon as the bourgeoisie lost its economic power. Through the labor unions, the workers seized the factories, the landed estates, the mines and the means of transportation. And that was but the natural outcome of an idea that was maturing in the minds of the workers. The workers were ready to take into their hands the administration and the direction of the national economy at the first opportunity they had . . ."

". . . Another proletariat, placed in the same circumstances but lacking the revolutionary tradition of the Spanish working class, would have lacked the social aim for which they should have striven, because they would have lacked the solid ideological basis which resides in the labor unions of the Iberian peninsula. The problems confronting us are not due to our lack of general orientation as was the case in the other revolutions (in other countries). The Spanish proletariat knows exactly what it wants. But we have to organize our activities, to coordinate them, so that our powerful popular movement, overcoming the difficulties of the embryonic stage of economic reconstruction, could advance towards the concrete forms of libertarian socialism. Pursuing this work, the C. N. T. consecrates its forces to the creation of national federations of industry on the one hand, and on the other hand, to the concluding of an alliace with the U. G. T. for the attainment of the economic and military tasks. The proletariat should solidly organize the economic life. The isolated enterprises and the efforts limited to certain particular spots, should be condemned. The economy should rest on the industry and on the coordination of all industries."

"We should also bear in mind the fast that neither the one nor the other of the two labor union tendencies—the C. N. T. and U. G. T.—can singly accomplish that mission. The two organizations cannot act independently of each other. The U. G. T. cannot impose its will on the C. N. T. or vice-versa. If such a case would occur it would mean civil war.

And neither can exist, simultaneously, two different forms of economy. In the factories, the workers have discovered the practical solution by mutual understanding between the followers of the two tendencies. But that should be realized also on a national scale. By contributing to the creation of industrial federations and to a C. N. T.—U. G. T. alliance, we are laying the foundation of a new Iberian economy, essentially different from all the other social experiments attempted up to now and which is a specialty of our own people."

The C. N. T.—U. G. T. collaboration policy is not a question of opportunism, but it is the very expression of the will of the Spanish syndicalists and anarchists. They are renouncing neither their libertarian aspirations nor their will to accomplish completely their social revolution. The C. N. T. has consistently followed this road since July 19, 1936. It has naturally met with obstacles on its road. The defenders of the old policy: politicians' bureacracy and special privileges, have placed themselves against the categoric postulates of the libertarian revolution.

Counter-Revolution Makes Its Appearance

For the revolutionary workers of Spain, the struggle against fascism is merged into the struggle against the capitalist regime. Neither the hope of the problematic "aid" of the so called democratic states, nor the external political interests of Russia, could divert the C. N. T. from this point of view.

The small and middle class bourgeoisie of the country and of the cities, the artisans who are yet independent, the proletarian followers of reformistic organizations and especially the communists, carried on an active policy for the restoration of the old economic conditions. The corrupt bourgeois parliamentarism was presented as if it was the ideal of the people fighting against fascism. A big offensive was inaugurated against the revolutionary committees composed of representatives of the C. N. T. and of the U. G. T. and often also of the representatives of the anti-fascist political parties, committees that had assumed all the vital economic functions, after the miserable failure of the republican authorities following the fascist rebellion.

All power to the government!

Such was the common slogan of the right and left republicans, of socialists and communists. They made use of the long duration of the fight and of its transformation into a war, necessitating the most modern means of combat and an adequate military organization, as an argument for imperiously demanding the restriction of the revolutionary initiative of the workers. The definition of the "petite bourgoisie" who were left of the process of collectivization, was stretched. The rural landowners were set-up against the workers farm collectives. One of the symptoms of this struggle was the conflict that broke out between the communist minister of agriculture (of the Valencia government) and the farm workers' collective, formed by the C. N. T. and the G. U. T., in the orange plantations of the Valencia region. In the same sense the conflict broke out between the C. N. T. union of Barcelona and the minister of provisions, also an adherent of the Third International, who brutally opposed the socialization of distribution, (limited, as it was, to the food products and against the socialization demanded by the revolutionary workers of Catalonia.

Terroristic Campaign

This situation led to the terrorist campaign carried on at Madrid by the communists against the C. N. T. In the region of the Center, during the last months eighty anarchist comrades were cowardly murdered. The Commissary of Public Order of the Madrid Defense Junta (abolished since), engaged in the most relentless persecutions against the C. N. T., in the region of the Center, where it is not as strong and powerful as in other places. At Almeria, the militia column chief, the anarchist Mareto was thrown in jail and shamefully slandered. He was finally released on May 3. At Murcia, a secret communist Cheka was discovered, which had already done away with several anti-fascist inhabitants, belonging to different schools of thought. The will of domination of the Third International, which never had a real influence over the masses of Spain, and whose centralistic ideology is diametrically opposed to the Spanish mentality, found a field of penetration in the socialist labor unions, the U. G. T. The Executive Board of the U. G. T. (whose seat is in Valencia), took issue against the domination of the U. G. T. by the communists in Catalonia. In the general elections within the U. G. T., the communists were defeated in Madrid as well as in the Asturias.

The contest between the defenders of the old bourgeois democracy, of the propagators of calm and of capitalist order on the one hand, and of the C. N. T. on the other hand, took more and more violent forms, especially in Catalonia.

The Conflicts in Catalonia: at the Frontiers of Pyrenees

Already during the last governmental crisis in Catalonia—that lasted three weeks—the extent of the already mentioned opposition came to light. On this occasion, too, the C. N. T. showed itself accomodating, and, for the sake of the anti-fascist unity sacrificed several demands that the revolutionary workers deemed of prime importance. The members of the C. N. T. gave then proof of their self-discipline by accepting the situation. But at that same time, certain incidents took place that seemed to be provocative.

Although the guard of the Pyrenees front was well taken care of by the workers' militia, the Central government suddenly sent several thousands of men into Catalonia as frontier troops for the replacement of the workers' guards. These troops (the carabiniers) were carefully handpicked in the preceeding months by the central government and they were composed, almost exclusively, of the adherents of the two "marxian" parties. Their arrival in Catalonia provoked general astonishment and their placement at the frontier points as a provocation. There were violent frictions at the border. The small, purely anarchist, town of Puigcerda,—where the C. N. T. and the F. A. I. performed a great social and cultural accomplishment, admired even by the foreign visitors—was the center of this new conflict. The president of the Peoples' Council of Puigcerda, one of the most notable representative of the Catalonia anarchist movement, Mart'n, fell under the bullets of the Catalonia separatist, who ranged themselves on the side of the troups sent by the central government.

The Death of Roldan Cortada

At that same time, a new incident took place. A well known militant of the U. G. T., Roldan Cortada, was murdered near Barcelona by some unknown persons who to this day could not be discovered, in spite of all the searches undertaken. The Regional Committee of the C. N. T., in a manifesto that it immediately issued, condemned the murderous act. But, at Mollins, near Barcelona, nine members of the C. N. T. were arrested in connection with this murder. Not finding a shadow of guilt aga'nst any of them they were finally released. A campaign of slander was started against the C. N. T. Large peasant centers, where the C. N. T. was predominant, were placed in a state of defense and public order was maintained by armed workers. In such places where the old police—partly under communist influnece— functioned, the anarchists were harassed, especially in the central quarters of Barcelona. In spite of all that, calm was reestablished in the Pyrenees region, in the agricultural centers of the Barcelona province. A compromise was reached with the central government on the basis of reducing its troops on the Catalonia-France borders to the size it was prior to July 19. The C. N. T. members, arbitrarily arrested, were released. The latent conflict seemed, therefore, disappearing. But, at this moment the provocations that caused the troubles om May 3-6, occured.

In the latest ministerial composition of the Catalonian government, the control of the public order and the interior defense was in the hands of Aiguade, a member of the left bourgeois party. The General Commissar of Public Order was the communist Radriguez Salas. Both of them came from that same political medium, whose main proccupation during the years of 1931-1934 was to hound the members of the C.N.T. and to secure the maximum convictions for them. The petty bourgeois nationalists and Catalonian separatists saw in the struggles of the revolutionary workers the greatest obstacles to their own political program. And there is precious little difference in principle between the left bourgeoisie and the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia (PSUC), affiliated with the Third International. Both are constituted of the same social layers, pursuing the same anti-revolutionary tradition of the republican politics of 1931-1934. Their representatives in the organisms of the Public Security of Spain, made use of their power to realize their own political interests.

The Telephone Exchange of Barcelona was under the control of the C.N.T., and of the U.G.T., and of some delegates of the Catalonian Generalidad (government). On May 3, at three o'clock of the afternoon, Aiguade sent a strong detachment of police, under the direction of Rodriguez Salas, to "seize the telephone exchange." But the workers did not allow the police to reach the upper floors of the building. There were brawls, there were gatherings of workers in front of the building, and in a few hours the C.N.T. workers of the workers' quarters were spontaneously mobilized." To the streets in the defense of the revolution!" Such was the watchword. Parleys were immediately instituted between the government and the regional committee of the C.N.T. and during the night an understanding had been reached. But the provocation of Aiguade and of Rodriguez Salas had, in the meanwhile, caused bloody incidents, which continued for three days, gravely compromising the anti-fascist unity of Catalonia. From the beginning, the attitude of the C.N.T. was purely defensive, for it was the C.N.T. that had created the anti-fascist front in July 1936 and maintained it since then at the price of great sacrifices. And now again the C.N.T. left its own aspirations and its own particular goals in abeyance, being aware that the very critical situation of Spain required that the Spanish anarchist movement contribute all its strength toward victory over the hordes of Franco, Hitler and Mussolini.

The Workers' Sections with the C. N. T.

Events of May 3 showed once again what the anarcho-syndicalist movement of Catalonia is. As on July 19, there was a total mobilization of the working population within the space of a few hours. This act was a veritable plebiscite of the streets. All the workers' quarters of the city, without exception, were transformed into fortified quarters of the C.N.T. In the workers' sections, where there were barracks, police stations, or republican or communist militia, these either sided with the workers (as was the case at Sans and at San Gervasio), or they declared themselves neutral, as was the case at the communist barracks of Sarria. The workers' sections of Barcelona remained loyal to the C.N.T. and they will continue to remain so. The old police, the republicans and marxists, were in control of the bourgeois quarters and of the central sections, inhabited precisely by that part of the population of which these parties were the emanation. But, as a whole, the police did not go against the workers. A large part of this police remained passive, only a very small part of them allowed itself to be dragged into the fight against the C. N. T. workers when the excitement of the masses and the provocations of certain elements caused the bloody incidents.

The general strike broke out immediately. Only industries producing war material continued to operate. The police and the communists attacked some labor union halls; the revolutionary workers attacked, arm in hand, the police barracks and the halls of the parties and of the reformist unions from where shots were fired upon the workers. The headquarters of the Regional Committee of the C.N.T. was subjected to the fire of the enemy during these days. On this occasion too, the C.N.T. lost comrades of great value. The Italian anarchist, Berneri, was arrested at his home by the communists and one day later, being prisoner, he was murdered, shot in the back. Domingo Ascasi, the brother of Francisco (who had been killed by the fascist bullets July 20, 1936) was killed in the center of the city. The nephew of Francisco Ferrer was killed by the communists, while he was escorting his mother in the street. Having been wounded at the front, he was walking with the aid of a cane.

On May 5 a commission arrived from Valencia, composed of two members of the Executive Council of the U.G.T. and two members of the National Committee of the C.N.T. Although this commission entered immediately in conference with the various anti-fascist sectors of Catalonia, it was not possible to immediately pacify the spirits. After the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. on May 6 issued a joint appeal to the workers advising them to resume work, the communists and the police force took by assault the headquarters of the Leather Workers union of the C.N.T., destroying everything found in the locality. Other C.N.T. union halls, among them that of the sanitary branch, and of distribution were also taken, and everything destroyed within. In the center of the city, members of the C.N.T. and of the F.A.I. were arrested, disarmed and imprisoned, although they were authorized to carry arms the same as the other anti-fascist elements. In the workers' sections of the city, the armed proletariat took energetic measures against the police force intending to attack them. At Sans, after a violent struggle, the barracks of the civil guards was taken and 400 of the police force taken prisoners by the members of the C.N.T. unions. In the barracks monarchist and fascist emblems were found. In spite of that, these prisoners were treated humanly and after calm was re-established, they were restored to freedom, a regular procedure with the C.N.T. in cases of this kind.

Calm is Re-established

On the evening of May 5, a new Catalonian govenment was formed, composed of one representative of the C.N.T., one of the U.G.T., one of the left bourgeois party and one of the small peasant party. When the firing ceased and the barricades were dismantled, on the orders of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I., the Valencia government sent 5,000 assault guards to Barcelona to replace the Catalonian police functioning there up to that time. The constitutional provision relating to the autonomy of Catalonia provides that in case of permanent troubles, the central government has to take charge, temporarily, of the control of Public Order in Catalonia. Minister Aiguade and chief of police Rodriguez Salas were dismissed from their jobs. Thus the two notorious enemies of the revolutionary workers, who considered that "maintenance of Public Order" consists in the persecution of the C.N.T. and the F.A.I., were put out of business. The new responsible heads of the Public Order, appointed by the Valencia government, and who are in charge of the police forces and of the anti-fascist patrols, gave assurance that they will discharge the duties of their office without regard to political tendencies.

We have to warn our friends against the biased versions of these events, circulated throughout Spain as well as in other countries by the Spanish communist and bourgeois parties. According to their version, there was an uprising "against the regular government." This affirmation is absurd since the C.N.T. had its representatives (and it had them before May 3) in the Catalonian government as well as in the Central government. The C.N.T. did not rise against a government of which it was itself an integral part, and which had to be reconstructed during the trouble, with C.N.T. collaboration. The protest movement was directed against the political parties that were using their power within the government, to create provocations against the revolutionary workers. And furthermore, this conflict was not in any manner the action of "irresponsible elements", or provocateurs. Our enemies hasten to qualify as "irresponsibles" not only the militants of the C.N.T., but also the populous workers' quarters of Barcelona during the troubled days; anyone who noted the beginning of the movement on that afternoon of May 3, has to admit if he is not deliberately lying (as they slanderously lied about the Spanish anarchist movement for the last 70 years), will have to admit that this was a spontaneous popular movement, a sudden revolt, a violent protestation of the masses themselves. Any of the slanderers who speak of "Trotzkyist" and fascist provocateur infiltration in certain labor unions, has not been to the workers' quarters of Barcelona in search of proofs, no matter how inconsequential, in support of his gratuitous affirmation.

Documents of the Fighting Days

At the beginning of the conflict, the Committee of the C.N.T. and of the F.A.I. issued a manifesto to the population, describing the Catalonian situation in the following words:

"For months past, hangs over Catalonia such a poisoned athmosphere as to make it impossible to maintain confidence between the different sections of the anti-fascist front. Besides other problems, in the matter of war and revolution, we wish to call the attention of everyone to the facts interesting the Ministry of Interior of Catalonia(Public Security). In the first hours of the revolution, the central government, through a decree, authorized the creation of committees within the police formations, whose duty was to supervise the functioning of the police and to see to the elimination of fascist elements that are still within the police forces. When the present Minister of the Interior (Aiguade) took office, he absolutely refused to recognize these committees notwithstanding their legal standing. At the time, when elsewhere the fascist element was consistently excluded from police functions, in Catalonia, recognized fascists are allowed to remain at their posts, on the police force. because the Minister, in agreement with certain chiefs and officers, is opposed to all modifications. Thanks to this high protection, 62 civil guards from the post of Gerona, fled with ease to the border. Of the Barcelona post, 31 policemen ran away taking away with them important documents, among them the plans of the coast fortifications. And, yet, it was known for months before their escape, that these men were fascists.

"After the Central Council of the Civil Guards, (located at Madrid), was informed that a new batch of 40 men attempted to run away from the Ausias March barracks, the Council demanded a list of the elements with reactionary sympathies that were still in the ranks of the Civil Guard of Catalonia. It was only on April 13, that these elements were excluded by a decree of the Central Government. But the Interior Minister of Catalonia prevented the execution of the central government decree of discharge, and he allowed the fascists to remain at their posts. At the same time he stiffened his opposition to the committees. On the other hand he has done everything in his power to disarm the members of the C.N.T. and of the F.A.I., with the aid of the followers of certain political parties, in order to break the revolutionary power of the members of the C.N.T. and of the F.A.I., power that is the best guarantee for the working people, who are not wishful for the return of the regime of exploitation and for state oppression . . ."

And the manifesto concludes:

"For the restoration of confidence among the anti-fascist forces! For the victory over fascism! Against the systematic provocators, Aiguade and Rodriguez! For the purging of the high posts of the police force! Long live the social revolution!"

This manifesto was signed by the regional committees of the C.N.T. of the F.A.I., of the Libertarian Youth and of the Barcelona local committees of the C.N.T. and of the F.A.I.

An Appeal to the Policemen

The C.N.T. had therefore serious motives to be suspicious of the Catalonian police, which, under the direction of the workers' enemies Aiguade and Rodriguez Salas, were ruling the region. In the meantime, even while the conflict was on, the two libertarian organizations appealed also to the members of the police force: "It is not against you," the appeal said, "that the present protest movement is directed, but against those who are using you as a counter revolutionary instrument of their political schemes." Here is a passage of one of these broadcasted appeals:

"They placed before us the question of force and this has to be now settled. The bloody encounters on the streets are the outcome of a long and painful development of facts, the aim of which is the annihilation of the C.N.T. after this organization has given the strength and the blood of its militants and members in the struggle against fascism. Don't let them fool you, members of the police force! You know, for you have the proof, that the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. are not fighting against you. You are, like ourselves, soldiers in the anti-fascist cause. Your place is on the side of the people as it was on July 19th."

The C. N. T., and F. A. I. and Trotzkyism

In the appeals published by the different organizations, after calm was reestablished in Barcelona, reference is made in a general way to the necessity of establishing the anti-fascist unity in spite of all obstacles. Ataacks and accusations against organizations of the anti-fascist front were avoided. The May 3 movement in Barcelona was a spontaneous action of the workers' quarters and not the work of some individuals or of an organization, and even less that of the P.O.U.M. Let us give a few facts on this matter.

The communist party could not miss this opportunity of throwing some accusations against its pet adversary, the so-called Trotzkyites, (the P.O.U.M.) a small Marxist fraction that has developed in certain Catalonian workers milieus, and which is opposed to Stalinism. We do not want to wrangle on this subject as we do not feel competent to establish the fine lines of differences between the different opposition communist groups. By its organic form of unionism, by its anarchist ideology the C.N.T. is neatly and sharply separated from the other anti-fascist organizations.

The elements that at present compose the P.O.U.M. belong to that mass, that up to 1936, considered the exclusion of the anarchist movement as an essential condition for any progress of the Spanish labor movement. The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. have nothing in common with them. Since the middle of 1936 that party drifted constantly to the left and today it shares with us certain elementary conceptions of the anarchists in reference to the importance of the civil war.

However, the two tendencies have no come any nearer concerning their essential and positive postulates.

The P.O.U.M. participated in the anarcho-syndicalist protest movement, but to present them as the determining factor of the movement, carrying the C.N.T. in town, reminds one of the tactics used by the nazis, who made political scape-goats of the Jews making them responsible for everything: for the war, the peace pact, the revolution, and the reaction . . .

We have no ties whatever with the P.O.U.M. but the C.N.T. demanded that it be recognized as an anti-fascist organization. On May 9, **Solidaridad Obrera** demanded that the police return to the P.O.U.M. the print shop it had occupied, which was complied with.

To accord the P.O.U.M. the initiative and the responsibility of the protest movement of Barcelona, is another calumny circulated throughout the international press.

Another version of the tragic events is the following: The position of the C.N.T. in this affair was dictated by the Anarchists of the F.A.I., but that the C.N.T. rebelled against the anarchists and stopped the hostilities. This version also is of the domain of pure phantasy. In the discussions and parleys that have taken place between the third and sixth of May, all decisions taken, all proclamations that were drawn up and published, were by common consent of all the committees of the libertarian movements of Barcelona: the regional and local committees of the C.N.T., of the F.A.I., and of the Libertarian Youth. All decisions were adopted unanimously. The protest movement of the workers did not really come from the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. but from what is known as the "Barridas," of the workers' quarters of the city, from the masses themselves. The committees of the C.N.T. and of the F.A.I. were in constant consultation with the delegates of the workers' quarters ("Barridas") until the danger caused by the bloody encounters in the streets abated when by a common accord, they gave out the watchword: "Stop firing." In no case could there be question of an opposition between the C.N.T. and the F.A.I.

Statements of the Militants Concerning the C. N. T. and F. A. I.

On the night of May 4, speeches were broadcasted by the different representatives of the anti-fascist organizations.

Mariano R. Velasquez, the secretary of the National Committee of the C.N.T., said among others: "Comrades, anarchists, members of the C. N. T., anti-fascist workers. In this critical hour, maintain the same attitude as on July 19th! Do not waste an ounce of the powder so sorely needed at the front! If you are not capable by your own will to do what you should do, Franco will impose on us his law. There will be no other choice for us if we do not defeat fascism, which is our duty to do. The world will spit its contempt on us if we are not masters of the situation and we do not emerge victorious from the battle."

Severino Campos, secrtary of the Regional Committee of the F.A.I., wrote in **Solidaridad Obrera** of May 10, the following lines:

"We, anarchists of Catalonia, did no want to attack. We were on the defensive as anyone could ascertain. We figured that it was a crime to mutually slaughter ourselves in the rear, while on the front the workers of all political and unionist tendencies suffer and fight together. That we know and we shall not forget. We want the unity of all workers."

All the known militants of the C.N.T. and of the F.A.I. of Barcelona declared themselves in the same sense. The workers of the workers' quarters, in spite of their deep indignation caused by the provocations which are the source of these tragic events, accepted the decision of their committees and quitting the baricades, resumed work.

The Present Situation in Catalonia

An open fight between the different anti-fascist sectors was avoided. The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. have amply demonstrated that they are still the only workers' organizations that count in the workers' quarters. But they also have demonstrated that they are not disposed to allow themselves to be eliminated by the enemies of the social revolutionary development, and by the secret agents of a foreign power.

At the end of this fight there are neither victors nor vanquished. No sanction can, should, or will be taken. But the police forces should finally be purged and the suspected elements excluded. The police forces, sent by the Valencia government, are composed of anti-fascist militiamen of all tendencies, who have fought on the front as volunteers and who are qualified to function as policemen in Catalonia. The C.N.T. and the F.A.I. expect of them and of the present Catalonian chief of Public Order, Torres (who was formerly an officer of the confederal militia column "Tierra Liberta") an impartial attitude. They hope that all fresh provocations will be avoided.

As before, the partisans of the social revolution are opposed by those who also call themselves "communists," but for whom the great sacrifice consented to by the Spanish people, should accomplish no more than the restoration of the political and economic conditions that existed prior to July 19, 1936. As before, the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. will spare no efforts to propagate among the masses the ideas of integral social transformation. The two organizations know, that while the struggle in common of all the antifascists against the common enemy is on, that aim cannot be realized by competition or by violent rivalry, but it has to come as the fruit of the creative policy, of an intelligent, methodical, social and cultural formation.

The Spanish anarchist movement has demonstrated a thousand times that it cannot be destroyed, and the same is true of the C.N.T. It has fought for many decades against the regimes of exploitation and domination. All the governments that have succeeded each other in Spain, wanted to exterminate it. The prosecutions and the murders have not stifled the libertarian aspirations of the masses.

The conspiracies of silence, and the campaigns of slander of the international press of all tendencies, never attained their end. Slanders, like those propagated by the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Araquistan, abusing his official power, concerning an alleged absurd pact between the monarchists and the anarchists, turn against their authors.

The C.N.T. consolidates its positions and its effectives which are increasing, but one can also observe its powerful development in regions where formerly it was in the minority. It is also improving its tactics. It understands today perfectly well the teaching it received from Orobon Fernandez: "The two Spanish workers' organizations, C.N.T. and G.U.T. should never aim to devour each other, they should arrive at an understanding."

The Revolutionary Labor Alliance is the sole road towards an understanding. It is not a question if This or That will prefer to take another road. There is no other road to arrive at a solution.

But the understanding will be difficult. During many long years the two organizations had considered each other enemies, one having been on the side of the oppressors and the other on the side of the revolutionary masses.

It was only when the Spanish socialists began to lose some of their democratic illusions, after 1933, that a rapproachment on certain questions could take place. And there is still a long road to travel before a positive understanding can be attained.

Large layers of the bourgeoisie, scared and anxious to save their privileges, have taken refuge in the socialistic unions. A political current, that is not rooted in Spain, oriented towards a foreign power, that is making a show of its solidarity with the anti-fascist Spain, also profits by the political situation for influencing the U.G.T. to progress backwards. In spite of all, the C.N.T. is ceaselessly appealing to the socialist workers of the U.G.T., who, since 1934, together with the C.N.T. members, faced the same persecutions and who are today attacked by the same hordes of Franco.

The C. N. T. Vital Nerve of Spain

After the tragic event of May 3 to May 6, **Solidaridad Obrera** of Barcelona, published the following lines:

"Every popular movement brings us a new lesson and the events that are developing have taught us that the spirit of revolt of the Catalonian people has not been exterminated, although they wanted to demonstrate the opposite to us. The Catalonians revolt against all injustices, and it is perhaps for this reason that Catalonia is the cradle of Iberian anarchism, and that it remained always loyal to that movement.

Basing itself on the libertarian tendencies of the Catalonian people, the General Confederation of Labor (C.N.T.) was able to develop here, as it has developed itself in all the other regions of peninsula, in such proportions that no other organization attempting to implant artificial doctrines into our country, will ever attain. And we are proud. For if we are not partisans of a narrow and sectarian Catalonianism, at the same time we are living in Catalonia, and we desire its development and its hapiness and we wish that she should indicate the road leading to the social revolution which is our aim."

In a manifesto, published by the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. during the conflict, we read the following:

"The F.A.I. and the C.N.T. do not want a dictatorship, and do not seek to impose one. But as long as one of its members is living, they will not allow, and they will not submit to any dictatorship. If we are fighting fascism it is not because we like fighting, it is in order to safeguard the popular liberties and to prevent the return to power of those who want to massacre the militant workers and to exploit the working people and of those who, without openly calling themselves fascists, want to institute an absolutist regime, absolutely contrary to the traditions and the history of our people."

In spite of the provocation which endangered the anti-fascist unity for several days, the C.N.T. remained loyal to the line fixed by the May, 1936, Congress, which had already been worked out in 1934 by Orobon Fernandez. He formulated his ideas in the midst of hesitations and contradictions and of the scepticism of these, who, after having made for a long time, common cause with the oppressors, joined the organization which was later to conclude an alliance with the C.N.T. because such are the supreme interests of all the workers, above all special interests. Orobon Fernandez said:

"The Spanish bourgeoisie has thrown off its mask of liberalism. The counter-revolutionary examples, which are presenting themselves in Europe, have given it courage. Today it endeavors to fortify its political and economic monopoly with the aid of the totalitarian state. In order to vanquish this enemy, which is menacingly raising its head against the proletariat, the creation of a granite-hard proletariat bloc is indispensable. The tendence which fails to recognize this truth isolates itself and assumes a heavy responsibility before history. For to defeat—which inevitably will result from isolation—we should, without hesitation, prefer a partial proletarian victory which will lead us (without there being an exclusive domination of one or the other tendency)—to the realization of a minimum program permitting in its turn the realization of the aspirations of all the signatories of the pact of understanding, by the socialization of the means of production and by the first mortal blows against the capitalist domination. Placing itself at the head of the movement towards unity, means the opening of the road which leads to the revolution!"

"We see the things as they are, without glasses, without doctrinary prejudices. It is a question of a revolution and not of an academic discussion on this or that principle. Principles should not be rigid commandments, but subtle forms adapting themselves to the exigencies of reality. Does this platform guarantee the establishment of pure libertarian communism on the day after the revolution?

Certainly not! But it guarantees the defeat of capitalism and the crushing of its sustainer, fascism. It guarantees the edification of a democratic regime without exploitation and without class privileges, and that will open wide the road to a libertarian society in the best sense of the word.

Papa Schaefer is a Man Again

(Continued from page 7)

over it. I might have been through—if papa—"

There was a step across the threshold of the bathroom door. The subject of Margaret's conversation stood before them—Papa Schaefer in frayed trousers and a threadbare undershirt and with shaving tools in his hands.

He was a small man with mousecolored hair, looking sixty-five, but was under fifty. A beaten look lingered about his stooped shoulders, and then you noticed his eyes—bright, blue, with a challenging gleam that appeared and disappeared in a most peculiar fashion. It set you wondering about the man. Papa Schaefer crossed the kitchen, set his shaving utensils on the shelf above the sink and faced his womenfolk.

"A prophet," the blue eyes twinkled, "is always without honor in his own country."

"I don't know what you mean," his wife answered tartly, "but it isn't funny."

The twinkle vanished. Weariness fluttered across Papa Schaefer's face. "Where's my good blue shirt, Nettie?"

"Your good blue shirt? . . . Well, something is going to happen!"

Babe dropped the red sweater. "I'll get it for you, dad, it's in the closet."

"Where in heck are you going, pop?" Elinor was relieved that the conversation had taken another turn, "we can't drive you outa this dump other times."

"Where is he goin'? Isn't that what I been tryin' to find out all mornin'?" asked her mother peevishly.

Margaret slumped into a chair on the other side of the kitchen table from Elinor. She stared severely through her spectacles: "You're behaving very peculiarly—why so secretive?"

A grin spread over Elinor's saucy face. "It's got something to do with that young fella that was here last week. What were you two gassin' about all alone in the parlor?"

Silence while three women stared hard at Papa Schaefer.

Papa Schaefer rubbed his skinny arms and looked uneasy.

Nettie Schaefer began to whimper: "Now don't you go doin' anythin' foolish!"

Her husband stopped rubbing his skinny arms. The challenging gleam crept back into his eyes.

"Well, if you wanto know what I'm doing you might look at the calendar."

"At the calendar!" echoed Margaret, turning toward the wall behind her.

Elinor turned too. She was the first to speak. "It's May first!" she shouted.

Nettie Schaefer gave a little scream.

No one spoke. Babe, with the blue shirt over her arm, ran into the kitchen. "What's the matter, mama?"

Nettie Schaefer leaned against the sink, moaning: "I knew it—I knew it! You can keep quiet so long—just so long!"

"Then he has to begin making a spectacle of himself—and us!" There were tears in Margaret's voice again.

A hubbub filled the kitchen now. They all talked at once—protesting, pleading, condemning, accusing—all but Babe.

"Good Lord, you'll be standing around on soap boxes again—the way you used to."

"Every time you have to spoil things for us."

"No woman's ever stood what—"

"And here we thought you were going to be quiet for a while."

Papa Schaefer turned his back on them and stared through the kitchen window at Mrs. Letinky's gray wash in the yard below.

"I've been quiet long enough," he said between his teeth. There were so many things he could say to them, but they were things he had already told them over and over—wealth that a few men had no right to possess, hungry children, underpaid men, pickets shot down in cold blood . . . a better world! May Day brought everything back . . . Yes, he could go on and on talking, but it would be useless. Papa Schaefer's shoulders drooped just a little more. Babe handed him the blue shirt. He accepted it without a word. He must be a rotten propagandizer when he couldn't win his own girls—not Nettie but the girls. He couldn't expect to win Nettie. He never had won her except physically, and that years ago when they both had been very, very young. Yes, it was too much to expect to win Nettie.

There had been her father with the biggest store in Hayfield and Uncle Torrance with the tile factory . . . But the girls—Margaret, Elinor—Babe was too young . . . one of them anyway . . . He turned again to his womenfolk.

"Why do you think I've done these things?" he asked them simply, "if it wasn't to make a better world—"

Nettie moaned again. "A better world—that's what you always say."

Margaret glared indignantly. "A better world—if you'd only behaved I could have finished—college." She lapsed into sobs this time.

The kitchen was quiet, but just for a moment.

Elinor crossed her elegant legs and looked bored. "Where do you come in on today's program?"

Papa Schaefer said nothing.

"I know," Babe said shyly, "Sophie Letisky told me—her papa's on the committee."

"What did Sophie Letinsky tell you?" demanded her mother.

Babe's face shone. "He's going to speak—they asked him."

"No woman in the world—" Suddenly Mrs. Schaefer's manner changed. "You fool!" She screamed, forgetting to be ladylike: "We'd be on easy street if it wasn't for your crazy ways—Yes, I know you helped organize the first union in this town . . . and what did you get for it?"

"I kept my self-respect."

"Your self-respect?" Margaret stopped crying and began to laugh hysterically.

"You gotta kick in the pants," said Elinor.

"You lost a good job!" Mama Schaefer shrilled, "and now you'll lose this one on WPA."

Elinor jumped up: "Now I won't get my dress. Damn it!" She rushed into the bedroom. Babe's small face began to quivver but she checked herself, picked up her red sweater and sat down by the window with her back to her relatives.

Papa Schaefer said nothing.

Margaret stopped laughing. "We might have known he was plotting something when that young fellow came. He's the one who gives out those leaflets near the relief station—and he's always making speeches over in the park." Margaret turned toward her father: "I suppose that's what you'll be doing every day now?"

The old, bold challenging gleam flickered in Papa Schaefer's eyes.

"Herman," Nettie Schaefer's voice grew calmer and her eye more wily, "are you going to start your old tricks again—running around trying to change this world when your family needs so much?" She was pleading with him. He knew it. He was too soft with women but this time — —

Margaret pressed her lips together; her eyes asking the same question as her mother. Babe never turned from the window.

Nettie Schaefer spread her hands out, appealingly: "And here we are—just getting on our feet with WPA—"

Papa Schaefer straightened his shoulders, stared for a moment into his wife's face, and then marched past her into the bedroom with the blue shirt over his arm.

* * *

Spring had come early. Small, tender shoots of green, like pale gems, were strung along the tree boughs. Delicate bars of sunlight slid across them. You could not see the grass for the crowd in the park was enormous. The whole place tingled with life, so much life that it overflowed into the streets beyond were stood a row of blue coated skull-crackers as they always stood on May Days throughout the world. Papa Schaefer, on the platform with the May Day committee behind him and the passive crowd before him, saw them

Book Reviews

LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY

The Middle Classes; Then and Now. By Franklin C. Palm. $3.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

In world politics today the middle classes are assuming an ever greater role. With their assistance Hitler came to power and fascist movements all over the world are receiving their support.

Heretofore, little attempt has been made to understand this important social group. The literary ridicule of the pre-depression American Mercury and the novels of Sinclair Lewis do not provide proper analysis. No arbitrary delineation can be made. The best possible definition that can be made is that part of the bourgeoisie whose income is in part derived from their own labor and in part from the labor of others or from investments.

Originally the middle classes were the lowly tradesmen and guildsmen in feudal society. They were in between the lord and serf. As the demand for their craftsmen's products grew, they expanded, and handfashioning evolved into manufacture. As the manufacturing and trading towns increased in importance, the relations of the bourgeoisie with the landed ruling proprietors changed. This new class was in a position to demand greater freedom of action.

The bourgeoisie enjoying a greater share in government, with the French Revolution of 1789 signalizing their emergence as a dominat class, it assumed a gradient form. There were the great bankers, merchants and industrialists, the few; "underneath, struggling upwards, were the petit bourgeoisie.

In this volume, the author traces the rise and the differentiation of this class. Once a unified group struggling for power against the ruling feudal nobility. Later an upper bourgeoisie holding the reins of government and power with a lower strata of independent producers struggling upwards to the higher rungs of the ladder of success. Now the 'uppers' are the dominant clique and the 'lowers' are changed to dependent salaried employees of the great corporations or of the capitalist government.

During the change in the composition of the middle class, accelerated by the post-war economic crises, many have been forced into proletarian ranks. The middle classes have sought the support of the workers and farmers in their struggles against the ruling clique. After concessions had been granted them, the bourgeoisie allied themselves with the rulers in suppressing any further revolt of the masses which might lead to change in property relations.

Today faced with the concentration of monopoly capitalism, which means ruin to many and transformation into hired servants for the majority, which direction does the bourgeoisie turn? Caught between the rising organized workers and farmers and the dominant capitalists, they first ally themselves with the latter to crush impending revolt. Then in desperate efforts to save themselves from the expropriation of finance capitalism or assimilation by the threatening socialists revolution, they go in for nationalism in its most vicious forms.

The striving for culture, to be more like the traditional rulers, their influence on morals and religion, allows us to really comprehend this important group in our changing world.—**James DeWitt.**

Papa Schaefer

clearly. They were like a blue hurdle, one of the many hurdles over which the working class must leap on the road to freedom. Papa Schaefer looked down into the faces, familiar and unfamiliar below him. He saw the old gang from the power house, the boys who had wanted an industrial union and got a kick in the pants for their pains, just as he had. Then, straight ahead he spied Babe in her old red sweater standing next to Sophie Letinsky and smiling up at him. The smile was one of understanding. It gave him a lift. After all, maybe he'd been wrong this morning about his propagandizing . . . Thoughts tumbled into his brain. There was so much to say and so he began: "Fellow workers . . ."

The sunlight still slid across the tree boughs as he talked; the crowd looked up eager, interested, and there was Babe in the flaming red sweater . . . There was the remembrance of many battles and many scars, the anticipation of many more to come, but the challenging gleam never left his blue eyes. It stayed . . . Yes, Papa Schaefer was a man again.

SONGS OF THE STRUGGLE

(Continued from page 22)

The Latin people have a genre all their own. "La Cucuracha" is now becoming a movie standby, but the "Cockroach" that was sung by the Zapata men in Yucatan, the song that became the marching song of Villa's army, this Cockroach couldn't be thought of by an industry whose idea of salacity is Mr. Booboisie Babbit with a gold-digging chorine. Very similar in tone is a song which was being sung around "Red Barcelona" just prior to the army dictatorship of Primo de Rivera. "La Regeneracion" told of the regeneration of man—but a good many of its verses confined themselves to the parts of the anatomy in need of regeneration. A wonderful song for men on the march, a great song for a stag party but not—assuredly not—a song for the little ladies. Like Mademoiselle from Armentieres the most famous of all war songs. "Regeneration" had verses safe and sterile for mixed company. But Mademoiselle in mixed company lost most of her charms. I wonder if Red Barcelona still thinks in terms of Regeneration.

Probably no movement in the world's history has called forth so many poets as the American labor movement. Anyone who has contributed to a half dozen of the leading labor paper of the past fifteen years could edit an anthology of poetry far surpassing any now on the market. Every phase of human emotion would be amply covered from the introverted messianism so popular during the "hot" period when hundreds of our fellow workers were in the icebox (the acme is probably "Bars and Shadows" by Chaplin), the bitter irony of the underpaid overall stiff, the street corner humor, the idealistic aspirations the songs of sorrow and lament, here is a real treasure house for anyone desiring to place upon the literary market, the world's greatest anthology. The only labor movement as far as I know coming even a bad second to the North American movement in this field is the Australian. Probably because both are "new" countries, probably because both have the same types of workers.

Even in this field the English labor movement lags behind. Probably R. M. Fox, the newspaper man—not the Ralph Fox who is famous for his communist apolgetics,—and W. N. Ewer are the only two "real proletarian" poets. The world may laugh at the fact that English rebel poetry of this era has been written by two "reactionaries." Kipling who did his best to suppress his "Sons of Martha" and G. K. Chesterton. The world labor movement has failed to appreciate G. K. C. Thinking of him as the author of Catholic apologetics which are unrecognizable to any loyal son of Rome) they have forgotten that in all the history of England only two republicans have ever been born there—Tom Paine and G. K. C. Chesterton is outstanding as THE literary figure of 20th century England. His "Song of People of England," here is a spirit far in advance of the present labor movement in England . . . "The men of tact who arbitrate, the slow reform that kills. Save your stinking grease master! Save it for your wheels," is appropriate today when talk of arbitration is the national mania.

It is the fashion to conclude with Soviet Russia. We must be fashionable. But the writer is the only one in the labor movement who doesn't know "all about Russia." I have heard the "funeral song" of pre '17 days sung by a fine chorus with dramatic effects galore. It was very impressive, but I thought of Russian music as I think of Russian ideology—it certainly is not for export. The "March of the Red Army" is tin pan alley, excellent for the Red Army but not having much bearing on the struggle outside of Russia.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

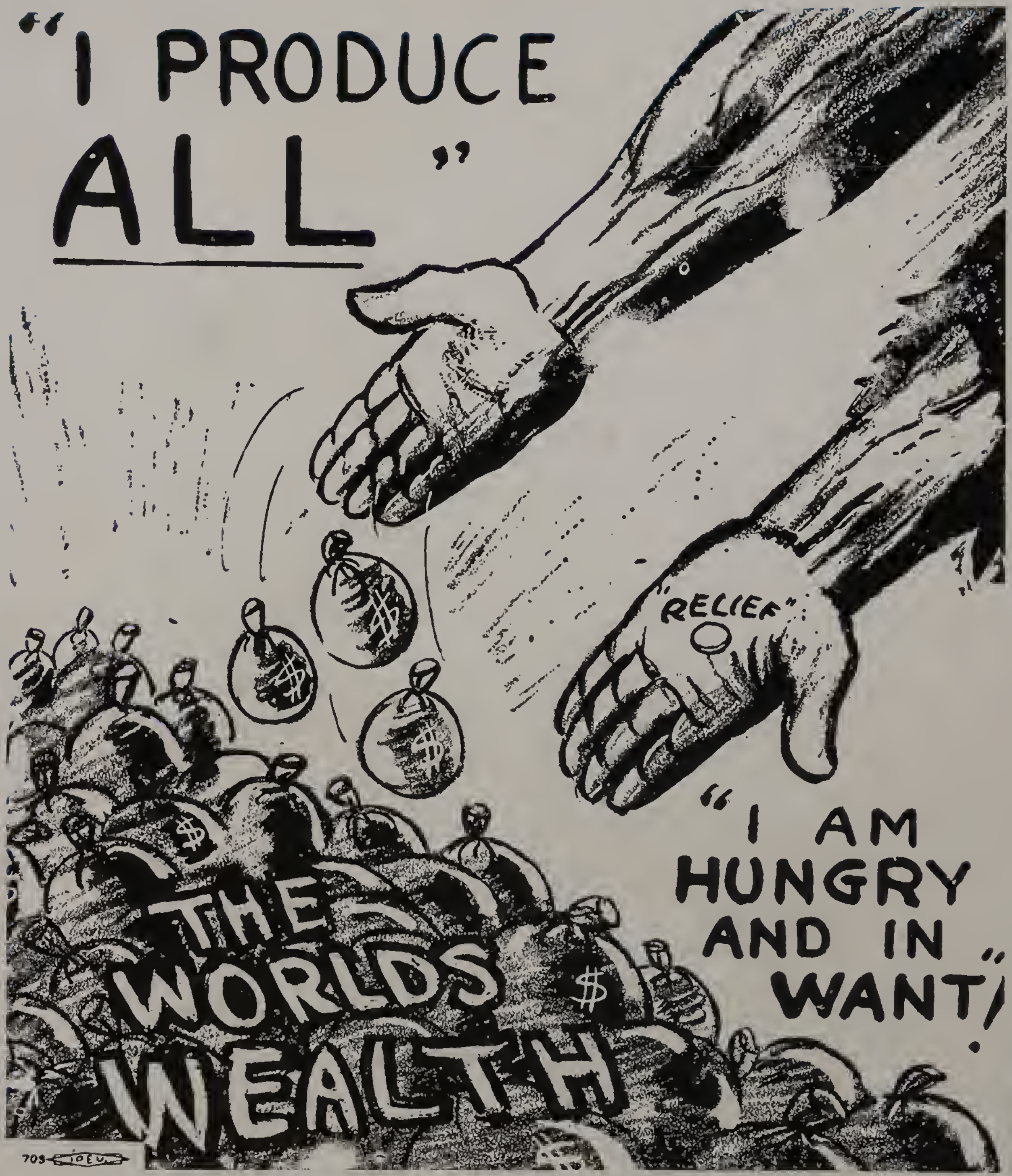
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



No matter to what extent the intelligence and energy of the working class increases production, no matter how much the wealth of the world grows, it is the purpose and intent of the employers to allow the workers just barely enough to live on. Whether the toilers' share is doled out as starvation relief or as little better than starvation wages the principle remains the same. Like machinery and material the labor force of the world has to be kept in a condition of efficiency reuired to meet the needs of the profit system, beyond that it is supposed to require nothing.

But labor does require more and it demands more. Furthermore it is learning how to get more by organizing in its own rank and file controlled union, the Industrial Workers of the World.

AUGUST, 1937

The ONE BIG UNION Monthly

New Series: Vol. I.–No. 8 Price: 15 Cents

ORGANIZE AND FIGHT!

Our greatest weakness as a class lies in that we do not ask enough for ourselves. We have been trained to be content with what is given us and are not inclined to ask for more, and much less to demand it.

We are too "reasonable" in our demands on society and too tolerant toward those who bar our way to a better, happier living. We are patient with the pig-headed exploiters and the system they maintain; we are tolerant too, even to the extent that we will needlessly sacrifice our lives in industry and battle-fields at the command of those who are our economic masters.

Our class has patience and tolerance—but these are not our virtues, they are, rather, among our worst vices. It's no credit to us that we make sacrifices—live on little and force our children to do the same—when there is abundance available. There is no honor due to those who learn to be content in misery rather than rise in revolt against it.

Being patient with capitalism means to uphold murder, slavery, and starvation. The I. W. W. is not tolerant of those who uphold capitalism or excuse its follies and excesses.

The wage and hour demands of the I. W. W. are moderate, but this is because practical considerations make moderation necessary. The I. W. W. knows that capitalism is outmoded and unjust, and that it must be kicked off the earth before there will be a chance for the working class to really live. Let's organize and fight capitalism.

There is no virtue in submission.

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EMPLOYERS USE VIOLENCE

Twenty-one workers killed by company thugs in the first six months of 1937 and the number grows.

Last year fourteen workers lost their lives in the labor struggle in the United States; this year will almost certainly see that number almost doubled.

The dry, cold facts as revealed daily in the contests between employers and workers show with unmistakable clarity that there is no new era, that the masters are today what they always have been: ruthless, cruel, and determined to keep the workers in slavery no matter how many lives it may cost.

In looking over the great strikes of the past six months it is worth noting that in no case were the strikers under the influence of extreme ideas. What they have asked for an "enlightened" capitalism (if such a thing is possible) could have granted without risking the loss of prestige or power. As a matter of fact, it seems to many that the demands made in the current strikes are such that, if granted, might actually be an aid to the employers in the long run. Certainly several of the largest corporations, notably the United States Steel trust, must have looked at it in this way.

The history of the past few months shows that the ruling class is unanimously in favor of only one thing, that is, to preserve the system of exploitation at all costs. They are not nearly so unanimous on the question of what methods to follow to that end, less so now than they used to be. All capitalists will use force, brutal and unrestrained, against the workers but some of them do it only as a last resort while others are ever ready to smear our streets with the blood of workers at the least show of restiveness.

Capitalism is not intelligently guided, it is not a coherent, co-ordinated force and it possesses no annealing solidarity to save it from its own inner conflicts. Capitalists all fight labor but they also seek to devour each other.

If then an individual capitalist or group of capitalists feel that they can improve their position by playing ball with a labor group that in no way threatens their position as masters, and that by so doing they will gain an advantage over a competitor, it is no indication that they have had a change of heart when they recognize unions and sign contracts. Actually they are fortifying themselves against the labor difficulties their more backward competitor is subject to and they are doing it at a very low price.

When other capitalists refuse voluntarily to take this way out to avoid interruption of production through strikes it may be because, being smaller or less up to date in the mechanical development of their plants, they think they can't afford the cost; or it may be because the individuals in immediate control of policy think themselves strong enough to fight it out with labor in the old fashioned way.

Throughout the history of the labor movement it has, with a few exceptions, been the smaller and least modernized concerns that have opposed improvement in working conditions most strenuously. We have, for example, the farmer who em-

ploys labor, the small-scale construction contractor, the back alley sweat shop manufacturer, etc.

This does not imply that the cockroach business men are exceptionally bad, as capitalists go; neither does it mean that the big barons are more beneficent in their intentions toward labor. Their different attitudes proceed from the difference in economic status or, less frequently, to personal bias which by no means has been completely eliminated as a factor in the capitalist world.

It would be the hight of silliness to assume that because U. S. Steel made a deal with the Lewis organization it is less an enemy of labor than the Ford Company or the Republic, or Bethlehem Steel. The one no less than the others, is bent on getting the most it can out of its workers. In the class war one capitalist general may find it temporarily more expedient to use poison gas propaganda while another resorts at once to the bayonet.

As for the workers, any direct action they may take in resistance to exploitation is justified provided it leads them toward ultimate victory in the struggle. For that matter any strike the workers engage in is a good one if it developes initiative and confidence within their ranks. The workers who have fought in the steel and other strikes during these past seven months have done wonderfully well considering what they have had to fight against and **what they have had to fight with.**

A good fighter poorly armed is at the mercy of a much weaker enemy. Workers in the wrong kind of union are doomed to defeat. But those who died in the struggle, no matter in what organization they fought have won a place for themselves in labor's hall of fame. The following is a list of union men killed by the bosses' thugs in the first six months of this year.

The Honor Roll

Evarts, Ky., Feb. 9: Bennett Musick, killed by gunmen's bullets intended for his father.

Teaneck, N. J., Feb. 19: Norman Redwood, shot by unidentified gunmen near his home.

Son Padro, Cal., May 27: Norman Gregg, shot by poliseman while standing on a street corner.

South Chicago, Ill., May 30 to June 15: Alfred Causey, Kenneth Reed, Earl Bradley, Sam Popovich, Joseph Rothmund, Anthony Tagliori, Hilding Johnson, Otis Jones, Leo Francisco, Lee Tisdale, killed outright in the police attack on the picket line or died later as a result of injuries received.

Newberry, Mich., June 4: John Ked killed when a mob attacked strikers.

Youngstown, O., June 19: John Bogovich, and James Espereji, killed by gunfire of company gunmen.

Cambridge, Md., June 25: An unidentified picket run down by a company truck during a strike.

Brooklyn, N. Y., June 25: Anthony Corbo, died after attack by employer's thugs.

Beaver Falls, Penn., June 29: George Mike, hit by teargas bomb fired by sheriff.

Canton, Ohio, June 30: Chrisanto Lopez, died as a result of National Guard attack.

The total number of dead for the first six months this year amounts to 21 and the number is growing.

CLASS COLLABORATION — OLD AND NEW

By
JOSEPH WAGNER

A timely reminder of working class political experience, and A. Shapiro's Open Letter to the C. N. T.

Alone, or in coalition with more or less "liberal" bourgeois political parties, the socialists today are in control of the government machinery in a number of countries while yet in other countries they stand in line awaiting in their turn the call of the economic masters to take over the government and to carry on and administer the collective affairs of the capitalists in the respective countries.

The conclusion of the long and destructive World War brought capitalism to bankruptcy, the bourgeois regime stood everywhere discredited physically and morally and in a state of collapse; everywhere the working class was in open revolt. The only organized force, that yet retained some moral prestige was the socialist movement and its trade unions, who, in one country after another, gallantly rushed to the rescue of the moribund regime, until recently their professed enemy.

Naturally, the capitalists very graciously allowed the socialists to resurrect and reconstruct the capitalist regime. They were allowed and even invited to form "socialist governments." Times without number these "socialist governments" proved to the master class that they are in the best of positions to save capitalism and to safeguard all their interests not only by the use of brutal military and police forces, but also by their moral prestige over the working class acquired by nearly a century of socialist party and trade union connection within the working class.

To be sure the master class never was conspicuous by its gratitude, as soon as it imagined itself strong enough to rule without the aid of socialists these were discarded, and their governments turned over to the underworld characters, to gangsters parading in differently colored shirts. A few years of experience with the gangsterdom has, however, taught world capitalism the lesson that the socialists make the more efficient and loyal servants of capitalism, after all, and at the present time the pendulum is rapidly swinging away from fascism to "socialist" or "Popular Front" governments.

Socialists the world over are proud of the role their parties are playing nowadays, and they look upon their present, internationally approved policy as the acme of "Marxism." Yet, this was not always so.

Before the end of the last century, socialists of all shades were violently and unalterably opposed to the very idea of party members participating in bourgeois (capitalist) governments, thereby making the socialist movement, at least indirectly responsible for the acts of their respective capitalist governments. Even the acceptance by a party member of a minor, non-elective government job, was frowned upon as not kosher from social-democratic standpoint.

When, in 1900, Alexander Millerand, who with Jean Jaures, was heading one of the four or five socialist parties existing then in France, entered into the Waldeck-Rousseau cabinet, a storm of protests was raised in the socialist world. National and World Congresses debated and argued the propriety of the action and in all instances the act was condemned as treason to the international socialist movement. "Millerandism" and "Ministerialism" was synonymous with treason. The arguments lasted for fourteen years, until the outbreak of the World War, when the entire socialist world suddenly became "ministerialists" and governmentalists. And so it has remained to this day.

The foregoing is all old history, but it does no harm to recall it once in a while, the more so, as in our days, we are suddenly confronted with a new "Ministerialism." from an unexpected source. This time the anarchist world is stirred with that same old question in the anti-fascist war now going on in Spain.

It would appear, that with the post war experiences, with the experiences of Bolshevism, Fascism, Nazism, we have learned enough to avoid the old and settled disputes. But we must have been mistaken for it seems that we have to overcome the same difficulties and misunderstandings at every instance of serious fight that we, the working class, are confronted with.

The old forgotten "Millerandism" or "Ministerialism" is and has been a burning issue in Spain ever since the present war was percipitated by the uniformed bandits of Spain. The only real revolutionary force in the present Spanish war, was the C. N. T. and its ideological reflex, the F. A. I. It would have appeared an absurdity, for anyone a year ago, to state that the old issue of "ministerialism" could bob up—of all things—in this anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movement, in the time of the acutest crisis that ever confronted, not only these two Spanish movements (that are really one), but the anarchist fraternity the world over.

Perseus, of mythological fame, wore a magic cap so that the monsters he hunted down might not see him. I would like to have pulled such a magic cap over my own ears so that I may not see the internal fight in the revolutionary forces of the present Spanish fight. Unfortunately, I can read many languages and am in touch with revolutionary literature of many lands, and no magic cap can prevent me from seeing things I would not like to see. I am giving below a translation of an open letter of A. Shapiro to the C. N. T. I read similar open letters months ago, whose authors have fallen since, either fighting on the bloody battlefields, or through cowardly assassination by the Spanish Branch of the Russian Cheka. Shapiro is not dead yet, he is one of the outstanding figures of the anarchist movement of the world. He was for a number of years one of the Secretariat of the International Workingmens Association. Therefore, whatever the readers of the "One Big Union" may think of his statements, I assure them that Shapiro is sincere and means what he says.

OPEN LETTER TO THE C. N. T.

We read with more surprise than interest the minimal program of the C. N. T. "for the realization of a real war policy." The reading of the program raised an entire series of questions and problems, some of which should be called to your attention.

Certainly none of us was simple enough to believe that a war can be carried on with resolutions and by anti-militarist theories. Many of us believed, long before July 19 (1936) that the anti-militarist propaganda, so dear to our Dutch comrades of the International Anti-militarist Bureau and which found, in the past, a sympathetic enough echo in the columns of your press in Spain, was in contradiction with the organization of the revolution.

Many of us knew that the putsches, that were so dear to our Spanish comrades, such as those of December 8 and January 8, 1934, were far from helping this organization of the revolution, it helped rather to disorganize it.

July 19 opened your eyes. It made you realize the mistake you had committed in the past, when, in a revolutionary period, you neglected seriously organizing the necessary frame-work for the struggle that you knew would be inevitable on the day of the settlement of accounts. Yet, today you are shutting your eyes on another important fact. You seem to think that a civil war brought about by the circumstance of a fascist putsch does not necessarily obligate you to examine the possibilities of modifying and altering the character of that civil war.

A "minimal" program is not something to startle us; but a particular minimal program (such as yours) cannot have any value unless it creates the opportunity for the preparation of a **maximal** program.

But, your "real war policy," after all, is nothing but a program for entering the Council of Ministry (government); with it wou act merely as a political party desirous of participation in an existing government, setting forth your conditions of participation, and these conditions are so **bureaucratic** in character that they are far from weakening in the least the bourgeois capitalist regime, on the contrary they are tending to strengthen capitalism and stabilize it.

The surprising part of your program is that you do not consider it as a means for the attainment of some well defined goal, but consider your "real war policy" program as **an aim in itself.** That is the main danger in your program. It presupposes a permanent participation in the government—not merely circumstantial—which is to extend over a number of years, even if the war itself, with its brutal, daily manifestations would cease in the meanwhile. A monopoly of the Foreign Commerce (have the communists whispered this to you?), customs policy, new legislations, a new penal code—all of this take in a long time. In order to realize these tasks, your program proposes a very close collaboration, on all fields, with the bourgeoisie (republican block) and with the communists (marxist block), while almost at the same time you state in your appeal of June 14 that you are sure of triumphing not only against Franco, but also against a stupidly backward bourgeoisie ("the republican block") and against the tricky and dishonest politicians (marxist block").

You see, therefore, that even your minimal program is beset with flagrant contradictions; its realization is dependent on the aid of the very sectors against which that program is aimed. Even the freedom with which you state these two, mutually excluding, programs: collaboration with the bourgeoisie and "marxism" on the one hand and fight to finish against this same bourgeoisie and "marxism" on the other, situates your minimal program as **the aim**, and your declaration of June

14, becomes a mere verbiage. We would have, naturally, liked to see things the other way.

The problem of Spain's economic reconstruction does not form a part of your program. And yet, you cannot help but know that a civil war, like the one you are going through cannot bring the people to its aid, unless the victories on the fronts will assure at the same time **their own** victories in the rear.

It is true,— and many of us outside of Spain have known it long before July 19—the Social Revolution cannot be attained in 24 hours, and that a libertarian regime cannot be erected by the turn of the hand. Nevertheless, neither the C. N. T. nor the F. A. I. cared anything about pre-revolutionary organization and about preparing in advance the framework for the social and economic reconstruction. We claim that there is a bridge leading from the downfall of the old regime to the erection of the new regime erected on the ashes and the ruins of the old regime. This bridge is all the more full of dangerous traps and pitfalls as the new regime differs from the old. And it was precisely **this period of transition** that you have misunderstood in the past and that **you continue to misunderstand today.** For, if you had recognized that the social and economic reconstruction on a libertarian basis is the indispensable condition to victory over fascism, you would have elaborated, (having in view the aim to be attained) a minimal revolutionary program, that would have given the city and country proletariat of Spain, the necessary will and enthusiasm to continue the war to its logical conclusion.

But such a program you failed to proclaim. The few timid allusions contained in your "war program," are far from having a revolutionary character: the elaboration of a plan for the economic reconstruction, that would be accepted by the three blocks, could only be a naive illusion, if it would not be so dangerous; the municipalization of land is an anti-revolutionary project since it legalizes something that a coming revolution will have to abolish, since the municipalities are, after all, but cogs in the wheel of the State as long as the State will exist.

Naturally, the elaboration of an economic program for the transition period presupposes a final aim. Does the C. N. T. consider that libertarian communism is an unattainable "Utopia" that should be relegated to the museum?

If you still think (as you did before July 19) that libertarian communism forms part of the program of the C. N. T. it is your duty—it was really your duty since July 1936—to elaborate your economic program of transition, without regard to the bourgeois and marxist blocks, who can but sabotage any program of libertarian tendency and inspiration.

To be sure, such a program will place you in conflict with these blocks, but on the other hand, it will unite with you the large majority of the workers, who want but one thing; the victory of the Revolution. It is necessary, therefore to choose between these two eventualities.

Such a program will, naturally, nullify your "war program" which is nothing but the expression of a "true" desire for a permanent cabinet collaboration. But, this proposition, this "war program" of yours is diametrically contrary to the traditionally revolutionary attitude of the C. N. T., which this organization has not denied yet. It is, therefore necessary to choose.

The C. N. T. should not allow—as it has unfortunately done since July 19—the acceptance of the tactics of the "line of least resistance," which cannot but lead to a slow but sure liquidation of the libertarian revolution.

The ministerial collaboration policy has certainly pushed back to the rear the program of revolutionary economy. You are on the wrong track and you can see that yourselves.

Do you not think that you should stop following this road, that leads you to certain downfall?

PERISH ALL TYRANTS

Perish all tyrants far and near,
Beneath the claims that bind us;
And perish, too that *servile fear*
Which makes the slaves they find us.

One grand, one universal claim,
One peal of moral thunder,
One glorious burst in freedom's name,
And rend our bonds asunder!

—Charles Cole

A TIP TO A FRIEND

By COVAMI

Or how a punk politician may become a great statesman

This is "more truth than poetry,"
But here is what I say
To all who would be "Honorables"
And Presidents today:
Keep in the limelight, brother!
Keep, keep in the limelight!
Keep, on a-talking, talking,
Morning, noon and night!

Daily in the "Record"
Your applaused remarks "extend";
Weep a weep for farmers,
The soldier boys defend;
Bawl out all the bankers,
Cuss out all the chains;
Promise all the dust-bowlers
You will send 'em rains;

Glorify the workers;
Praise the horney hands of toil;
Wail because forever
For a living they must moil;
Promise all the aged
You will give 'em what you can't—
Out-townsend Doctor Townsend
When before the old you rant;

Tell all the disemployed
Not one of them shall starve,
But each a fatted gobbler
In the bye-and-bye shall carve;
Tell all the little merchants
You will bust the trust—
Lay it on aplenty!
Raise a heap of dust!

Be sure to "save" our country,
Your faith in it declare;
By Jefferson and Lincoln
Forget you not to swear.
Be interviewed and camera-ed;
Smile and smirk and grin;
Show yourself with Capital
And Labor standing in;

Assert there are no classes
Among the Free and Brave;
The home fires keep a-burning;
The Starry Banner wave;
Give out a gorgeous platform,
One that's promisefull;
Spread the "brisbanalities,"
Go heavy on the bull.

Be lib'ral and progressive,
Conservative and sane,
Syndicalist and Communist,
And something else again.
If by then you are no statesman,
You were never meant to be
A saviour of the people,
Friend, a leader of the free.

THE LAUNDRY WORKERS — THEY CAN BE ORGANIZED

By K. T. S.

"I'm as experienced as they make them. I've been at it 28 years, but I only make $12.40 a week, years ago it was $18."

The worst sweat shops are found in the industries that require comparatively little capital to start. The man with a little money and a strong urge to get rich by robbing wage workers finds himself an old building facing a dirty street or alley where rent is cheap, buys second hand machinery, hires a few workers and goes into business. He works himself, if he can't get out of it, cuts the prices on his product because he has to compete with numerous other budding capitalists who have the same urge he has, and tries his best to grind a little more work out of his employes than anybody else ever succeeded in doing.

The petty cock-roach is found in every city and town, and in the country, too. He is the mainstay of the capitalist system for he inspires hope in the minds of thousands of workers, who ought to know better, that there is a chance for them to escape from the chains of wage slavery and become independent.

One of the most popular of these stepping stones to wealth and affluence is the laundry industry. There are big corporations in the business, of course, but taken as a whole it carries on its miserable existance in that marginal territoy where wages are lowest, working conditions the most miserable, and hours the longest.

The League of Women Shoppers informes us in an interesting little pamphlet entitled, "Consider the Laundry Workers," that the modern power laundry got its start in California way back in 1849. It seems that the thousands of men who went out there without wives to wash their shirts and too much occupied with looking for nuggets to do their own washing, inspired a carpenter to build a 12-shirt washing machine which was run by a 10-horse power donkey engine.

Since then the laundry machinery has become standardized and the operations and departmental divisions, too, so that the nature of the work done by the employes is about the same everywhere in the United States.

The business is highly competitive and, besides, it sells a service, not a commodity, and this service is one that people can dispense with in emergency. When depression strikes, women try to save money by doing their washing at home and this causes an immediate shrinking in the volume of work done by the laundries. But since employers will go to any extreme rather than sacrifice profits they make up by cutting wages down to levels almost unbelievably low, and keep them there as long as they can after the depression excuse is no longer valid.

Another factor that helps to keep wages down is the fact that by far the greater portion of the work is done by women who are not required to be skilled. The old tradition that women work for wages and outside of the home only to earn a "little something extra" is still used as an excuse for low wages and still influences the public attitude toward these workers; even though all the evidence shows that women as well as men workers go to their daily slavery, no matter how unendurable it may be, to ward off starvation and not to by diamonds.

New York State Labor Department figures show that in the latter part of 1936, 73.6 per cent of the women employed in New York City laundries made less than $15.00 a week. But investigators in the same area found wages as low as $6 for a week of 48 hours; and in Brooklyn a man laundry worker was found who was getting $5 a week for 50 hours work, and another who was paid $6 for 60 hours.

In the New York investigation the median wage for women was found to be $13 a week, and for men $14.50. The union wages were found to be somewhat above the average. For instance, while a union shirt folder made $1.95 for 100 shirts, the average was $1.50 for 100; and while a union washer (skilled work) was paid $40 for a 48-hour

(Continued on page 21)

Book Reviews

America's Greatest Social Disgrace

By

Fred W. Thompson

"Child Workers in America" by Katherine Du Pre Lumpkin and Dorothy Douglas; Robert M. McBride and Co., publishers; 299 p.p. plus bibliography and index; $3.50.

There are some two and a quarter million working boys and girls under 18 years of age in these United States. They have been driven to work by the poverty in their homes. By going to work they have either displaced so many of their fathers, or by competition so reduced the earnings of their fathers, that poverty at home has made it necessary for them to stay on as industrial workers, or has left them so poorly clothed, or with so little money for books and pleasures that even the meagre earnings available in industry appeared more attractive than going to school to receive the scorn of their better dressed schoolmates.

This study of the role of these two million boys and girls in our economic life, and of the largely frustrated efforts to curb their exploitation, seriously attempts to be exhaustive. For this reason it is a study of more than child labor. The opposition to proposed laws to restrict child labor has so entrenched itself in appeals to tradition, in arguments that children work because they are so mentally inferior that they cannot benefit from education, and in political trickery, that those who would end "America's greatest social disgrace" are put in a position where they must either give up the fight or attack the pet prejudices that serve as justifications for capitalism and expose our alleged democratic machinery as the executive committee of the ruling class that radicals have long known it to be.

When those who bring up their own young upon the exploitation of the children of the working class muster the mental testers to show that these working children leave school because they are so inferior mentally that school is of no use to them, it becomes necessary to examine the question: Are the poor poor because they are inferior, or are they culturally inferior because they are poor? The authors have not shirked the responsibility and at length they establish with the utmost scientific objectivity that the working class is not inherently an inferior lot of people; that instead their cultural shortcomings result from the environment that is theirs so long as they yield all beyond a subsistence to those who do not work for a living. Nor do the authors hesitate to ask the pointed question that if industrial employment is the proper treatment for stupid children, then why aren't the stupid children of the rich sent to work likewise? In fact a bracing irony, well barbed with pointed figures, runs through the book, to crop out, for instance in asking, when lobbyists urge that children should not be denied the dignity of labor, why it is, if labor is so beneficial to children, that the children of these same lobbyists are universally denied its much lauded benefits?

The question whether child labor exists because the supply of children looking for jobs requires business to establish employment for them, or whether it persists because of some demand of industry for the labor of children, leads the authors to probe (almost) to the foundations of capitalist economy. That poverty drives them to work is established thoroughly. That the corporations (who by the way are shown to be the great employers of children) exert every pressure to see that insufficient appropriation is made for schooling and for enforcing attendance at school, and employ parents, in agriculture and textiles particularly, only if they put their children to work, is shown repeatedly. They almost get to showing that mass unemployment is the essential condition required for capitalism—that without it the profit system could not tick. But their point—that employment for children is furnished to get bigger profits and not to provide something for the boys and girls to do—it adequately established without getting quite that far.

To those who believe that our college professors, "social scientists", welfare workers, preachers and other leading lights are honest people, and that our legislative bodies hold their deliberations to consider what to do for the majority of people in this country, the chapters on the long fight for legislative restriction on child labor will be most enlightening. These great leaders of "public opinion" do not hesitate to appear both before Congress to urge that such matters be left to the states where, they assure their hearers, the matter will be taken care of, and then hasten to state legislatures to urge that children should not be deprived of the great pleasure, moral benefits, and opportunities to help their unemployed fathers arising from their God-given right to work. Splendid case material for a study of the functioning of the state is furnished in the same chapters. The responsiveness of legislators to the wishes of the owners of the important industries makes the modern state a most serviceable instrument of class rule while presenting the pleasing camouflage of democracy. Such proposals as the abolition of child labor find acceptance only where economic factors have made child labor superfluous. Where it is of advantage to the great owners, any law curbing it provides exception in their favor. Agriculture which absorbs four fifths of the army of child workers is regularly excepted —and the picture built in the press is that of the boy and girl helping father and mother on their own farms.

The facts here given show that such child labor is overwhelmingly performed for the benefit of owners other than their parents.

The nature of the study is such that it is necessarily a kaleidoscope of many views of the misery of America's most submerged families. The pictures of family situations are carefully etched with no waste words, and convey in full the forces that make for submission to the exploitation of children.

We see the home of the sharecropper and the sugar beet worker, the sweatshop home where the family is up till after midnight with the children stringing safety-pins or carding snaps instead of doing their lessons. We see little children in New Orleans picking frozen shrimp until their fingers are numb, and boys and girls of ten years chipping trees for turpentine for twelve hours a day. And we hear President Roosevelt pompously declare "Child labor has been abolished."

What's to be done about it? The authors pin their hopes on federal legislation. There, this reviewer cannot concur with them—they have offered too much evidence to show that we can't rely on that. Even should the amendment get the endorsement of the necessary thirty-six states in the face of a press that is circulated largely by the exploitation of "little merchants", and despite the lobbying and misrepresentation of the corporations that benefit most from child labor, and escape the trickery of those who offer the substitute proposal of requiring all products of child labor to be branded accordingly—even then, what? What standards would Congress set up for the control of child labor? Probably the standards used in the former NRA codes—and these affected only 100,000 children out of the 2,250,000 child workers of America—and it is doubtful at that if they were carried out. So long as there are poverty stricken homes to which work is sent to be done, children will be set to doing it. Outside the home, legislation is hopelessly ineffective in curbing child labor. "In 1928 the New York State Labor Department found over four hundred thousand boys and girls illegally employed in stores and factories." It would seem that legislation is about one third effective from the following figures:

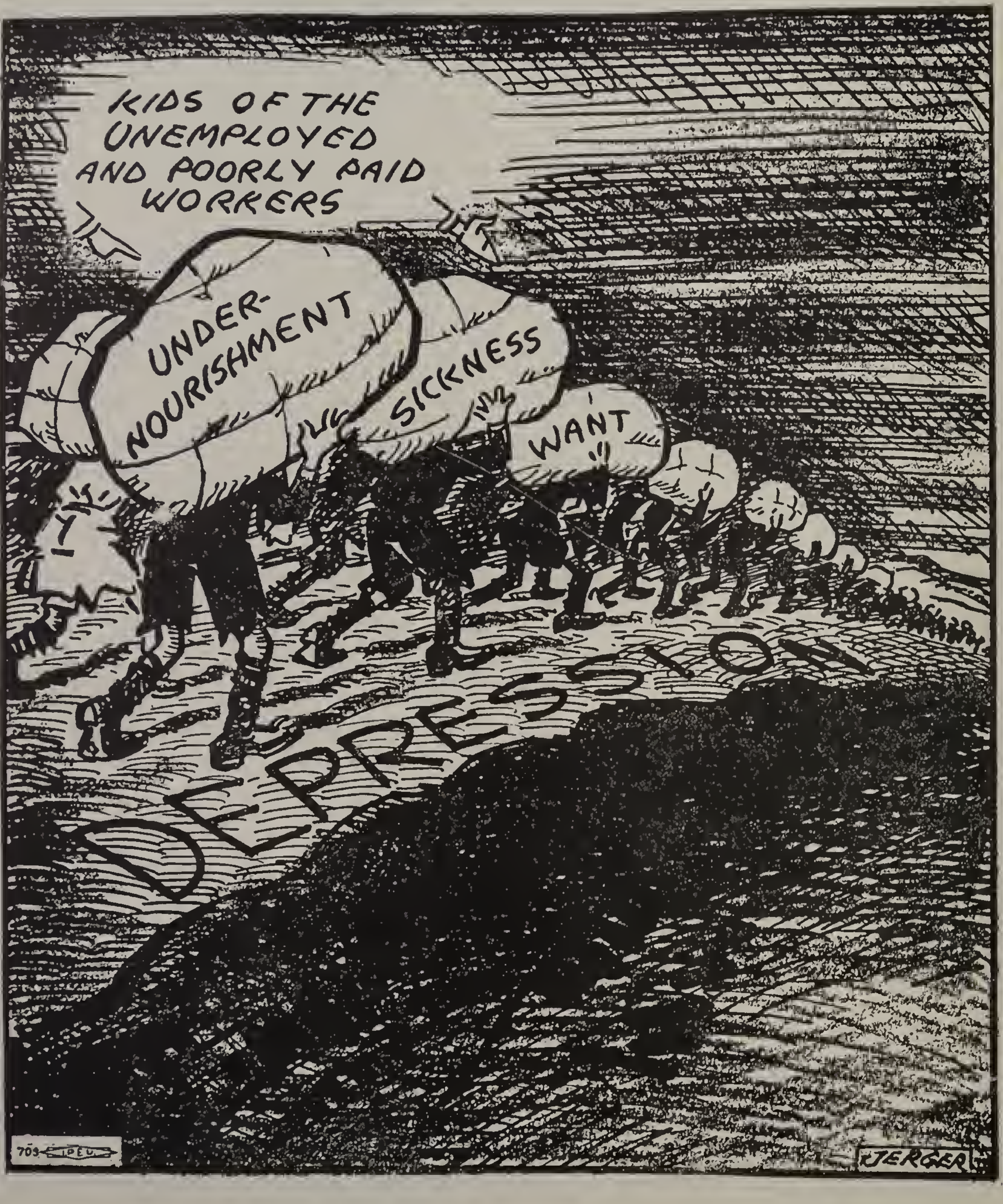
"To show the advantage of regulation, the Children's Bureau cites the fact that whereas in states having no eight hour law for cannery children 96 per cent of the children worked over eight hours, and 78 per cent worked ten hours or more, in the states that did include the cannery industry under their child labor laws, only 66 per cent worked over eight hours a day, and only 40 per cent worked ten hours or more."

Even this estimate of effectiveness is overdrawn, for cannery inspectors report that when they come to canneries at night they find children scampering into the shadows chased away by the foremen.

The proposal to keep children out of industry by making their attendance at school compulsory seems equally ineffective. In the communities where child labor is most used, the school authorities are the chief exploiters of children, and not likely to enforce such legislation. Imperial Country, California, is a great field for child labor in agriculture; it covers a couple of thousand square miles, and has only one school attendance officer, and she is neither provided with a conveyance nor allowed traveling expenses. (The object of factory inspection laws is similiarly defeated by allowing no funds to carry out the inspection).

Child labor is used, and makes for greater poverty, more unemployment, more compulsion to offer one's children for exploitation, because there is a margin of profit in it. The labor union battle for higher wages is aimed directly at the poverty that propels children into industry, and if labor unionism can succeed in insisting either that children shall not be employed, or that their wages shall be raised to the point where it becomes more profitable to hire adults, we will have a much more trustworthy means to combat "America's greatest social disgrace."

Apart from their unwarranted hopes for legislative reform, the authors have woven a picture of working class life and employing class trickery and rationalization, that for completeness of view and readability, deserves to be ranked with the writings on economic history by the Hammonds.


KIDS OF THE UNEMPLOYED AND POORLY PAID WORKERS
UNDER-NOURISHMENT
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FACTFUL FABLES *By COVINGTON HALL*

All About The Creature That Mastered Its Creator

Once upon a time there arose on a Certain Planet the most efficient institution ever devised by the mind of the Few for hornswoggling and gypping the Many. It was called "The State." Being itself the outcome of long decades of revolutionary activity, The State, as soon as the Revolutionists won out, immediately Proclaimed and Guaranteed Life, Equality, Fraternity and the Pursuit of Happiness to All, regardless of Race, Creed, Color or Previous Condition of Servitude. So, as All can see, the Forgotten Ones were, as usual, not forgotten.

True, that in Freeing the Serfs and Slaves, the State inadvertently overlooked embodying in Their Bill of Rights any article providing for and guaranteeing their ineluctable Necessity to Work and Eat. But men obsessed with Good Intentions cannot think of everything at once. So, to make Everything all right, the State brought "Law and Order" into Society. Furthermore, its Law was as perfect as Best Minds could make it and its Order was not to be sneezed at. There is no doubt about That. As wise old Anatole has observed, "The Law in its Majestic Equality forbids the Rich as well as the Poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread." And what could be fairer than That? Nothing. Unlike the Ancient Priesthoods who promised the Mummies something Hereafter, the Priesthood of the State promised the Morons something right Here and Now, if not Immediately, then Pronto after the Next Election. And, what's more, and worse, got away with it. But I digress.

De Jure, if not De Facto, the State is the Sovereign People or Proletariat, as the case may be, in Congress or Parliament assembled. Once Assembled, however, the State became One Thing and Vox Populi quite another. This Unexpected Outcome and Sorry Situation was and is probably due to the Sad Fact that States, like Peoples, must Live, and, to Live, must get the Wherewithal. It is not surprising, therefore, that as the Parasites grow Fat and Fatter the Producers grow Lean and Leaner. The Producers might have thought of that in the Days before the Dole, but it seems evident that they did not. The trouble with the Producers is that they have been so busy, and still are, hardscrabbling an Existence for Themselves and a Living for everybody else they haven't had time to Think. Getting in the habit of Not Thinking Straight, they finally accepted the strange, heretical and unnatural doctrine that men Lived to Work, instead of the other way around—that they Worked in order To Live. Falling under this Hallucination, it was and is perfectly natural that the Great Majority came to the conclusion that the Aim and End of All Production was to pay Profit to the Privateers of Industry and that Production For USE By and For the Producers of The Goods was, somehow or other, a violation of the Laws of God, Nature and the Constitution. So They got what Paddy shot at and the State the rest. And it served them right.

It was by virtue of this queer creed that the State became haughtier and haughtier and the Citizen humbler and humbler as time passed and Progress progressed. As it grew Greater and Greater the Citizen became Less and Less. As It expanded He shrunk. Its prosperity is His poverty. Its glory His meanness. Its might His insecurity. Its salvation His sacrifice. Arming itself Beyond the Limit, It demanded that He Disarm. The Right to Murder it claimed for Itself alone, and, what's more, got away with it again. The State promises and promises, but it is Mr. Average who Pays and Pays. But He seems to like it, and why shouldn't He? He gets all he Voted For and a Lot More that he Didn't Expect, doesn't he? He Does. Then "why Kick?" I Don't. What's got my Goat is the Sublime Gall of the claim the State has of late set up, to wit, as the Lawyers say, that "The State has a Soul of its Own into and under which all other Souls are submerged." I can't swallow that doctrine, not only because it is incomprehensible to sane minds, but because the credo makes the Professional Politician God. And I have too much respect for The Almighty to so insult Him. If that is "Treasonable" or "Counter-Revolutionary," all Right. Make the Most of It. I'm It! And I don't care what the Dictators say!

Moral

"They who surrender Essential Liberty for Temporary Security deserve neither Liberty nor Security." Neither, oh Ben Franklin, do they get it.

THE NONSENSE OF PLANNING

By

PAUL MATTICK

"Planned economy and capitalism are irreconcilable contradictions; the one excludes the other. If an economy is planned, then it has also ceased to be a capitalist economy."

The literature dealing with the problems of a planned economy has attained proportions comparable only with those of the depression which brought it forth. In all this welter of thought, we may distinguish three main currents: one which stands for the possibility of capitalist planning, another which denies it on principle, and a third which hovers between these extremes and finds its champions both in the bourgeois and socialist camps.

In view of the depression, the surviving representatives of the laissez-faire principle have a hard time defending their theoretical postulates against the planners. It becomes increasingly implausible that the market mechanism, of itself, can overcome the present difficulties. And even if it could, there still remains open the no less important question of whether society shall submit supinely to the brutal healing process in which the market produces its regulating effects or whether it shall not rather take a conscious part in this process.

In spite of the liveliness of the discussion on the part of the laissez-faires, the fact no less remains that they are historically superseded for their basis in classic competitive capitalism is drawn from under them. The enterprises bound up with free competition fall easy victims to the monopolistic forces in which the process of capital concentration still expresses itself. The resistance offered by these groups to all planning experiments is accordingly not a struggle against any socialistic tendencies of the various governments but the last despairing efforts of weaker capitalist groups against the monopolistic competition by which they are being destroyed. And so, in their agitation, they had to take flight from reality into a mystic fatalism; for monopoly capitalism has undeniably grown out of free competitive capitalism, and thus the representatives of the latter can not attack the first without at the same time striking themselves. The same competitive capitalism which in its heyday never tired of talking about its determining and forming mission in world affairs is today endeavoring to relegate to the realm of fancy any possibility of conscious regulation of the economic life. Its champions see in their own end the downfall of society itself and raise their warning voices with the assertion that no advance is possible except through complete planlessness. However much support they may find for such a position in the past, it remains clear that the future is not destined to follow the pattern of the past but immediately that of the present. And for that reason their cry of protest can inspire no more terror or restraint than, say, that of the hogs in the slaughterhouse prior to having their throats cut. Rather, as the English champion of planned economy, Blackett, writes, "The idea of planning has passed rapidly beyond the stage of being suspect for its communist connotations and has become perfectly respectable."

II.

The champions of capitalist planned economy have the present on their side. Their darts directed against laissez-faire principles strike home, even though they are fired with closed eyes. Of course a number of economists reject the possibility of a partial planning, asserting that such a thing is a self-contradiction and that a planned economy necessarily involves the meaningful and harmonious interconnection of all processes in all economic and social spheres, to which end the most consistent centralization of economic direction is indispensable. But such a position, however correct it may be, still fails to meet the objection that a partial planning in certain circumstances is capable of suppressing some of the economic friction, of overcoming a number of minor difficulties and thus of creating new situations which in their turn can exert a more or less favorable influence upon the economic process. If this is the case, one has a perfect right to speak, if he likes, of "partial planning," and any criticism would practically only be tilting against the terminology which makes this piecemeal planning synonymous with planned economy itself.

Every planned economy has its planless aspects, and every planless economy has also its regulated moments. In the classic capitalism of free competition there were monopolies, and in monopoly capitalism there is competition, even though of a more limited sort. From general competition arose that of the monopolies among each other, which amounts to saying that competition has on the one hand waned as regards complexity in order to wax in other forms as regards intensity. However much the classic capitalism may be differentiated from the monopolistic, still the one can not be set over against the other: monopoly capitalism is the old-age manifestation of laissez-faire, and its planned-economy phraseology is only the makeup which conceals decay.

If we identify the results of monopolization, or of the process of centralization and concentration, with the experiments in planned economy, we get away from the idle and purely conceptual dispute as to whether the planning shall, can or must be carried out completely or half way, at once or gradually. Also the question as to where the planning will lead loses all significance, so that only the question of principle remains open: whether planned economy and capitalism are at all susceptible of being combined.

III.

The major part of the theories of planning hitherto devised can be appraised only as literature, since their authors have refrained from touching upon the laws by which capitalist relations are governed. Their starting point was always discontent with existing conditions. They noted, as anyone may readily do, what was ably set forth by Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends: that society's capacity for producing commodities is continually increasing at a more rapid rate than the purchasing power of the population, that the ratio of employment fails to keep step with the improvement of the productive machinery, and that the means of communication between nations change more rapidly than the reorganization of international relations. In brief, the rate of growth of the social forces of production is such and the forms assumed by them are such that the social relations can not be adapted to these forms, but are breaking them down. The natural conclusion, namely, that these backward relations must be swept aside, never occurs to the theoreticians of planning and can not occur to them, since they are theoreticians of planning only within the existing social relations. So they try to turn history backward and to arrest this painful growth of the social capacities, after the manner of those lovely Japanese ladies who bandage their feet in order to keep them dainty. In both cases, the actual result is simply maiming.

To the economic planners, it is a question of diminishing the productive capacity and at the same time of increasing the purchasing power. In the course of this two-fold process a time must come when the disproportion now existing between the two will be eliminated and the way prepared for a harmonious interplay. Whatever pains the theoreticians may take to work out their theses down to the least detail, all these pretty games will be very much wasted so far as capitalism itself is concerned. To the capitalists, the problem of planning is a quite one-sided and practical matter, namely, the conversion and adaptation of their productive apparatus and of their business to the automatically contracting relations of the market and to the changes within the economic structure —as brought about through monopolization, cartellization and trustification—in order to win for themselves as much as possible of the social profit. What actual "planning" takes place would take place even without decisive modifications—even if the various brain trusts did not exist—and precisely upon the prescribed basis of the natural market tendecies under **monopolistic laissez-faire.** The "planning" does not change the social mechanism, but this mechanism functions today in a manner which falls in with the theories of the planners. It expanded the productivity of society in order then, on the ground of this expansion, to contract it. This capitalistic sabotage is not determined by any plans whatsoever,—the plans merely make it known—, but by the planlessness of the existing economic system. Capitalist planned economy is therefore nothing more than "planned planlessness," or more simply stated—nonsense. With the acceptance of the present economic system as the only one for all time there can, of course, be no insight into the fact that any planning within it can only be a fanciful one; the present economic system really permits no genuine conscious economy at all. To talk of planning from the standpoint of commodity production is just as interesting as to hear a blind man lecture on van Gogh.

IV.

The shares of the individual capitalist enterprises in the total social profit being dependent on the magnitude of the capitals involved, so that their owners are compelled to keep on increasing their capital in order to maintain themselves as capitalists when profits are diminishing, it follows that the hindering of the growth of the small capitals means eventually their destruction. And these capitalists are well aware of the fact that control of production means their elimination in the interest of larger aggregations; that the combining process which goes on automatically even during the crisis, by way of bankruptcies, is now to be further promoted by political means, through planned-economy demagogy. That "freeze the status quo" is in reality the planful destruction of small capitals in order to prolong the life of the larger ones. The thing which to some (e. g. Professor Moley) is a new humanitarian adjustment in the economic and political spheres is to the others a downright selfish policy of strangulation, and these latter are justified in appealing to the laws of nature, which do not admit of a "status quo". And while their downfall is a proof of the correctness of this conception, yet in the capitalist sense natural laws operate only by way of eruptions. Although the stagnating tendencies are doomed to remain no more than tendencies, still, so long as they work, they will accomplish their task, and the fate of many outsiders will be absolutely and forever settled through the "unnatural status quo" of monopoly.

No longer, as formerly, does the number of individual capitals increase; rather, as capitalist development proceeds, that number continually diminishes. We are going back, even though with modifications, to conditions like those which existed in the beginnings of capitalist society, when there was little distinction between expropriation and accumulation. And the reason is that at the end of capitalist society, as at its beginning, the thirst for profit and the compulsion to reaping it are greater than during its time of vigor. The primitiveness and unscrupulousness of childhood repeats itself in old age, though with more finesse. The beneficiaries of the capitalist system grow fewer and fewer, so that the struggle for shares of the social profit must grow sharper. While on the one hand there are increasingly greater possibilities for the conscious regulation of the economic life, they are more and more excluded by the property relations. What passes itself off as planned economy, that is, as a conscious taking in hand of the social process of life, is in reality the sharpening of the struggle of all against all.

So long as society is bound to commodity production, it is only through the market that its needs can be satisfied. Any limitation imposed upon the freedom of marketing is a limitation upon the individual entrepreneurs themselves and can only lead to sharpening their oppositions. Limitation of production, which can only be brought about by way of the market, has the same effect. Even if the idea of a capitalist planned economy need not be completely rejected, it can be assigned no more than a limited validity. It is only under conditions in which a certain group of interests succeeds in completely dominating all the rest of society that the idea could be justified in a conditional sense. And yet the unavoidable social convulsions arising under such conditions are probably enough again to exclude the speculation; quite apart from the still weightier factor that under such conditions, with the retention of capital production, its liability to crisis is still not done away with, for that liability is only modified by the market and has its final basis in capital accumulation itself. From this standpoint, it is impossible to see in the current planned-economy tendencies more than a new conceptual formulation of the legitimate course of the monopolistic movement of capitalism in its period of decline.

The endeavor to stabilize present capital investments at their present level, under the pretext of planned economy, is but an expression of the fact that at a high level of capitalist development further technical progress no longer, as before, increases profits but diminishes them. Though the continuance of monopolization can not be halted, this process is at the same time the destruction of capitalist sources of existence, in that it eliminates more and more such things as capital devaluations by which the load of the crisis is lightened. The opening up of the world to capitalist enterprise, while becoming more necessary, becomes at the same time more difficult by reason of the expansion already attained, since here it is not the geographical limits but those of accumulation which are decisive. The more imperative the imperialistic conflicts become, the more dubious also their results. In short, the restriction of the productive forces is at the same time their development and this development at the same time their restriction.

It is only to one who has never delved beneath the surface of capitalist phenomena that this contradictory movement appears to arise from the disproportion between production and consumption. Though it can not be denied that such a disproportion exists, it is bound up with the material character of production and consumption, a character which in the capitalist world, however, has validity only for the individuals and not for the social movement. The commodities regarded as use articles in their material form play in the social sense no part. So that when one speaks of the spread between production and purchasing power, one must first know what all the planners completely neglect; namely, what **capitalist purchasing power** is. Human consumption capacity and capitalist purchasing power are fundamentally different things. The senselessness of destroying commodities, e. g. from the standpoint of natural consumption, is very "sensible" from the standpoint of capitalist purchasing power, and any one who gets excited about this "insanity" and wants to abolish it under capitalism simply fails to understand the prime motive of this society. The natural necessities of a certain proportionality between production and consumption assert themselves violently in the end against such inverted social conditions and form the content of revolutionary history.

Present-day society does not even concern itself with determining the consumption capacity or needs of society, in order to make a corresponding adjustment of production. It leaves this to the individuals, while the only social concern is the market on which the purchasing power depends. And since the market forces the capitalists to individual accumulation, the only decisive factor in determining capitalist purchasing power is the necessities and possibilities of accumulation. Capital itself is the greatest consumer and forms its own market. To speak of lack of purchasing power merely means that capital is not making use of its purchasing power, and we have to inquire about the reason for this fact. Since profit is the motive of capitalist production, it must also furnish the explanation for this abstention. With this question we come up against the laws of capitalist movement. These laws are wisely neglected by the theoreticians of planning, and hence their theories can not be taken seriously.

VI.

Since accumulation is in practice the continual growth of the apparatus of production and of its productive capacity, its progressive expansion devours a greater and greater part of the newly produced social product, or, differently expressed, of the newly won capital. The same process cheapens labor and changes the proportions in which the capital is divided. General human advance, which consists in the possibility of setting in motion more and more means of production with less and less labor, and hence of turning out greater and greater quantities of products, expresses itself capitalistically in a more rapid growth of the capital invested in means of production and raw materials than of that invested in wages. This fact is evident at once from a comparison of the capital composition of fifty years ago with that of today. Capitalist profit is, however, computed on the total capital, though, since in the final analysis it is nothing but unpaid labor, it varies only with the magnitude of the wage capital. The contradiction between appropriated labor as the basis of profit and the magnitude of the organic composition of capital (means of production and labor power) leads, with the further development of accumulation, to the fall of the rate of profit and, at a high stage of accumulation, to the actual decline of the mass of profit. In a word: a greater social capital produces a smaller social profit. This contradictory movement must lead to a situation in which the diminished profits not only take away the incentive to further accumulation, since such accumulation would diminish instead of promote profitability, but in which accumulation becomes quite impossible. Absolutely, the profit acquired may be greater than before, and yet be too small relatively to the demands of further accumulation.

The capitalist crisis is but an expression of the fact that further accumulation is not worth while or is impossible. The capitalists make no use of their purchasing power, since it doesn't pay them to do so or because accumulation consumes more than is at hand for its purposes. Practically, there then takes place what the theoreticians want to 'plan': the productive apparatus will no longer be expanded to correspond with the hitherto prevailing tempo of accumulation. Of course, profits continue to be made, but those parts set aside for new investments fail to reach their destination, for, however great they may be, they are too small with respect to the demands of accumulation. They lie idle, and one gets the impression that too much capital is present, though in reality this superfluity is a deficiency of capital: **an excess of capital arises from a lack of capital.** However paradoxical this may sound, scientific truths always appear paradoxical to that "common sense" which never gets beyond appearance.

On this basis it becomes clear that the overproduction of commodities is to be regarded merely as a result and not as a cause of the crisis. Even though accumulation is not continued and the productive apparatus is not expanded in the necessary proportion, still at first production goes on at the previous level. Since, however, there is essentially no new capital invested, so also its material embodiments, the means of production and raw materials, remain unused in their commodity form. Thereupon, production is diminished or quite suspended, workers discharged. The consumption industries also are dragged into the crisis, which soon seizes upon all the social domains. With this, the competitive struggle grows sharper, and this leads to great price drops, bankruptcies and the general predicament.

From this point of view, we see also the factors which may serve in overcoming the crisis. The crisis can be done away with only through the continuance of accumulation. Capitalist purchasing power must be strengthened. Capitalist economists stare in perplexity at the "riddle" of the crisis. If they draw the favorite parallels with the past, they say that 'scarcity' was responsible for economic complications in all pre-capitalist forms of economy, though in view of the productive capacity this factor offers no explanation for the present difficulties. In other words, these economists are looking upon the capitalist world in a manner in which it can not be looked upon, that is, as a world which serves to supply the needs of human beings. This crisis too has its basis in 'scarcity'—scarcity, however, not of use articles but of capital, and this scarcity must be overcome if the depression is to be weathered. Profitability must be reestablished on the basis of continued accumulation. Since, however, profits do not fall from heaven, but are the results of labor, they can be increased only by raising the expropriable quantity of surplus labor which the workers, because of their social position, have to perform for the capitalists. In other words: the raising of capitalist purchasing power, which alone has any importance, presupposes lowering the purchasing power of the workers. Overcoming the disproportion between capitalist purchasing power and the need for accumulation is bound up with increasing the disproportion between production and consumption. And as a matter of fact all countries, even those engaged with experiments in planned economy, show that the purchasing power of the masses in relation to production is constantly still sinking lower. The statistical material for the

(Continued on page 33)

"I JUST GOT INTO TOWN"

By
PAUL KOLINSKY

It's no easy life traveling about from place to place looking for a job, hoping for a chance to settle down but expecting no more than a few day's rest from the hardships of the road.

"Mister, can you spare a dime for something to eat?" Most of us have at sometime or another been accosted on the street and appealed to for a helping-hand. Some people respond by digging into their pockets to help the unfortunate petitioner, others just ignore him, and still others will inform the first policeman they meet about the panhandler. Whatever you do does not solve the problem of the homeless indigent. His problem is a problem of society, and society does not provide measures for his habilitation.

Prior to 1929 there were some half million people on the road. (The country had a million and a half unemployed workers.) Those that wandered around the country were called hoboes, tramps and bums by the public. In the opinion of the public these bums would not work even if they were paid a dollar an hour.

Of course this belief was erroneous for the average transient did work, most often at the menial tasks that the local laborer refused. The transient worked on farms in the harvest time, on construction jobs, and did any odd job offered him. But he did refuse to work at starvation wages, preferring to travel.

His tendency to move on and look for something better often got him into financial difficulties in strange places and he had to resort to begging. Since the public only became aware of his existence when he was broke and asking for help in his need, it was assumed that he was always begging and so the transient laborer became almost universally known as a bum.

With the economic break-down, the transients increased to several millions. Unemployed workers of farm and industry, single and with families, commenced to migrate in quest of employment. Youth from the poverty-stricken homes of the nation were forced to go out on the road. Many freight trains carried two to three hundred riders and the highways were full of thumb-waggers. Many were killed in train accidents and along the roads, others maimed for life.

These superfluous humans traveled in all kinds of weather; always on the move, in rain or sunshine, or freezing cold. They slept in empty houses, in boxcars, in tin-covered shacks along river gullies, and on municipal dumping grounds and lived on reluctantly given hand-outs. And so they do today, though there are not quite so many of them since the worst days of the depression passed.

The indigent wayfarer is constantly harassed by the authorities. The hobo jungles are raided, the hobo's food in the process of cooking on the jungle fire is often kicked over, and the poor wanderer chased out of town without having had a chance to eat and rest.

In the southern states arrested transients are given chain-gang sentences of from 10 to 80 days. In this manner municipalities and counties get cheap labor for road and street work. Often they are put to work on farms to work out the fines that have been levied against them.

In 1936, according to **Labor**, journal of the railroad brotherhoods, 2,300,000 train riders were arrested. Civil authorities apparently hope to eliminate the movement of transients by prosecution instead of by giving relief so that the unemployed can stay home.

Transient relief, such as it is, allows a 24 to 48-hour stop-over in the larger cities. Many of the smaller communities allow their temporary guests the privilege of sleeping in the basements of court houses and in jails. Newspapers spread on the concrete floors serve as beds, and the lodger furnishes his own papers. Religious organizations usually provide this relief—or it is supplied through them. They sometimes give clothing also, but it is of little value for the best of that which is given these organizations for distribution among the needy, they sell in their stores.

For a short time the federal government provided transient relief, but since 1935 the federal setup has been done away with. The practical non-existence of relief forces the homeless to be beggers.

In the last two years the number of traveling indigents has diminished, due to business pick up and the refusal of the public in sparsely settled sections of the country to feed the hungry. The transients now exist by begging on the streets and private homes of the larger cities. Those that still travel extensively are subjected to greater hardship and hostility than ever before.

The transient is generally able to find work for short periods in the farming districts during the summer. Rarely does it happen that he is able to get one of the more steady jobs and to start life anew. For being fundless he is usually helpless and when he does get a chance at a steady job it is at the most unpleasant work and for the lowest wages. Employers invariably take advantage of the transient workers.

The transients fortunate enough to save a little money from seasonal or other casual jobs, congregate in large cities during the slack times; here they are able to find cheap lodging and food. Often the sleeping quarters he can afford are vermin-infested and filthy and the food is horrible.

In the western part of the United States the section of a city most frequented by transient workers is known as the "skid-road." The name is reminiscent of the by-gone days when the system of logging in the West required the building of trough-like, log-lined roads along which logs were pulled to the "landing" by donkey engines. Now days a "skid-road" is found in every large city of the nation; here the less fortunate of society can live at prices to suit their pocket-books. Employment agencies offer information about jobs at a fee of from ten to twenty-five per cent of the first month's earnings. If the job is out of town the applicant must pay transportation or "beat it." Railroad companies hireing men for track work furnish free transportation and a few other employers who hire men through "skid-road" employment offices advance the fare which is then taken out of the worker's wages.

LABOR POWER

The jobs thus obtained are not permanent; often the worker is discharged after a few days, or the job is so unbearable that he is forced to quit on his own account. This, of course, is good business for the employment agent, or "shark," as he is called by those who avail themselves of his services.

The road is hard traveling; most of the transients are striving at all times to quit it. To settle down at a steady job and to acquire a permanent address is the objective of nearly all migratory workers. Some succeed for a time, and some are able to find new homes, but many fail. Today we still find great numbers wandering through the country—youth and old men, the helpless outcasts of the machine-age tyrrany. There are the youngsters, inexperienced in industrial mass-production, and the old men who are unable to keep up the speed required.

The problem of economic security for the masses lies in the hands of society, it is not an individual problem. The plea of "Mister, can you spare a dime?" will continue to be heard on the streets until society does solve the problem. The homeless wayfarer has no other course left than that of begging for a living.

It is a social problem but society as a whole will do nothing for the "surplus population," except to supply it with a starvation existence in shelters, missions or jails. To one part of what is loosely called society, the migrant is economically necessary. He does a large part of the occasional and seasonal work. He filters into every crevice of the economic structure from whence comes a rumor of jobs to be had, and there swells the size of the reserve army of labor to such proportions that wages are not likely to be forced up through accidental scarcity of labor power. The dominant part of society, the employing class, will not consent to the elimination of the transient by supplying him with an adequate living in his home town.

On the other hand, when the migratory worker consciously takes a stand with that part of society to which he belongs, the productive and constructive working class, he will put himself in a position to raise his wages and improve his working conditions while he is on the job to such an extent that the days or months of enforced leisure are not made bitter by the necessity to beg his bread. When all the workers learn that shorter hours of labor are a crying need, when they demand and take the shorter work day, then there will be jobs for all.

So, though the transient presents a problem to society, its solution lies in working class organization.

If this be Un-American Make the most of it!

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

"Revolution?

"Why, that's un-American, unpatriotic, and is an importation from Russia," so exclaim the 150 per cent true Americans."

"We are a democratic nation and all our social change comes about through an evolutionary process and through legislative means."

But our "good" American forgets the history of his country except, perhaps for a little while on the Fourth of July—Independence Day—and then he fails to draw the right conclusions from what he knows.

He praises, he honors, he lauds and eulogises the heroes of 1776. But what is the Independence Day? Who were those heroes whom he exhalts so extravagantly? Was not this great day the beginning of a Revolution? And were not the men he reveres revolutionists

The Declaration of Independence decreed that it is the right of a people to "throw off such government when a long train of abuses . . . evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism." The independence of the American colonies from the mother country was accomplished through a revolution, not through peaceful, legislative or evolutionary methods.

Many of our patriotic citizens speak also of those "unwanted foreign elements," that, they profess to believe, threaten the very foundations of our great and beloved civilization.

When it is convenient for them to do so, they can forget a lot. They forget, for instance, that the one individual more responsible than any other for arousing the American colonists to resistance to the English oppressors was a foreigner—not even a naturalized American. An "unwanted seditious Englishman," that's what Thomas Paine was.

When he came to America he found the colonists clamoring for reconciliation; they did not dream of independence. They were perfectly willing to remain under the yoke of England provided only that it was made a bit lighter. But Paine gave them and the world his "Common Sense," a pamphlet which aroused the colonies to revolt. He convinced them of the need of breaking away from the mother country. He argued for revolution.

Yes, this "dirty little athiest," as Theodore Roosevelt mistakenly called him, was the man responsible more than any other for the freeing of the American colonies. It was this foreigner that instilled the spirit of solidarity and inflamed the courage in the hearts of those fighting in the American Revolution. When gloom settled upon all he wrote "The Crisis" and shouted, "this is the time that tries men's souls," and encouraged them to keep on fighting.

Preach what you will, you cannot change history. Your government, your country, was founded on revolution. Its spirit of political freedom was inspired by revolution. And the spirit and the reality of economic freedom and security will be inspired and founded on revolution..

If non-revolutionary methods are to accomplish social change, why was the Civil war necessary in America? Why was not "freedom" for the Negro legislated into the United States? The answer is: Because no individuals who benefit by a social system will give up their power, comfort, and spoils without a struggle.

The economy under which we are now living is based on profits for a few through the exploitation (robbery) of the many. The prime motive of the few who make up the ruling class is profits. Human values, cooperation, mutual aid, economic security count for nothing under the present setup. The system is based on the philosophy of rugged individualism which has been turned into a "rugged individualism." Dog eat dog, is the way of life under capitalism.

In this order of things a certain class enjoys the good things of life. It is a class that does no productive labor; it is the class that commands, that rules, and invests finances. It has no other function of life other than living on the labor of the great majority—the meek and humble workers.

Now when the working class decides to refuse to run the industries for the benefit of the employing class, and starts to expropriate the factories, mills and mines, will that class that benefits by their present ownership give up without a struggle? Even if the improbable could happen—that laws are passed to socialize the wealth of the nation—the Morgans, DuPonts and their like would not give up without a struggle.

This is proven by the fact that they resist to the utmost of their strength when their workers demand even such comparatively small concessions as the abolition of child labor, the raising of wages, and reduction of the hours of labor. If they will slaughter their hundreds to break a strike for higher wages, what will they not do in an attempt to save their system?

There is no sense in saying, "there will be a struggle," for it is already going on with the most brutal viciousness on the part of the employing class. The war is already on, and it is a revolutionary war; the working class against the employing class. That it will develop even greater violence in the future than it has in the past is not impossible.

But as this gigantic struggle between classes reaches a climax, the violence to which the masters are ever so ready resort may be actually reduced instead of increased. Bankers, stockholders, and so on don't do their own fighting. They have to draw their gun toters from the ranks of the working class and as the organized power of that class grows, as the workers become more class conscious, the physical power the rulers can muster must ever become smaller in proportion.

Those who do the bidding of the present economic masters will shoot into crowds of unarmed thousands but when they are confronted with millions, when they know that back of every picket line, large or small, is the organized might of the nation's workers they won't shoot—not often, anyway.

The Industrial Workers of the World is building an organization of wage workers which, to the extent it is successful, will reduce the danger of violence in future struggles. But it is a revolution that is needed, the greatest of all the world's revolutions—the end of class slavery, the establishment of industrial democracy.

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The Laundry Workers They Can Be Organized

(Continued from page 9)

week, the average was only $22 for a week of 55 hours or longer.

No wonder the business flourishes. That it does flourish is shown by the report of the Consolidated Laundry Corporation (New York). In 1936 this corporation showed a net profit increase of $246,000 over the previous year. But wages went down, not up, during this period of business improvement.

While there was an average increase of 6.2 percent in women's wages over 1935, the wages of the laundry workers dropped about 2 percent and at the same time there was an average addition of 18 minutes a day to their working time.

It is interesting to note that three directors of this corporation, who were also officers, received salaries amounting to $71,000 in 1935. Eight other directors, who were officers, received a total of $125,000.

Here as in other industries the lowest wages are paid in the smaller plants, those owned by that much lauded American who is bent on giving a practical demonstration that there is room on top for the ambitious go-getter.

New York had a minimum wage law which set the minimum wages for laundry workers at $12.40 for a 40-hour week, or 31 cents an hour. The old law has been repealed and a new one passed under which a board is to determin minimum wages on the basis of what a worker needs to exist on. Naturally the worker in the industry who does not use unfounded hope to excuse his own inaction in the fight for improvement, will not expect any more from the new law than he got from the old.

In the period in which the laundry slaves' wages were falling, the cost of living was going up. Retail food prices rose 2 percent from December to January, rent rose 11 percent, and clothing rose even more than these. It is no wonder that the laundry worker often has to apply for charity even while he or she has a full-time job.

Wages vary widely in this industry. A man who worked 10 years in one laundry received $10 a week while another doing the same kind of work in another laundry received $17 after only three years experience.

The hours are invariably much too long, but for some they are positively inhuman. The men get the worst of it in this respect; 60 to 70 hours a week are not unusual. But the more humane hours for women are nothing to brag about, they often are as high as 50 and the average is 43.

(The N. Y. State Labor Dept. found the hours for women to be 42.1.)

It is not necessary to state here what the living conditions of these workers are like. Every worker knows how hard it is to get along on what is called a good wage and can figure out for himself what a strain it must be to try to exist on what the laundry slave gets.

As to working conditions, the surroundings the slave has to put up with during the long hours he is on the job, these must be experienced to be fully appreciated. In this respect all laundries are bad, but some are worse and beyond description. The fetid odor that comes from laundry windows and doors and momentarily strikes the passerby like exhalations from some mysterious inferno doesn't even suggest the conditions that exist inside.

Here is what some of these workers have to say about their work:

"The ventilation is awful. There's not even a fan in the room. The walls and ceilings sweat terribly. It actually rains down on us. I really was healthy when I started but the damp and heat break you down. In two years you're in pretty bad shape. I get colds all the time."

And another:

"Nobody's health is good in a laundry. I had a breakdown from the work. Inhaling the steam keeps your throat dry and standing all day keeps your feet swollen. Some women get so weak they lose their grip in the hands and their arms."

And another adds:

"What hope have the young, if this is their future? I have worked here for 15 years. I was making more six years ago than now. Gradually we were cut to $11 a week. I got laid off Saturday. They gave me my pay and said, 'We don't want you anymore. We have to have younger help!'"

The laundry bosses know and practice all the tricks common to employers who have their workers down where they want them. Many of them practice the 'docking' system just as old John Farmer does on his threshing crew (when he can get away wit it). If there happens to be no work for ten or fifteen minutes, that time is deducted. If there is extra work, requiring overtime, it is often not paid for at all.

When there is re-washing to be done, it is usually not paid for, and the girls are expected to do the bosses' laundry after quitting time without pay. In some places the boss forces the girls to bring in their own wash and charges them the regular rate. A girl reports on one place where "they rung the bell for lunch at 5 minutes after 12 and then rung it again at 5 minutes to 1, chiselling us out of 10 minutes. And if I come in a minute late, I am docked a while hour, but if they make me work an hour overtime, I don't get paid for it. We work so fast that we haven't got time to count the pieces, so sometimes the boss slips things in on us."

These stunts will sound familiar to the workers in many other industries.

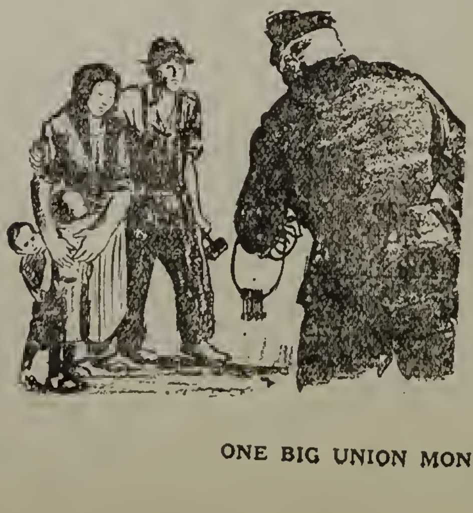
The only way in which the laundry workers can establish better conditions for themselves is to organize. Legislation is absolutely no good. It is a sign of the most slavish weakness for these workers to look for improvement from laws that the well-fed legislators see fit to pass and which the inspectors disregard if they provide for anything more than the bosses are willing to give. What the workers must do is to take the laundry bosses to a thorough cleaning with the help of a good union.

There are plenty of things that help make organization difficult in this industry. In many places the bosses play one race against another and in this way keep down any tendency on the part of the workers to get together. Foreigners and natives, Negroes and whites, old hands and new ones are skillfully pitted against each other by bosses who know that bigger profits depend on their keeping the workers suspicious of one another and disorganized.

Besides this and other considerations, it is always most difficult to organize workers in an industry where the wages are extremely low and the hours long. Low paid workers always are more in fear of losing a job than those that are better paid; and the long hours of hard work lessens the tendency toward and the desire for social contact with fellow workers after working hours. When their day's slavery is done, they want to rest.

Nevertheless it is possible to organize laundry workers. Recent months have witnessed many strikes in the industry, most of them spontaneous and unorganized. There is a splendid field here for the I. W. W. member to do something for his cause if he is familiar with the industry and has contacts with workers in it.

NOTE: Quotations and much of the material taken from "Consider the Laundry Workers."



"THE AGE OF INNOCENCE"

A SHORT STORY

By

WALTER PFEFFER

The consequences of industrial espionage are the same among boys in a berry field as among men and women in a factory.

Old John Farmer looked over the youngsters who had come out to pick his strawberries and gave them his usual sermon about picking them clean, and filling the boxes up so they would be full after they settled a bit, and admonished them not to tramp on the plants.

He was glad to see so many boys there to convert his strawberry field into hard cash for him—little fellows who wouldn't want to stand up every few minutes to get the kink out of their backs, fingers nimble, and all of them poverty stricken enough to be spurred to the limit by the offer of two cents a quart. He had just one worry, that some of them might be up to such old tricks as pushing up the bottoms on their boxes, or putting leaves and what-not in the bottom before they covered them with berries. It meant that he had to look over every box to make sure that they weren't playing such tricks. He recalled one young scamp who had got hold of extra basket bottoms and stuck them in so that even he was fooled when he inspected the berries. This time he decided that he was going to fix things so that he wouldn't have to worry about such matters. It was just a question of picking the right boy.

Over there in the third row was a likely enough looking lad. He was just about as big as any of them, was further along than any of the rest, and was busy putting the berries into his baskets instead of into his mouth. Besides that he wasn't chattering away with the rest like a magpie. . . John called to him:

"Hey, you there, come here and give me a hand with these crates!" The boy was so busy that he had to add "and I'll pay you for your time."

They set to work getting the crates ready for the berries.

"These young scamps are mostly a shiftless, ornery lot" opined John Farmer, "but you strike me as a bright sort of lad. What's your name?"

"Matt Waters", said the boy.

"I think I ought to make a sort of foreman out of you. I can't be around watching these boys all the time. How would that strike you?"

"That sure would be fine," gushed Matt as he stuck his chest out.

"Well then I'll tell you what you have to watch out for." And John Farmer went on to recount his many troubles—dirty berries, and dirty little crooks trying to cheat him, and him paying two cents a quart just for picking, when picking berries was really fun and not work at all. He grew so indignant that he explained about the trash that some scamps had put in the bottoms of their baskets, and how he had to be everlastingly on the lookout, and about that trick of the phoney extra bottom in the boxes.

Even Matt was moved to indignation by the thought of such outrages, and in his new role of foreman assured John that he would chase any kid clean out of the field that played such a trick.

"Oh, no, don't do that," cautioned John. "I don't want you to chase any of them away. I want them to stay and pick berries."

"Well what are you going to do about it?"

"We'll fine them. Yes, any boy that's caught trying any trick like that ought to be fined five cents, for first offense, and a dime for the second one, and not paid for the berries he brings in when he's caught. Now I don't want to look over all those berries. It takes too much time. Besides that it messes them up. I want to know where to look to catch the crooks. So don't you tell anybody about you being a foreman, but you find out who's doing tricks like that, and when they bring their berries in, you, well, just stand up and lift your hat off, and I'll know to look the berries over."

It did'nt sound so dignified as being foreman, and Matt was a bit reluctant about it, but when John Farmer added "and I'll give you half of what I fine them," Matt agreed.

John gave him a dime with the remark: "You couldn't pick five quarts of berries that quick."

Matt was a fast picker, and with the prospects of earning something extra it wasn't so long before he had his row caught up with the others.

"What did Old Sourpuss give you for helping him?" they wanted to know. "Gosh, you're lucky. I'll bet I won't earn fifty cents all day."

"You will if you stick down to business" ad-

(Continued on page 32)

FRANK LITTLE
Lynched at Butte, Montana,
August 1, 1917

TWENTY YEARS AGO

We'll remember you, Frank Little!
The papers said: "So far as known,
He made no outcry."
No, not you! Half Indian, half whiteman,
All I. W. W.
You'd have died a thousand deaths
Before you'd have cried aloud
Or whimpered once to let them
Enjoy your pain.

Shortly after the disastrous fire of June 8, 1917, in the Speculator mine at Butte in which two hundred miners were burned to death, a bitter strike for higher safety standards spontaneously broke out.

The strike lasted five months and ended when the miners were forced through starvation to return to work.

Frank Little, I.W.W. organizer and ever ready to go where his great ability was most needed, arrived in Butte in the latter part of July. He was so successful in his work of organizing the strike that he was soon marked by the vigilante thugs as a man to be eliminated.

On the night of July 31 he hobbled with the aid of his crutch (he was a cripple) to his room in the cheap lodging house where he was staying and retired. "Some time during the night a gang of six men came and took him out, trussed his hands behind his back, tied him to the rear of their car and drove off into the night dragging him, clad only in his underwear.

"What happened after that is not very well known, except that he was horribly beaten. Next morning he was found hanging from a bridge; pinned to his underclothing was a note bearing the inscription, 'Others take notice! First and last warning! 3-7-77,' and underneath the figures were the initials, L-D-C-S-S-W. Other organizers in Butte later received copies of this cabalistic warning with orders to leave the city, which they did not do.

"For days after Little's murder, Butte was in a high state of tension. A move on the part of either the militia men, who were swarming the streets with the company gunmen, or on the part of the strikers, and a massacre might have taken place that would have had no equal in any part of history."*

The murderers of Frank Little were never brought to justice, and the Copper Kings still rule in Butte.

But surely there will be a day of reckoning; the I.W.W. never forgets.

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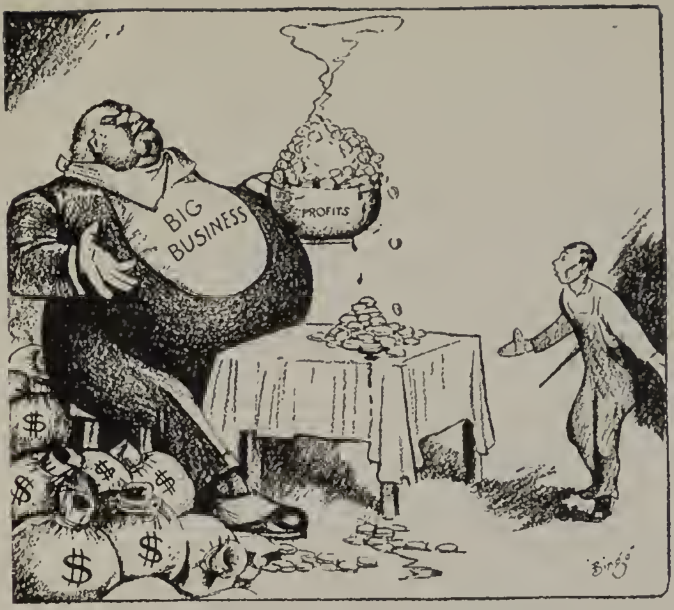
*) From "The Blood Stained Trail."



Scissorbill Strategy

By

The Wandering Wob

We're swingin' our shanks out of a side-door pullman on the old M. C., watchin' Michigan roll by, when the rattler begins jerkin' like it was takin' down sudden with a healthy case of the D. T.'s an' the next thing we know a sign is informin' us that we're viewin' the thrivin' backwoods metropolis of Wasepi. The shacks on this branch haven't been botherin' us, so we keep on sittin', swingin' our legs leisurely an' watchin' our makin's go up in smoke, when the original, one-an'-only John Farmer comes stalkin' around the corner of the depot an' ankles up to our car.

"Lookin' fer work, boys?" he asks, with a coax in his voice.

"Depends on the work, boss," Whitey answers. "What you got to offer?"

"Farm work!" John beams. His whole face looks like he's just inherited a million bucks, an' he's goin' to split it with us out of the kindness of his heart. We can see that he just can't conceive of anyone turnin' down a nice job of farm work.

"What's the truck?" I want to know. I can't see farmers in these parts takin' on four general hands.

"Huh?"

I'm patient. "What kind of farm work, I mean?"

"Oh," says John. "Some celery, some beets, mostly onions. Two dollars for a ten-hour day. No chores, either." Such generosity makes us stare at each other.

"Found go with it?" Clyde wants to know.

"Nope," Mister Whiskers confesses, "you board an' room yourselves. The Farmers Association hires you an' sends you around to whoever needs you. Truck takes you out from town at 6:30, brings you back at noon, takes you out at 1:00, an' brings you back at 6:00 p. m."

"That's ten hours thirty minutes," Walt comments.

"Well," says our pal, "you can't expect pay for the time you're travelin'." The rattler whistles an' begins to snort an' we see that it's either take it or leave it, so we look at each other an' then all hop off together.

"O. K., John," says Clyde, "you win. Lead the way."

By next morning we know a good deal more about the set-up. The local hicks have decided to settle the labor question in a thorough an' efficient manner indeed. They've formed a Farmers' Association which sees to gettin' 'em a good an' sufficient number of slaves. The Association sets a standard wage of two smackers a day for the whole district an' then sends the stiffs out to work wherever they're needed. They figure steady work givin' a wage of twelve a week will keep the workin' mules happy an' contented, cut labor turnover, an', above all, discourage any of them horrible labor troubles which they've heard of in other districts. Just as an extra incentive to stay on the job they sign you up with a contract which holds out a quarter a day of your wages, to be paid in a lump at the end of the season. An' if you don't stay the season, why, then, you just forfeit the quarter a day. This isn't much of a bother to the local boys who haven't ever been farther away from home than Kalamazoo, but for the 'bos they pick off the freights like they did us, the guys with the itchin' feet, the arrangement is downright irksome. All of this we learn from the boys from outside, who've fixed up a nice little jungle down by the tracks in order to slice that famous high cost of livin'.

A truck takes us out early in the mornin', just like John Farmer, whose name is Cal Krummery, said it would. We're workin' in onions today, we find. Now the workin' part of this job had been the least of my worries. Ever since I dug spuds all one fall up in the Red River Valley I've figured that there wasn't a job on God's good green earth tough enough to feaze me.

So now I'm surprised to find I've been wrong all this while. There is a job tough enough, an' that job is onions. By the time I've waddled the length of one of them mile-long rows with the sun beatin' down on the back of my neck until I felt like one big blister, an' the wet muck, also hot from the sun, steamin' me from the under side, an' my legs wet from the knees down from crawlin' through the muck, I know that I've met my match, especially when the skin comes off my hands from tearin' out the weeds.

The outfit doin' the work is one of the screwiest bunches I've ever run across. Age ranges all the way from eight to eighty, an' both male and female slaves are represented. Most of the stiffs are locals, but about an eighth or tenth are 'bos like us. The homeguards are all happy, many of 'em singin' as they work, even though plenty of notes go sour as the afternoon wears on. An' over the whole gang is a particularly nasty mugg whose handle is Mister Simpson. Br'er Simpson's job is to go around an' see that none of us waste any of the Association's valuable time, an' his favorite sport seems to be threatenin' to dock the pay of the kids of twelve an' under because he don't think they're workin' hard enough. He starts to say somethin' about my speed to me once, but I just look at him an' he shuts up, so I know that I've got his number for when the time comes.

Not everyone, I find, gets two a day. That's only for "adult males." Everyone else's pay is graduated, down to four bits a day for the youngest kids. An' yet, when I mention how lousy things are to the guy next to me, the scissorbill opens his face in a bucktooth grin an' says yes, but ain't we lucky to have jobs?

When Whitey an' Walt an' Clyde an' I compare notes that night, we're all agreed that it's time somethin' was done to wake up this rural open-shop paradise, an' that we're the boys to do it. We especially agree when we find sores are startin' on our knees from the friction an' heat an' wet muck. Our arms are a mass of ugly red welts an' blotches, as our faces are fast gettin' to be. One of the boys explains that this is nothin' unusual.

"It's the poison sumach," he tells us. "This was all swamp a couple of years back, an' even now lots of poison sumach sprouts come up. You pull 'em along with the rest of the weeds. That infects your hands. Then you rub your face, an' there you are. Not really very much you can do about it."

Anyhow, we drift from fire to fire around the jungle, puttin' a bug in the fellows' ears that maybe a little dose of the gospel as laid down by the Preamble would give us a stake for the winter. They eat it up, an' before we turn in we've peddled everything we've got, down to the last copy of the **Industrial Worker**, an' we've written out cards for practically everybody. Tomorrow, we decide, we'll start an organization drive among the homeguards that will put the One Big Union on the map in Wasepi.

Everything goes fine 'til noon, at which time, while we're waitin' for the trucks after lunch, Whitey is goin' at it hot an' heavy when a sanctimonious-lookin' sour-puss hops up an' allows that he's heard about enough of these un-American doctrines of high wages, an eight-hour day, an' no more child labor, an' that everyone knows that the I. W. W. is an out-an-out enemy of God, the family, Henry Ford, an' the gold standard. Furthermore, we're "com-MUN-ists", an' are these honest, law-abidin' citizens of the State of Michigan an' the town of Wasepi goin' to listen to our subversive what-you-may-call-it any longer?

The way he puts it is so out-and-out silly that we can't help laughing, an' we can see that the scissorbills are downright impressed by Whitey's answer to him, so we figure everything is still fine until we learn that sour-puss is the Fair-haired son of the local banker, an' the nephew of the leadin' sky-pilot of the community. Pa an' Uncle make him work summers for the good of his soul, but ordinarily he's a college man. Workin' in the marshes is only a neat exhibition of the innate depravity of the lower classes for his benefit. Everyone, it seems, is scared stiff of him because, not only is he a college man in the winter, but he is also able, by good or bad reports to papa or uncle, to stop credit or condemn to hell anyone foolish enough to cross him.

Well, the college part was all right, because Walt has served time there too, an' he told the fellow off in his own language, but we didn't know what to do about his influence. The way things were, it looked like he was goin' to kill our drive in short order, because he swore he'd tell the boss on us, an' with the agitators out of the way, we knew that the homeguards would sit back again.

There bein' nothin' else to do, we shut sour-puss up for the time bein' by informin' him that we'd break his lily-white neck if he so much as looked at the boss, but we knew that wouldn't hold him any longer than we could keep an eye on him. We had to think, an' think fast, if we were gonna make Wasepi safe for industrial democracy.

It hit me just as the trucks came in, an' it was a beaut. I ducked back an' high-tailed it straight for dear old Joe Krummery. His feet were holdin' down a desk in the warehouse office in his official capacity of director of the Farmers Association. I crossed my fingers an' trotted across the threshold with my hat in my hand, the very picture of what the obedient and loyal slave should look like.

"What'll it be for you, Sherman?" Krummery wants to know, wavin' his corncob pipe at me in what's probably meant to be an airy gesture of greetin'.

"Well, Mister Krummery," I gurgle, lookin' embarassed as I can, "I didn't want to miss an afternoon's work, an' I sort of hate to do a thing like this, but . . . well, I found somethin' out this morning I thought you should know." Old Whiskers brings his feet down off the desk with a clump.

"What is it, Sherman?" I can see that he already suspects what it is.

"I hate to bear tales, Mister Krummery . . . "

"Of course you do, Sherman, but it's your duty to tell me anything of importance to the Farmers' Association. You must be loyal . . . and if the information is valuable, it might even be possible to arrange for some slight monetary remuneration for you." The flow of it was too smooth an' I knew he'd been memorizin' Chamber of Commerce pamphlets, but that didn't bother me.

"Well, Mister Krummery, it's about Art Havens," I finally break down, givin' sour-puss's name. "He's an awful nice fellow, an' all, but bein' away to college, I guess he's picked up some . . . ideas." The way John Farmer jumped when I said "ideas," you'd have thought I'd run a needle in half an inch where it'd do the most good.

"Ideas?" he gulped. I burst out with a sudden rush of confidences.

"Yes. He's turned . . . com-MUNist. He's tellin' the men they ought to form a union an' strike, an' do all kinds of things. I thought you ought to know." John Farmer an' the Executive in Krummery were havin' a fight, an' finally the Executive won, so, instead of cussin', he got real calm an' said to me:

"How terrible! Sherman, I shall see that you're well rewarded for this. Have any of the other workers been—er—contaminated with the vidus of revolution?"

"'Fraid so, Mister Krummery. Jack Oakley, Harvey Boyer, Al Randall . . ." I reeled off the names of about a dozen of the homeguards who were hardest to bring to our way of thinkin'.

"I'll see that they're fired immediately, Sherman. Immediately!"

"If you'll excuse me, Mister Krummery, I wouldn't do that." 'What do you mean, Sherman?

"Well, Mister Krummery," I explain, getting very oily, "I've seen that done on lots of jobs, but it never did any good. It just made the men angry. Even brought on strikes because the men thought it proved all the mean things the agitators said about the companies."

"Yes, I see your point. But what **can** I do? I can't leave those men working with our loyal workers."

"Just let them work, Mister Krummery, only tell Mister Simpson, the gang boss, to bear down on them. If you make them work hard enough, they'll quit in a day or so an' you won't have to worry about their bein' able to make trouble." The sun was risin' all over Krummery's face.

"You're right, Sherman," he cooed. "That'll do it! Yes, indeed. Thank you, Sherman." My work was done, so I trotted out of the office.

Walt took my tip an' went to work to persuade Art Havens to stay with us. "Just a couple of days," Walt explained to Art. "After all, life is a great school. You'll never get another opportunity like this to study the psychology of the migratory worker. A social misfit, ture; but very worthwhile to understand. Many of our most eminent scholars have done it—Flint, Parker, London, Minnehan, and Williams, to mention only a few." And, as young Havens hesitated,—"Anyhow, you owe it to them to give them the benefit of your superior training, to show them the errors in their reasoning, and, in turn, to hear their arguments before your report them."

That settled it for our budding plutocrat. He trotted home with Walt in tow as our private precaution to see that he didn't change his mind—an' told his folks he was goin' in for the big sociological experiment.

I did have to hand it to Simpson. He sure knew how to ride a person. I'd have busted him one in the nose within an hour if he'd picked on me the way he did on Havens an' the dozen others I'd told Krummery about. Bein' well-trained slaves, though, they took it an' kept their traps shut. But by nightfall they were sure a lot friendlier to the One Big Union idea.

By the evenin' of the second day after that we were worried, though. We knew that we couldn't keep Havens much longer; our arguments just didn't seem to be dentin' his surface. We saw that he still had enough influence over the homeguards to make things fall pretty flat. Then, about 9 p. m., while Whitey an' I were sittin' guard by him to make sure he didn't wander off, he looks up at me all of a sudden an' says:

"Sherm, write me out a card." I nearly fell off the log I was sittin' on. "Write me out a card!" Why, it was just like a stroke of lightnin' out of a clear sky. An' you can bet I didn't waste any time gettin' out the riggin'.

"What's the idea, Art?" I asked him, friendly-like, after I'd handed over the book.

"Idea?" he grits, "idea? What'd'you think? You 've just rammed some sense into this thick head of mine. While I've been sitting in classes listening to pot-bellied professors who never did a day's work tell about the innate depravity of the working class, you fellows have been out on the job, listening to real, live bosses tell you to get the hell going, and to pull the rag out, and to get off the job if you couldn't earn your pay. You've been getting two dollars or less a day for working till you couldn't see straight. Well, I see straight now, and I'm with you. Let's tie this place up so tight that they can't weed an onion or pull a stalk of celery."

"'Sfunny," Walt says, "I got the same idea you just got a few years back."

It was clear sailin' after that. With Art on our side, aided unconscious-like by Simpson an' his nasty tongue, we lined up the whole section of the Wasepi Farmers Association. It took just two days of strike to make those whiskered sons-of-guns come across. You should've seen their eyes bulge when they saw Art Havens on the committee. His dad nearly had kittens right on the spot. An' you could've hung your hat on those farmers' eyes.

We gave 'em nice easy terms. Eight hours a day from town to town. Fifty cents an hour. All your pay whenever you wanted it. Equal pay for everybody. No kid labor under sixteen. An' all labor carryin' red cards. A ninety per cent vote to remove any gang boss. Oh, it was somethin' to make your open-shop boys turn green with envy.

Now that things were goin', though, Clyde an' Whitey an' Walt an' I couldn't see ourselves stuck in Wasepi. You know, itchin' feet. So, havin' nothin' better to do, we decided to head north for the Upper Peninsula an' the lumber country. We caught an M. C. rattler out of Wasepi, the only town I know of where a good Wobbly played scissorbill an' stool-pigeon for the good of the I. W. W.

* * *

A Letter from Apeland

By Card No. X141738

This work is affectionately dedicated to those untiring rebels in the American labor movement whose sense of humor has made it possible for them to endure the evil scissorbilism of our present scissorbilistic age.

I have had the strangest experience of any contributor to the One Big Union Monthly. I have recently returned from an extensive journey across the sea of imagination.

On this voyage I chanced upon the land of Apata and there encountered the Apevillians whose conduct and behavoir I wish to describe for the benefit of students of sociology and economics.

The city of Apeville is located by the river Mawillit in the northwestern part of the land. This river flows some hundred miles below Apeville into the Pigsific Ocean. At the mouth of the river is another city, a little smaller than Apeville but populated by the same kind of curious creatures. However, it is mainly the Apevillians that I shall deal with here although Apeville is only one of many cities in a vast country the exact size of which I did not learn.

The Apevillians resemble our own race in a great many respects. But they also have much in common with apes as the name of this city may already have suggested to the reader. The average height of an Apevillian male is six feet; weight 176 pounds; span of life 52 years.

During my short stay in Apeville I learned from Apevillians versed in the history of their race that at one time all their progenitors had tails varying in length from almost nothing to as much as six feet but that now only a few possessed tails and that these few remaining ones concealed them under clothing of about the same design and manufacture as our own. It was explained to me by an Apevillian scientist in terms indicating profound scientific learning that some five or ten thousand years ago their forebears had quit wagging their tails as a sign of joy and had instead started the habit of putting the tails between the legs as a sign of humility and resignation and that in this manner the tail had gradually come into disuse and by evolutionary process had been eliminated.

I did notice, however, that on occasions of great merriment, and at public entertainments, the main performance of the females especially, was that of wagging the buttocks to which their ancestors at one time had had tails attached.

The province in which Apeville is situated is governed by a huge man-ape by the name of Tiwtin Nirtam. At the time of my visit this man-ape was already way past the average age limit of his race and was suffering from an ingrown tail, that is, his short tail had curved upward and grown into his body causing him great pain at times. Whenever this man-ape had a spell of pain in the lower regions he would give way to the most primitive and base emotions. He would rattle sabers and swords and would threaten his subjects in manners most disconcerting.

He would accuse some of his subjects of being "reds," which in the language of Nirtam meant that they were bad indeed. He would forbid his fellow Apemen the right to organize except in slugging committees commanded by himself. He would order such slugging committees to swoop down on Apevillians, who in defiance of his orders had organized into unions. He was a dangerous man whenever his ingrown tail caused him pain or worry.

Now most Apevillians are a law-abiding people —in fact too much so for their own good as we shall soon learn. The baisc principles of their laws were formulated by one of their forebears by the name of Moses Mosesson a few thousand years ago. No one seemed to know for certain how long ago it was; but most Apevillians were satisfied that it was far enough back in time to make the laws sacred, which was considered the important thing. It was said of Moses Mosesson that he conceived his laws at a time when he was old and senile and when his whiskers reached the ground. This last fact made his laws binding on all forthcoming generations, said the Apevillians, on the ground that at this time the oldest lawyer was always considered the best and that an Ape's age, as well as his wisdom, was determined by the length of his whiskers. A smooth shaven Apevillian youth assured me that no one in the history of his race had ever been able to equal the illustrious wihskers of Moses Mosesson.

The Apevillians have a law forbidding certain kinds of co-oporation. For example: It was considered a criminal offense to cooperate to the end of raising the living standards of the working Apevillians. This law was called the "criminal sense law." Thousands had been executed, so I was told, because unknowingly they had violated this statute.

The first day of my visit to Apeville, I saw an Apevillian hung by his toes for having offered his aid to a kinsman in dire need. I was naturally shocked by this event, and I insisted that his sentence be at least reduced to something less severe. But a law enforcement officer explained to me very solemnly that this was really the only way to maintain continued harmony among their race.

He explained further that punishment was meted out very democratically to all offenders. The victim over whose fate I had been so "unduly arounsed," said he was offered the choice of hanging by his thumbs or his toes until dead, but had declined to vote for either method, wherefore a high tribunal of Apemen judges had decided on the latter. "The fact that the victim failed to choose neither thumb nor toe hanging," argued my informant, "proves conclusively that he is opposed to our democratic institution, does not believe in political action, in short, is a red. For this reason," he continued, "a special court is now in session deliberating on what method to employ in the destruction of all the victim's relatives and friends."

The reader can readily imagine the agony of my heart when I learned of these horrible acts of the Apemen which they evidently planned and executed with perfect calm and placidness. I feared that I might unknowingly commit some untoward act for which cause I would be dispatched to a world of eternal silence before having had time to communicate my observations to the readers of this journal.

On the night of my first day in Apeville while my heart was still heavy from the horrors I had witnessed, I wandered aimlessly about the streets, looking into Apemen faces in hopes of finding some sympathetic soul to whom I could confide my grief. My steps led me to the river's bank where I saw a dog of considerable size being played with by a half a dozen Apemen children.

I could see from the outset that the youngsters belonged to the working class for they were poorly clad and showed definite signs of undernourishment. The dog was heavily furred, moved about with great caution, and showed intense interest in the poor children, who romped about him.

Seeing me advance toward him, he fixed his philosophical eyes on me questions-like, yet with invitation. I could not resist stroking his heavy fur; while doing so I exclaimed half aloud, "I sometimes wish I were a dog." "You are not the only one," replied the dog. I was startled beyond description to learn that this dog spoke very good English.

When I had sufficiently recovered from my surprise I directed a few questions to the dog, whose name I learned was Mush.

"Where did you learn English?" I inquired. "An American sailor," said the dog, "taught me English, and many other subjects, in return for which I gave him information about this country and the people living here. The sailor got so disgusted with the odious apes who run this town that he committed suicide five years ago," continued the dog. And he added, "You are the only man I've seen here since he returned to the elements of his origin."

"I have," said I, "suspected these people of being man-apes, or in other words something in between apes and men. I thought at first that I had found the "missing link" in the evolution of the species, of which a noted scientist of my race once spoke. But I hear you refer to them as Apes?"

"Yes," said Mush, "and Apes they are, and of a most stupid and obdurate kind, if I may say. Look," he said, pointing with his right front paw to the group of Apeville youngsters who were now preparing to depart, "these young lives would not be here today had I not brought them food and drink. Their progenitors were killed because they failed to pray for rain when ordered by our mayor."

"Ye gods!" said I, "who is this monster ape who thus misuses the pwer f his station?" At these words the dog showed signs of great discomfort.

It was palpably obvious that it pained him to reply to my question. After a short pause, during which time he evidently labored to calm his emotions, he cleared his throat with a doggish bark, then with his former equanimity regained, spoke to me as follows:

"Alas my friend, the monster's name is Rasnac Phejos; he is my master and my benefactor. It is from him I steal food to feed the starving youngsters. Today I left him with the explanation that I was to visit the banker's bitch who is giving a party for wealthy canines. Accordingly, he ordered his servants to provide me with a basket filled with relishes with which to seek her favors. I brought the basket here instead so that the little Apesters would not want. My master, Phejos, was elected to his office through the financial support of the banker. He now repays him by passing ordinances in his favor and bestowing gifts upon his silly female. Phejos gained the admiration of the rich when, as a member of the Hysterical Legion, he led many violent attacks on the toilers of this burg. He also has accumulated quite a fortune as a cheat poker player for which reason the rich Apevillians regard him as a business genius well trained for the task of his present office. He has, in conjunction with the governor of this province, framed a law which provides that all female workers in the land of Apata are required under penalty of death to marry and give birth to at least three sets of twins. The object of this law is to raise living material for a large army, which is billed to be destroyed in a war already agreed upon. The rulers of this nation fear that they may not have soldiers enough to kill, hence the law providing for larger families. While arguments on this bill were heard in our senate, one of the senators of a liberal tendency dared suggest that the law could not be enforced for biologic reasons because the ape females were by nature uniparous. The senator in question was booed down by the whole nation and his argument dismissed as being "visionary and impractical." I started to write a poem once about my master when I was in company with the sailor who I told you committed suicide some years ago. It went like this:

Oh, Rasnac Phejos, what a
    fool thou art!
What manner of clay does
    keep thine ears apart?
How could you live so long,
    yet know so little?
Your mental vacuum is
    indeed a riddle.

"My friend, you may secretly think me a little short of principle for accepting the hospitality of this MONSTER as you call him; but I ask you, what is a poor dog going to do in this land of Apes?" Without waiting for my reply, he said, "If I don't take it, somebody else surely will; so it may as well be my meal ticket."

I awoke early the morning of my second day in Apeville having slept but little during the night. No need here to explain the reason for my insomnia as it must be obvious to the reader. I returned to the city and found it rustling with the most useless of activities. Useless is hardly the word—the Apevillians were destructuve. I saw several crews engaged in constructing boats of various sizes and dimensions. It was all contract work, and the Apes would work as though possessed by evil spirits. The boats had to be finished at a certain date, the contractor explained; or he would lose money on the deal. I learned that a number of completed boats had been taken down the river early in the morning to be sunk in the Pigsific ocean.

I dared suggest that this was certainly a stupid thing to do after Apes had worked so hard to make them seaworthy. One of the idle Apes, standing by and watching the work like myself, introduced himself as an expert economist and proceeded to show me by various arguments and figures that it was not stupid at all to build boats and sink them afterwards. "Continued employment," he argued, "is the very basis of real prosperity. And what better plan could be found to provide work than building boats and sinking them?"

The contractor favored it because the more boats he built, the more money he made. The Apeville ship Sinking Company favored it because it had a contract on sinking the boats for the City of Apeville. The City Administration favored it because every boat was properly insured, and they collected so much money on every boat sunk. The insurance companies favored it because it gave them a chance to sell more policies to the City of Apeville. Insurance on boats was paid by the City from funds collected through a sales tax on all food products. Even most of the Ape toilers favored this "continuous work progress plan" because as they put it, "without work we would be left to starve to death?"

The Apevillian professor in economics told me, with pride, that it had taken a brain trust five years of scientific study to formulate this plan of continuous work and profit and to frame it in such a way that no one would lose on the industry. This project was initiated by the City of Apeville for the purpose of showing private industry how things could be run for the benefit and in the interest of all Apevillians."

A few blocks from Apeville's northern waterfront was a huge factory manufacturing wooden legs. This was a private enterprise owned and managed by one Ape who had gained monopoly of the business some years ago. It was considered one of Apeville's most respectable businesses, and the owner was highly honored by both church and state. The market for wooden legs was maintained artificially through contracts with logging companies who for certain sums would have the legs of their loggers smashed so as to keep the wooden leg factory running. The logging companies also furnished the wood for the wooden leg manufacturer; so that both had mutual interest in each other's business.

There were some working Apes in the logging camps, who questioned the logic of the wooden leg industry. These were called foreigners because to question anything in Apeville and in the whole country of Apata for that matter was considered a foreign thing to do. Professors in the high institutions of learning in Apeville praised the wooden leg manufacturer and the logging contractors, who furnished him wood material and smashed legs, for the great service they were giving society in providing employment for so many people. Were it not for smashed legs, they argued, all those engaged in wooden leg manufacture would be thrown out of employment. Wooden leg workers agreed that this was certainly a truth that no one could deny.

Cutting off legs was a regular industry in Apeville and there was a leg-cutters union of those who worked at the trade. There was an agreement between this union and the wooden leg manufacturer. This agreement featured a clause providing for leg amputations of all union members who violated any of the rules governing the industry.

This clause pleased the wooden leg manufacturer because he could sell a wooden leg to every offender who survived the operation. It also pleased the union leg cutters because they could have work making the extra wooden legs. The civil courts respected the agreement because of its "common sense" qualities.

The leg cutters union was one of the very few favored by the employers and the local authorities. Even the ferocious Nirtam, governor of the province, was very much pleased with this union and styled it an "association of the Apes that would go far in helping to civilize the world and to bring about a close and more sympathetic relationship between employer and employe."

It may interest the reader to know that in matters of advertisement the Apevillians were every bit as progressive and peptimistic as our western business men. Another most striking similarity between the Apevillians and the westerner is the ready response of the Apevillians to the seductive power of billboard and repeated sales signs. The city was literally plastered with advertising of every conceivable kind and size. Huge billboards showed comely females wearing wooden legs. Huge signs would extol their virtues .

Signs such as these were to be seen everywhere: "For digestion's sake wear a wooden leg." "When weary and despondent, put on your wooden leg." "For that youthful figure, buy a wooden leg." "Remember your dad on Father's Day—buy him a wooden leg." There were other commodities advertised, of course, but the wooden leg industry seemed to have the most imposing signs. Signs such as these did also abound. "Comfortable graves at cut-rate prices—buy your hole in the ground now!" "Let us lose your money—save time. Apeville Losing Insecurity Company." "Drink our poison—Union made—Best in town. Apeville Suicide Supply Company." "Lots in Hell or Heaven cheap—selling out. Buy now on installment plan." "Bombs, Electric Chairs, Machine Guns, Poison Gas, Ropes for Lynching Parties, etc. See Apeville Sunday School Association."

It was a tragic sight, to say the least, to see poor ignorant Apes of both sexes and of all ages hurrying from store to store to buy as though the advertisement they had read were commands of the most high—things which in the end would only serve to injure if not destroy. And it was pathetic, to use a mild term, to see little Apesters playing with electric chairs and poison gas and older Apes giving instructions in the use of them. Youthful and well shaped Apes wearing wooden legs "to boost prosperity;" elderly and sickly ones paying out their hard earned money for lots in heaven sold htem by unscrupulous sharks.

But one thing which moved me more than all else I had seen in Apeville was a parade of young Apevillian males who, bubbling over with a sense of patriotic duty to the lumber industry, were parading up and down the streets wearing wooden heads and carrying banners which urged the populace to increase the use of wooden products.

The reader may want to know who it is possible for any living creature to wear a wooden head and still live? I can only assure you that I am as puzzled as yourself on this question. True, I posed this very question to one of Apeville's most prominent citizens; but he only shrugged his shoulders in a most dismissing manner as much as to say that such a question was too foolish to merit a reply from such a great Ape as he. I shall therefore have to leave the solution of this biologic question to some daring scientific genius, who perhaps inspired by the observations I am now relating will venture a visit to the land of Apata in the interest of scientific research. But whatever may be discovered and explained about the habits and social behavior of Apata's Ape-people in the future, I shall feel completely content with having been the first to report their case in part to the world at large.

The Age of Innocence

(Continued from page 23)

monished Matt in his new responsiblities, and started to set example to match his advice. No sooner had he got ahead of the others than it struck him he couldn't be watching them and listening to them if he didn't stay back with the bunch. So every now and then he stopped and sat down to eat berries. But the morning dragged slowly by and not one did he catch doing worse than picking berries a bit dirty. He warned these that the farmer would raise particular Cain if he found them picking them with leaves and little green ones. He felt he had to do this as foreman even if it didn't mean any fine for him to share with the farmer. And their conversation gave him no profitable clues to follow up. The hotter it grew, the less they talked, and when they did talk it was about the heat, and how they would like ice cream sodas, and what they were going to do with their money. Perhaps he would make more money if he went ahead as fast as he could—but then he couldn't find any of them cheating the farmer. He felt as uncomfortable as the unbiased mule that stood midway between the two haystacks.

Down at the crossing the sawmill whistle blew. It was noon, and all took themselves over to some trees by the well to eat their lunch.

With half the day gone, it was time to check what they had earned against what they had hoped to earn. All were disappointed; but their disappointment was not pent up and stopped up as was Matt's. He wouldn't tell the bunch how much better he had expected to make out than he had. He munched his lunch glumly and resolved that if he didn't catch someone inside of an hour, he was going to step on it and pick berries even if he was a foreman incognito, and get at least the dollar that his mind had been set on before the day began.

The hour was up—and still no victim—and it was getting so hot that he didn't feel like putting on more speed. He was a bit ahead of the rest, and stood up to rest his cramped muscles. Bill Riley in the next row looked up to say: "You are always up with the rest and yet you're resting half of the time. How do you do it?"

Matt had a bright idea. He went over to Bill and talked very low: "I don't want all the kids to know it, but there's ways to fool Old Sourpuss. He can't look at every basket we pick. He don't seem to be looking them over at all. And once he takes your basket in, and gives you a slip for them, he can't tell who picked them can he?"

"No," said Bill.

"Well get wise to yourself. Fill some of the bottoms up with leaves and stuff—not too much, but every little bit helps—and then fill it up good on top with berries."

"Is that what you're doing?"

"Sure, but don't tell anybody. See," he added as he got the additional bright idea that the farmer wouldn't find out if he did pull such a trick, "I'm starting off a new box this way."

He went on with his work, and a bit later decided to tip off Walt Gallagher in the other row next him. Walt decided the idea was a mighty fine one. When Bill had got his tray of 12 pint boxes filled and headed up to turn them in, Matt stood up, lifted his hat and scratched his head a bit. John Farmer nodded, and looked Bill's berries over. By the time he had got back, Walt was on his way up, and Matt gave the signal again.

Bill told him what had happened. "Here I picked twelve cents worth, and don't get a penny and get fined a nickle besides." Matt agreed that they'd have to be careful and not get caught. Bill was sore, so Matt decided to comfort him a bit. "I'll tell you how we can get even with Old Sourpuss," he said. There's one trick even better. Get a few extra baskets, knock out the bottoms, and put them in this way so that if he does turn the basket up he'll see a good bottom, and not know but what it's the right one. That'll fool him for sure."

"Boy, that is good," agreed Bill and set to work to vent his indignation in a better trick than ever.

Matt went on with his work and Walt came back to tell him his hard luck story. It was a temptation to spring the double bottom stunt on Walt, but that might look too suspicious to John Farmer. Besides these were the two boys working alongside of him, and there were fourteen boys in the field beside himself. They were at the end of the field now, ready to start back soon, so Matt took advantage of the handy situation to get a couple more here and there started on putting leaves in the bottoms. Of course second offenses paid better—a dime fine and a nickle out of it for himself. He'd have to get them all started at it before they started talking to each other, but they were pretty well spread out by now, so there was still some chance to catch victims.

When Bill went up with his double bottom baskets, Matt gave the signal again, and tapped on the bottom of a basket. A whole nickle earned, he figured to himself right there, and when Bert O'Leary and Bob Cramer, the other two lads that he had got to put leaves in the bottom went up, he signalled once more. Bill figured nothing more sinister out of it all than that there was a Jonah on him, and Matt convinced him not to go talking about it to anyone, or Old Sourpuss might catch on that he was doing it too. Bert and Bob had evidently passed the leaves notion along to some of the other fellows, for John Farmer was catching a couple more that Matt didn't know about, and they were all talking about their offense and the fine and the fact that they didn't get paid for their berries either. Too bad, thought

Matt that it was too late in the afternoon to catch them a second time and get a nickle out of each victim. In fact he figured he had better lay low except for giving a couple more the idea about the phoney bottoms, or else they might supect him.

When he took his own tray of berries up next time he asked the farmer too look some of them over so that the rest of the boys wouldn't wonder why his baskets weren't searched too. He came back to report gleefully to Walt that Old Sourpuss "missed the baskets I phonied up on."

The mill whistle blew one more, and the youngsters figured that since they had started two hours ahead of the mill in the morning they could only work one hour after the men got through. Matt figured he'd have to content himself with eight first offences and three second ones. That made forty cents and thirty cents, seventy cents in fines all told, thirty-five of it for himself, almost as much as he would have earned if he had picked three more trays full. If he filled his tray before quitting time, that would make 72 cents for the berries, and $1.07 for the day. Pretty good he thought to himself—but then again if he'd stepped on it all day he might have made as much and not been worried about the boys finding out about his foreman job. They wouldn't like that a bit.

He finished his tray while most of the boys were still trying to get their last tray for the day filled. He went in with it, and Old Sourpuss wanted to know if he hadn't maybe put some bad ideas in their heads. Matt assured him he hadn't. "It's funny," went on Sourpuss, "they didn't do nothing wrong in the morning—just in the afternoon." But Matt's honest face was most disarming, and the farmer wanted to know what he figured he had coming. "Seventy-two cents for berries, and then I caught eight of them, and three of them the second time." While the farmer was figuring out that the meant thirty-five cents for Matt, Matt was figuring it meant thirty-five cents for Sourpuss, and 12 trays of practically good berries for nothing that he should have paid $1.44 for getting picked.

He doubted if he was getting the best of the bargain at that, and wished the farmer would get through figuring it out before anybody else got around.

The last of the boys got their pay, while all hung around because the farmer promised them a lift to town when he hauled the berries in. On the way they recounted the misfortunes of the day. Matt felt sort of bad about it all, and crossed his fingers in the hopes that they wouldn't figure he had anything to do with their tough luck. But there was Billy Scott talking about how the farmer had looked when he found him cheating the second time, and Matt hadn't known about that at all.

"Say," he asked, "how many of you fellows got fined?" They started checking up—there was Bill Scott, he been caught twice, and so had Bill Riley and so had Walt Gallagher even though he had used leaves both times, and Spud just once, and Ben twice, and . . . well it all added up twelve caught and six of them caught twice. Matt got so indignant that he forgot himself. He was up front in the back of the truck where they rode on top of the crates, and there was an opening up to where Old Sourpuss sat driving. "You old cheat", shrieked Matt," you promised me half of the fines and you know damned well you owe me twenty five cents more. You . . ." and then as he felt himself getting pulled back by the shirt collar he realized what a dead give-away it was. One boy sat on his face while another punched him in the ribs, and a third took his money out of his pocket. When they let him up he managed to turn their wrath against Old Sourpuss himself. "He's the fellow you ought to be sore at. He's got eighty-five cents that he fined you besides the thirty-five cents he gave me, and besides that means 18 trays he didn't pay for picking that's—12 eights are 96—yeh, that's $2.16."

It worked. They were hollering to Old Sourpuss that if he didn't give them back their fines, and pay them for the trays he hadn't paid for, off his damned berries would go in the ditch. They raised so much humpus that Old Sourpuss promised to pay. It gave Matt his chance to slip off —he had to explain at home that he lost all his money out of a hole in his pocket. But that alibi didn't last long. The fact is Matt's "foreman job" made matters so mighty disagreeable for the whole Walters family, that old man Walters decided to pack up and go to Oregon.

The Nonsense of Planning

(Continued from page 17)

United States is at hand: it shows that even after the march of the NRA the disproportion between the purchasing power of the masses and the actual production became greater. And it was precisely in this way that a rise occured in capitalist purchasing power and production advanced temporarily. But to denote as planned economy the further impoverishment of the population is after all a bit strong.

VII.

The various exponents of planned economy are well known. Whatever may be the nature of their particular proposals, they all share with John Dewey the habit of viewing the problem from the side of distribution, even when they speak of production. Various proposals with reference to money, credit, banking, tariff, cartellization, and control of profit are designed to govern the market and, with it, the whole economy according to predetermined plans. The legitimacy of the market, though first rejected, is now to be controlled and again made into the regulator of the social life. However, the market and competition have a meaning only in so long as they work their pernicious effects; if their operations are controlled, they are deprived of their regulating functions and we arrive at the opposite of what we set out to attain. Any market control becomes the privilege of the groups already favored by that market. The individual interests are not governed according to the planning, but this planning can only adapt itself to the existing interests already established as a result of the previous development.

Competition is made responsible for the overdevelopment of the productive apparatus, though it is only this continuing over-development which is the secret of prosperity and its limitation is nothing but the philosophy of crisis. Competition is to be reduced through the further cartellization of enterprises, in spite of the fact that this trustification is a result of competition. It may be true that within the cartels the overproduction of commodities may be hindered (a matter which plays no decisive part). Still the cartellization does not hinder competition between the cartels. Nor does it hinder the overexpansion of the productive apparatus; such overexpansion is facilitated by way of monopoly profits, since each of the cartellized enterprises improves and expands its plants in order to make differential gains and raise its production quota. Capital-formation and control can never be attained from a planning station so long as production remains in private hands. The enterprises as well as the individual monopolies can cross the plans of the central bureau in hundreds of ways and, as a matter of fact, it has been shown in practice that ways have been found for getting around the plans as fast as they were made.

And so, in the face of these numerous contradictions, the planners take refuge in the illusion of a stationary capitalism. However senseless such a demand may be, it is nevertheless the logical consequence of all capitalist planning, which thereby, though of course ruefully, establishes its impossibility. A stationary capitalism is only another name for the permanent crisis: and even here the term fails to hold water, since any permanent crisis can only lead to collapse and is accordingly not stationary. But it is only with a stationary, i. e. illusionary, capitalism that planning is possible, since any revival promptly throws all planning overboard. And if the planners endeavor, nevertheless, to make the impossible possible and, for example, believe that in spite of technical advance it will be possible to hold on to an accepted price level—that is, if they fancy that prices can be juggled with like balls—there is concealed behind these dreams nothing but a total ignorance of the real nature of prices. Technical progress, which changes all values, obviously changes also the prices to be deduced from values; a matter which, in view of the decline of prices which has accompanied the whole of capitalist development, is hardly worth mentioning.

As a proof of the possibility of capitalist planning, we are often referred to the control of economy in countries at war. However, the monopolist economy of war time was only a means to capitalist accumulation, to perpetuating planlessness. A man takes castor oil in order to get well. But it will not occur to him, merely because he can, to live on caster oil exclusively. And yet such mental derangement is actually attributed to capitalism. During the war, the national economy was not subjected to the military necessities, but the military necessities, i. e. the necessities of the strongest capitalist groups interested in the war, subjected all other groups to themselves and forced their will upon them. Here also the technical possibility of planning was not proved, since this economic distatorship remained tied up with the market mechanism.

VIII.

Even though individual theoreticians of planning go so far as to raise the demand for a "World Economic Council," most of their theories stop short with autarchy. The national economy is to be made independent of the movements of the world market. Capitalist society is, however, bound up with international trade, as of course the whole capitalist development is identical with the creation of the world market. From division of labor within the separate nations arose international division of labor, and the latter can no more be got away from than the first. It may be objected here that individual countries, such as the United States, are capable of a self-sufficing economy by reason of their manifold natural wealth and are to be distinguished from countries less blessed. Nevertheless the very possibility of autarchy at the same time precludes it as an actuality. The very diversity of the geographic, climatic and cultural conditions of the United States are an obstacle to their unified coordination, for this diversity, under capitalism, is nothing other than a multiplicity of mutually hostile interests which are not very distinguishable from those of the continent of Europe, even though their forms are different. However small may be the part of foreign trade in statistics, it is nevertheless a question of life and death to whole social groups. However decisive may be the domestic market, when over-accumulation sets in the imperialistic compulsion becomes the dominant factor, for the insufficient profit at home compels to the conquest of additional sources of profit. While as regards industry, autarchy is impossible even in "war manufacture," so as regards agriculture, as the best experts bear witness, it is quite out of the question. Planned economy and capitalism are irreconcilable contradictions; the one excludes the other. If an economy is planned, then it has also ceased to be a capitalist economy.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

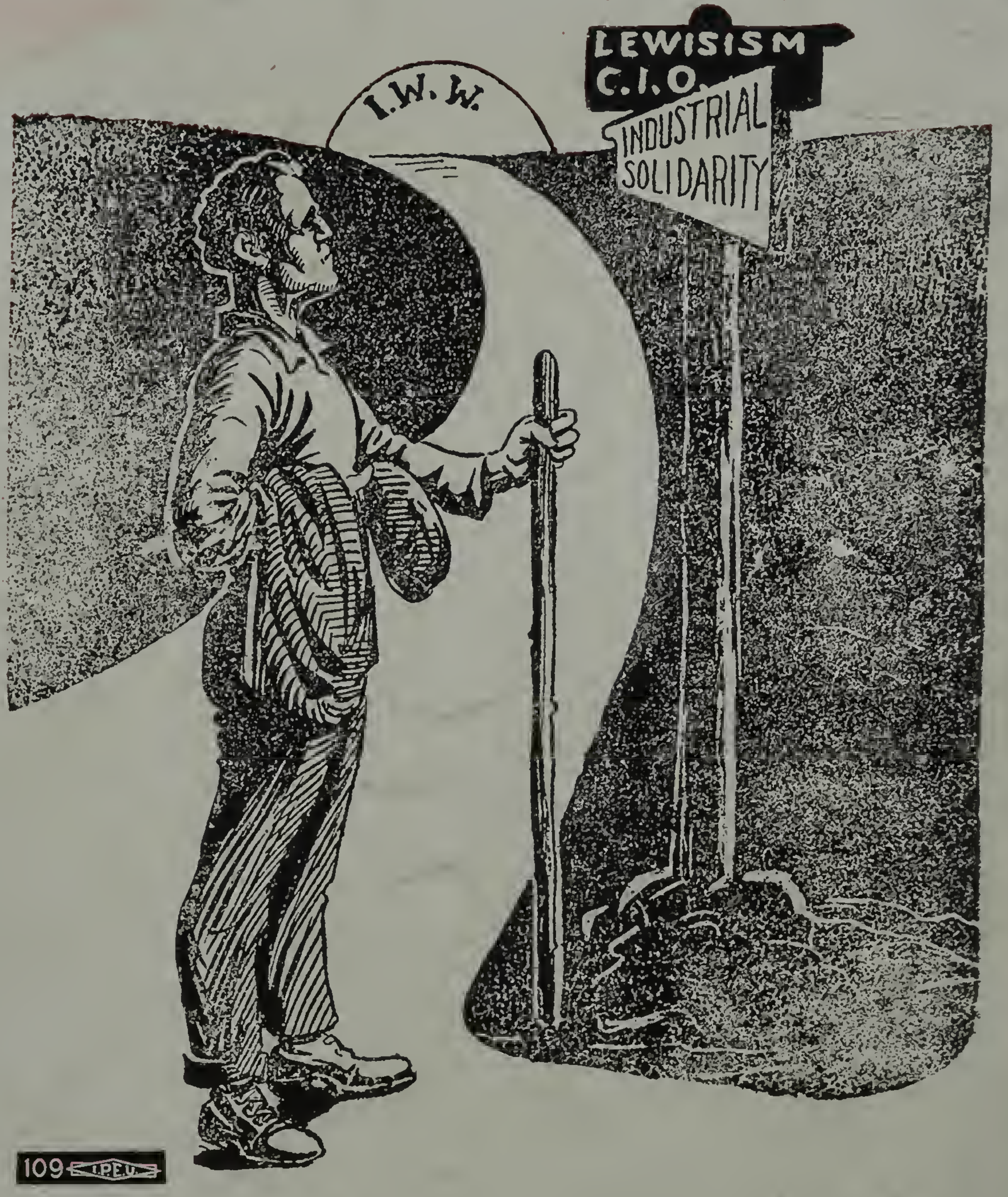
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work", we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.


LEWISISM
C.I.O.
INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY
I.W.W.
109 I.P.E.U.

Solidarity in the I. W. W. means unity with industrial freedom, not industrial slavery; it means a fellowship of all the workers organized in a One Big Union to direct their own activities. It does not mean a great aggregation of workers herded together in a "labor front" under the direction of a dictator.

The C. I. O. is not like the I. W. W., it is not a One Big Union, it does not practice class solidarity; it permits one section of a union to scab on another even to a greater extent than does the A. F. of L. It is not "a step in the right direction," it is, rather, an aid to fascism.

Take the I. W. W. road for your own betterment and the emancipation of your class.

618

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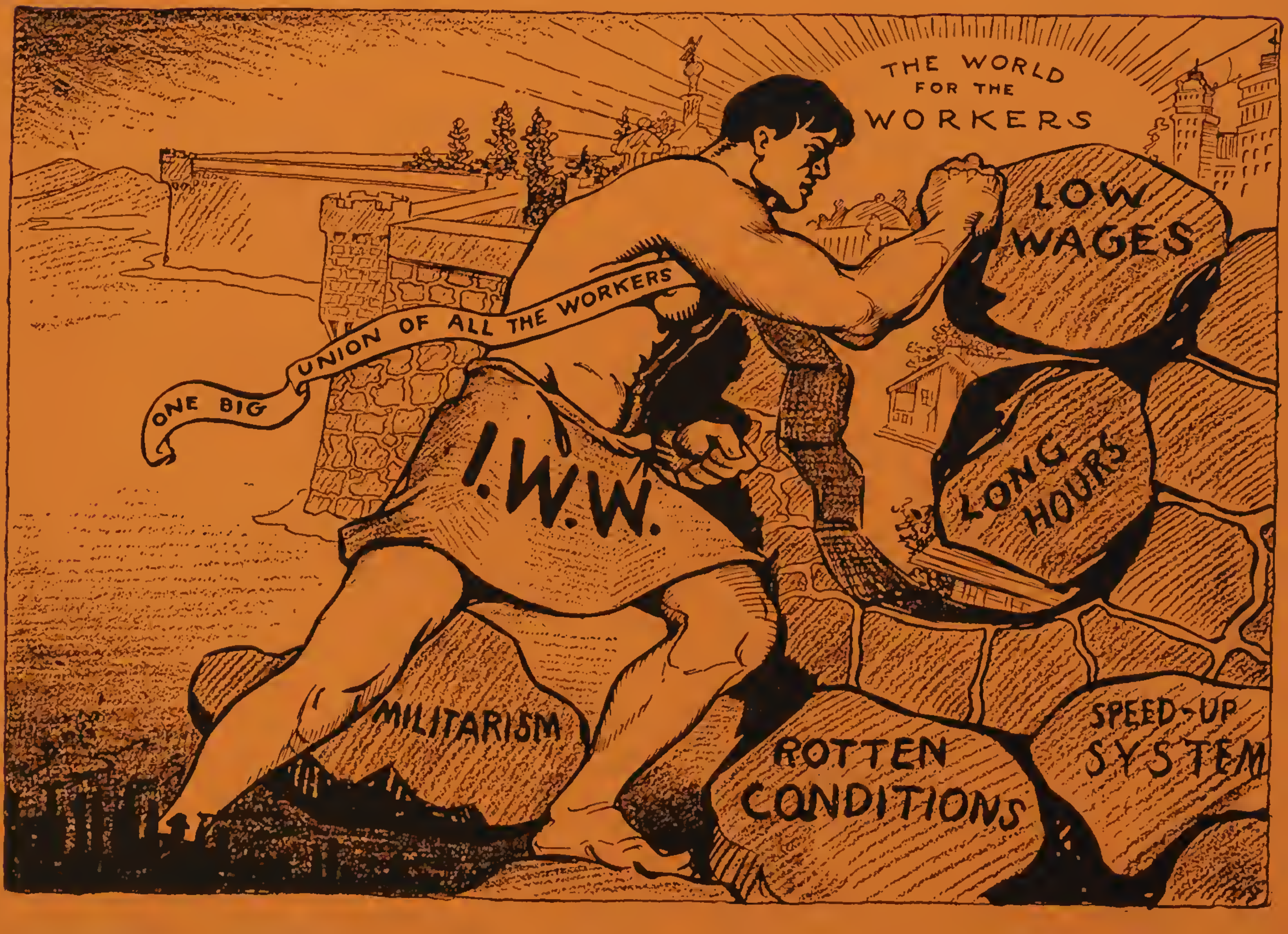
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SEPTEMBER, 1937

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THE RIGHT TO WORK

It may be true, as many employers under pressure of union demands for higher wages are preaching, that the "right to work is sacred." We are not trying to pass judgement on what is and what is not sacred. But it does seem certain that no one's right to work extends so far that it becomes just and proper for him to do so much work that there is not enough left for the other fellow.

Neither does the right to work, if it exists at all, carry with it the privilege of cheapening work so that it becomes impossible for anyone to live on the wages paid for it.

Nor does the right of the individual to work together with other people go so far that he is immune from interference by his fellow workers as to the conditions under which he exercises his right.

Granting the right to work, we maintain that what is needed is a strong I. W. W. union on every job through which the workers can regulate the conditions under which the work is done; and we believe that this regulation of work through the union should be extensive and effective enough to govern the working habits of the individual worker. In other words that a man's right to work should be subject to the control of his own union so that the work-hog and the simple minded person who is willing to leave everything to the boss will not hold back progress toward the workers' commonwealth.

We might ask—though it has been asked before: What becomes of the right to work when the employer closes down his plant? You know the answer. The right to work is changed into the right to look for a job.

Let's get the four-hour day and make 'em like it.

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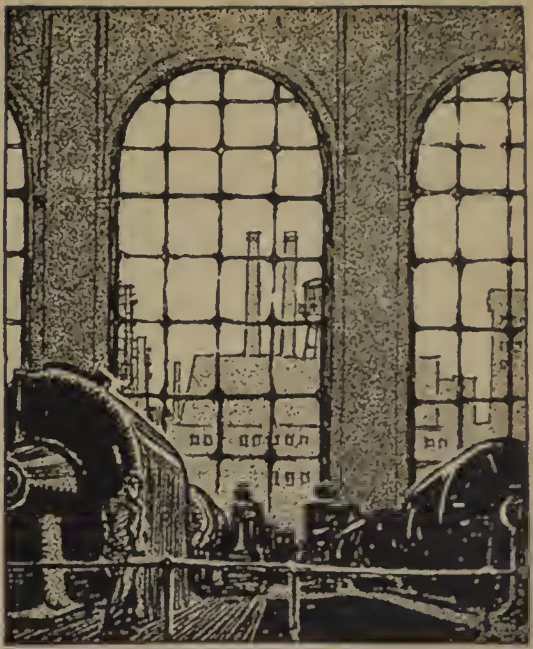
Noise-- An Intolerable Working Condition



By JOHN SERSHON

. . . . "might gague a man's intellectual capacity by the degree of his intolerance of unnecessary noise."—Herbert Spencer.
. . . . "a torture to intellectual people, and the true murderer of thought."
—Schoppenhauer.

Civilization, if it is at all worthy of the term, needs as a first requisite, healthful and happy living conditions. Culture, refinement, and the removal from savagery that the word "Civilization" denotes are abstractions if those conditions are not generally possible.

Health and happiness are dependent upon many things for their realization; the houses we live in, the bodies we are born with, the clothes we wear, the food we eat, the kind of work we do, and everything in our environment which is conducive to an agreeable or a disagreeable personal response.

Some things in our environment, such as climate and heredity it is not possible, at present, to predetermine, but most of the socio-economic conditions can be readily changed. That beneficial change is such a laggard when the knowledge for change has long been at hand is an outstanding characteristic of capitalism.

How capitalistic poverty, disease, crime, ignorance and war trample rough-shod over intelligence to the detriment of civilization, are subjects which have been treated with some adequacy (though insufficient) by generations of writers. Other subjects which are subordinate phases of these are either badly neglected or forgotten entirely. The condition of "noise" is such a subject.

A Machine Product

The Industrial Revolution with its increasing use of machinery brought many disagreeable things in its wake including noise. It is gradually becoming recognized as a public health problem, which as Engineer Stephen E. Slocum says, "will, within a generation, vie with disease unless the same mechanical ingenuity that has called the mechanical robot into existence shall be able to endow it with a soul of quiet."

Medical authorities have long realized the deleterious effects of noise and in some cases have made strong protestations against it, but though noise already vies with disease, little has been done in the way of its effective control. Hodge-podge individualism, as usual, finds only superficial ways to prevent the nuisance of "unwanted auditory stimulation." Nevertheless great credit must be given to those individuals who in the face of our unsocial "system," have tried to make life under capitalism more tolerable.

The first serious attempt (of any noteworthy extent) for the reduction of noise was begun in October 1929 by Commissioner of Health, Shirley W. Wynne of New York City with the appointment of the "Noise Abatement Commission." The commission comprised a large group of technicians engineers, and medical men from different branches of that profession. A survey of New York City was made to obtain all the possible facts about noise—its source, its intensity, its effect and its abatement. Some of the results and findings of the commission are included in this article.

Psychologist Donald A. Laird, conducting independent tests at Colgate university found that "four expert typists typing a standard letter over and over increased their speed under quieted conditions to 7.4 percent for the fastest typist, 3.6 percent for the second fastest, .08 percent for the next to the slowest, with no increase for the slowest. The energy expended under noisy conditions showed an average increase for all subjects of 71 percent during typing as compared with resting period, while under quieted conditions the average increase was only 51 percent. The fatigue effect was shown by the fact that under quieted conditions the average time for the last five letters at the close of the two-hour period required seven seconds less than for the first five letters, while in the noisy phase the average time for the last five letters was five seconds more."

The difference of 20 percent increase of energy output shown in this test is a demonstration of the increased fatigue that millions of factory workers undergo because of noise. Noise of between 80 and 90 decibels (deafening or close to deafening) is common in many factories, many others having 100 decibels or more.

Normal Man Dreads Noise

E. L. Smith and Laird found that noise of 80 to 90 decibels decreased normal stomach contractions by 37 percent, which accounts for the hostility with which workers regard running machinery during the lunch period.

Watson (Behaviorist) is authority for the statement that noise and falling are the only two things feared by a new-born infant.

Smith and Laird considered the physical reaction of noise as a "fear response," since the muscular tension and attendant effects were so similar. This fear-response inherited from our ancestors who were conditioned to fear noise as the approach of danger, surely must super-impose a most terrific strain upon the worker striving with might and main under a scientific speedup and the glowering eye of the bosses. That is indeed the case as is amply proved by R. Nyssen and J. Helmsmoort, Jr., whose report shows that "intense auditory excitation directly increases arterial pressure." Or by Dr. Morgan whose experiment at Northwestern University showed that fifty subjects at work reading a paragraph, to keep minds at work (with noise) caused an increase in breathing while speed decreased.

Professor A. T. Poffenberger's metabolic studies show that "the extra effort caused by noise creates an extra strain on the nervous system, a final reduction of capacity for sustained work, clear-thinking, and energetic action."

More spectacular, in a sense, were the revelations of Dr. Foster Kennedy of the New York commission. Several patients, otherwise in perfect health, whom past operations had left with part of the skull-bone removed and the scalp replaced, were used in the tests. "An accurate written record of the pressure of the brain was made by placing a small drum containing a partial vacuum over the soft spot area of the head. This was painless to the subject. One of the experiments, in which paper bags were burst, raised the brain pressure to four times the normal for several seconds. Thereafter this pressure, though not remaining as high, did not come back to normal until thirty seconds had passed." Sudden noise, it was found, raised the brain pressure more than morphine and nitroglycerine, the most powerful drug shocking agents.

A Menace to Health

In factories where workers were subjected to loud noises both the temporary effects of fatigue and the permanent impairment of health and hearing ware produced by the exposure.

From the imperative emissions of the factory whistle (the constant reminder of working-class servitude), to the turning of wheels, the grinding, drilling, scrapping, and pounding of a hundred different kinds of lathes and dropforge hammers; the factory is producing, along with its products, "neurasthenic and psychoasthenic" human wreckage of great loss to a possible civilization.

N. Losanoff, who used rabbits and dogs in his nail factory experiments, found inner-car lesions resulted from the intense noise. The experiments of Wittmaack and Yoshii with guinea pigs under boiler-making conditions caused inflammation of the inner-ear. Similar effects are produced in human beings in thousands of factories, close to thirty different trades at the present time causing deafness.

"Impairment of hearing caused by continuous moderate occupational noise develops gradually and it at first heardly noticed. In the beginning, many workers do not feel the influence of noise in the workroom. Examination by an ear specialist often reveals the impairment of hearing in such persons not aware of their injury." (Ger. Soc. of Indus. Hygiene, 1929.)

The noise of industry can be alleviated or arrested in several different ways. Buildings can be sound-proofed greatly by the use of any soft material used as wall and ceiling covers, or by painted or decorated sheets of steel backed by felt, and perforated to break up sound waves. Sheets of fibre-board (also perforated) can be made of the refuse of sugar cane stalks (bagasse) or cornstalks, etc. Everything within the building from the windows to the ventilation ducts must be insulated, while the machinery itself must be treated to prevent vibration. The distribution of machines and the machine foundation are equally important (formula by Walter Ritter, German technician). Silent chains, noiseless gears, etc., can easily replace noisy parts. Sound-proofing can reduce noise by as much as fifty percent, but where it is not in use, insurance indemnity should be paid, either by the state or by the employer to the workers deafened or otherwise incapacitated by the neglect.

The Remedy

In addition to the above, there are several different "ear-defenders" which can be used to directly protect the ear, the "Tommy" (English artillery), Mallock-Armstrong instrument, and the wax cones used both by swimmers and Italian gunners. The simplest protection is to use cotton, wool or rolled gauze saturated in glycerin with the air bubbles squeezed out (air carries sound) or vaseline worked in.

Incessant noise in the laboring class neighborhoods, with the resultant fear-response muscular tension, has been advanced seriously by medical men as an important cause for crime and accidents. Jazz music and the lack of appreciation of true beauty is also attributed to noise. "In thirty percent of the schools in New York City some classrooms were found to have been made useless by noise; in this city alone noise was interfering with the education of 477,400 children." Hospitals also are notoriously noisy and a long article could be written on the harm to the sleeper, the growth of children, and the invalids.

Streetcars, elevated and subway trains, and automobile traffic are the main cause for outside noise. Methods have been found which will eliminate most of them, but since profits are involved little is done.

Protection from noise, increasing the efficiency of the worker and the profits of the employer, may stimulate the employer to make use of it, but for his own health and happiness the worker should insist upon it. He should organize his insistence in One Big Union of the working class so that he will be sure of his results; One Big Union that will rebuild the homes and workplaces and cities of the nation so that, among other things, there will be reasonable quiet.

I Decide to Become a Wobbly

By A SEAMAN

For eighteen years I have joined, worked on, and sailed ships. Through the course of my wanderings I had circled the globe a number of times. As a result I learned the location of many bar-rooms, shelters, hide-outs, and places of ill repute. Places where one can get into trouble and out of trouble, as well; places where one can drink, curse, fight; where one can do as others do, or set the pace for others to follow; places where everything goes and nothing is barred.

I have been on the beach in some of the major ports and on the beach in some that are seldom used for a port of call. These experiences taught me much,—a hard school but a practical one.

While I was never keen on observation, many events did impress themselves indelibly on my mind. Nothing possessed great enough importance to cause me undue worry or thought. I have witnessed and taken part in brawls that resulted in serious injury to some and death to others, the weapons used by the combatants depending upon the geographical location—knives, guns, clubs, feet, etc.

It seems that when ashore the foremost thoughts in mind are of ships, and when at sea the topic of discussion was usually something that happened while ashore. Ashore or at sea I always added my bit by narrating certain episodes to the delight and interest of some, and to the evident disgust of others, which did not mean a thing to me, for my memories were precious.

In my travels I have met men of all discriptions, from all parts of the world and from all walks of life. I have been shipmates with college graduates and illiterates, with men who spent the major portion of their working lives in offices, and with others from factories, mines, and fields; some were sons of the rich but most of them were sons of the poor, and there were some who were labeled as sons of— well, taking them all in all, they were a representative section of homo sapiens. Some of those men were rational and spoke with conviction while others spoke merely to make a noise.

As for the ships, wages went up and down; on some the hours were long and the work was hard; the food, living conditions and quarters were lousy. There were others that, in comparison, were fair. On most ships there would be at least one man who would insist on discussing the difference between ships. And the question was often enough raised as to why all ships should not be good ships, with high wages, shorter hours, the best of food, easier work, larger crews, large confortable quarters and good living conditions generally.

We Talk Strike

I placed little stock in those arguments; others did. I favored no union. I preferred to stand alone but with my mind made up that I'd be ready to help anyone of them when occasion demanded.

My last ship was outbound for Philadelphia. On it there were a few wobblies. They brought up the subject of the impending strike along the West Coast. They spoke also, and at great length, of how the East and Gulf Coasts would benefit by striking at the same time. These Wobblies warned the rest of the crew to be ready to leave the ship when it docked, should word be received that a strike was under way.

I told them that I could be counted on at a moment's notice.

Sparks told the gang that the West Coast had some out on October 29. The watch below were all mustered in the sailors' foc'sle and a meeting was held on the proposition that the entire crew take a definite stand on piling off the tub. The matter was threshed out under the guidance of the Wobs who were the only union men aboard.

The tub docked November 2. Immediately a Wob dashed ashore for information. When he returned all members of the crew who were not work bound mustered in the foc'sle to listen to his report. He reported that a sympathy strike was called in all ports of the East and Gulf Coasts. From the strike headquarters the orders are to see whether the majority of the men are willing to come off. If so, then to declare the ship as struck; if not then wait for more news. From the Marine Transport Workers hall (IWW) the word was to strike the ship immediately. "You all know what we agreed upon at sea," said the Wobblies, "pack up and hit the docks."

The Wobs were all set. I helped convince a few doubters that it would be best for them to get off. All the unlicenced men did get off. The licenced men promised to do the same—three of them did.

Down at strike headquarters all was confusion and hub-bub. Too many men trying to do each other's work. The headquarters was located at the MFOW hall at the start. The strike was called by no one union. Men from all the unions, and men who belonged to no unions responded. For that reason a lot of the strikers thought it best to have the headquarters removed to some hall that did not carry the banner of any particular union. That was done as soon as funds on hand permitted.

On The Picket Line

I was dispatched with four others to picket a dock with orders to stay until relieved. Upon arrival at the dock we saw men coming out of and going into the piers. Thinking that all men were to be stopped from returning to the ships I started to accost them. My mates told me to leave all men come and go, to say nothing to them. If I did then no backing would be offered. That was hard to understand. For the remainder of the watch my mates were studied. The conclusions were not pleasant. Two had not been to sea at all. The other two questioned the reasons for striking.

The relief watch had orders to sand like wooden Indians and await their relief from duty. At strike headquarters an explanation was demanded. Seven hastened to advise. Each one contradicted the other. I did not know what in hell to do. So I searched further for advice. Then I had someone explain the meaning of "direct action."

The next watch was quiet; except for the appearance of the prowl car and the voice of the law who told the watch to "Beat it, your strike is not legal." After searching me he said, "What the hell are you on strike for?" You are not a union man. If I see you again I'll run you in." He was informed that he would see me again.

Headquarters had the news on hand before we came back from the waterfront. They told all men to "Stay there regardless of what the cops say. If they run you in we will jerk you out in an hour." The first lock-ups netted ten men. Four Wobs, four West Coast men and two ISU men. One Wob got 30 days. The other three Wobs and the four West Coast men got ten days each. The two ISU men shook hands with the magistrate and promised to be good. They went free. Many more were to be arrested. A large majority served their sentences . . . all of them arrested for the heinous crime of striking and picketing. When they came out it was right back to the picket lines.

From that day on things got lively. Scabs who were brave or careless at the beginning were rather hard to find after a few finks slipped on bannana, peelings and had to be taken to hospitals for treatment of bruises. In the days to follow so many finks hurt themselves that it became impossible for finks to be recruited to replace them on board ships. Efforts were made to man the ships, of course. What few finks boarded a ship had to be escorted by members of the police force on foot or in cars.

I saw two finks delivered to the docks in prowl cars. Two other scabs in a large packing case, on a truck with a cop as guard, and in other ways. I'll never forget the faces of the cops who stood watch for the Merchants and Miners Line. If a scab wanted a drink or smokes—a cop would escort him to a dump close by, and wait until the louse was ready to return to the ship. The good cops were always on hand. The same escorts were used by the United Fruit Co. for its faithful employees.

Some outfits would not trust to the watchfulness of the coppers. Beer, whiskey, supplies and women were brought on board ships for the scabs. Cops were beneath the level of the women, whom they protected. The limbs of the law, in all their majesty, accepted cigars, whiskey and cash from the company agent; and from the finks too.

The Wobblies For Me

I was close by when Haiman was shot in the leg by a Burns cur. I rushed over to aid others in blocking the escape of the louse who used the gun. I with five Wobs tried to get at the fink herder. We did not succeed or now he would still be recuperating. I heard Haiman address the rat and say, "If you'll lay down your gun, you son of a bitch, I'll punch your ears down."

And I knew Johhy Kane who was shot and died from it in Houston. And Haley who was knifed in Galveston. And the many Wobs who took their bits during the strike and grinned.

I knew Kane, Haiman and Haley for years. Was shipmates with them and other Wobs. This strike has borne out all that they told me. This strike has proven to me that the organization to which they belong is right in its teachings; that its members possess plenty of savvy and the guts to tell others about it. And so I have joined them to carry on in the struggle.

I want to mention one more man and pay tribute to him for his strike activity though he belonged to no union. His name is Mike Pashak. He was arrested, promised defense, at the last minute his counsel (ILD shysters) disappeared. He was given five to ten years . . . handed a stretch because he defended himself against the attack of a hoosier who was prompted to start it. Mike Pashak worked in the interest of the strikers—which is more than can be said for the LEADERS who forsook him in his hour of need.

AINT IT SO!

By COVAMI

Cent by cent and dime by dime,
Swift away the dollars flow;
Count 'em fast or count 'em slow,
That is how the dollars go.

From our pockets, how they hie,
How the dollars slip and fly!
How we hustle, how we slave,
From the cradle to the grave;
How for them, until we die,
All God's children scheme and lie!
Dime by dime and cent by cent,

That is how my dollars went:
'Fore I got 'em they were spent!
Count 'em fast or count 'em slow
Lordy, how the dollars go!

PRODUCTION FOR USE

By COVINGTON HALL

(Being an open letter to the editor of the Jamestown (N. D.) Sun.)

In a recent editorial titled "Production for Use—its real meaning," the edtitor of the SUN has this to say:

"The next time you hear some one talking about "production for use," stop and think it over. A moment's reflection will show you **"that all production is for use,** and that the phrase, unless further explained, simply doesn't mean anything."

Evidently the editor has not paused to take the "moment's reflection" he advises others to, else he certainly would not assert so confidently that "all production is for use"; for, under the present economic system, generally known as Capitalism, nothing is **produced for use.**

True, all commodities produced must have a **use value** if they are to find a market; but, under Capitalism, goods are not produced for use but to be **sold at a profit.** No profit in producing, no goods produced, as the present "depression" and all past panics prove beyond controversy. In other words, the **driving force** behind production under Capitalism is the **profit** hoped to be made by private individuals and corporations and not the use values of the commodities, either to society or to individuals. Necessarily, by the very laws of its being, Capitalism takes count only of the market. If it considers use at all, it considers it only from the standpoint of **what can be sold,** of how much the market can absorb at a **profit to the capitalist.**

If that profit is not there, then no matter how direly consumers may need commodities, no goods will be produced. Worse, usuable goods will be wantonly destroyed, as they have been in this country and all over the socalled civilized world during the past two decades. Capitalism will produce only such goods as can be sold at a profit and, as all recent evidence proves, will bring about an artificial scarcity to maintain profit, even though by so doing millions are faced with homelesseness and hunger. No, under the present insane economic "system" nothing is produced for **use.** All our magnificent natural resources and all our splendid machinery of production, distribution and exchange will lie idle **unless the private owners of the people's capital can make a profit off the people's needs and toil.** From first to last the history of the monstrous system styled Capitalism bears witness to the fact that **profit** and **not use** is the motive behind all production under it.

The "Real Meaning"

In dealing with "production for use," the editor assumes to state "its real meaning." No where does he do so. Referring to the proposals of "Socialists, Communists, and various shades of radicals, he asserts: "But the object is precisely the same in both cases, to produce as many goods as possible and distribute them as widely as possible." That is not so.Capitalism never has and never will "produce as many goods as possible," for, to do so, would bankrupt the system. Its beneficiaries, I repeat, produce only as "many goods" as **"can be sold at a profit.** No profit, no goods; and, if this is not an assertion based on known facts, then why the closing down of fields, factories, mills, mines, banks, etc., etc., with the resultant DISemployment of millions of willing workers and the resultant bankrupting of millions of farmers and merchants during the "depression" that began in the Autumn of 1929 and is still with us, despite the strenous efforts of the "New Deal" administration to make "an evil tree bring forth good fruit"? The truth is there for all to see who use their brains for the purpose Father God or Mother Nature, as you choose, gave it to men and women for—**to think with.**

Profit is the sole motivating power behind Capitalist production and distribution of goods. The Capitalists themselves freely admit it, nay, they falsely assert that our Constitution "guarantees" it to them. It does nothing of the sort, the Supreme Court to the contrary notwithstanding. The Constitution merely guarantees the socalled "right of private property," not that it shall be profitable. Our forefathers were not that insane. Further, the gigantic corporations that today dominate the entire life of the American people are not **private** but public institutions; and when we allow them to be used as instruments for producing private profit for schemers and gamblers, it speaks ill for our intelligence.

"Who Has Done Better?"

But "who has done better" than the Capitalists? querys the editor, citing the wide distribution of mortgaged autos, radios, telephones, refrigerators and other gadgets. Granted that Capitalism has done all he claims, what of it? Are not the masses of men entitled to share in all the accomplishments of modern science, especially when it was the labor of these masses that alone made possible the wide distribution of these good things? And speaking of "much cheaper electric light bulbs," why didn't the editor or his "big electric company" in their advertisements tell the home folks that a bulb has been invented that will not burn out and, further, that the power trust has bought up the invention and "frozen" it, lest profit disappear from the bulb industry?

If anything should make the "common people" discontented with their lot, with their everlasting insecurity in a land of potential plenty, it is this everlasting carping on how many more gadgets and robots we can use as compared to our forefathers and mothes. What if the King of France in the year 900 did squat on a wooden stool throne while in 1937 John Farmer, Bill Miner and Jim Fastoryhand can luxirate in an imitation mahogany chair? Does that in any way justify Capitalism for all the insecurity, misery, war, famine and homelessness it has inflicted on society? I leave that for those who think for themselves to answer.

For USE, Not Profit

"All very well," you say. "Denunciation is easy. But, just what do **you** mean by 'Production for Use'?" Your question is justified.

By Production for Use we mean an economic system the direct reverse of Capitalism. First, we mean leaving in the hands of those who render useful service to society the **purchasing power they alone create.** This we aim to accomplish by paying to each individual worker, whether of "hand or brain," the **full social value** of his or her labor or service. We are certain this can be achieved if the American people declare their natural resources and socialized industries **common property** and, thereby, abolishing rent, interest and profit, the three great use-ries that are the prime cause of panics, disemployment, bankruptcy and war.

Receiving the full social value of their toil, the producers of goods and services will be enabled to buy back from each other value for value, thus ridding themselves forever from the fear of "overproduction," the alleged cause of all Capitalist panics, wars and revolutions. Under such a system, there will be no need for "public functionaries hired by the State to make decisions" for any of us. Holding in our own hands the purchasing power we alone created, we, the People, will automatically and individually make our own decisions as to what we shall spend our incomes for.

Second, there is a vast gulf between the Co-operative Commonwealth and the Capitalist State. The first is a Social Organization, the second is a Class Institution. Neither can be operated by the administrative machinery of the other, as witness the failure of the attempts of the "New Dealers" to gain co-operative good by means of capitalistic methods. It has not worked, and will not, as witness the fear openly expressed by Secretary Wallace and others high in the "New Deal" lest the bumper crops of cotton, wheat, corn, etc., now coming on the market plunge the country into another and far worse "depression." No. Capitalism cannot be mended; it must be ended if the human Race is not to starve, physically and spiritually, in the midst of boundless abundance.

Third and last, if this be Socialism, then I answer that the only question before the American people today is, not "whether we shall have Socialism or not," but **whether the Socialism that is ALREADY here shall be an Industrial Democracy or an Industrial Autocracy**—whether we shall preserve the principles of democracy by carrying them into the gigantic trust corporations that today dominate the lives of all of us and, by so doing, **democratize the corporation** and, thus, overthrow Kingship in its last stronghold—in industry and banking.

To accomplish this—the overthrow of Kingship in industry—is the purpose of production for use. The piddling Politician as well as the plundering Plutocrat must go if the People are to do what President Roosevelt and many of the ablest enginers now say we can do—conquer poverty.

That, **to end poverty in the United States,** to abolish insecurity and hunger of soul and body in a land of plenty is the aim of all—and there are now millions of us—who are organizing to bring about production for use by declaring the United States an **Industrial Democracy.**

We who have to depend on incomes derived from wages and salaries and who, according to President Roosevelt, now number "Ninety per cent of the American people"—we no longer have any interest in maintaining the "right of private property" in the **common means of life.** All our welfare and, therefore, all our interests call for its abolishment in order that our JOBS and the incomes derived therefrom be made secure. To secure this, it is our intention to bring about an economic system whereby goods will be produced for consumer use and not for the private profit of Uncrowned Kings.

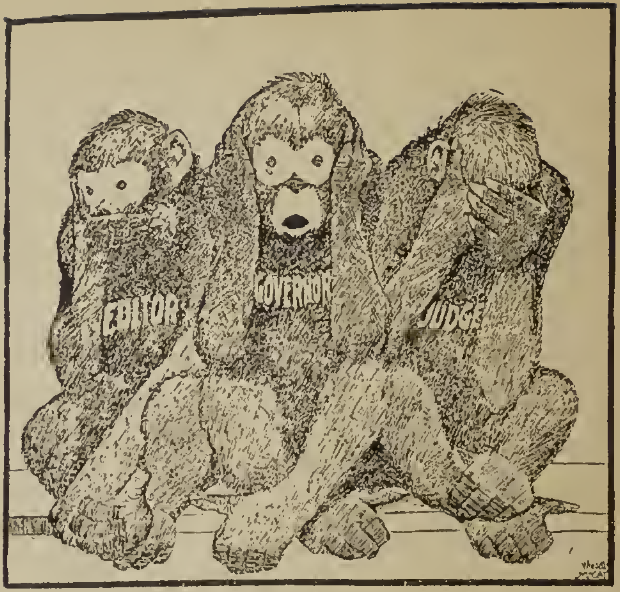
Finally, we have no intention in "escaping the tender mercies of the Plutocrats to fall under the loving kindness of the Politicians." That is why we stress forever the idea of Industrial Democracy, **economic freedom,** without which all other freedoms are vanities of vanities.

Let's end poverty before it ends us. We CAN DO IT.

Another Letter From Apeland

By

CARD NO. x-141738



It is Sunday morning in the city of Apeville., All is quiet save an occasional groan from devout worshippers. It is not just an ordinary Sunday. On the contrary, it is my good fortune to be in Apeville to observe the annual crowning of the most successful priest of the year. This is the greatest religious celebration ever in Apeville. Apes come from near and far to view the magnificent splendor of the church; to partake of the wisdom that flows from the lips of eloquent priests; to have a multitude of sins forgiven them (for a fair price) and to receive the blessings of the saintly, if the payment be large enough.

I now wish to conduct the reader to the Temple of the Holy Apes. It is a large prison-like structure (viewed from the outside) occupying a whole city block. Its seating capacity is 10,000. The altar is of solid gold. The walls are covered here and there by costly drapery. Between these are paintings, by Apata's masters, representing imps chased by vertuous angels, martyrs getting their heads chopped off, saints with long whiskers etc.

At exactly 10 A. M. the sounding of a gong announces the begining of the ceremony. The congregation rises and chants a moanful melody, led by an ape wearing a single black robe reaching to his feet. Next they get down on the floor, put their feet back of their necks while an automatic praying machine (resembling our phonograph) prays for them at the rate of 250 words per minute. After twenty minutes of mechanical praying they occupy the pews again but only for a minute; the church organ thunders forth music of some sort at which time they rise singing in a monotone a melody without words. The services are gradually working up to a climax. Now the music stops. Ten priests, wearing two black robes one on top of the other, come down the isles sprinkling something on the crowd. But it is not water—believe it or not, it is fleas, holy fleas.

In the land of Apata fleas are holy and woe to the Ape who is caught killing one.

While the priests are thus engaged, worshippers open their garments to better allow the holy fleas to enter; they sway their bodies from side to side, all the while singing in a low voice:

"Praised be the flea from whom sweet blessing
flow.
Praised be the flea in voices soft and low."

After half an hour the fleas are properly received and their praises roundly sung. A gong is now sounded three times. Eight priests dressed in three black robes one on top of the other, enter the stage and take their places four on each side on the first elevation next to the altar.

I must tell you before I forget that the stage consist of three elevations. On the uppermost elevation is a throne. In front of the lowest is the altar.

Now the gong is sounded four times and six priests, wearing four black robes one on top of the other, take their station on the second elevation of the stage. They turn their backs to the audience, bow deeply and line up three on each side. The gong is sounded again, five times, but much louder than before. Four priests wearing five black robes enter the stage and take their places next to the throne after having bowed as the previous ones. We are approaching the climax of the ceremony. Apevilles greatest is about to enter.

The audience await him in eager suspense. He has promised to speak words of wisdom relative to the times, depressions, strikes, wars and so on. All eyes are fixed on the door on the left side of the stage from which he is expected to emerge. There is not a whisper in the crowd; not a sound except that of fleas changing locations. (Apeville fleas are a lot noisies than ours). At last the sounding of the gong. The audience rise. The door on the left side opens and in steps an old ape dressed in so many robes that he resembles a huge cabbage head. He walks majestically to the throne. The two priests nearest assist him to the throne. After he is seated the other two proceed to remove his shoes then kiss his feet with a smacking of the lips. This done the great priest raises his hands heavenwards, blinks his eyes, then speaks with long drawn out syllables singing-like; "Ee-ni-e mee-nie mi-nie mo." The six priests on the second elevation of the stage sing out in a chorus; "Aint it the truth" whereupon the eight next to the altar reply with one stentorian "AMEN."

This ends the great priest's contribution of wisdom. A crown of gold is placed upon his head after which he retires from the stage. The audience now arise upon signal from the dignitaries on the stage; the organ pours out thunderous music, and for one full hour they sing praises and hallelujas to the learned priest who has, by the words "eenie meenie minie mo," contributed so much wisdom to apekind."

The following day the Apeville **News** comes out with a special issue filled with more praises and hallelujas to the "learned one, who by the magic words has made of Apeville a beaconlight casting its rays of learning to the four corners of the globe. (In Apeville, by order of its mayor all globes have four corners). Never has Apeville ever heard such a profound lecture delivered with such eloquence" etc.

From my good friend Mush I learned the secret of the great priest's success. He held a monopoly of the soulsaving business in Apeville. Had already made a fortune on it. Had started branching out his monopoly to other cities. Was now on his way to become Jehovasson's (Jehovasson is the undisputed god of all Apatans) personal advisor for the whole country. Small wonder that he was crowned as the most successful priest in Apeville.

Anyone with the writer's point of view would naturally experience a feeling of indscribable disgust after having witnessed such folly as I did that day in the Temple of the Holy Apes. To see a priest of such obviously limited intellectual qualifications held up as a paragon, and still nourish hope for a better Apekind, would have required a stronger belief in the apes' ability to progress than I at that moment could claim. I felt an urge to solitude. I wanted to get away from it all. Thus, on the afternoon following my day in the temple, I started hiking away from Apeville toward a timberlined horizon.

Scarce had night checked my retreating strides before I was overtaken by Mush, who, I learned, was on his way to the "outlaws' convention" which was being held at that time some 30 miles from where we met, down deep in the forest. He proposed that I go with him there the following day. To this I readily agreed. "Anywhere to get away from Apeville." We arrived there 7:30 p. m. the next day. My heart was all aflutter with expectations of new but more pleasant excitements.

It was here at the "outlaws' convention" that my hope in Apekind's changeability to the better was reborn. The convention was attended by some fifty serious looking apes. They had met to consider ways and means of ushering in a better society for apes to enjoy. They were for this very reason called "outlaws," "reds," "foreigners," "bandits," "freethinkers," "blasphemers," "radicles," "nuts," "rebels," "god-killers," and so on. Constituted authority would destroy them at once could they only find them.

Some of the delegates spoke a refined and cultivated language. Some were very emotional and oratorical in their addresses. Others employed the simple parlance of the lowly. But all of them impressed me as being honest about their tasks and also highly intelligent. My attention has been called to the need for brevity but I do wish to report one speech which stirred me more then the others. The speaker was introduced as a delegate for the agricultural workers. Here it is:

"Listen to me you gloomy looking, long and short-tailed apes. Some of you mugs are getting impatient because we aint making enough progress with the muttonheads. But I am a telling you that Apeville wasn't built in a day and you aint a going to get socialism in a day neither.

"The monkeys in the Valley aint ready for no revolution yet. We can't have a revolution and stop all this monkey business until the apes are ripe for it. And the apes won't get ripe until we make 'em that way.

"Some of you grey-whiskered stiffs aren't going to live long enough to see it; but I am a telling you that one of these days there is going to be hell-a-popping in this country. And look out! When these guys finally wake up and shake the holy fleas out of their tails we are going to go places—and how!

"Where is it we are going? We are going as far toward an ideal system as we got strength enough to go. That calls for a lot of educational work on our part. Because our strength will depend, not only on numbers, but also on how much knowledge there is in the bunch. These monkeys has got to be told where to go and how to get there. Otherwise they will be like two blind monkeys leading each other by the tail and both pulling in the opposite direction. Can't get nowhere that way.

"Now I proposes that we take a day off tomorrow to boil up (wash clothes). Then the next day we should each return to his field and carry on from where we left off before we came here.

"I propose a strike be called against all ship sinking companies to determine how many apes are opposed to solving the unemployment problem that way. For it stands to reason that as long as they are in favor of sinking ships just to have something to do that they are not quite ready for a revolutionary change.

"I propose that we make a determined effort to prove to all and sundry that fleas aint holy at all. Of course, for myself, I would be in favor of killing them as I come to 'em, but you know, and I know, that such a radical policy would not go over with the masses at this time.

"I finally propose that Mush here and this stranger—pointing at me— be made honorary members of our Order."

There was storming applause at the termination of this speech and rightly so for he had spoken wisely, this all agreed to.

In the beginning of this copy I said that the Apevillians resembled us in a great many respects. From the above related case it may be seen that there are tendencies at work in Apeville and in Apata which resemble certain tendencies in our own society generally, though it is apparent that there is great difference in the details.

I have much hope for Apeville and for Apata for within their borders struggle noble souls. It may take a long time but with the untiring efforts of the outlaws they shall have a better civilization. I hope to return to Apeville some day to find happier apes at work and play. Who knows but what they will be able to get along without fleas and monkey business some of these days.

* * *

MIGRATING WORKERS

By B. R.

Though they are now without organization their clannishness will some day be directed into channels that will make them a potent force in the abolition of the evil conditions they have helped bring about.

MARYSVILLE, Calif.—"Go west, young man," advised a New York journalist sometime in the last century. No one heeded him and just kept on coming as they intended to anyhow. They came on foot, on horseback and covered waggons. They are still coming much to the despair of those who are there before them.

The Exodus: But No Moses

But there is a great difference in the spirit of the westward surge now than that of even a few years ago. Then it was the expression of the spirit of adventure, of the creative pioneer spirit seeking an outlet, an effort to live a fuller life than that of the stifled eastern states. Now it is with a feeling of despair and hopelessness they drift west, less a seeking for something new than it is a flight from what they have known. Behind them is drought, hunger and murky dust storms. Ahead, is the unknown but less feared than the known.

They pour over the mountains on the highways; vehicles piled on back, top, sides and front with all the possessions they could dig out of the dust of the old homestead. Men, women, kids, dogs, cats bedsteads, kitchen tables and old fashioned bureaus, all spew onto the side of the road when the day's travel is done or the car breaks down. At daylight the stir begins and with great creaking and groaning the old bus is coaxed onward. The "gum bums" move on. The ferment continues until the fruit valleys of California are reached and over night new settlements spring up along the highways. The stir subsides temporarily.

The papers talk of the good wages picking hops, peaches, pears and grapes. They are not ripe yet but the promises are necessary to hold the labor supply still. John Farmer is delighted with the vast army of labor to harvest his crops at the going wages. In the meantime it is a source of speculation of but a few what will be the outcome of this immense immigration which circumstances destines to be nomadic.

For several miles outside of any fruit center, on either side of the highways are parked the makeshift trailers and their occupants. It looks like an open air auction sale. Grown boys and girls in impromptu getups for clothing, barefoot and none too healthy looking, children, torn-trousered men and women: eating, sleeping and vegetating along the crowded roadsides. Any bit of brush over six inches in height affords the only possible place of sanitation. It hides from sight but not from smell. The hot cakes and grits are pretty thin and the green fruit doesn't stay with one.

Nor will these conditions be bettered when the fruit is ripe. No better places will be afforded by the farmers. By that time the camping places will take on what is called "atmosphere" when applied to slum quarters of old cities. Happily the children will not have to stay in them all day. They will help pappy make up a tolerable day's pay and the going wages, when there is such a plentiful supply of unorganized labor, will require plenty of pooling to make a half decent day's pay for one man. Age is no object here. Anything with two hands, or even one hand, that can glom hops or fruit will find work aplenty. The childrens' education will be that kind that is advertised by correspondence schools, "Earn while you learn."

When the crops and the going wages are gone the migration will start again for another industry, that of lumbering. Work is what they want. Wages are not a consideration. Conditions do not matter. They are like a blight. No matter where they light it is the same story. Conditions and wages go down and hours go up and the workers formerly engaged in these lines cannot compete and are forced out. Their traditional clannish prejudices prove an obstacle to any idea of organization growing. It is a setback to those who have labored for years to build better conditions and wages but it must be but a temporary one to the march onward of organized labor.

Plenty of Labor Prophets Necessary

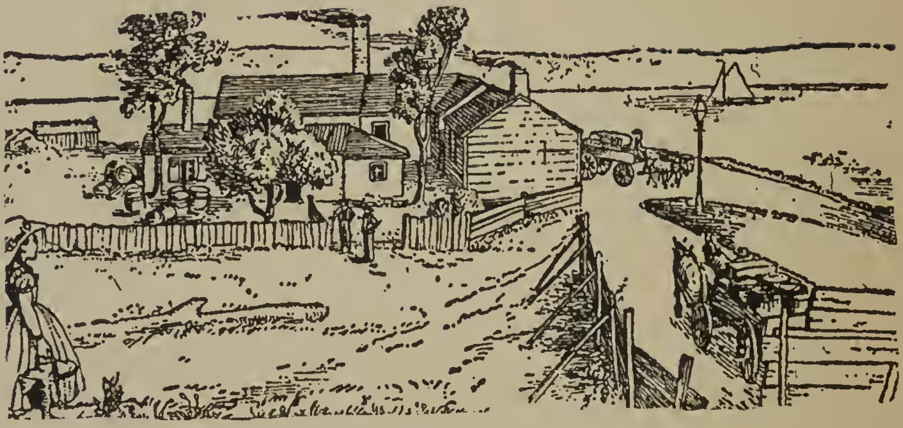
There has been a good deal of hard feeling aroused towards the newcomers and unless a different and more tolerant attitude is adopted the time will be interminably slow in coming when they will come to the realization that the things the workers have here that they have not in the dust bowl and "down yonder" states are the results of labor organization. The workers who have been here longer should take into consideration that they did not take kindly themselves to organization so very long ago and the newcomers have had a far different environment and past to overcome before they will begin to see the wisdom and benefits of unionization. And in this we have one thing to be thankful for and that is the very clannishness that is proving such and obstacle at present. This spirit of clannishness, when union conscious and directed along this channel, will be a tremendous power in building the solidarity needed to overcome the ill effects of the present conditions they have brought about. The organization that taps this force first will gain the unflinching loyalty of first class fighting men and women as the battles in which their kin have participated in the past has shown. To the labor movement and its propagandititsts they are but another group of workers to be educated. So have at it.

THEY ARE FINE PEOPLE

By

CARD NO.

x-302661



The Odyssey of a Farm Hand

I started out in the world when I was fifteen years old, and went to work swamping in Mitchell & McClure's lumber camp at Baker, Minnesota, in 1889.

I was raised mostly on farms, so in the summer I would go to North Dakota to work on the farms, and put in the winters in the lumber camps, and what grief I did have!

I went to work for a farmer by the name of Abner Abbey at Tilby, North Dakota, my first bad job. I got $15 a month for eight hours work—that is eight hours in the morning and eight in the afternoon.

The old lady says to me one day at the table: "My goodness! but you do use a lot of sugar!" I had put two spoonsful in my coffee, so the next day she put the sugar bowl alongside of her plate. There were ten of us at the table including two school teachers. She says to the whole crew: "Do you use sugar in your coffee?" When they said yes, she put the sugar in herself—half a spoonful. When she came to me she said: "I know you do," and put in the same amount.

I tasted the coffee, and said: "Pass the sugar please." Then she jumped up and had a fit. She says: "I put sugar in that coffee." I said "not enough." She grabbed the sugar bowl, but the old man grabbed it away and passed it to me. Then I did use sugar. I put six spoonsful in my coffee.

That was at dinner, so when I sat down to supper, I noticed two bowls of sugar on the table, one in front of my plate. Some one said: "Pass the sugar please." When I started to pass them the bowl by my plate the old lady speaks up and says: "Don't pass that sugar. That bowl is all for you." So I says: "Thank you."

We had lettuce for supper, so I put eight spoons of sugar in my coffeer, filled my plate with lettuce, and turned the sugar bowl upside down over it.

When supper was over, the old gal sneaks up on that empty bowl, and talk about a fit! She called one of the teachers: "Miss Roberts, come here quick! Look at that! My God! that man has gone and ate a whole bowl of sugar for supper!"

They had two sections of land worth $150,000. They had a boy 15 years old. He drove a team in harvest. He and I and the old man ran the three binders. I got up at 3:30, went out to the barn, fed all the stock, cleaned the barn, and curried and harnessed twelve horses. That was quite a chore. After breakfast I went out and turned out the horses to the water trough. Then they hitched them up. At noon they turned their horses to the trough and went in to dinner, while I, poor sap, put away the horses and fed them. Then at night they did the same thing. I had twelve horses to unharness and take care of while they ate supper and went to bed.

This lasted three days, then in the morning I told the farmer I was leaving. He would not let me take my clothes. So I went to the granary and got two of the shockers. They went to the house and made the old guy give me my clothes.

The farmer wouldn't pay me so I went to the

Justice of the Peace. Some justice! He said I had nothing coming because I quit before the eight months for which I had hired out was up.

Some time later I landed a haying job in Caryville, N. Dak. The hardware man roped in me and my partner, Bill, and told us Mr. Bloodgood would be in at 7 p. m. to take two men out to his farm. "They are fine people and it's a fine place to work," says the hardware man. So we says, "All right, we'll go out with him."

Bloodgood turned out to be a chin whiskered old farmer with a high-pitched voice and a daughter about 20 years old. He sized us up and remarked that "if you two men don't stick any longer than the last two I had you won't pay for the gas I burn up hauling you out."

This didn't sound so good but we went out with him anyway in his model T Ford. The daughter, who rode in the front seat, let us know that she was just back college and did her best to impress us with her superiority.

Well, next morning we were called at four o'clock and the farmer says, "Boys you can clean out the barn, curry and harness those eight horses while I milk the cow." After doing that we went in to breakfast.

There was a big silver napkin ring with a white napkin at each of the plates except Bill's and mine. When the hired girl brought in the bacon and eggs I noticed that there was one egg and one slice of bacon for each of us. But before we had a chance at it the old lady bowed her head and thanked the good lord for the bountiful repast.

When we had all been served there was one egg left. The old lady passed it around saying, "Would you care for another egg?" Bill and I refused it, though we wanted about six more, so the old men swished it onto his own plate.

Right after breakfast we hitched up four teams to hayracks and wondered where the other two men were. Finally, when we were already to go, out bounced a big fat kid about 16 years old saying, "Am I late, papa?"

When we got to the hay field about five miles from the house kid takes two teams and puts them on a buckrake, the old man gets on the stack and leaves me and Bill to pitch the hay up to him from the ground. The fat kid trots the teams back for each load and gives Bill and me hell until noon. Then we got two bacon sandwiches and a thirty minute rest.

That night at 7:30 I looked at my watch—we were still pitching hay—and I says to the old man, "What time do we quit?"

"Oh," says he, "have you got a watch?"

"Yes," I answered, "to keep you darn farmers from working me all night."

"Well," he says, "we better go home."

So he and Fatty hooks a team on two hayracks and Bill and I pitched on two loads of hay. Then he and Fatty gets on the other two racks and Bill and me loads them up too. Then we drove home.

As soon as we got in the yard Fatty says, "I'm awful tired, papa."

"All right son, you get your supper and go right to bed." Then turning to us the old man says, "You boys take these four loads of hay back of the barn and unload them with the hay fork." This was at 9 p. m.

Bill handled the fork and I drove the team. Well, with the first forkfull I got the team on the run and never stopped until I had shoved that fork full of hay through the other end of the barn. The old man raised hell so Bill and I decided we would leave him in the morning.

So the next morning when we sat down to the one-egg breakfast, Bill reaches in his pocket and takes out two red harness rings and puts a big red bandana handkerchief in each of them and lays one in front of my plate and one in front of his own for napkins so we would be in style. You ought to have seen the old dame's eyes pop out!

When Bill asks for the eggs I hand him the plate and he takes the whole six of them and starts eating. Then I asks for the eggs and Bill says at the top of his voice, "There aint no more."

The old lady comes in from the kitchen, took a look and says, "Mary, fry this man another egg and let the hog kill himself."

After breakfast we told the old man that we were leaving. And he says, "I didn't think you would stay very long."

Fine people.

Well, I got another job haying at Highmore for $20 a month. "I have a big treat for you folks tonight," said the farmer's wife at the supper table, and she brought out a piece of cheese. Nobody wanted any. "Isn't that too bad," said she, "I bought a whole pound." There were 12 at the table.

My next job was at Chinook, Mont. Here another man and I were haying and milking 17 cows. One morning I woke up and I caught the boss setting the clock ahead an hour. We had been getting up at four and that wasn't early enough for him. The other hired man told me he did that regular: he would set the clock ahead an hour in the morning and then set it back again after dinner.

Well, I bawled him out about it and he quit monkeying with the clock but every morning he would get up at three and bang the screen door. Then he would stand on the porch and call his ducks. He would stand there next to our room and call, "ducky, ducky, ducky"; and the damn ducks would gather around and say, "quack,

(Continued on page 33)

Schools Peddle Dope

By
A. B. COBBS

For many centuries thinkers called attnetion to the paralyzing effect of formal religions. Since the age of the cheap newspapers they too have carried a share of the blame for the blind, chaotic condition of the world. But "strange as it seems" our educational system has grown into something more demoralizing than church and press combined, without receiving proper attention from the critics.

We are all more or less aware that the balanced, double entry editorials of Arthur Brisbane were well rewarded because of their befuddling effect on the readers. Few, however, realize that a deadly dualism permeates our schools from the bottom to top. A recent news item illustrates the degradation of our educators and the bewilderment and confusion in the world.

At Beach Grove, a suburb of Indianapolis, a quotation from Van Loon's **"Story of Mankind** written on the blackboard, brought a preacher and a part of his congregation to the school. The principal of the school is reported as answering the complaint they made by saying that none of the teachers believed the theory of evolution and, further, that they were not competent to teach it. The state superintendent of instruction is quoted as saying: "The theory of evolution is not, and should not be advocated in any school in the State of Indiana."

The inevitable effect of such hypocracy will be to make hypocrits or fools of the children. On the first corner from the school they are likely to see the picture, life size, of a dinosaur with the words, "MELLOWED A THOUSAND MILLION YEARS," under it. They will know that someone is lying. They will go to the library (Indianapolis has a good one) and in the end will distrust both preacher and pedagog.

This hypocracy and dualism follow the student through the grammar school, high school, and into the university. Teachers are promoted and rewarded in proportion to their ability to submerge science to the fantastic dogmas and fables of antiquity. Then these same educators have the crust to blame the younger generation for the demoralization which they as leaders have created. In China they shoot dope peddlers; here they are considered pillars of society.

We of the herd look up to the institutions of higher learnings as places where dualism is left behind and science reigns supreme. The victory of science over nonsense is in sight but not yet won. That the march of progress is hurting the reactionaries may be seen from the antics of the hoosier preacher, or better still, from the loud laments of Dr. Huchins of Chicago University.

He regrets the idea of democracy in education, the idea of evolution, the idea of progress, the idea of character building, and the idea of adjustment of the student to the world he is to live in; and, above all, he seems to bemoan the advance of science. "The sciences one by one broke off from philosophy and then from one another, and that process is still going on. At last the whole structure of the university collapsed and the final victory of empiricism was won when the social sciences, law, and even philosophy and theology themselves became empirical and experimental and progressive." What most people call the advance of science he calls the collapse of the university!

To rebuild the universities that have "collapsed" he suggested a return to the metaphysics of the Greeks and the theology of the Middle Ages! "For the intellectual love of God"; as he says. His idea of a scientist is this: "It is not necessary for the physicists to know the nature of science, because the technique of experimental and theoretical work in physics are so well established that they cannot escape them."

And how will this university or this educational system that he longs for, treat the student? In this three-ring circus where the metaphysics of the Greeks, the theology of the Dark Ages, and scientists who do not need to know the nature of science, entertain if they do not enligten, what about the students? "They will have learned," he says, "to think for themselves."

There is a common saying that only one in a thousand can think. Anyone wanting to know why should make a careful study of Huchins' **Higher Learning in America.** Those who are able to think are probably the ones who never went to school at all. For an educational system that glorifies the superstitions of the past and belittles the advance of science, cannot help being just another and more powerful opiate for the people.

As an antidote for such poison, educators, parents, and all who are interested in human welfare would do well to make a careful study Dietzgen's **Positive Outcome of Philosophy,** where it is definitely proven that "metaphysics is possible only as fantastic speculation."

WHAT IS A SCAB?

By ELI HILL

Scabbery is the worst enemy of solidarity. The two most important words for the workers are: DON'T SCAB. It is time that someone explained in the simplest words just what a scab is. The matter is important to the leisure class as well as to the workers.

The leisure class dreads scabbery too, but they have been a bit more successful in keeping scabs out of their ranks than the workers have, and this accounts for the fact that the workers are still being kept under the iron heel of the leisure class.

When workers learn just what scabbery is and what it means to them they will know also what is meant by solidarity for one is the opposite of the other. Where there is solidarity there can be no scabbery and where there is scabbery there ends solidarity.

Workers some times scab without being conscious of what they are doing and there is a lot of scabbing going on that is not recognized as such. In fact, most of the scabbery going on is unrecognized but its effect, killing solidarity, is just as bad as where it is openly recognized and acknowledged.

The Unrecgonized Scab

An unrecognized scab is one who goes to work for a smaller wage than his fellow workers are getting on the same or similar work. He scabs when there is no strike on. This is forced on him or her by suppression and the results of suppression.

Workers are thrown out of employment continuously and continuously they are on the go looking for new jobs. The bosses, taking advantage of their need, offer them wages lower than those paid to other workers; some of the workers sooner or later, driven by hunger, accept the offer and they become scabs unconsciously and often against their inclinations.

This unconsicous scabbing, of course, tends to cut the wages of other workers, and workers who wont' stand to have their wages cut are forced to quit or they are fired. So the unconscious scab has done the employing class a favor and injured his own class no less than the worker who takes a job in shop where there is a strike going on.

There is another type of unrecognized scab. It is the worker who works longer than the scheduled hours on a job. He may be a timid soul who starts to work before the regular time and stays a little past the regular quitting time because he is afraid to say "no" to the boss. When he does this he is most certainly scabbing for his actions hurt his fellow workers. Every minute of work counts. In the first place the worker isn't getting enough for his labor within the scheduled time of work. He is being robbed even then, because every employer makes a surplus on what is produced. Out of the surplus he derives his profit. Profit is stolen labor. When a workers puts in a few minutes overtime without getting paid for it he is just helping the boss steal a little more from the working class. That's scabbing.

Some of these scabs are work-hogs because they are anxious to please the boss. They think that they will be the last to be laid off when slack time comes or that the boss will reward them with a better job. There is no worse scab in the world than the one that tries to climb to a higher position with better pay by tramping on the necks of his fellow workers.

If all the workers got easier jobs, then who would do the hard jobs? The question answers itself. The way things are run now there are not enough easy jobs to go around and the scab who does his best to please his boss by working harder or longer than the rest of the workers, more often than not, finds himself out of a job so much the sooner because he worked too much. Or, in the end, he finds that a younger, stronger worker who can out-scab him takes his place.

If scabbing means to do something that hurts your class, than the scab on the job who tries always to out-do his fellow workers is one of the worst of all scabs. Since there never are enough jobs to go around, he scabs on the unemployed by making it possible for the employer to get along with fewer workers. Also, since there is an end to almost every job, the speed-crazy, work-hungry scab hastens the time when he and his fellow workers will be idle, waiting for another job to show up. As the old Wobbly song had it:

> Do it all today and you'll soon find out
> That tomorrow you're nothing but a go-about.

The piece-worker

Now, the piece-worker is often to be classified among the unconscious or unrecognized scabs. Why do so many employers prefer the piece-work system? They save money by it, that's why. In many lines where piece-work is established the worker furnishes his own tools; that saves the boss bother and extra investment. If a piece-worker's saw is broken or stolen it's no loss to the boss and, anyway, it's a few more dollars he doesn't have to tie up in equipment.

(Continued on Page 20)

School Days at Work Peoples College

BY FRED THOMPSON

Economics for boys and girls from 12 to 17? Sure.

An instructor has recalled to their attention that with modern spinning machinery and looms, combines and flour mills, we can clothe and feed ourselves with much less labor than in the days of the spinning wheel, the hand-loom, the scythe and flail and old mill stones. They have even worked out some of this increase in productivity as arithmetic problems. In general discussion they have reached the inevitable conclusion that if we can produce so much more than we used to, and do not live more than a couple of times as well, it must be that the working class is gypped of a good part of what it is now able to produce. Then comes the question when and where is the working class gypped? Is it because they are paid too little, or is it perhaps because they are charged too much when they go to buy? It is apparent that it must be one case or the other. It is up to the instructor to provide them with a way to think the problem out.

He asks: Suppose some of you have no money to buy candy and ice cream, and others have. Suppose that there is a general complaint that where you buy your confections they charge such high prices that you are robbed. Will those who have no money to spend there be robbed? All agree the answer is "No." Will those of you who have fifty cents to spend be robbed more or less than those who spend only a dime? It is agreed that those who spend the most would be robbed the most. Is it possible to explain that one class with plenty of money, and spending plenty of it, lives without working, by assuming that when people go to buy, they are robbed by high prices? And so these 12-year-old economists conclude that the gypping of the working class must be perpetrated by the time the worker gets his pay check, that "exploitation occurs predominantly at the point of production."

These 12-year-old economists seem even brighter than our worthy Congress when it comes to coping with such practical problems as unemployment.

Here's a question they were given. If 40 million people in this country try to make a living by working for wages, and 12 million of them can find no job, and those that do, work average nine hours a day, what must be done to have them all work? It was just a question in arithmetic for them. They took out their pencils, subtracted 12 from 40, got 28 for an answer, multiplied that by 9 and then dividing the consequent 252 by 40, uniformly decided that if such were the facts, everybody would be at work if only they averaged 6 hours and 18 minutes a day. (And these as yet unspoiled boys and girls figured that out without any theory about solving unemployment by dividing the available work among the available workers.)

Of course, they didn't spend all their time on such questions. They learned somewhat of the great struggles in which workers have battled for more of the good things of life. They made short speeches on all manner of things from these strikes to how we could cope with mosquitos and heat under a social order run by workers for workers. They learned how to conduct their own meetings. And in their meetings they arranged their own social life for the four weeks that they were at the I. W. W. summer school.

It has been a valuable experience for these boys and girls; and they like it so well that they always come back year after year. How about sending your boy or girl to the Work Peoples College next summer?

Of more immediate concern: How about you yourself, or your grown up boy or girl, coming here for the four months adult courses that start December 1? The work in the classes is so arranged that workers can carry on whether they quit school years ago and forgot a good part of what they learned, or have just recently left high school or college. The subject of these winter courses is to make the students more useful to the labor movement. To that end economics, history of the labor movement, industrial unionism, organization methods, public speaking, labor journalism, and such other subjects as the students require to become all-around useful members of their industrial union, are taught. The greater ease with which these subjects can be mastered under the conditions of continuous residential study is self-evident. And the total cost for room, board and schooling is only $30 per month.

Incidentally, the social life at this school in the suburbs of Duluth, with ample facilities for recreation indoors and outdoors, means that going to school is no longer a punishment. "Knowledge is power." let's get it and spread it. For information about the school write Box 39, Morgan Park Sta., Duluth, Minn.

WHAT IS A SCAB?

(Continued from Page 17)

Piece-work is about the best known way of cutting down wages, for it gives the worker the idea that he can make more than the average worker by speeding up. When the boss finds out that his workers really can make more, he cuts the piece rate on them. Then if they speed up still more, he cuts it again until they are working with all the strength and speed in them and getting no more in wages than they were at the day-rate. They are turning out more production and getting less for it; they are helping the employer swell his profits at the expense of their own class. That is scabbing.

Where the piece-work system is established the workers "are their own bosses." This means that they drive themselves and the employer is saved the expense of hiring foremen to see that workers keep at their tasks. Under this system when the worker accidentally spoils a piece of work it is the worker's loss. Another saving for the boss. The piece worker does more work than the men who work by the hour. Moreover, they make a greater profit for the employer and freeze other workers out of their jobs.

The employer wants greater production with fewer workers for two reasons: 1) greater production has greater value, greater value means greater profit for himself; 2) he wants to have all the workers' time possible occupied in his work so they cannot have time to think of their troubles and to discuss ways and means to get more pay and less work. That is the thing the employer fears most of all.

The employing class scab

Competition develops scabbing among employers as among workers. When one capitalist undersells another he is scabbing. There is a lot of this going on but the capitalists, being better organized than the workers, keep scabbing in their ranks under better control than the workers do. Aside from this the pressure on the worker-scab is greater than on the employer-scab.

When the worker allows himself to get into a cut-throat game of compention for a job he is very often, goaded on by the threat of actual starvation. On the other hand, what the employer stands to gain or lose is usually an additional profit which is not a matter of life and death to him. When the worker takes a loss (loses his job) he goes hungry; when the capitalist takes a loss it's only a cut in his stolen surplus.

The Recognized Scab

We will take the workers who belong to this class into consideration. The worst and the most disgusting one is the man who does not belong to a labor organization. If he doesn't know why he should belong to a union, if he doesn't know why he should be organized against the capitalist class who are robbing him and his class, and if he doesn't know that the capitalists are organized against us in trusts, corporations, associations and alliances, then he doesn't know anything. Every worker knows, even if he won't admit that he does, that we've got to be organized to fight organized power. What could one do to a whole army? It takes an army to lick an army. Therefore if a worker isn't organized, he is playing right into the hands of our common enemy, the capitalist, and he betrays his own army. It follows that he is a scab. A traitor.

The next worst recognized scab is the one who goes to work during a strike when his fellow workers are battling the capitalist, our common enemy, on the point of production the only right way to fight them. The capitalist teaches us this himself, if we are only wise enough to pay attention in this school of life we can see that. The capitalist's rule rests on the industries from which they derive their riches and economic power. They must have economic power just as well as the workers should have it, to rule. Economics pertains to production, distribution and consumption. Here is what economic power means; "The class that controls industry, **rules.**" Capitalists control it now!

Conclusion

As we go through this hard grind of life, we investigate all the ways and means by which the capitalists keep us under control. By fighting them in the same manner we can reach our goal. There is an old saying about beating one at his own game. Economic power has already been mentioned as their most important means. The next is the keeping out of scabs from their ranks. When a capitalist scabs, he is quickly put out of business by the power of the trusts. He is nicely told that "if you like the working class so much, you may go and join their ranks," which he is forced to do if he can stand the thought of doing honest work.

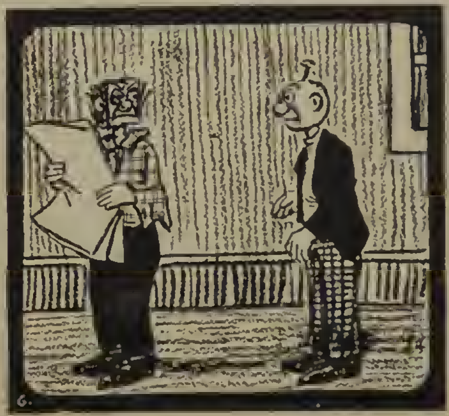
That is just what the workers should do to a scab in their ranks. Make him a marked man by advertising the fact to his fellow workers. They must see to it that this scab's life is made as miserable as possible. Every worker should boycott him. They must see to it that he doesn't get work any place without being sneered and jeered at by those that he has betrayed. Steps should be taken to keep him out of a job as much as possible. Since he has been favoring the leisure class, let him live in leisure then.

There is one specimen that could be called the two-faced scab. That is the middle class. First they betray the capitalists by underselling them. They also try to dethrone them so they can take the seat of honor with a state dictatorship. They promise the workers a paradise if the battle is won. When it is won, the workers have to suffer greater exploitation than ever.

They scab on the workers during a strike, by organizing vigilante mobs to club and lynch the workers. They are scabbing when they do this because their existence depends on the workers. If industrial freedom was to come today, the middle class would surely have to stick with the industries and those who run them, the laboring class.

The petty bourgeois' head is so full of capitalistic ideas that he does not realize that the big capitalists use them as mere tools to keep the workers in submission. The middle class is made up of professional men such as: doctors, lawyers, judges, detectives, stool-pigeons, etc. When a union leader is arrested he is thrown in jail by a policeman; prosecuted by a prosecutor; found guilty generally by a petty bourgeois jury; sentenced by the judge, another capitalist tool; and held in prison by a petty bourgeois warden. The union leader, in the first place might have been framed by the planting of false evidence by detectives, who are also capitalist tools.

If all the pety bourgeois took time off to read something else besides capitalist literature, they would be doing themselves a favor. They should read what an industrial democracy would be like; of all the health and happiness and absence of greed and exploitation. They themselves would be better off then than they are today. After reading about industrial democracy they would open their eyes and quit being tools of the capitalist class. When the capitalist has lost his tools, then he is lost himself and industrial democracy will come automatically.



If he doesn't know enough to organize he doesn't know anything.

A SOLDIER RETURNS

The One Big Union Monthly and the Industrial Workers of the World are heart and soul for the success of the anti-fascist fight going on in Spain but we see no reason why we should stick our heads in the sand and pretend not to be aware of the capitalist class element within the Spanish United Front government that is trying to rob the Spanish revolutionary unionists of the fruits of victory.

No matter what our opinion may be as to the wisdom of the syndicalists' policy of cooperation with political government, the information and arguments contained in this letter from a rank and file fighter in the cause of working class freedom, and in other articles appearing in this magazine, cannot but be valuable reminders that there are still working class enemies among those who favor "democracy" as opposed to fascism.—EDITOR.

Marseilles, France

Fellow Worker:—

Received your letter the other day in Barcelona. I typed three pages in reply but could not smuggle it out of the country, so I tore it up.

I am out of Spain. The reasons are numerous. I was not wanted by the government as I was in the Durrutti International Shock Battalion. The government sabotaged us since we were formed in May and made it impossible for us to stay at the front. No tobacco unless you had money. All of the time I was in the militia I received no money. I had to beg money for postage tamps, etc. I was sent back from the front slightly shell-shocked and put in a hospital in Barcelona. When we registered at the hospital I told them I was from the Durrutti International Battalion and they wouldn't register me. In fact they told me to go and ask my friends for money for a place to sleep. I explained to them that I was from Canada and had no friends in Barcelona, then they tried to make me a prisoner in the hospital. I called them all the lousy—I could think of. Anyway, I ran away from the hospital one day to the English section of the CNT-FAI, and the people there insisted that I see the British consul for a permit to leave Spain, which I did, though I hated to leave.

Spain is wonderful country. At present it reminds me of the stories I have read of the O. G. P. U. in Russia. The jails of loyalist Spain are full of volunteers who have more than a single-track mind. I know one of them from Toronto, a member of the L. R. W. P. I wonder if they will bump him off. The Stalinists do not hesitate to kill any of those who do not blindly accept Stalin as a second Christ. One of the refugees who came over with me from Spain was a member of the O. G. P. U. in Spain, which, by the way, is controlled by Russia. Every volunteer in the Communist International Brigade is considered a potential enemy of Stalin. He is checked and double checked, every damn one. If he utters a word other than commy phrases he is taken "for a ride." This chap (ex-O.G.P.U.) is like all the other commies coming out of Spain, absolutely anti-Stalin and anti-communist. He skipped the country by flashing his O.G.P.U. badge on the trains etc.

I believe the I. W. W. has lost some members here, as I doubt if they would keep quiet at the front in view of what is taking place.

It was only through sabotage that the government succeeded in disbanding the International Battalion of Anarchists. Four of our bunch died of starvation in one day. Our arms were rotten, even though the Valencia government has plenty of arms and planes. They know enough not to give arms to the thousands of anarchists on the Aragon front. We could have driven the fascists out of Huesca and Saragossa had we had the aid of the aviation. But the Anarchists form collectives where ever they advance, and the comrades would rather let Franco have those cities than the CNT-FAI.

Fenner Brockway, prominent labor leader in England, exposed the way the communists were treating those boys (volunteers) in the International Brigade. They will not let any of them come back unless they are racketeers of the Sam Scarlett type who will say anything they are told as long as the pork chops are coming in.

The CNT-FAI seems to have lost all the power they had in the army. There is a good fort on top of a hill overlooking Barcelona which the Anarchists captured from the fascists. When I left for the front it was still in the hands of the

FAI but when I came back the communists had it. The workers of Spain are against the communists, but the latter don't care. They are making a play for the support of the bourgeoisie and other racketeers. As far as the industries are concerned the CNT has a lot of power, far more than any other organization.

Well, Fellow Worker, one day has elapsed since I wrote the above. Last night I had a head ache and had to postpone finishing the letter. I am eating good since coming to France.

I believe the British consul is going to send me to England or to Canada. If I wasn't such a wreck I would ship on a British ship for Spain. Wages are double on the Spanish run, and ships are tied up because of a shortage of men. I have been on English ships and none of the crew would speak English.

I met two more men from the International Brigade this morning. They say many Canadians are in prison in Spain.

With best wishes for the I. W. W., I remain

(Signed)

Bill Wood.

* * *

The Spanish Civil War

By JOSEPH WAGNER

Much has already been written on the subject of the Spanish Civil War, and a lot more will be writen about it in the years to come. This is natural, for the subject is of tremendous importance, by far transcending the boundaries of Spain, and it is far from being as simple, as imagined by the bulk of writers, critics and historians of this epic battle.

To some of these, the struggle in Spain is a clear cut fight between bolshevism and fascism. to others it is a life and death struggle between democracy and dictatorship, to others again, it is the final struggle for the final liquidation of all systems of exploitation of one man by another man, or of one class by another class, and the inauguration of a classless society of free producers.

The Spanish fight is, on the contrary, a very complicated one and far from being so simple. To be sure, here and there, are taking place clear cut fights but in the generality of cases, people of different ideas and with fundamentally antagonistic objectives are compelled to contain temporarily their differences and fight loyally side by side against some immediate common danger, such as a renewed major assault by the international fascist hordes.

The immediate danger over, the elements composing the anti-fascist blocs are reverting their attention to the realization of their own objectives. Bitter antagonisms exist among the elements on both sides of the barricades, which complicates matters even more.

But, just because of the complex nature of the Spanish struggles, it is important for us to follow carefully developments taking place behind the general news of battle, such as of lost or gained trenches, villages or towns. We may, and should learn from the painful experiences of our Spanish fellow workers, of the C. N. T., as this knowledge may be helpful to us if, and when, we should be confronted by like, or similar circumstances.

For, it is certain that capitalism will not last forever; it is certain that since everything that has a beginning will also have an end, capitalism cannot be an exception to this rule. But, how, when and under what circumstances will capitalism pass out? And what will follow in its place?

We are all acquainted with the revolutionary events in Russia during the World War. Under a prolonged strain of war, all the old moral and coercive institutions of Russia collapsed. All political and social organisms had been ground to pieces. About the only organized body left at the time in Russia was relatively insignificant fraction of the Socialist Party—the Bolsheviks. Due to the concurrence of unusual circumstances, the Bolsheviks were enabled to make themselves masters of that vast country and establish their form of government.

That Russian event had a tremenduous effect on the labor and socialist movement of the whole world. A large enough quantity of material was printed since on that subject to fill many large sized libraries, and the end is not in sight yet. Innumerable conclusions—most of them of necessity faulty—have been deducted not only from the faulty—have been deducted not only from the "Russian experiment" (proletarian distatorship), and from their revolutionary act of "expropriating the expropriators" and realizing socialism, but also from their method of "taking over the power."

History seems to be continually repeating itself, but of course, not in its details but only in rough outlines as it is now the case with Spain in respect to the Russian revolution. In the chaos created by the military fascist rebellion in Spain, practically the only consciously organized, compact revolutionary body was the National Confederation of Labor (the syndicalist CNT) and its spiritual reflex, the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI). The socialist and republican-bourgeois parties, panic stricken and demoralized, were almost out of the picture; there was no Bolshevik party to speak of at the time.

It fell, as a matter of course, to the lot of the anarchist and syndicalist movement of Spain to cope with the internationally supported, military fascist rebellion. They proved equal to the task: the fascists were disarmed in the principal cities, part of the navy came over to the workers after drowning or chaining their officers; the workers' armed forces took up energetically and successfully the offensive on all fronts.

Behind the lines, socialization of the economic life had started: factories and shops were placed in the control of the labor unions, the rural landed estates were put in charge of the agricultural workers union collectives. Revolutionists and progressives all over the world were watching with great interest to see how these libertarians, (who do not belive in force and compulsion) would carry out the difficult task of social and economic transformation, with libertarian, non-dictatorial methods.

Unfortunately, our libertarian fellow workers failed in the fulfillment of the expectations. Disagreements arose among the militants, as well as in the ranks, as to the best tactics to be used. Large and small capitalists were reluctant to be expropriated of "their" shops or factories, and they resisted as much as they dared; land owners would not volunteer to part with their land in favor of the workers' collectives.

What was to be done to carry out the program? Use force against the recalcitrants? But that would be using bolshevik dictatorial methods and our libertarians are opposed, in principle, to dictatorship. Some of the CNT-FAI were in favor of force while others were in favor of liberty. This disagreement in the libertarian camp on this important question slowed down considerably the work of socialization started so auspiciously at the beginning of the Civil War. And this slackening increased the dissatisfaction of the more extremist CNT members. The tactics of the CNT-FAI became more equivocal, hesitant and vaccilating. One fraction was in favor of uniting at all costs with all the anti-fascist elements in order to be able to stem the tide of the fascist armies, which with the direct aid of Portugal, Italy and Germany, and the camouflaged aid of England, were becoming a serious menace not only to socialization but to democracy as well. The other, uncompromising faction opposed such tactics.

In the meantime, on account of the CNT-FAI reluctance to rule with a strong hand while they had a chance, the socialist and bourgeois-republican parties somewhat revived; the bolsheviks, through their well known tactics of intrigue, grew in numbers and prestige. The responsible element of the CNT-FAI were then compelled to adopt a policy of compromise with the other anti-fascist elements even to the extent of being represented in the National and the Catalonian governments.

The argument between the two wings of our libertarian organizations is going on in a more or less bitter spirit. I am submitting here two articles that appeared in the French organ of the IWMA in Paris, **Le Combat Syndicaliste**. The defender of the compromise policy is Brandt, editor of the Spanish paper published in New York, **Cultura Proletaria**. He has been in Spain for quite a while. The article representing the uncompromising policy, in answer to Brandt is by the Secretary of the International Workingman's Association (IWMA), Pierre Besnard. Both of the fellow workers are outstanding figures in the labor movement.

The reader will perhaps be surprised by the way both of them use the term **"counter-revolutionary,"** applying the term not only to moderate republicans, but also to the Spanish socialists and communists. However, as a matter of fact, the term is correctly applied. The real objective of the CNT-FAI in this Civil War is the socialization of industry and the rearing of a socialist commonwealth. They have realized this objective in a number of districts.

On the other hand, the objective of all the other elements in this war is the establishment of a democratic republic in Spain. This includes the socialist parties as well as the communist party. As a matter of fact the Stalinist communists seem to be the extreme right of the Popular Front. The realization of their program implies necessarily, the unscrambling of the CNT omelette, that is, the turning back of the already socialized land and factories to their former owners. In that sense they are called, rightly, counter-revolutionists.

CATASTROPHIC REVOLUTION

By BRANDT, Editor Cultura Proletaria.

Translated by JOSEPH WAGNER

Bilbao has fallen. The heroism of a people has been defeated by the superiority in armament of the fascist hordes. That indicates that the international fascist bloc is still stronger than the anti-fascist block. Bilbao in our hands signified a fair chance of victory for us, because that industrial center enabled us to manufacture the war material necessary for the maintaining of the Northern Front.

Bilbao in the hands of the fascists signifies that victory is inclining toward the enemy's side. If the entire northern front falls into the fascist hands, they will be able to withdraw a large part of their men power and war material and concentrate them on the other fronts.

Let us have no illusions. The Spanish Revolution is in its most critical hour. In spite of all the enthusiasm and all the faith of our fighters, the brutal force of arms is about to conquer us. Even with our forces united, we were too weak to stop the fascist beast; what will happen then if our fighting forces break up the anti-fascist block?

It is in the light of the Bilbao tragedy that the catastrophic events of the revolution should be judged. I want to refresh the memory of those who are preaching 100% revolution regardless of any consideration, by pointing out to them the Bilbao, catastrophe, which opens the way to a complete fascist conquest of Spain. To be sure, comrade Besnard, very nice to place the revolution above the war; but it is the war that is imposing itself upon us taking precedence over the revolution. The war got hold of us and we have to fight it out whether we like it or not. We can temporarily suspend the struggle against our Spanish capitalism, but we cannot, for a single instant, stop the fight against fascism. The revolution depends on our volition, but the war is imposed upon us. We cannot devote ourselves to the revolution if we have not first liquidated the war.

To believe that the anarchists by themselves could defeat the fascism of four nations—of Spain, Italy, Germany and Portugal—and at the same time fight against the counter-revolution represented by the anti-anarchist coalition of all parties—from the communist to the bourgeois parties—is to greatly over estimate our forces. We are strong, to be sure, but not strong enough to defeat all the fascist enemies and all our anti-fascist "friends" at the same time. Whether we like it or not, we are forced to remain tied to this coalition of anti-anarchist "friends" in the common struggle against fascism, even at the risk of being stabbed in the very heart of the revolution. It is a danger one always is exposed to when in order to fight a common enemy, it is necessary to associate with other parties. In order to save yourself from death at the front, you risk being knifed in the rear.

This is the situation in which anarchism finds itself in Spain. We are traveling between two precipices. Seeking to save ourselves from the fascist catastrophe, we are risking to perish at the hand of the counter-revolution. A tragic situation indeed! Anarchism compelled to go hand in hand with the counter-revolution, in order to fight fascism, which is too powerful for us, while within this same counter-revolutionthat calls itself anti-fascist—there are many elements that would feel more at home on the other side of the barricades. It is a situation that entirely paralizes our forces. The comrades outside Spain cannot understand the terrible dilemma confronting us in Spain if they will not understand first that, with the repressive forces of the government against us we are not strong enough to defeat the bourgeois counter-revolution while the communists—these traitors to all revolutionary aspirations of the Spanish working class—are associated to this counter-revolution.

It is an idle dream to believe that, by ourselves, we could not only block the counter-revolution, but also destroy fascism. Voline, in **Tierra Libre**, says that since there are elements in the C. N. T.-F. A. I. who are opposed to the tactics of compromise followed by these two organizations, it follows that these tactics are equivocal. But, then, by the logic, the opposition's tactics are also equivocal. Isn't that so Voline?

The fact is that this line of compromise made possible the maintenance of a semblance of an anti-fascist unity, and made possible the creation, out of nothing, of a military force that was capable of holding up the fascist armies, while a fight carried on in the rear would have paralized this effort.

If the CNT-FAI followed the line of compromise, it did not do so by choice but because it was compelled. They would have much preferred to carry on the straight fight for the social revolution. Like the opposition, the majority of the comrades who accepted the policy of compromise, knew that the revolution is imperiled by the counter-revolution, and they all would have desired to crush it. But, the crushing of the counter-revolution would have weakened the anti-fascist front. These comrades considered fascism as the greatest immediate danger, because, without defeating fascism there could not be a 100 per cent revolution, nor for that matter, a one per cent revolution. With the triumph of fascism, anarchism will be exterminated entirely and the working class masses reduced to 100 per cent slavery.

Could they, the CNT and the FAI, take at such times the extremist risks of a fight against the counter-revolution, when faced by such an overwhelming danger for the future of the Spanish proletariat?

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"If the counter-revolution succeeded in so greatly strengthening itself, it is because the anarchists made too many concessions," say the opponents of all compromise. The opposition in other countries, **as well as the opposition in Spain,** is overlooking the reality of the anti-fascist struggle. The CNT and the FAI have been compelled to swallow the bitter pill, of giving to the counter-revolution the possibility of strengthening itself because the revolution was in need of arms, rifles, machine guns, canons, tanks and airplanes in order to triumph over fascism. The revolution had raised much enthusiasm, much faith and courage, but it lacked the offensive weapons necessary to arm this courage, this faith, this enthusiasm.

Even though the psychological and idealistic factors were powerful weapons in the fight, they were not all-sufficient in themselves. For, when facing death, even a coward—even an enemy in the fascist camp—will defend himself and even attack with the same energy as an anarchist fighting for his cause. The revolution possessed the psychological elements in abundance, but lacked absolutely the physical factors necessary for the defeat of the fascist armies.

In the month of May, Franco's army numbered probably 400,000 soldiers formidably equipped with the most perfect armament possessed by modern armies: thousands of machine guns, artillery of all calibers in abundance, numerous tanks, hundreds of bombing planes brought over by the fascists of foreign countries, in addition to Franco's 150,000 soldiers of the regular army.

To those, who are ceaselessly demanding that the anarchists fight in the rear as well as on the front, we now are posing, somewhat bluntly, the following question:

What are you revolutionists of foreign countries doing towards stopping this fascist invasion that is strangling the revolution? You make collections, you are loudly protesting, you are writing fiery articles. Excuse us for our impertinence when we say that fascism will not be destroyed by collections and fiery articles. Moral decency and human sensibility demand that you do more than that.

Your duty, the duty of the world revolutionary proletariat, is that this fascist invasion be prevented.

Your duty, the duty of the world revolutionary proletariat, is to prevent your democratic governments from blockading our sea coasts, our frontiers, while allowing the fascist invasion. And your duty, at this moment, is to prevent your governments from maintaining that control that is strangling us.

But to do that it requires revolutionary action on your part, and fighting on the streets; but you also, find yourselves unable to do that because, like us, you are surrounded by fascists and counter-revolution-aries.

To the 400,000 armed soldiers of fascism an equal number of anti-fascist fighters should be opposed. How is such a formidable army to be armed and equipped? Our factories can produce but a limited number of arms, of tanks and of planes, that formerly could not be manufactured here.

That cannot be done offhand. The machines and the raw material for their manufacture are lacking. We are entirely destitute. The only solution would be to obtain them outside of Spain, in sufficient quantities, on a scale possessed by modern armies. They are being secured from many countries, but neither in sufficient quantities nor of the best of quality. I have been in all the trenches of all the fronts. I have seen rifles of all calibers, of all models, of all ages. I have seen in the same company rifles of a dozen different models, among them the oldest kind that require an extravagant rifle practicing. To find munitions for all of these models of rifles, is a Herculean task. The confusion that is created among the fighters, during a fight, is enormous.

What efficacy could an army so equipped have, confronted by the formidable armaments of the fascists? Our fighters have to sacrifice their lives as a substitute for good weapons. Better arms, in abundance should be secured.

Russia—in accord probably with France and England—offered some.

But his offer was not desinterested. To abandon for the time being our revolutionary advances, was the price that had to be paid. The bolshevist-democratic clan would not have it otherwise. Another condition imposed on us was the toleration of bolshevization in Spain.

It was necessary to either accept these terms or perish at the hands of fascism. The anarchists of the CNT-FAI preferred to run the risk of bolshevism, rather than the certainty of extermanation by fascism. Revolution had to choose between a probable death and a certain death.

Today, we are still finding ourselves in the same tragic dilemma, **fascism is about to defeat us.** Who can even consider starting a conflict in the rear, now? Counter-revolution may fear a triumph of an anarchist revolution more, than a triumph of fascism; while we, we are determined to entirely destroy fascism so that we may have the possibility of carrying on the social revolution.

With tears in their eyes—like many of those who are compelled on May 7, to give up their arms—with rage in their hearts, the anarchists found it necessary to be tolerant, to show a measure of tolerance to counter-revolution, until the day, when perhaps, not being able to longer bear up with the continual provocation, they will react, and that may bring about the catastrophe at the hands of the fascists. And who knows? perhaps that is exactly what the counter-revolution desires.

The two jaws of the pincers are holding anarchism in Spain by the throat: fascism on one side, imperialist, democratic, bolshevik-bourgeois counter-revolution on the other side. What will the revolutioninsts of the world do to save Spanish anarchism, and with it the Revolution?

ANSWER TO "CATASTROPHIC REVOLUTION"

(By Pierre Besnard, General Secretary of the I. W. M. A.)

Ttranslated by JOSEPH WAGNER

We have never been unaware of the difficult tasks that confronted our CNT comrades. But we do not agree with Comrade Brandt concerning the character of the armed force, charged with the defense of the revolution. Basing ourselves on the lessons offered by history, we stated long before the outbreak of the Spanish revolution that, **a government army is essentially a counter-revolutionary force,** which will strangle the revolution, the instant the masters of the State deem it favorable, even if the revolution is on its descending phase. We never ceased telling our Spanish comrades that a **confederal militia,** on the contrary, constitutes the essential instrument of defense of this revolution.

Brandt claims, that in order to win it was necessary to accept the militarization of the popular militia columns. We do not agree with him.

In spite of the precisions he gives—and which we have known before—we continue to believe that it would have been possible:

a) **to organize the united command;**

b) **to realize the unity of armaments;**

c) **to obtain the unity of provisionment,** by the establishment of technical organism, to function in accordance with syndicalist (labor union) principles and under the permanent control of the labor unions (syndicates).

Like all the others, this problem was essentially a **problem of organization,** and the CNT—or the CNT and the UGT—were perfectly qualified to resolve it.

As for discipline, "the principal force of the army" as they say in the French barracks, it was just as easy to obtain it from the fighters of the front and of the rear. And we add that, having the consent of the men **who would have to apply it,** the discipline would have been infinitely superior to that imposed on the men by the constraining order of the State.

BRING DISCUSSION BACK TO ITS ORIGINAL FRAMEWORK

Meanwhile, we are aware that Brandt, who was not there at the initial phase of the revolution (the ascending phase), could not be convinced by our arguments unless we bring this discussion back to its original framework; therefore, let us try to do this so that the debate develops in all its clarity.

At the outbreak of the **fascist counter-revolution,** on July 19, 20 and 21, the working class forces led by the CNT and the FAI, crushed this counter-revolution and immediately took the offensive against the fascists on all the fronts.

They were **absolute masters** of the situation on the front as well as in the rear. The followers of the CNT-FAI represented **85% of the effectives** in Catalonia; they were in the majority in the other regions of free Spain, with the exception of Madrid.

Was it not possible then, for the CNT-FAI, the **inspirators and initiators** of the movement against the fascist forces and, enjoying, in this two fold capacity, the **full confidence of the masses,** to definitely and for all times rid themselves of the politicians and of the governments, to decree—**at least in Catalonia**—the mobilization of all the wealth, as was demanded even by Duruty himself?

And was it not possible, **with the product of this mobilization,** to acquire the necessary arms with which to take Huesca and Saragossa—these two keys of the war—from the fascists and to open up the road to Madrid where the frozen and immobilized gold was awaiting to be put to use?

And further, was it not possible, to cut off supplying Madrid with foodstuff from Catalonia and the Levant if Caballero would have persisted in not understanding that his duty was to give aid to the rest of Spain in arming and reconstructing?

And was it not possible to have tried a Moroccan **capital diversion,** that would have chased Franco out of there, with no hope of ever returning?

Was it, finally, not possible to combine this action in Morocco with the starting of a revolution in Portugal, where the C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor) was only awaiting the word to begin this revolution, being assured in advance of 80 percent support from the army and the navy, and of 100 percent support from the population?

Who would dare assert that all of these were not proposed by the I.W.M.A., at the very beginning with **practical support for their realization?**

These are, it seems to us, something totally different from mere collections and fiery speeches. The National Committee of the C.N.T., possessing, as it does, all this data in its files, knows the truth of them better than any one else.

It is not the fault of the revolutionists outside of Spain that they were not listened to, that their advice was continually ignored. Wasn't it from outside, my dear comrade Brandt, that came the plans for the economic and social reorganization as well as the plan for the proclamation of the revolution?

Inform Yourself

Ask of the outstanding militants of the CNT and of the FAI for information on this subject, they will answer you. Also ask the comrades of Catalonia, Aragon, Levant and of the Center whether the authors of the plans had not come there themselves, in person, to aid and supervise the application in detail of these planse?

There is no doubt about your unawareness of all the above—and of many other more important facts besides—made you speak so lightly of the comrades outside of Spain. However, perhaps this is not an excuse and you could have informed yourself on the subject before putting your thoughts down black on white, no matter how valuable your thoughts may be.

Let us now come to the question of fascism itself. Do you believe that the problem is as simple as you present it? No, it is altogether different. You will allow us to state that if there are **anti-fascist counter-revolutionary forces** today, it is because they were allowed to come to life, to organize themselves and to conquer for themselves a position not at all justified by conditions on July 19, 1936.

Had the C.N.T. and the F.A.I. **been aware of their strength**, and had they acted in such a manner as to attract into their orbits all the elements that today are composing the **counter-revolutionary anti-fascism**, this thing would have been reduced to its **simplest expression.**

Having failed to act in the right manner, the CNT-FAI allowed these forces to develop by their side in their own protecting shadow. At the beginning, these politicianist forces—who were working entirely under orders from Moscow—"represented nothing," as the saying was then. In a word they did not exist.

Today, and for some time back, they are the absolute masters of the situation: masters of the governmental apparatus, of the army, of the general administration of the country. Why? After the foregoing, asking the question, is answering it.

Why Was the Communist Peril Denied?

That is where the under-estimation of the peril, that the foreign comrades have ceaselessly been pointing out, led to. These forces should have not only not been allowed to grow, but they should have been wiped out and the fight in accordance with our principles in all its strictness should have been carried on.

That they should have been able to impose their law, it was necessary for them to encounter none of that active resistance which such an attitude on their part should have provoked at the beginning of the events of Barcelona.

It is natural that there should now be difficulty in fighting against them and that, on account of that difficulty, the revolutionary efforts should be diminished by that much; it is also natural that the situation should now be deemed insurmountable, because of the way the fight against the counter-revolutionary anti-fascist elements have been conducted at the time when the C.N.T. was the only force.

But it is an enormity that you should believe, comrade Brandt, that a revolutionary objective to the war be abandoned; that you should think that we would accept the **law of least resistance,** without any attempt to react; that you should subordinate everything to the winning of the war—the objective of which is the restoration of the Democratic Republic.

Enthusiasm Should Be Re-created

Our opinion is that efforts should be made to re-create, by **actions conformable to our strength,** the conditions that evoked the enthusiasm of the beginning, which brought about the veritable revolutionary realizations on the morrow of July 19, 1936, of the July 19 that reappeared again on May 6, 1937, and was passed up . . . in order to avoid responding to the provocations.

For, today it is from the interior of Spain that the revolution is receiving its greatest support. This support is not forthcoming from the outside except when there are successes in the interior which permits the broadening of the revolution. Never has a revolution followed a different course from 1789 to our own day. It is often only after a long lapse of time that a victorious revolution finds an echo in other countries.

Our international movement, numerically feeble, has done everything it was possible for it to do; there is no sense to say and write that it has not done its duty. Its weakness does not prevent it at all from having a clear vision and we are convinced that after all is said and done, the revolutionary masses will act in the sense they always indicated: against fascists and against the counter-revolutionary anti-fascists; that is, against all the combined forces of capitalism, among which the workers, with good reason, will not differentiate . . .

And in conclusion, allow us to state that we are just as much realists, and less "catastrophical" than you.

THE C. N. T. AND REFORMISM

By **ONOFRE DALLAS**

A reply to "Class Collaboration—Old and New" which appeared in the August Number of the One Big Union Monthly.

In the August issue of ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY, fellow worker Jos. Wagner writes an article pointing out the fact that socialist governments have been in the past the last resort of capitalism, and suggests that the C. N. T. in Spain is now following the same path. In an attempt to prove his assertion he cites and reprints an open letter written by A. Shappiro, former Secretary of the IWMA and well known anarchist.

I believe that, since a big issue is involved, as the actions and tactics of the CNT, whether right or wrong, will undoubtedly have considerable bearing on the future tactics and methods of revolutionary workers, a thorough discussion of the matter should be carried out to decide whether, under the circumstances the C. N. T. was justified in changing its tactics, whether any other way was open to them, except self-effacing, sterile 100% straight revolutionary action. We shall also see whether the CNT has duplicated the actions of the Millerands, Eberts, McDonalds, etc. When you know all the facts, I hope that you'll agree that, under the circumstances, the C. N. T. has acted in the only possible manner to save the Spanish working class from utter destruction, and that the assertions and conclusions of fellow worker Wagner are wrong and most unfair.

Now, let us see how the situation stands. Has the CNT joined the government to save it from the social revolution? This charge could easily be dismissed by pointing out the accomplishments in the line of collectivisation, and socialization of industry and agriculture in the face of the opposition of the petit bourgeois (republicans) a large part of the socialists and the whole communist parties. The bloody events of Barcelona should be a most flat denial of that unfounded charge. How many factories, farms, industries, or capitals have the Millerands, the Eberts and Scheidemanns and the McDonalds expropriated from the capitalists of their respective countries? Now, compare the record of expropriations by the CNT in this field and you'll have a further denial to the charge of their being saviors of capitalism.

It is true that the CNT deviated from the old revolutionary tradition as outlined by Bakunin and other teachers, but then Bakunin was never faced with a fascist insurrection that required the unification of all the antifascist elements including the petit bourgeoisie in order to withstand the attack of the stronger enemy and eventually defeat it. Again, the CNT is anarchist-inspired and anarchists are not followers of any particular man, for all men are fallible, and if Bakunin or Kropotkin were right in some things, they were wrong in other things. Anarchists are somewhat eclectic.

Let us examine the actual facts and view them in a realistic manner. Let me put it in the form of a few questions, and in the answer you'll have the key to the whole matter.

Can the CNT, alone that is, without the cooperation of the socialists and communists, make a successful revolution in Spain? Can the C. N. T., alone, make a successful revolution against the bourgeoisie, the socialists and the communists? Can the C. N. T. make a successful revolution against the bourgeoisie, the socialists and the communists plus the well equipped, well organized fascists having the full backing of Hitler and Mussolini? And a final question: Can the C. N. T. wage a war for any length of time against either the fascist front or the petit-bourgeoisie-socialist-communist front, the former fully supported by Hitler and Mussolini and the latter with the full support of Russia, France and England instead of the lukewarm, conditional support of today on the part of Russia, the platonic sympathy of France and the doubtful neutrality of England? The answer to all these questions is an emphatic NO.

Since the C. N. T. cannot go any farther than it did in its revolutionary path for the reasons I have enumerated, and since circumstances make it imperative that all the antifascist elements unite in order to stop the onslaught of the fascist hordes, to follow the old tradition which would involve warring and sabotaging on the government, etc., would have been suicidal. Inasmuch as cooperation is the watchword (it is not the fault of the anarcho-syndicalists if other anti-fascist sections are not sincere) the CNT, by reasons of its numbers and militancy, should have something to say in the conduct of the war, and although despite the efforts, of the CNT and the anarchists, most of the conducting of the war had been done from the offices of the government rather than from the labor unions, the CNT decided to have some of their men in those govenment offices to take a hand in the direction of the war, without however neglecting the bigger and more important tasks of the C. N. T. unions in their work of reconstruction, collectivisation and socialization. The aim of the C. N. T. leaders and the rank and file, both in and out of the government has been to make the labor unions the real "government" in Spain, and since every worker is organized, that would mean that the affairs of the nation would be managed by the workers, without however eliminating the petit bourgeoisie altogether for the time being, for even the most extremist anarchists realize that it is essential to keep the goodwill of Russia and France and a more or less neutral attitude on the part of England. It is admitted by both friend and foe that a "soviet" or "anarchist" Spain would mean open intervention on the part of Hitler and Mussolini as well as England and possibly France, which would put a quick and bloody end to the totalitarian experiment.

I cannot understand why men of intelligence like Shappiro and other European anarchists who have attacked the path followed by the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists in this war, should fail to realize the abnormal situation in which the Spanish anarchists and syndicalists find themselves. Do they want the Spanish anarchists to play the heroic role and waste their energies and their blood fighting the other antifascist sections and allow Franco to break through in the meantime to finish them up, thus opening the way for the ultimate triumph of the rebel cause in Spain and worldwide fascism?

It is rather interesting to note that in this matter as in many others, extremes meet. Thus we have the elements most opposed to the anarchists participating in the government (there must be a reason for it) in Spain are the communists, whereas the same attitude is taken by the extreme anarchists in Europe, particularly in France, and now (apparently) Joseph Wagner, of the I. W. W., in the United States.

It goes without saying that the C. N. T. has replied to the attacks and the critics of both friends and enemies. Therefore, in closing I will quote from the manifesto just issued by the CNT and signed by Mariano R. Vazquez, Secretary of the National Committee. It reads:

"Allow us to go ahead. We accept all suggestions; all the initiatives, all cooperations. We accept them and we need them. But, with what material do you criticize and reprehend us? What do you know of our tragedy? What do you know of the difficulties of the struggle in Spain?"

The sacred principles would have been saved. Of course. No doubt. But the fascist beast would have plunged the Spanish people into the darkest of tyrannies, into cruelest of despotism, into the most appalling misery. The story of the German and Italian tragedies would have been repeated. And we, with or without your approval, with or without principles, with or without compromises —we shall discuss that some day—are determined that the tragic history of fascist victories shall not be enriched with one page more. We want before everything else to crush fascism and, side by side with the pennants of victory, raise the banner of freedom that will guide the world proletariat through the path of its emancipation."

FACTFUL FABLES

By Covington Hall

All About The Sodbusto-Simian War

Once upon a time the papers told about a strange war that had broken out in Southwest Africa. It seems that after the Germans had taken the country from the Hereros and the British had taken it from the Ueber Alles, the Sodbusters invaded the land and proceeded to take it away from the Monkeys and Baboons. This unwarranted and lawless act of Homo Sap-iens, the Simians bitterly resented; and no wonder, seeing that the Sodbusters, as usual ruthlessly and senselessly proceeded to destroy all the fruit, root and berry patches of the Simians, leaving them nothing for it but to die or go on the Dole.

But, strange to tell, unlike Homo Sap-iens in the same fix, the Simians chose to do neither without a scrap. Neither did they scrap with each other over who and which was to get the biggest hunk of the Garbage the Sod-busters charitably handed them out of their unsaleable Surpluses. On the contrary, they seem to have noted the ways and manners of the Sap-iens and to have profited by their observations and experiences, a thing the Sap-iens seldom seem able to do save after centuries of travail. But, as usual, I digress.

Noting the way in which the Anglo-Teutons had gone about taking the country from the Hereros and the manner in which the Sod-busters had expropriated it from them, the Simians seem to have concluded that what was sauce for the Goose was catsup for the Gander. Having, in their simplicity, arrived at this conclusion, it did not take any extraordinary stretch of imagination for them to note and act on the ancient Sap-ien principle that "they Take who have the Power and they Keep who Can."

Therefore, no Missionaries having ever bothered to convert them, they proceeded to act, not as "Reasonable Beings", but as their Evil Natural Instincts urged them on to do, which was, first, to Eat when Hungry, second, not to Starve in sight of Plenty.

Acting on this Evil Urge, the Simians raided the fruit orchards, berry, potato and vegetable gardens of the Sod-busters and feasted themselves and their kids on the best grub in sight, and all regardless of the Holy Institution of Private Property, of which they knew nothing, they being subject only to the laws of Nature. So blame them not if, unlike the Civilized, they in their ignorance and innocence thought the Fruits of Earth were there for all creatures and not merely to sell at a profit.

Undoubtedly it was due to their ignorance of Civilizer Procedure when the Simians titfortated on the Sod-busters; but, as "Ignorance of the law Excuses no one," and as "All are Equal before the law Expropriated and Expropriators alike, the Sod-busters naturally, and again as usual, flew into a rage and proceeded to set snares, trapguns and poisoned bait for the Simians. "And did the Simians take it laying down?" They did Not, that is if all latest reports coming from the Front were correct they didn't. Instead the Monks and Babs, again unlike Homo Sap-iens in a like hole, declared War, not on Each Other, but on the Sod-busters. Gathered on the hillsides and cliffs, armies of Simians would hurl rocks, sticks and anything else that came handy down on the Sod-busters passing, whether on foot, horseback, in wagons or in autos. At last accounts, it was Simply Fierce. The poor Sod-busters could hardly stray out of their Mortgaged Shacks without running danger of getting their coconuts cracked by a rock thrown by some Savage Simian who had no respect whatever for "The laws of Civilized and Christian warfare."

"How did it all end?" Well, son, I don't know. The papers seldom carry news after its first Sensational Value has worn off, for, you must know, the Sensational is to the Kept Press what Sin is to the Church—the Raw Material out of which is manufactured Prestige, Profits and Power. Hence the said Raw Material must never be allowed to become Stale or it will not be effective in Keeping the Pot Boiling. Darn it all, here I go digressing again! But when Silly Simians act in certain ways so much like Super-Sap-iens, only with more hossense, how can a feller help making obsevations he ort not to? Anyhow, the Simians didn't take it laying down or thanking Eff Dee Arr or any other Magician or Magicians for handling them Scraps in lieu of their "Unalienable Right to Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness." On the contrary, the Simians seemed, if all reports are true, to have acted on the principle of "Give us Liberty or give us Death!" And, not being themselves Civilized or armed with Civilized Weapons, I guess the Simians finally got what the Unregenerated get when they go up against the Elect. If you don't know what that is, read the horrible history of Africa since the "Civilizing" of the Dark Continent began and, when you have finished, if you don't agree that the Negroes of Africa have a better right to a White Devil than the Supremewhites ever had to a Black or Red one, then I give up.

Moral

Quit libeling the Monkeys. Men are not descended from them. No Simian of any tribe ever starved in sight of plenty or allowed his kids to grow up anemic and rickerty because the coconut groves had "Produced Too Much Milk." No Monkey ever was guilty of that cruel imbecility. Only Homo Sap-iens produces for Profit and not for USE.

Book Reviews

MIDDLE CLASS REVOLUTION

BONAPARTE BY EUGENE TARLE. Translated from the Russian by John Cournos. Knight Publications, Inc. New York. $4.50.

Today's school of biography is either debunking or laudatory. Seldom do the authors search for material reasons to account for actions. If you like either of the first two types, then Tarle will be to your liking.

To really understand Bonaparte, we must first understand his historical epoch. We may appreciate his capacity for planning, his ability for organization or his military strategy, yet we will be unable to comprehend his favorable milieu, unless we are aware of the fundamental social changes then taking place.

France was breaking the chains of feudalism, being transformed from a social order dominated by landlords and the church, to one controlled by the rising middle class. This latter class had obtained the assistance of the peasants and the artisans in fostering and promoting the revolution of 1789 in France. These moving masses of aroused peoples would have gone farther and done irreparable damage to the new French acquisitive society, had they had a sincere and capable leader.

Bonaparte fresh from military exploits in Egypt was not that leader. He hated and feared the lower orders. His dreams of imperialistic conquest of Continental Europe dovetailed into the expansionist ideas of the now unfettered bourgeoisie.

This imperialistic conquest served two purposes. It diverted the aroused revolutionary energy of the French masses into acts of aggression against still feudal states, and it brought trading profits to the middle-class supporters of Bonaparte.

These same bourgeoisie were content to allow Bonaparte to root out all semblance of free election, of the beginning of democratic methods in France. Why? Because it stemmed the tide of revolutionary but unguided mass fervor. After 1789 the church had been deposed from its position of arrogance and its estates had been confiscated. In 1812 Bonaparte made a Concordat with the new Pope Pius and restored the church to a state of eminence in France. Bonaparte had expressed disbelief since his cadet days, but he well knew the advantage of controlled mass opinion.

Such appetites as those of the middle classes were whetted by Napoleonic victories, such as that at Austerlitz. As long as glorious military conquests brought in new revenues and opened new trading markets, the bourgeoisie stood by Bonaparte. When it became necessary to use the best French soldiery as garrisons of occupation, when unseasoned youths met defeat against the combined continental armies, when the Napoleonic Wars became a drain rather than an addition to the French Treasury, the bourgeoisie lost all desire for further imperialistic conquest and made peace at any price over the protest of Bonaparte.

Returning defeated to a disgruntled and war impoverished France, Bonaparte was still enough of the popular leader to have led the people to overthrow the bourgeoisie regime. He spurned this opportunity to go down in history as an emancipator and accepted exile. His temporary return was but a middle-class plot.

Bonaparte was the Middle-Class Dictator. Twenty-five years of research by Tarle compacted into this volume of 450 pages with an excellent bibliography, brings forth a new school of life stories of great men and what made them great.

James Dewitt.

* * *

MINNEAPOLIS STRIKE

AMERICAN CITY by CAHRLES RUMFORD WALKER. Farrar & Rinehart, $2.50.

To constant readers of the labor press the memories of the bloody truck drivers' strikes of 1934 in Minneapolis can be refreshed by this book. To those of recent union acquaintance, this story of the actual strike warfare and its antecedents will prove to be a behind the scenes glimpse.

It is hard to understand why the Citizens Alliance and the vigilante augmented police of Minneapolis were so vicious, unless we know the open shop, frontier exploited history of the prairie capital. Here was the stamping ground of the Jim Hills and the Villards, the early robber barons (actually called captains of industry). The followers of the early tradition of the "public be damned" are today's Pillsburys, Washburns, DeLaittres and the whole coterie of Minneapolis' Lowry Hill aristocrats.

It took men of calibre to fight against this lineup. To build a union in the face of violence and apathy, and make that union the most powerful transportation union in the middle west prairie states. The leaders of this union of hard fisted family men of determination were a small group of expelled communist party members, the Dunne brothers and Carl Skoglund. Of course there were others, but these members of the radical splinter group had much to do with the policy and strategy of the strike.

In this volume is traced the growth of the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota and its climb to power with Olson. According to this book, Olson first sent the militia to the Flour City with the intention of suppressing violence on both sides in the strike even though it meant the breaking of the strike itself. He was dissuaded by the union and thereafter the militia became an aid rather than a hindrance. Walker has his sympathies but they do not prevent the book from becoming readable.—**James Dewitt.**

THEY ARE FINE PEOPLE

(Continued from Page 15)

quack, quack," until it was impossible to get another minute's sleep.

Some fine man.

The next was a ranch at Drummond, Mont. The first time I sat down to the table the old man says, "I had an awful good man last summer."

"Yes," says the old lady, "and he was such a small eater."

This guy was always saying, "We will leave that for Sunday."

Every damn Sunday he had enough work left, branding calves, shoeing horses, or cutting pigs to last us all day.

Two days after I declared myself against any more Sunday work I was laid off.

The next place was another one-egg-for-breakfast layout. Once, when the lady was in town, the other hired man and I fried six eggs apiece for ourselves. When she came back and saw the signs on our plates she gave us hell, telling us "those eggs are to sell and not for you to eat."

But here comes the worst of all. I hired out to a man at Cherry, Wash. He did feed good but he worked 16 hours a day.

One day we were two and one-half miles out in the field at 11:45 and I asked him if it wasn't time to quit for dinner. He says, "Boy, I came out here to work and not to watch the time. I don't think much of a man who carries a watch on a farm."

"Well," I answers, "what do you call quitting time?"

"You can't have any quitting time on a farm," says he.

By this time I knew a little more than when I first started working for farmers and so I said, "I'll make a quitting time for you." And after that I quit every day at 11:30 and 5:30 and he never said any more about it. But he used to send me up the road a couple of miles or so when he could think of something to do there just before quitting time so I would be out late any way. He didn't gain anything on me though because I would just half do the job when he did that.

This farmer talked a lot more about work than he did. He would sleep after dinner until three or four o'clock and then go out until nine in the evening. He expected the hired man to do the same—but without the afternoon nap.

In the end he couldn't stand my methods for he blew up one day after dinner because I stopped a few minutes after eating to read the paper in the dining room.

Yes, friends, I love the poor farmers, the worst exploiters of labor in the world.

THE GOOF SAYS:

That a substitute for the I. W. W. is better than the real article;

That Hitler is sent by God to free the German workers from exploitation;

That it is the Spanish people that are helping Franco and that Hitler and Mussolini are only looking on and not helping him;

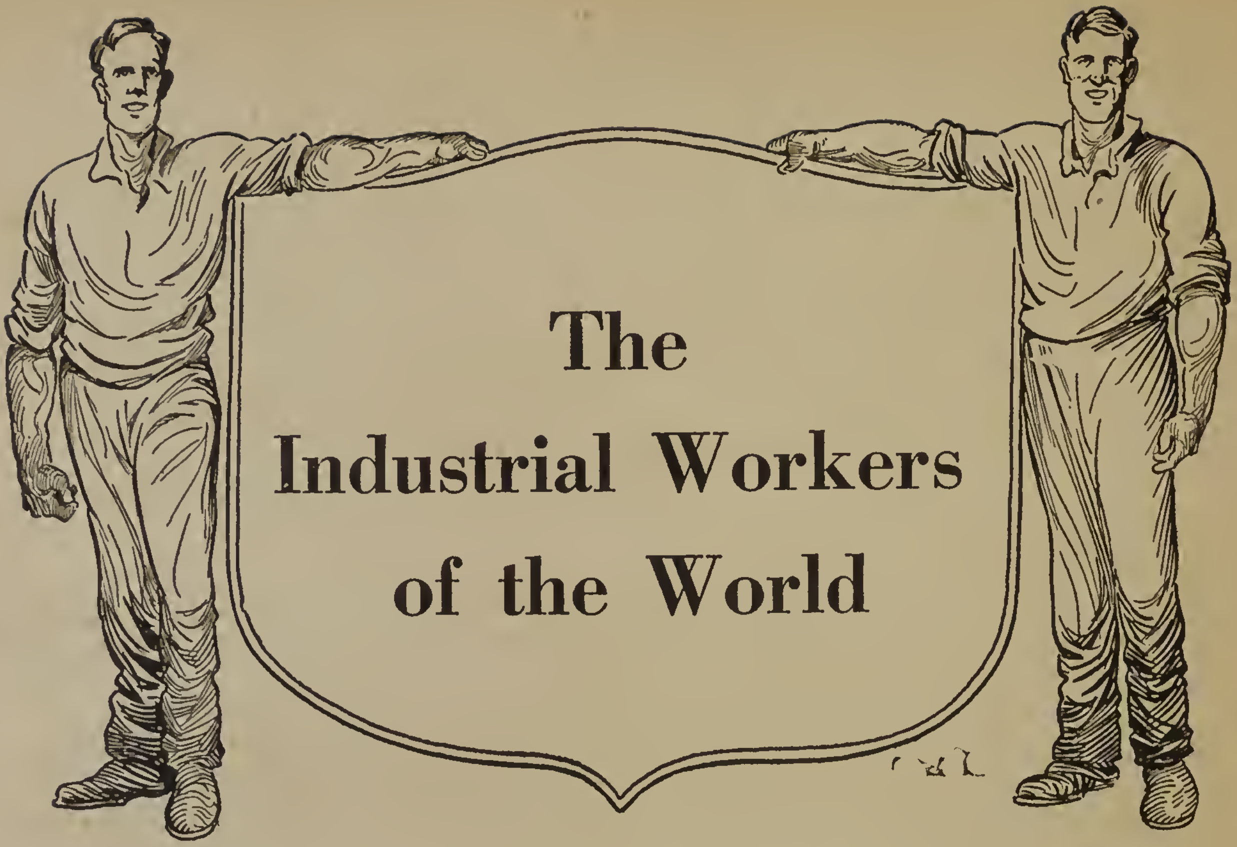
That without the capitalist there would be no capital;

That the way to freedom is to give up all freedom to a dictator;

That it is better to vote than to organize;

That you must have leaders to lead you and that he, the goof, is the one to lead the workers, "so elect me dictator and all will be well."

—**Novo Campo.**



'TIS ONLY THEY

By COVAMI

"All things swift pass away," the Master said;
"The True Triumphers are, at last, the Dead;
Today's Wild World by Yesterday's is ruled—
The Savage well the Civilized have schooled.

"Earth's Greatest thrill to it, the Jungle Call—
The Bloodlust holds the Christian in its thrall—
The Hierarchs who hail him "Christ and King,"
They bless the Brothers Brothers murdering.

"Howe'er we Whites may boast the Ape's defeat,
It still can madden us—the Tom Toms Beat;
We still the Crown of Crimson Feathers prize,
The Flaming Cities watch with Gloating Eyes.

"The Scientist e'en serves the Cause of Cain—
The Supreme Pontiff cheers the Fiends in Spain—
'Tis only Labor's strong Rebellious Sons
Can save the World from Worshipers of Guns;

" 'Tis only They the Freedomcides can halt,
The Race arouse and Liberty exalt;
'Tis only They can give the New World birth—
'Tis only They can end the Hell on Earth!"

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

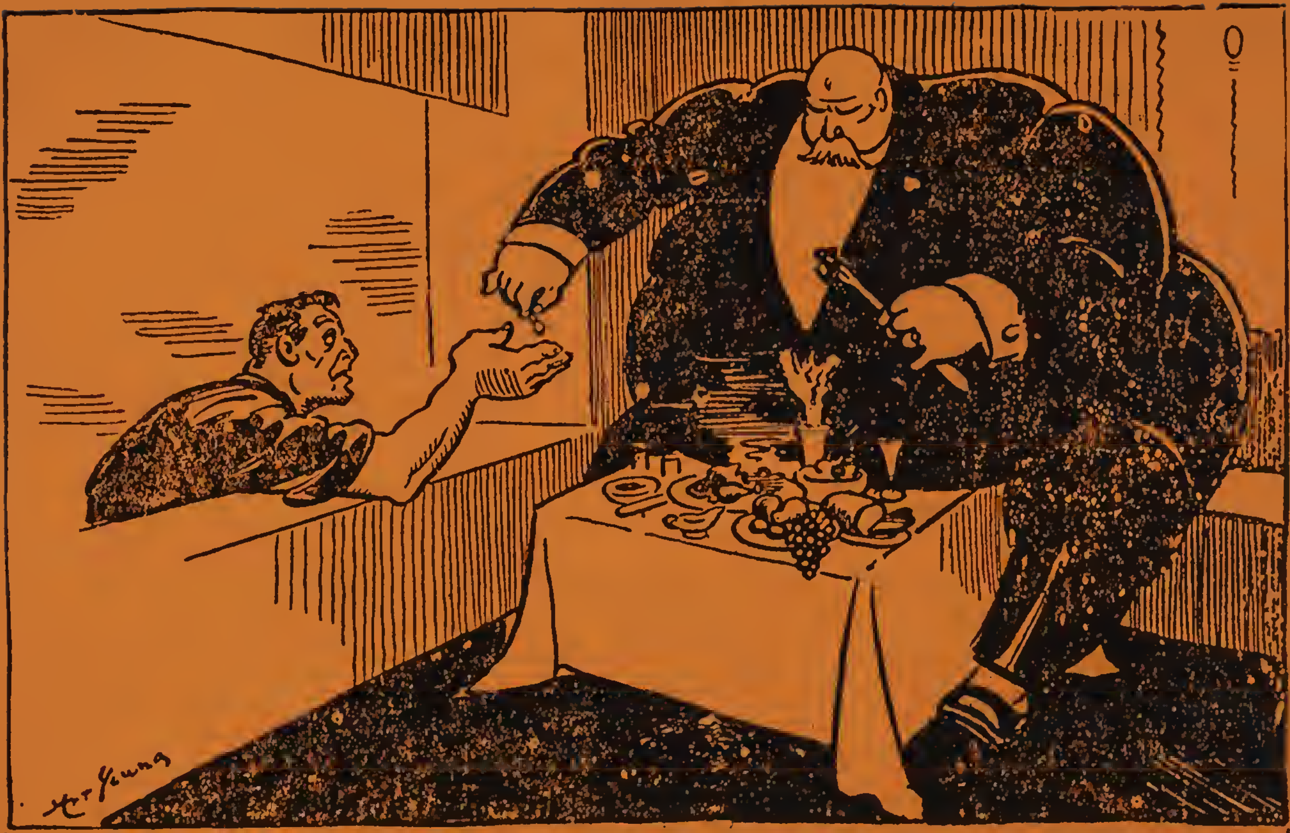
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



THE MINIMUM WAGE

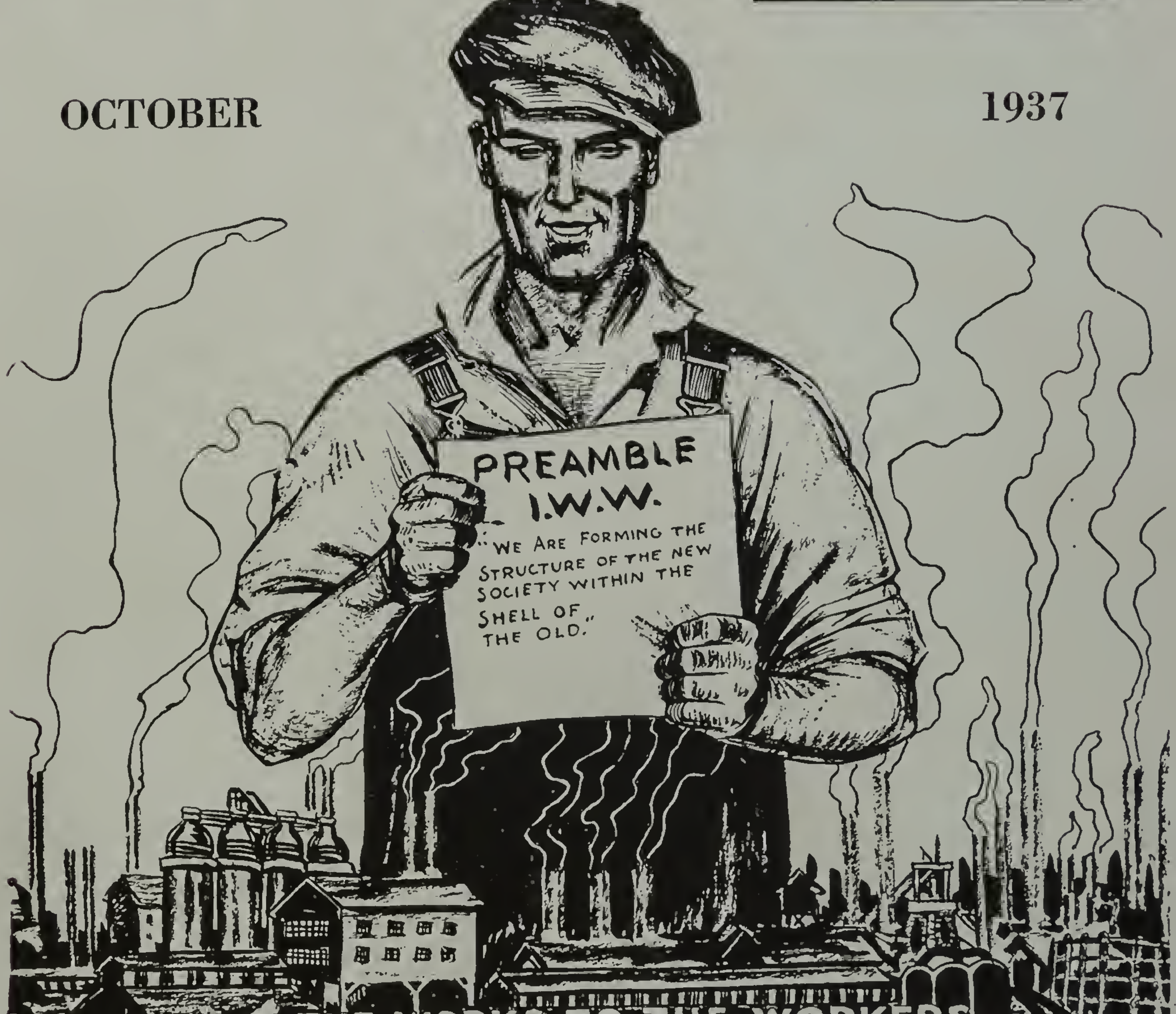
When the workers of the world organize industrially for economic action on the job they will no longer be compelled to go begging for permission to work, or for a hand-out.

When they build the One Big Union of wage workers they will be able to enjoy the full truits of their labor, asking no man's leave to live and enjoy life in a world that their labor has created.

618

The ONE BIG UNION Monthly

OCTOBER 1937


PREAMBLE
I.W.W.
"WE ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD."
THE WORKS TO THE WORKERS

Published by
THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

New Series: Vol. I—No. 10 Price, 15 Cents

The Source of Strength

When black reastion settles on a nation's workers, when democracy is dead, and the ballot box thrown into the discard; when free labor unionism is outlawed and the heavy hand of a dictator seeks to crush out every vestage of working class freedom—where will resistance to tyrrany be born again? Where will aspirations for a new freedom find expression in fruitful action?

Fellow Workers, it will be on the job; in the industries. For workers to whom the command is given to produce, always and ever have the power to stop production or to slow it down. As long as production is in charge of workers (and how can it be otherwise) they have a power of which they cannot be robbed. Tools in the hands of workers are more than implements, they are, in a sense, weapons also, which can be used with effect in the class struggle.

Once there was a time when there was no ballot box for workers to use, and when unions were illegal. But workers were not stopped from taking economic action, or from eventually organizing unions in spite of all prohibition. In the depth of their slavery they still had their one indispensable source of strength—that power to act on the job that is the workers' even in wage slavery.

The power to act on the job, now and always, is the only one that cannot be taken away from workers by the employing class, and so the I. W. W. is right when it says it is the only power they actually have under any circumstances.

Let opportunissts say what they will, organization of economic power is the function of a workers' labor movement.

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POWER OF FOLDED ARMS

All the wheels be standing still
If thy folded arms might will!

By

W. E. TRAUTMANN

The protest of the workers is seldom directed by the inflexible laws of the class conflict consciously applied in defense or attack. Were it not so energies, once spent in such demonstrations, never could be diverted into the quagmire of capitalist-dominated organizations.

When accumulated discontent manifests itself it may be directed into one of two channels which flow in opposite directions. One leads to beneficiary achievement for the whole class of wage workers; the other feeds the wheels of detriment to the interests of working class solidarity.

From the outset of manifested protest the course taken depends upon what group, as exponents of clearly defined objectives, assumes responsibility of intellectual leadership and is accepted in that capacity. Let us review some of the periodically appearing events in the "Social Protest" within the United States of America.

As everybody seems to think that SITDOWN STRIKES have blazed a new short-cut to the millenium, the purpose of the present analysis must be weighed by the **Power** wielded by Folded Arms, and the **Facts** of bayonets in the hands of soldiers animated by the commandment: Thou shalt not kill!

That law should take precedence over other laws, although it may be declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Courts of Germany, Italy, Hungary, and the United States.

1874—1884

The native American wage worker on the railroads had made a courageous stand against the abominably merciless power of the first combination of employers in the transportation industry, headed by Jay Gould. Martin Irons, that irrepressible rebel, clean and incorruptible in his concept of social responsibility, had been forced into an outcast's life. It had availed little that the aroused people of Pittsburgh, Pa., had scattered the ranks of the state troops on their march to the roundhouses where they were to be quartered.

Little did the world know that school children had captured cannons from retreating militamen and were parading them through the districts where miners and mill workers lived. When locomotive tenders filled with oil were dispatched from hillsides, ablaze with infernal heat, along the switch-locked tracks into the roundhouses and the central railroad station, starting a conflagration that threatened to engulf the business district in a pandemonium of destruction, it only served Jay Gould as a welcome pretext to start in Wall street the "Black Friday" with all the nauseating orgies of self-destruction by speculators and brokers.

Reward of violence

A servile court later assessed all the damage done against every property owner in Iron City, which they finished paying—principal and interest—only a few years ago.

A new precedent was established as a warning. Henceforth the petit bourgeosie in other places would know the penalty for sympathizing with workers in protest, although such outbursts might in the future repeatedly be directed against other industrial despots of the type of Jay Gould.

While Martin Irons and a few of his associates were driven across the continent as exiles from further opportunities in their own native land other exiles crossed the Atlantic in flight from political tyranny in lands across the sea. Martin Irons fell by the wayside from hunger and exhaustion; his body was dumped into a pauper's grave, a victim of the power of predatory interests that could not corrupt that great American but killed him by slow starvation.

Another outstanding leader of America's railroad men, Eugene V. Debs, writing his memorial tribute to the dead pioneers on new fronteers, learned the lessons of the defeat that followed heroic resistance—where, as stated by one of the participants who later became an outstanding editorial writer for William Randolph Hearst, "dynamite mixed with coal went into fireboxes of the engines and hell popped high in the roundhouses of the Erie line."

Rebel Emigrants

The exiled rebels from European lands, finding asylum in the United States, for want of other opportunities filled the rapidly growing manufacturing plants in the middle-west.

The branches of the International Workingmen's Association gathered the rebels in their folds. The **Amerikanischer Turnerbund** and the Bohemian **Sokols** (gymnastic unions) directed the agitation for a "Sound Mind in a Sound Body." In their cooperatively controlled halls—12 in Pittsburgh, 8 in Cincinnati, 12 in St. Louis, etc.,—the cultural needs of a new pioneering class were stimulated and led into agencies for constructive action.

Insisting on the constitutional right that American freemen must not be restrained from carrying arms for purposes of defending the right to a free press, free speech, and free assemblage, there were organized the **Lehr- und Wehr-Vereine** (To teach and to defend societies). They flourished in every large city in the Middle-West and exercises were held in training camps established in suburbs of these towns.

In the central councils of Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other places all societies of liberal thought and for constructive endeavors gathered for consultation on matters of policy and for the advancement of a **United Cultural Front.**

However, in the East, particularly in New York City, things had come to pass which threatened to encompass the "socialists and anarchists" in a civil war with workers not conversant with the radical way of waging the class struggle againt the exploiters of labor.

Organized Scabbery Appears

Samuel Gompertz, emerging from the slum districts of London, came to the United States, not as an exile but rather as an ordinary emigrant. After being engaged for a few months by a relative to roll a few packs of stinkadores every day, he was engaged by a daily German socialist publication, the **New Yorker Volkszeitung** as reporter and editorial writer. In this position Gompertz,—then terming himself at the "Round Table" at Schwab's place on East Second street, New York, a philosophical anarchist—had gained support for a scheme to defeat the conservative policies of the Knights of Labor cigar makers assembly which had adopted a "White Label" as a trade mark in shops where Knights of Labor were employed.

The blue label of the International Cigar Makers union was placed in competition, and members of the International filled the places of Knights of Labor members in this "first jurisdictional fight" under the direction of said Samuel Gompertz. Mark that down in your mind!

Quite a different course was pursued in the territory west of Pittsburgh. Among the exiles from European countries were many students from leading universities.

It happened that the breweries, packing plants and restaurants absorbed many of the exiled rebels. They kept close company in the meetings of the International Workingmen's societies, in the Turnvereinen, and Bohemian Sokols. They planned and schemed—how to establish rights in the workshops, curtail and abolish abuses under which they suffered more intensely than those who never had the courage to rebel against the kind of despotism they had tried to escape by seeking refuge in the United States. Theirs was this keynote: The power to produce, as a social function, conferred power also to stop producing if anti-social tendencies were to be combatted.

The slogan of **Folded Arms** to make the wheels stand still led to the first test of power in the Jackson Brewery company in Cincinnati.

The Power of Folded Arms

In those days the workers in breweries were quartered and boarded in a special confinement called the **Schalander**... The working hours were unlimited. Every man had to be obedient to beck and call any time during the day or in the night. So the **Schalander**, by habit, and by strict construction of law, was a collective home.

One day in mid-summer 1884, the resolution to stay at home and let the bosses take care of the work themselves found its concrete expression in a Folded Arms demonstration. The bosses and the underlings of the Jackson Brewery company protested. They were told politely to leave the premises. As they went out—down 120 steps of stairway hewn into the rocks—they swore that everyone of the employes would hang by the neck for the outrage of locking out the employers.

State troops were called out; cannon rattled over the cobble stone paved streets of the Cincinnati hill district.

The Jackson Brewery was a solid structure, huge vaults having been hewn into solid rock. But as the troops were marching to take possession, the men in the brewery built barricades of barrels filled with beer and water, on the terraced hillsides.

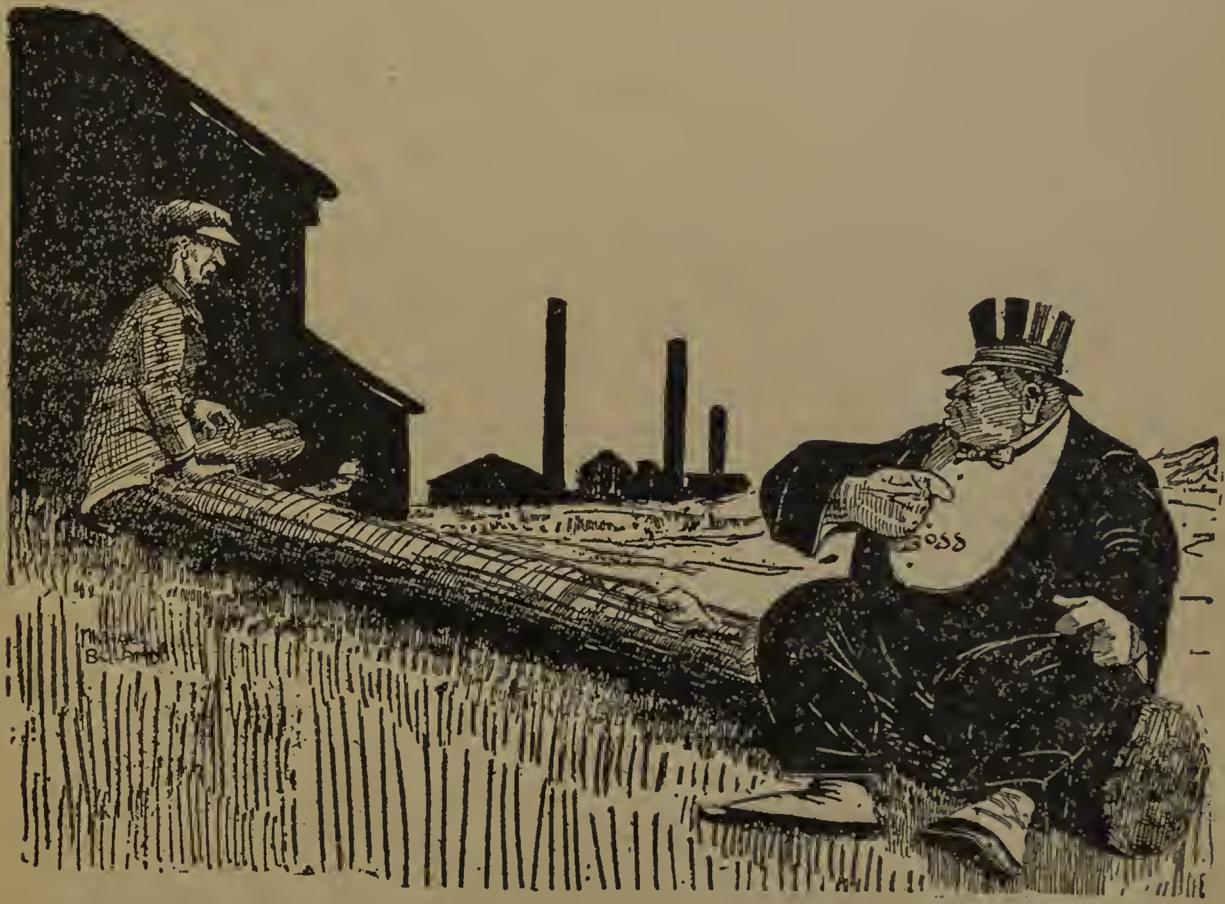
The **Lehr- und Wehr-Verein** patriots were also on the march; intent on defending with arms, the constitutional rights of men to protect their homesteads, even if it were the **Schalander** in a brewery in which they lived subject to the master's absolute power to summon them to the tasks of brewery peons. "Brewery peons" is the correct translation of **Brauerei-Knechte**, as the men in the breweries were then called.

The siege lasted a few days. There were enough provisions in the **Schalander** storage vault for several weeks. The bosses hoisted a flag of truce first, to allow a committee to proceed unmolested to parley with the embattled workers. Peace terms, revolutionary in character for those days, were agreed upon—without one solitary socialist lawyer being permitted to wisecrack on the constitutionality of the procedure.

There wasn't any violence. There wasn't a drop of blood spilled, but barrels of amber fluid flowed down the throats of state troopers before their departure.

Industrial Unionism

The triumphant brewery workers summoned by wire representatives from the food producing industries to meet in convention for the formation of the first real industrial union of wage earners in the United States. The United Brewery Workers organization was formed with the objective of embracing every man and woman, regardless of whether skilled or unskilled, in one solid rank and



Boss (arguing with striker): "ME work???? An who in hell'l be left to pay ye yer wages ye fool!"

file alliance for the purpose, plainly expressed in the declaration of principles, to educate the workers for the task of operating the industries when they shall become socialized institutions in character and functions.

The bakery workers organized on the same lines. There were no high-paid officials then to bargain with the bosses how to fill the places left vacant by protest-demonstrations.

The meat packing employes everywhere rushed into Knights of Labor assemblies. In the packinghouse plants of Chicago the eight-hour work day was established after a 24-hour Folded Arms Demonstration. Terrance Powderly, then Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, claimed that to his credit, as was to be expected; while Samuel Gompertz was just finishing the filthy job of displacing, in New York City, Knights of Labor cigarmakers by organized strikebreakers of his own union.

This all happened two years before the call, emanating from the Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Mill Workers and financed from funds furnished by an agent of Andrew Carnegie, the Iron Master, was sent out summoning delegates to Pittsburgh to launch the craft union movement under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor. All rival organizations were to be scabbed or slugged out of existence, in due course of time, Mark that down in your mind.

1894

The urge to solidify their position, to consolidate interests, to close their ranks, is ever present among the wage earners no matter how backward otherwise the masses appear to be in the understanding of their social status.

In the field of railway service the employers, through their agents, had followed up advantages gained in crushing every semblance of rebellion. They gained a "Peace at Warsaw" by fostering a state of understanding with the high officials of a few separate brotherhoods. Chief Arthur of the Locomotive Engineers and Chief Garrison of the Railway Conductors under that alliance were fortunate enough to accumulate immense fortunes in their own names.

In vain did the men in the service try to break the unholy alliance. Sporadic rebellions were subdued by filling the places of recalcitrants with recruits from obedient groups. Smarting under the ignominies of this policy Eugene V. Debs, high ranking official in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and editor of the **Locomotive Firemen's Journal,** had challenged the right of these alliance chiefs to barter away collectively the rights of the railway workers as a class.

A Challenge to Fakerism

Despite appeals by some of his friends, who held that he could successfully bore from within by playing the game, Debs had given up all official positions in the brotherhood and had started out to form One Big Union of railway service men.

Just one flying trip in the engine cab, brought almost every employee on the lines of the James Hill interests into the folds of the American Railway union. To forestall discrimination a silent, passive resistance was inaugurated. The Northwestern system became completely demoralized; yet there was no suspicion of a regular strike or walkout.

Before Debs had reached Chicago from the flying trip, James Hill himself was frantically calling for a settlement. But only two men, Debs and Kelliher, could speak for all the employes. The whirlwind trip on a special engine, which was furnished Debs and his committee, for a conference with James Hill to settle the "folded arms" protest, is one of the record events of those days.

There was not one engine demolished, not an act of violence recorded; nor were there any lawyers permitted to prevent a direct agreement with the industrial ruler of the Northwest.

That victory spelled the doom of craft union bargaining, the tragic play of pitting worker against worker in the war for spoils to be garnered by the head masters of the bargaining counter. Indeed the country was astir. But organized scabbery was the stock in trade of the head masters of the craft union movement.

Gompertz Shows His Hand

Ten years had passed since the days when Gompertz had scabbed the Knights of Labor cigar makers out of their jobs and their security. **Why not get recognition of organized strikebreakers as the sole bargaining agency?**

The workers in the Pullman shops near Chicago had at last revolted against the outrageous peonage established in the company-owned dwellings of the employes. Their appeal to the American Raliway union resulted in all the lines controlled by the James Hill interests declaring that none would pull out a train to which a Pullman car was attached.

Instantly the Railway Managers Association took up the cudgles for the corporation. Pullman cars were ordered attached even to freight trains, so as to provoke resistance by the railroad workers. Subsequently work on all lines centering around Chicago came to a complete standstill. Yet there was no disorder, no violence.

But provocation was furnished by thugs of the Thiel and Pinkerton Detective agencies, under the command of one George Wahl. They set fire to thousands of cars lying idle in the freight yards. This and alleged interference with U. S. mail gave the pretext for ordering federal troops to Chicago, by executive mandate of President Grover Cleveland over the vehement protests of John Altgeld, then governor of Illinois.

To offset this, Soverign, Grand Master Workman of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, appealed to all labor and progressive organizations throughout the country to send representatives to meet in conference in Chicago so as to form a united front of labor and farmers. From headquarters of the American Federation of Labor came orders to ignore the summons; while Samuel Gompertz—now Gompers—in derision and contempt openly announced that he was going to drive the last nails into the coffin of the American Railway union. (For reference see reproduction of A. F. of L. exhibit at the St. Louis World's Fair as incorporated in published records of the first I. W. W. convention.)

In that conference appeals were made in vain to Samuel Gompers to consider the noble purpose of America's railroad workers in going to the aid of the "foreigners" employed by the Pullman company. Gompers held out for strict obedience to the law as laid down by Federal District Judge William H. Taft in an injunction—the first of its kind ever issued to prohibit workers from suspending services for the adjustment of wrongs—an injunction seemingly issued in connivance with the craft union leadership. Gompers demanded his pound of flesh, and took it. Tens of thousands of wage earners in railroad shops were forced back into the craft unions before they were re-engaged for service. Mark that down in your mind!

Debs, Kelliher, Hogan, and others were held on charges of contempt of court. They refused to accept the service of lawyers, and thousands of dollars contributed by the United Brewery Workers for a defense fund were returned by Debs with thanks. He and his associates went to jail for one year. The folded arms methods were condemned as Un-American in courts of law and from the pulpits; and Gompers and associates were once more placed on a pedestal of fame as the greatest patriots of the age. The organization of gang leaders was in the saddle to stay put!

The job of scabbing the Knights of Labor cigar makers out of existence being completed, the United Brewery Workers were given the ultimatum, in 1895, to sever their connection with the Knights with which they had been affiliated as Industrial and Trade District No. 37. They had voted in Chicago to support the plea of the American Railway union. That was a crime in the eyes of the capitalists and their labor lieutenants. Fearing that Gompers would make good his threat to fill their places by unionized scabs, as he had done in the New York cigar manufacturing trade, the United Brewery Workers at a convention held in Cincinnati in 1896 were compelled to repudiate bonds of solidarity with all these other industrial workers and cultural progressive organizations.

(Continued Next Month).

The Slave

They set the slave free, striking off his
chains . . .
Then he was as much of a slave as ever.
He was still chained to servility,
He was still manacled to indolence and
sloth;
He was still bound by fear and superstition,
By ignorance, suspicion, and savagery . . .
His slavery was not in the chains,
But in himself.
They can only set the free man free . . .
And there is no need of that;
Free men set themselves free.

—James Oppenheim.

FACTFUL FABLES

By Covington Hall

All About an Obnoxious Visitor

"Once a queer ol' Monkey-man,"
Said little Sam, de chile fiel han',
"Come ter visit dis here lan'.
He looks aroun', and den he say;
'Why does humans live on hay?
Why don't de workers do dey stuff,
Call de big Guns' han', en bluff?
Why don't dey eat de grub dey raise,
'Stead o' starvin' so?' he says.
'Why don't dey open up dey eyes?
Git tergedder? Unionize?
Has you all los' yo' brains en guts?
Is you crazy, or just nuts?
Dis sho'ly is a looney lan'!'
Growl de queer ol' Monkey-man.
Den Ah says: 'Here, can dat bunk!
We is humans, Mr. Monk!
Ah don't lak yo' talk a bit!
Go back where yo' come from! Git!'
Wid dat he laf out, 'ho,ho, har!
You sho' is suckers from afar!
Us monkeys eat the grub we raise;
Us don't get ol' afore our days;
Us got mo' brains dan yo' po' guys—
We's got de sense ter organize!'
Wid dat he left en, fum erfar,
Ah herd him laffin, 'ho, ho, har!' "

An Alabama Idyl

The Adventures of a Boy Hero in search of the Eats and Overalls

By Covington Hall

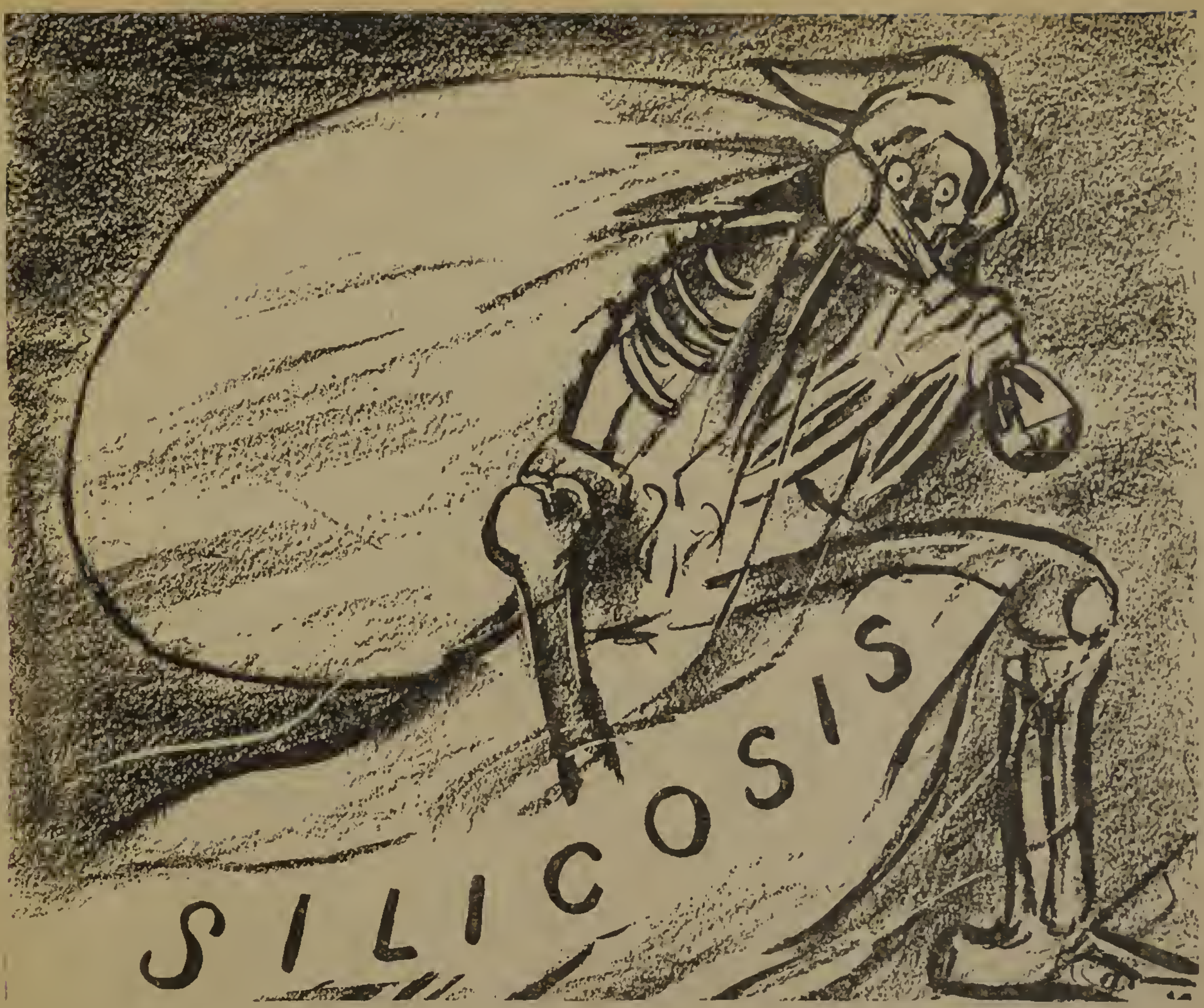
The shades of night were falling fast
When thru a Dixie village passed
A youth (he didn't have the price)
Whose banner bore the strange device:
"I want a job!"

He plodded on with weary feet
Down country road, up city street,
And all the bosses passed him by,
Tho far and wide they heard his cry:
"I want a job!"

The sheriff didn't like his ways;
The judge he gave him "ninety days";
And now he's working like a hoss,
Employed by the chaingang boss.
He's got a job!

The boy at last came home to maw,
The saddest sight you ever saw;
And when she kissed him on the head,
He cried aloud and, sobbing, said:
"I want a job!"

And then he left us all once more,
The Texan jungles to explore;
And mother asks, with eyes afright:
"Where is my wand'ring boy tonight?"
(I don't know, but I hope)
(he's organizing.)



A Challenge to Organized Labor

By JOHN SERSHON

As challenging as the "Cry of the Children from the Brickyards of Eangland," are some of the accounts describing the ravages of silicosis. Unfortunately few of these accounts ever reach the attention of those who might profit by them.

The Gauley Bridge tragedy of last year momentarily focussed the eyes of the industrial world upon this finally recognized scourge. But the accounts in the capitalist press, which the working class is suckled on, were incomplete and uninstructive, therefore, most workers are still in the dark as to what silicosis is, how and where it is contracted, and how to protect themselves when endangered by it. For these the story of Gauley Bridge bears repeating.

In 1930 the New Kanawha Power Co., a subsidiary of Union Carbon and Carbide Co., contracted (Rhinehart and Dennis, contractors) to drill a three mile tunnel for water power at Gauley Bridge, West Virginia. Gauley Bridge, at that time, was an all but deserted industrial village, which a half dozen years before had been engaged in the mining of coal. Now the mines were exhausted of their wealth—hence the desertion.

Profits Before Life

The few remaining natives passed their empty days with much talk of the Hawks Nest Tunnel,

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Note: The Cry of the children from the Brickyards of England—a social book written by George Smith, an English man in 1885.

speculating upon the jobs that would be open to them, and of the progress and prosperity that the tunnel meant. Many of the natives did get jobs as well as hundreds of outsiders, in the days that followed.

The engineers found that the hard rock through which the tunnel was to be driven, was a mountain of almost pure silica (99 per cent in some parts). Any rock containing more than 25 per cent of silica is dangerous, and is known to be dangerous by all civil engineers. Nevertheless the West Virginia Department of Mines forewarned the company of the danger of silicosis, but because they had no authority over tunnels they could act no farther.

The warning was completely ignored by the company, but incidentally, an agreement was made with a factory in the state to sell them the silica removed from the tunnel for use in a commercial product.

Every state mining law was summarily broken by the exploiters who provided no ventilation at first, and used dry drills and no respirators. Dust was so thick in some sections of the tunnel that men could see no farther than five feet, while collisions of locomotives and other accidents occurred because of it. Workers who breathed the dust during the ten-hour day, complained of irritation of the throat and lungs and of a cough. "That," the company informed them, "is only tunnelitis." Many quit work and went away, but their places were quickly filled by others. The labor turnover was very high.

By the fall of 1930 hundreds had already died, allegedly of pneumonia, and when the tunnel was at last completed in September 1932 at least 2,000 men had lost their health and from 200 to 500 workers had died.

So rapidly did the workers succumb that the company was obliged to take charge of those who died. This it did with the greatest expedition possible. The men, their clothes still white with silica dust, were buried without benefit of clergy enmasse. One hundred sixty-nine of them were buried in a corn field.

Village of Dying Men

These and other ghastly facts were revealed before a Special House Labor Committee which investigated the case. Officials of the company, did not appear during the investigation, but in private conversations called the report of the deaths "gross exaggeration" and claimed that "the company used every modern device."

Vanetta village, which is near Gauley Bridge, was the subject of a Federal Emergency Relief administration report last year. It was this report which acted as a percussion cap to the government's investigation. Fifteen wage-earners, fourteen of them suffering from silicosis were shown to be providing for ninety-one people in the village. Almost every home had a victim or two dying of the disease. Added to this was starvation. There was no longer work and none fit to work. The government gave two or three dollars relief a week per family, for which those able were obliged to walk fourteen miles.

Shyster Lawyers brought suit against the company on behalf of the Gauley Bridge victims, but if any compensation was ever paid the lawyers were the chief gainers.

Senator Rush Holt of West Virginia called this working-class epic, "the most horrible industrial disaster in the history of the world and a permanent black mark on the record of American industry." Labor has often been enjoined to remember such things as the Alamo and the Maine, but it would be more in keeping with common sense if they would keep in mind—Gauley Bridge. However, Gauley Bridge is only one instance of silicotic deaths. The great mass of them are unknown and unheard of.

Worthless Legislation

The caterpillar Tractor Company in Peoria, Illinois gave its 1,400 workers in the foundry department a physical examination including an X-ray of the chest, in September of last year. On November 13th the company shut the foundry down until new machinery could be installed to comply with the new Illinois Occupational Diseases Act. One hundred seventy-nine of the men found a note in their pay envelopes advising them to appear at the company's personnel office on November 20th. Twenty at a time the men were admitted into the sanctum of the personnel manager. Here they learned for the first time that they were silicotics. From 80 to 100 were first class silicotics, which means that they had it bad, and the rest were second and third class. So with the deep regret of the company's spokesman 179 first, second and third class silicotics were given the air.

The new Occupational Act went into effect on December 1, 1936. It is similar to legislation passed in other states and as utterly worthless. It pretends to compensate silicotics and holds the last employer of a silicotic liable for damages. Our last advices have a few of the survivors still awaiting the decision of a federal court.

We can perceive from these cases that silicosis is just as bad as it is cracked up to be, but what are the causes and symptoms of the disease?

Causes and Prevalence

"Silicosis is a disease due to breathing air containing silica." It is but one of many similar diseases caused by breathing foreign material into the lungs. The result of breathing hematite (common iron ore) dust into the lungs is called "siderosis"; of chrysotile dust from which asbestos is made, "asbestosis." Anthrocosis is produced by breathing coal dust. All of these diseases are classfied under the term "pneumonconiosis" (dusted lung), but silicosis which is much more dangerous than any of these is only caused by inhaling silica dust, though different terms as, grinders rot, miners consumption or phtisis, stone masons' phtisis, potter' asthma, etc., are used by workers in different trades to identify it.

Silica is one of the most common minerals of the earth's crust and is found in most rocks. Free silica is found in quartz, quartzite, flint, sandstone, chert and chalcedony. Silica in combination (silicate) is found in feldspar, mica, talc, soapstone, various clays, chrysotile (asbestos) garnet and sericite. These minerals are widely used in industry.

The Second National Silicosis Conference of February 3, 1937 called by Secretary of Labor Perkins showed that of 49,000,000 workers, 1,000,000 or two per cent were exposed to silicosis, one per cent or 500,000 to a serious hazard. 110,000 have silicosis and 4,000 to 5,000 are affected seriously, being too disabled to work.

The working hazard for silicosis is acute in metal mining, anthracite mining, quarrying, drilling, tunneling in granite, gannister and sandstone; in smelting and refining; in foundries, potteries, glass works; in stone product industries, grinding, buffing, and sandblasting. Note: Booklet, "Silicosis" of Met. Life Ins. has a complete list.

Factors causing silicosis are:

(1) Amount of silica dust in air breathed by worker, (2) the rhythm of work on which depends depth of breathing, (3) length of exposure, (4) individual's own power of resistence.

Dust particles must be very small, below 10 microns in diameter (1 micron equals 1/125,000 of an inch), before they can be floated in the air and gain access to the air cells in the lungs. Silica dust in the lungs produces fibrous tissue similar to scar tissue. What produces the fibrosis is a moot question, the mechanical theory was first advanced followed by the chemical theory in which the silica was thought to act as a poison to the tissues, later physico-chemical. The Canadian Medical association Journal in its July 1937 edition tells of how physicians and investigators at the University of Toronto are working upon a different theory (Sir Fred Banting discoverer of insulin is one of them). Some of their experiments with animals seem to show that aluminum dust taken in the lungs reduces the effects of silica. Nothing, however, has been proved, and silicosis is still an incurable disease.

Symptoms

The principal symptoms of silicosis are shortness of breath, the spitting of blood and a reduction of breathing capacity due to the air sacs being scarified and filled up with silica. The chest wall is inelastic during respiration and there is a cough with recurrent pains. During early silicosis the patient may even gain weight. The disease is so insidious in its nature that as a rule the victim is unaware of having it until it is too late. Silicosis usually takes several years to develop—seven being the given average, but there have been many cases where less than one year was enough to bring death. Death from silicosis, though, is seldom unaccompanied by some acute respiratory infection, usually tuberculosis.

In a survey by the Sepcial Industrial Disease Commission in Massachusetts (report Feb. 1934) "7.6 per cent of the granite workers examined were found to have silicosis and tuberculosis, while it was noted that foundry workers were particularly susceptible to pneumonia 'about one fourth of all foundry men being found to succumb to this disease'." (Clark and Drinker, Indus. Med.)

In a study of anthraco-silicosis in Pennsylvania conducted by the U. S. Public Health Service in 1935, 616, or 22.7 per cent out of 2,711 examined had the disease. 106 of them being in advanced stages. These affected suffered from pleurisy, pneumonia and severe colds. One hundred twenty-four or 4.6 per cent of those examined had tuberculosis. The mine dust in this case contained 35 per cent pure silica.

The following typical cases of silicosis is taken from the Lancet of October 1930. The two young women spoken of were engaged in packing, cleaning powder in a London factory. Death followed in both cases shortly after symptoms appeared.

Quote: "The two girls, one of whom was 17 years of age and the other 19, had been employed for 2¾ and 4¼ years, respectively, in packing a cleaning powder containing ground silica. The first girl reported at a T. B. dispensary on April 27, 1928, complaining of a slight cough and pain in the chest. She was admitted to a hospital on April 30 and rapidly became worse, dying on June 4. The second girl was admitted to a hospital May 3, 1928, and died June 16, 1928. In the first case no tubercle bacilli were found in the sputum nor at autopsy, but in the second case the post mortem examination showed tubercle bacilli to be present. In both cases the lungs did not collapse upon opening the thorax (chest) for the post mortem examination but when removed from the body were bulky and very heavy and preserved their correct anatomical shape. On section they were extremely tough, grating as the knife went through the tissue. They were of a greenish-gray color resembling in a general way something of marble, and in the first case the lower lobes were almost entirely solid while the upper lobes still contained air but were tougher than normal. In both cases there were fine gray nodules throughout the lungs, and in the first case there was extreme fibrosis and in the interstices of this fibrosis there was a finely granular black or brown deposit." The soap manufactured was found to be 75 per cent pure silica with 25 per cent soap powder containing sodium.

Preventatives

We have seen something of the nature of silicosis —how can we prevent the disease?

The means of prevention are not always easy but among them are these:

1. "To suppress dust at the point of origin in such operations as rock-drilling, handling, pulverizing, and milling rock and ore; grinding metal on grindstones, abrasive wheel cutting of granite and sandstone.

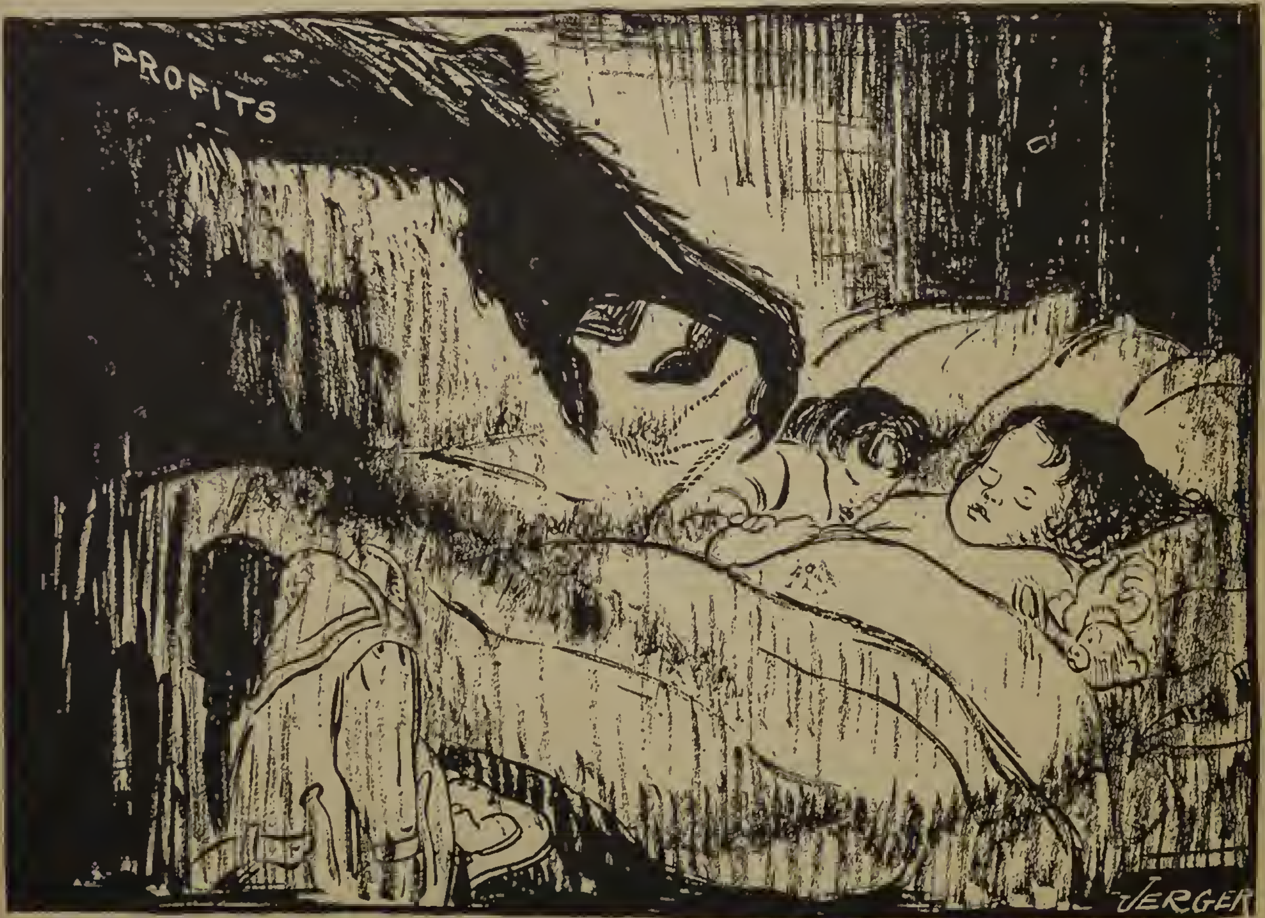
2. "To prevent the redispersion of dust that has settled on the floors, walls and other surfaces, such as in the granite industry and in foundries.

For the suppression of dust at the point of origin, the Kelley Dust Trap, is about the best arrangement. It is used in all forms of drilling (including jack-hammer), grinding, buffing etc. Other forms of suction exhaust hoods are also effective. The use of water and oil to lay dust has proved of great value. Good ventilation and the use of respirators with filters and supplied air if necessary (list from U. S. Bureau of Mines) are indispensable, while accumulated dust can be picked up with special vacuum cleaners, etc. Substitutes for materials containing silica.

Silicosis which is industrial disease number one, can be eliminated if we the workers by economic action, force those in power to comply to the health standards that the working class needs. With our economic power we can also force our parasitic masters to compensate those already stricken, so that their families if not they themselves can breathe fresh, clean air.

There are no state or federal statutes to protect the workers at their work and only eleven states give compensation to silicotics. (For an example of this see Monthly Labor Review May '37 —Wisconsin Workmen's Compensation.) Clearly, it is with the industrial worker himself that protection lies.

The Ptolomies knew about silicosis, Aristotle and Pliny wrote about it, a mining engineer's book warned of it in medieval times. Now the workmen of today should hear of it—and act!



Other valuable scientific accounts of industrial dangers to which the workers of today are exposed, and that will remain a threat to future generations of workers as long as the greedy and profit-hungry capitalist class remains in power, will be given by the same author in future issues of the One Big Union Monthly.

IF ONLY – – – –

A STORY

By **GEFION**

Karl Meisner, Chef de Cuisine, Hotel d'Allemande, Copenhagen, was a punctilious man. Promptly each morning at 4:13, he threw his well-muscled legs from under the feather quilt and hit the floor wide awake. He could as well have pounded his ears to five, but the extra forty-seven minutes were exactly what was needed in order that Chef Meisner's 190 lbs of flesh and bone might be kept in trim. No big gut for him—donner und blitzen, nein!

At five o'clock he would step forth from his spick and span rooms to finish his morning's constitutional with a brisk walk along the wooded and venerable promenades of the ancient city. Five-thirty would find him at the famed and spacious kitchen of d'Allemande. A cup of Mocha, a Bogdanoff cigarette, and Chef Meisner swung into action.

* * *

Karl Meisner had come out of the gutters of Berlin. The sole reason he had become a chef was due to the idea of old Mutter Meisner, who one cold and snowy night had lain tossing on her straw tick, trying her damnedest to figure out how to provide wurst and kraut enough for her multitudinous brood. She had slowly come to the decision that Karl at least should not go through this vale of tears with an empty belly. She was going to see to it that he learned to be a cook—Ja, that was it! The other kinder? Well, she would have to scheme for them later—one at the time.

And by much wheedling and conniving, she had at last succeeded in getting the youngster placed as chef's pupil in the Berghof. And from the start, Karl proved to be a natural. He took to the concocting of piquant sauces, flaky butter dough pastries and epicurian courses as a duck takes to water. But the Berghof chef had a colossal paunch and was a no good schweinehund, and to his dying day, Karl Meisner hated blubbery guts.

* * *

To the Berghof there came one day another pupil. But this embroyonic Savarin was not a guttersnipe. Nor was he a Deutscher. He stepped from the Copenhagen-Berlin Express, shiney satchel in hand, well brushed, well washed behind the ears and superbly well recommended by Hr. Schoolmaster Barfod of the Copenhagen Latin School. Yes, the recommendation set forth that Viktor Remmel, aged 14, had been an exemplary pupil, high in languages and exceptionally well grounded in history and geography. But the kids with whom Viktor had smoked cigarettes and with whom he had learned that the tale about the stork was more or less unreliable, had surmised on the q. t. that this gushy document might have been prompted by the little fact that Papa Remmel, Collector of Royal Revenues, 3rd Class, now and then played a game of l'Hombre with Schoolmaster Barfod. But mebbe that was neither here nor there.

Anyway, the Berghof chef puffed out his hanging jowls like an adder and read with care the German translation of Viktor's virtues and after due formalities accepted his application. And thus it came to pass that another apprentice was added to the Berghof staff.

Karl Meisner looked upon the new arrival with disgust. Viktor spoke a precise and academic German that jarred upon Karl's ears as so much highbrow blah. He didn't mind the kid's being an outlander—a guy couldn't help where he was born—but, Godawmighty, that cream-puff palaver! So one fine day in the cobbled courtyard of the Berghof, Karl Meisner, chef's pupil, took a healthy Berlin guttersnipe swing at Viktor Remmel's chin and found to his dismay and surprise that the cream-puff knew how to duck. And before Karl had time to recover from his painful discovery, Viktor had him flat in one of the ivy covered corners of the ancient hostelry.

But Karl was no heel. He took his tamping-up philosophically. Old Mutter Meisner and the slums of Berlin had taught him not to be a louse. As Viktor backed off, he got to his feet, wiped the gore from his swollen beezer, stuck out a paw to Viktor and let him know that for an outlander and a rosebud, he hadn't done so damn bad at that. And from that day on, they were kameraden. Viktor showed Karl a trick or two about straight punching, upper cuts and sundry other items needed in a man's repertoire if he didn't want to get his can knocked off. In fact, he proved himself so effective an instructor that one day Karl sneaked over a smack to Viktor's whiskers that made him discover stars others than those listed in the astronomical text books.

Karl paid his debts to Viktor by declaring that if he didn't intend to be taken for a pansy the rest of his days, he'd better lay off that kursaal lingo he was using. Viktor protested that it was perfectly good and correct Deutsch—hadn't he received an *udmaerket godt* for it at the Copenhagen institution of learning, and Hr. Barfod certainly was an excellent teacher. Karl said nuts on Barfod and insisted that Viktor's German was as stiff as a Prussian lieutenant on parade. Well, if it would make Karl sleep any better, then, of course, Viktor would be glad and willing to throw grammar and perfection to the wind and take up the Hottentot argot Karl was jabbering. And so Karl set to work unraveling the mysteries of the Berlin slang and slum vernacular for Viktor. And on their days off, they toured the beer kneipes together and found out a secret or two about the Berlin janes that they thought it best not to mention to the Berghof meister koch—ha, ha, it might make the fat slob lose a kilo or two.

* * *

Five years at the Berghof and Karl and Viktor were told that they had absorbed all the culinary wisdom possible to impart by that kitchen. So they were presented with diplomas, duly signed and with red wax seals attached, and informed solemnly that they were not finished products yet—not by a long shot. Nein, they now would have to go out into the world and gain the experiences of other lands and foreign kitchens. And always—*always*—hold in high honor their art and profession.

And so they clicked their heels and made the proper salaams before His Nibs, the big pot-gut, shook hands with the staff all around, pinched the cheeks of a few of the chamber mädchens, were wished Glückliche Reise a thousand times over, went to the Rathaus and obtained permission from the military and municipal big shots to depart in peace and with legal sanction, made the last round of the beer kneipes, danced for the last time at their regular dive, went to Munsterstrasse and dried Mutter Meisner's maternal tears, and set out for Hamburg on foot and from there across Germany for the borders of Switzerland. But first Viktor dispatched a weighly epistle to Papa Remmel, Copenhagen, B, Denmark, telling him that he was on his way out into the wide world, and for Mama not to worry, he would take plenty of clean socks along, and send her an Edelweiss from the Alps.

Ah, days of freiheit! Oh, wunderschoene nights of adventures and bliss! Hamburg—Sankt Pauli! The Elbe River. Magdeburg. Halle. Nürnberg, Stuttgart. München—Switzerland. Mighty mountains and blue lakes. Months of work and added knowledge. Paris—three years of extensive studies, French and English for Karl—new delicacies, new tricks.

And then a letter with the Imperial Eagle sprawling all over it, telling Herr Karl Meisner to return forthwith to Deutschland and military duties.

They left together. Once more they walked the streets of Berlin and felt the greetings of the old scenes. But Mutter Meisner had returned to her ancestors and the Berghof chef had departed this terra firma one morning in a fit of apoplexy.

Viktor remained in Berlin long enough to take a snapshot of Karl in his infantry regalia—and to let him know that he looked verdammt funny. They went out and got gloriously drunk together—told each other that they would be friends till hell froze over, barged through their old haunts the night through and parted next day with swollen heads, never to see each other again.

* * *

Viktor landed in Copenhagen on a morning when the old town lay bathed in warm sunshine. It was good to be here again. The cobbled streets and squares, the golden and verdigris towers said, "Hello—so you're back!" Lovely girls and women looked at the foreign cut of his clothes and smiled into his face. He took the stairs to the parental flat in a few jumps. Papa Remmel said, "Welcome home, my son." And Mama through her tears and kisses confided that the lingeri Viktor had sent her from Paris was ever so charmant and chic, but, oh, a little too risque for a matron of her years.

And next morning, Viktor arose quietly and served for his loved ones a breakfast of Petites Croustades a la Genoise.

* * *

On the Langelinie promenade, Viktor met a jaunty golden haired nymph. She came down the graveled path with an easy and free swing to her walk. Viktor pushed his hat back on his head and said, "Hello, little one." She smiled faintly and kept on down the path. Viktor turned to watch her and she blew him a kiss as she disappeared among the trees.

He met her again the next evening. He tipped his hat and let her know that he thought it a nice evening. She laughed deep from her chest. Yes, the light nights were lovely, weren't they? And wasn't that moon out over the Sound just beautiful?

They stood together by the boulders where the Little Mermaid lies gazing sorrowfully in her bronze beauty out over the surf. Viktor said, "You're as lovely and beautiful as the mermaid—

Kursaal: A reception room at a health resort.

and what is your name?" She said, "You are a flatterer, and my name is Bertha—Bertha Helm—And yours, fresh one?" "Viktor Remmel, chef par excellence, the Berghof, Berlin—Switzerland, Paris—several recommendations as to morals and splendid character—a medal or two for haute cuisine—at the present unemployed."

They lay together in the anemones under the trees. Viktor told her of his life—of the Berghof, of the fat meister koch, of Berlin, of Karl Meisner and the glorious days and nights when they had tramped together across Germany into Switzerland, of Paris and its loveliness.

It was the light nights. In the trees and bushes the birds were twittering sleepily. The waves murmured across the rocks on the shore and sprayed the kneeling mermaid so that she became burnished gold in the moonlight. And it was as if they had known each other forever.

And one day Viktor Remmel sat down and wrote a letter to Karl Meisner, Private 57, 159 Infantry, Potsdam, Germany, and told him that he had married the loveliest mädchen in all the world, and that next month they would leave for America. He would write more from there—Auf Wiedersehen, old friend.

II.

In the famed and spacious kitchen of d'Allemande, the staff was whispering, "What is up with the Chef? Is he going off his nut—or what? He is as excited as a kid taking his final examination. Mebbe he has decided to get spliced—hope we get a hint to attend the wedding."

Oh, yes, Karl Meisner was excited all right, and no mistake. But he wasn't figuring on sharing his bed and board with any of the jolly Copenhagen dames—no matter how much they fished, no such a thing. But in his pocket he had a letter from Viktor Remmel, New Orleans, U. S. A., stating that he is sending his one and only son, Hugo, aged 10, to Karl Meisner, in order that the kid may get his hand in early, and so that he may, so Viktor hoped, become a second edition of the one and only Karl Meisner. He knew of no one else in whose charge he would intrust the kid, and now that the old folk were gone, would Karl also please arrange for the boy's schooling in Copenhagen. And good luck, you old bum, and all good wishes from myself and Bertha—and P. S.—Could Karl remember their last night together in Berlin?

And Karl Meisner read the letter and re-read it. He phoned the steampship company so that he wouldn't miss the kid. And he thought of Viktor and their days in Berlin and Paris, and he would have given his right arm to have those days back—and fame and a fat salary could go to hell. And he wondered what the kid would be like, and he swore a donner und blitzen that he wasn't going to let his friend over there among the wild Indians ever get a chance to say that he had let him down.

Karl Meisner, chef de cuisine, stepped from a taxi in the front of d'Allemande. He turned and gave his hand to Hugo Remmel and ordered the driver to take the baggage to Karl's rooms. They entered the kitchen and the staff stood gaping as if they were seeing old Nick himself.

Karl Meisner said, "Colleagues, this is a new pupil—Hugo Remmel from America—the youngest ever to be accepted by d'Allemande and the first ever to come from America—and that all by himself."

The maitre d'hotel found his voice and said, "But Herr Chef, he is only a stripling—he should be home in the nursery." Karl Meisner merely repeated, "He is the new pupil."

Hugo had taken in the whole scene—a queer land this was, he thought. Everybody talks Danish. Oh, yea, he understood that all right—Papa and Mother Bertha always spoke it at home—but here everybody speaks it—Why don't they also talk English? He gazed wide-eyed at the vaulted kitchen with all its shining pots and pans and its ranges and utensils. He looked at the emaculately white dressed army before him and he was awed. He would have given four marbles to be back home in New Orleans and his dad's cafe.

Karl Meisner took him by the hand and lead him through the kitchen and down to the cavernous wine cellars. Hugo looked up at the walls and thought that a swarm of the goblins Mother Bertha had told him about might jump from behind the mysterious looking strawdressed bottles. He sniffed the wine fumes and must and thought that this was the most exciting and dangerous cave he had ever gotten into.

They walked to the further wall. Karl Meisner stopped before a small barrel. He took two small glasses, frail and delicate as Tonder lace, and drew them full of pale-golden liquid. He handed one of the glasses to Hugo. "Drink that, Viktor's son, that will chase your sea legs away."

Hugo drank his glass empty: "Gosh, that's good—What it is?" "That, Hugo, is forty-year old St. Croix rum—a drink fit for men only—Makes your belly tickle, eh?"

He bent over the boy and lifted him into his arms. He looked into his face and studied him in silence. Then he said, "Now we go home for the day and tomorrow we go to work."

* * *

It is morning. Through the open windows of Karl Meisner's rooms comes the rumble of the first milk wagon. Charwomen are clattering along the sidewalks to their jobs, and in the wild chestnut trees, the birds are greeting the new day with a rhapsody of glee.

Karl Meisner is on the floor with a bounce. It is 4:13. He turns to Hugo's bed and shakes him—time to get up, you lazy pup. Hugo sits up and thinks that this is one tough world. Karl Meisner throws the quilt aside and Hugo gets to the floor. Together, they do their exercises—one—two—three. One—two—three. And Hugo stands naked on a bath rug and Karl Meisner sponges him with icy water. And he tells him of the value of strong belly muscles—keeps a feller straight and makes him able to take a smack to the guts. No fat, see! Or I'll beat your ears off. And Hugo says okay and rubs himself until he tingles. And he thinks Karl Meisner a pretty swell guy, even if he does speak English like a fool highbrow.

And under the trees on the promenades, men and women scurrying to work look at the burly chef and the gangling kid—a queer pair. Wonder who the kid can be? Mebbe one of the Hr. Chef's wild oats—Ha, ha! And they say Good Morning, Hr. Chef,—swell morning, eh?

And in the famed and spacious kitchen of d'Allemande, Karl Meisner, chef de cuisine, sips his morning Mocha and enjoys his Bogdanoff while Hugo drinks his coffee and munches brioches, thinking meanwhile that the latter are just about tops when it comes to eats.

And so work begins. Hugo is again one of the pupils—no favors from the Hr. Chef, no pampering, no coddling. Karl Meisner stands over him—You loemmel, I tell you once, twice—the third time —look out! And Hugo learns that this Big Brute, whom he calls Onkel Karl when off shift, is a pretty exacting mug when in the kitchen.

Eight o'clock and Hugo is off for school. And he has as teacher no Hr. Latin Schoolmaster Barfod. No, over him hovers a giant with a beard that would have made the mug of Erik the Red look like the fanny of a new born babe. When he whispers, the City Hall tower shakes. And on one's birthday he hands you a ten ore piece and says, "congratulations, old scout, and many happy returns."

And next to Hugo sit no cream-puffs—nay, nay. Row upon row, they are all sprouts of the folk who do the dirty work. And Hugo acquires a lingo delightful to the ears of Karl Meisner—a lingo that would have made Mother Bertha swear that the brat was heading for the gallows. And now and again, Hugo Remmel, chef's pupil, shows up at the famed and spacious kitchen of d'Allemande with a facade battered and blotchy—and not a damn word of sympathy from the Hr. Chef—that big hunk of a so 'n so!

Three o'clock and Hugo is back to work. The weeks grow into months, the months become years. To Hr. and Frau Viktor Remmel, New Orleans, U. S. A., Karl Meisner submits reports punctiliously—The lad is doing well, a little headstrong and pretty tough at times, but nothing to worry over. Things are so and so over here—Hope you won't get scalped, and when do you figure on returning to civilization? Leb wohl, old man. Best to yourself and Frau Bertha—Verbindlichst, Your friend, Karl Meisner.

And Hugo Remmel is fifteen and out of school. And he learns a thing or two about the Copenhagen tarts that he thinks it best not to mention to d'Allemande master kok—The big stiff might get tough about it, ha, ha!

But of a night, Karl Meisner and Hugo Remmel walk the streets of the ancient city together. And under the trees of the Tivoli Gardens, they sit in the witchery of the light nights and drink their beer. Life flows by, and in Hugo Remmel, Karl Meisner sees again the friend of his youth. They talk together about Hugo's plans and his future. Soon it will be his turn to go out into the world with a red-sealed diploma in his pocket. And Karl Meisner feels lonely and lost. But life flows on. Laughing girls, men and women from all the world come to this old and lovely garden of joy and fun. And Karl Meisner sits thinking and planning for the son of his friend.

* * *

Then came 1914 and the world went verrückt. To Karl Meisner there came for the second time in his life a letter over which sprawled the Imperial Eagle—Reservist Karl Meisner was hereby commanded to report for mobilization duty forthwith.

They walked their last night together through the old streets. Now and again Karl Meisner stops and stares on the sidewalk as if he expected an answer to his perplexities written there—What was he to advise Hugo? Would the war last long? What was he to do about the whole crazy affair?

They went to the La Bodega. The place was crowded with excited men and women. The headwaiter came to their tabel and laid the wine card before them: Would the Hr. Chef have to return to Germany? Karl nodded and ordered Tokay. They drank their wine in silence and went to their rooms and packed Karl's trunks.

The kitchen of d'Allemande was a morgue. Reservist Karl Meisner, former chef de cuisine, famed for his art far and near, shook hands with the staff. Perhaps we shall meet again—Perhaps. They drove to the central station. Hugo took Karl Meisner's hands in his. They looked deep and long into each others faces—"Auf Wiedersehen, Onkel Karl"— "Auf Wiedersehen, Hugo." A shrill whistle, and the Copenhagen-Berlin Express began its journey once more across the Danish land, onto the Gedser-Warnemunde ferry, back into the Deutschland that Karl Meisner had not seen for ages.

* * *

The little barrel in the cavernous wine cellars of d'Allemande had become nearly empty since that day years ago when Hugo had first tasted its pale-

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Verrückt: Crazy.

golden liquid. During all these years, Karl Meisner and Hugo had visited it on festive occasions and whenever a letter came from Viktor Remmel and Mother Bertha.

Now Hugo stood before it for the last time. Today he was to leave d'Allemande. He took one of the small glasses, frail and delicate as Tonder lace, and drew himself a drink. He looked at it long and his thoughts wandered back over the years. It was now months since Karl Meisner had gone into Germany and the bloodbath. Hugo had heard little from him. Now and then a laconic letter—He was well—Had succeded in getting out of being a mess cook, couldn't have stood that—Was in the infantry at a sector near the Bethune road—Couldn't tell him a great deal about the war on account of the censor—give my best regards to your folks—take good care of yourself—you are in my thoughts always.

And Hugo shook himself out of his reveries and emptied his glass. He said farewall to his friends in the kitchen—No, he didn't know exactly what he was going to do. No use trying to travel—the damn war had closed everything in that line. Perhaps he would stay in Copenhagen and work until the insanity was over and Karl Meisner came back.

But he didn't go to work. He was a Karl Meisner pupil and offers for jobs came galore. He turned them all down. He roamed the streets of the old city and was lost and desolate. He cursed the war that had taken Karl Meisner out of his life and had blasted his plans and dreams. He drifted to the harbor with its traveling cranes, its bedlam of whistles and foghorns, its ships of all nations. He drank with Malayan deckhands and Copenhagen stevedores, and their talk drifted through his brain like water through a sieve. What in t' hell did it all mean to him.

He sat in the cafes and amusement places and heard the excited jabberings of cutthroats, speculators and whores. And down near the Bethune road, Karl Meisner was floundering in mud and putrification.

Then came a letter from the old folk, suggesting that he return to America until the war was over. He felt it would be deserting Karl Meisner and wound up by writing him a letter, telling him that he was going to America and in the future to address his letters to New Orleans.

III.

The new land—the land of Hugo's birth, the land he had not seen since he was a kid—it was booming. Yes, it was on the up and up. The sales and exports of such little playthings as cannon, rifles, TNT and ammunition for the game of strafing going on across the pond had caused golden rivulets of assorted shekels to empty themselves into the bank vaults of the land sentried by the uplifted torch of Liberty.

Hugo went to see the old folk. They sat together in the sticky heat of New Orleans and he told Viktor Remmel and Mother Bertha of Karl Meisner, of Copenhagen and the horde of vultures that the war had brought to its cafes and amusement places.

He went to New York and took a job in a swanky joint—one had to live. And he, a mere youngster, a pupil of Karl Meisner, knew more in his little finger than all the meatburners working with him. He found the land of his birth a queer lay-out—Rush, rush, rush! And what in t' hell was all the shooting about? When they had guzzled their so-called steaks and make-believe French fried, their dabs of this and that, they shoved off at sixty miles per for some more pushing and mauling hours, and only to repeat it all over the next day.

And disgusted and amazed to the core, Hugo began to drift. Without realizing it, he became a floater. He worked in hotels of the widest advertised virtues and high class plumbing. He cooked in dives where four bits were the top. And nowhere did he find the traditions, the respect for his profession and its men, that Karl Meisner and his dad had hammered into his skull as far back as he could remember.

And Hugo Remmel found out several additional items in his rambles. He discovered that there were men who journeyed by box cars, by blinds and rods. And he took up that mode of travel himself—nothing like learning. He found out that men ate and slept in places called jungles.

Now and again he dropped a few lines to the folk in New Orleans. He wrote long letters to Karl Meisner, telling him of his new experiences, hoping and hoping that the war would be over soon so that they could meet again and become human beings once more.

And then one day the bankers and the ammunition manufacturers made up their minds that America was going to take a hand in the job of saving the world for democracy, and Hugo's letters to the German, Karl Meisner, were returned by the postal authorities as nixies.

* * *

The jacks in the Silver Lake logging camp swore that Hugo Remmel was the best goddamned mulligan mixer that ever struck the cookshack—Christ, did that bird know his onions! He might be just a snot-nosed punk, but, did he know how to put the chuck on the plank!—and no damn kowtowing to the bull o' the woods, either. And the cookhouse and the flunkies—Why, the whole show was as clean as a whistle—no noise, no racket—everything like clock work. No mistake, the kid knew his grub. The rigging slinger went so far as to state that if Hugo had worn skirts, he would've proposed long ago.

Hugo laughed indulgently at their ravings. He saw before him the vaulted, the famed and spacious kitchen of d'Allemande. He saw again Karl Meisner's deft and masterful hands as he patiently explained this or that little touch in order that things might be perfect. Ah, Karl Meisner. No letters, not a word for months now. Damn the war. Goddamn all the bastards! If only a letter would come.

And at night after everything was spick and span in the cookshack and all in readiness for next morning's breakfast, Hugo would walk across to the bunkhouses and listen to the talk about the war, the draft, about strikes, about union men in prison. He would scan the newspapers for information on the war. Every word indicating that the end of the slaughter might be near set his heart beating—soon—soon. He denied himself all luxuries so that he would have money for his fare as soon as he received the first sign from Karl Meisner—and he must have money for him, too, so that he could get back to life.

And summer draws to close and the 11th of November is hurled across the world. Armistice! Revolution in Germany! And Hugo watches the timekeeper's office for mail—nothing comes. He writes to New Orleans—no, no word yet.

The bull o' the woods was reaching for his third wedge of pie. He was of the opinion, so he told the hooktender, that times might get kinda tough now the war was over—wouldn't be a bit s'prised. Furthermore, he was wondering why in t' hell the timekeeper was late for supper. Well, mebbe he had got delayed sorting the mail down at the mill.

But the timekeeper showed up before the meal was over. He laid a large envelope on the serving table for Hugo. Hugo glanced at it eagerly and recognized his old man's handwriting. He would see what was in it as soon as things were cleaned up—Maybe, maybe there might be news from Karl Meisner—three months now since the armistice.

* * *

The flunkies had gone. Everything was cleaned up for the night. A single light burned in the cookhouse. Hugo sits under it and with shaking hands he tears open the envelope from New Orleans. A letter from his father falls out and two letters neatly tied together. They bear the postage of Germany. Hugo rips the letter on top open. It states briefly that Karl Meisner, Private 57, 159 Infantry, fell in action before the Bethune road, November 4th, 1918. And according to a request found among his effects, a letter had been forwarded to Hugo Remmel under separate cover—Horting, Kommandant.

Hugo shrieked at the empty cookhouse, "It's a lie! It's a lie! He is not dead!" He tore open the letter addressed in Karl Meisner's handwriting. He read:

"Hugo:

"We have just come back from four days up at the front. Out of the company, there are four of us left. How long we will last, I don't know. In every human brain the thought beats that he will be the exception. That is nonsense. A bullet or a chunk of shrapnel cares no more for individuals than nature does for life. It is all a question of law and circumstances.

"Soon, we will have to go up again. We do not speak our thoughts—in fact, we do not think. We are past all of that. We snatch from the few days we may have left the joys we can find—a scrap of pork rind for our nettle soup—a night with a girl—then the mud and butchery once more.

"There are four of us left. Once I loved life. It has become filthy—I love it no more. Behind a mutilated wood here, there are rows of crosses. I often think, 'If only one lay there.' They have turned life into filth.

"Soon we shall go up again. We go like automatons. A bullet whines through the air. A human jumps as if electrified. He flails the air with his arms for a moment. He sinks into the mud with a shriek of agony, or he slumps silently as if he were a lump of putty. And in a short while, we who still breathe are enveloped in a sickening atmosphere.

"Words have come that we must go tomorrow. So if this letter comes into your hands, you will know that one didn't come back. But I cannot leave without telling you that once I loved life. I loved your father, my comrade of youth. When you came, you were he. Out of you, I was going to mould a master—one who would be Viktor Remmel and Karl Meisner in one. The scratch of a pen by someone in Berlin changed all of that.

"And so, Hugo, if this comes into your hands, you will know that it is Gute Nacht, Gute Nacht—Karl Meisner."

Across in the cook's bunkhouse, the flunkies were singing One-Ball Reiley. The chorus depicted vividly how Reiley's girl friend lost her virtue. From down in the valley came the long drawn whistle of a train. Then the night becomes silent. Only through the pines around the camp, the wind sings its song—a song of birth and death, of life, a melody as old as the morning of time.

And under the light in the cookhouse, a human sits thinking—thinking.

The End.

OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY

A. B. COBB

In some parts of the world the theory of organic development is taught in the primary schools, not only regarding man as a product of natural evolution but teaching also that his institutions have grown out of simple units into the present infinite complexity. These truths are as well established as that the earth is round and revolves about the sun; they are absolutely essential to the child if he is to understand himself and his place in civilization. Yet in most of these forty-eight states these important truths are suppressed in the schools with the intention of allowing children to grow up in ignorance of their own origin and fate.

But the normal child, alert to the contradictions between what he has been taught and the facts of nature, will learn from the billboards, the zoo, the magazines or the library. As Pegler said lately about the sex question, if the children are not properly instructed they will learn in the coal shed or the hog lot. From the newspapers and from observation they will learn that the institutions they have been taught to revere deserve anything but reverence; that there is always an alliance between politicians and criminals; that the constitution was not made to promote the general welfare but to protect property.

Says Prof. Hutchins, "We are a faithless generation and take no stock in revelation." Whose fault, brother, if not yours and your education?

Dr. Hutchins bemoans the chaos in the world. "The most characteristic feature of the modern world is bewilderment. We do not know where we are going, or why; and we have almost given up the attempt to find out. A strange circularity afflicts us. The state of the nation depends on the state of education; but the state of education depends on the state of the nation."

From the last statement one might think that he was willing that the educational system share the blame. But in an interview as reported in the press he was quoted as saying, "Society is to blame." Thus whitewashing himself and his fellow educators.

George Eliot must have had such people in mind when she said: "The ladies of St. Ogg's had their favorite abstraction, called society, which served to make their consciences perfectly easy in doing what satisfied their own egoism."

And how does the professor propose to break this strange "circularity"? How end the chaos and demoralization, to say nothing of wars, revolutions, the breakdown of a great civilization? His answer is simple—too simple:

"If we can revitalize metaphysics and restore it to its place in the higher learning, we may be able to establish rational order in the modern world as well as in the university. Not any specific theological or metaphysical system . . . I suggest that we shall get a better one if we recognize explicitly the need for one and try to get the most rational one we can." (He means plausible, not rational.)

In the above statement we find merely a ten-cent store imitation of the old reactionary motto, "Religion must be preserved—for the benefit of the people." All systems of theology and metaphysics have this one thing in common: they maintain that the things of this world are cheap, transient, and worthless. But beyond the reach of human vision, location unknown, there are real, stable, priceless, everlasting good things for those who are cheated in this world or who wisely choose "pie in the sky."

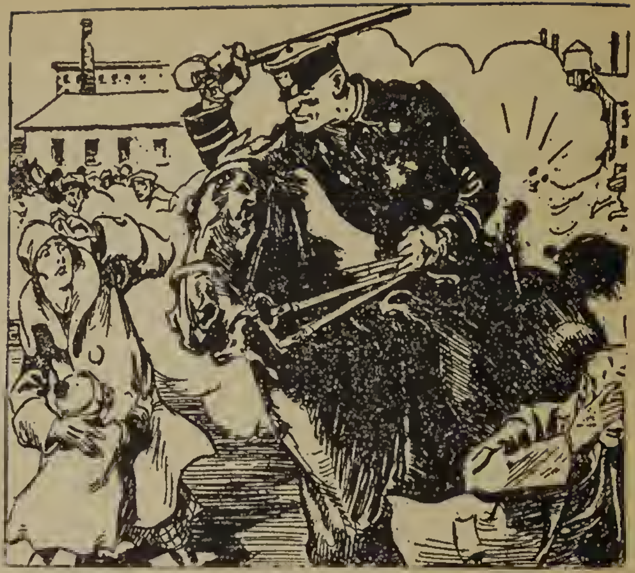
Under capitalism," says Marx, "every institution

(Continued on page 21)

The General Defense Committee - -

20 YEARS OF ACTIVITY

October 1917 — October 1937



As long as this can happen the General Defense Committee will render valuable service to the working class.

Two score years of eventful labor history have passed since the General Defense Committee was organized and during that time it has supplied legal defense to more than 5,000 worker victims in the class war, and furnished relief for prisoners and their families.

It was back in 1917 when in Seattle, Washington 74 workers, mostly loggers, were held in the King county jail waiting trial on charges of murder that the need for a permanent defense organization was recognized by the members of the I. W. W., and it was on October 5 of that year that the General Defense Committee was born.

The 74 intended victims went free. A competent, well organized defense proved to the court, and to the world, that the Everett Massacre was the result of an almost unbelievably bloody and ruthless frame up on the part of lumber trust flunkeys to keep the I. W. W. out of Everett. The trial was a climax, and at the same time a beginning; persecution continued and grew even worse during the war years that followed, but organized strength of the workers grew too, and the General Defense Committee became firmly established as a part of the I. W. W. fighting machinery.

The next big job of the committee was the defense of the 101 I. W. W. members arrested under the espionage act—the trial of 101 in Chicago, of 33 in Wichita, and of 51 in Sacramento. These cases were "lost" in the sense that the prosecution obtained convictions, but they were won in another sense. The attempt of the prosecution to show that the industrial union movement of the I. W. W. was a plot hatched by the Kaiser failed and the popularity of the organization grew as workers joined by the thousands.

In 1919 the lumber barons of Washington engineered another major raid on the I. W. W. This time it was in Centralia. Workers defended themselves and their hall, raiders were shot, an I. W. W. was tortured and lynched, and once again the lumber trust called on its servants to frame union men. And once again the masters won. Eight lumberjacks went to prison. But had there been no adequate defense many important facts of the case would never have been brought to light and the villainous degradation of the capitalist court and press would not have been effectively exposed.

During the "Deportations Delirium" which employers nurtured, and fanatical 100 per centers promoted, the General Defense Committee handled hundreds of cases. In the course of this work it has been established that membership in the I. W. W. is not cause for deportation.

With the gradual decline of the war hysteria the masters found it necessary to use other means to oppose the vital and growing I. W. W. movement. Criminal syndicalism laws were passed in 36 states. The committee fought these cases—sometimes successfully, some times not,—in states from Maine to California. In California, where the fight was the severest, over a hundred members went to prison with sentences of from one to twenty-eight years. The General Defense Committee through persistent effort drew one tooth after another from this monstrous law until it has become relatively harmless.

In the great Colorado Coal strike of 1928-29 the committee did splendid service for the fighting I. W. W. workers who there won a memorable victory against the Rockefeller coal interests.

It was at this time that the committee was reorganized on a basis that allowed persons not members of the I. W. W. to become members of the General Defense Committee. Locals were set up and many people not eligible to membership in the I. W. W. have since then taken part directly in the committee's work.

Among the thousands of cases of persecution of working people by the employing class that make up the day to day work of the General Defense Committee are many that never attain wide publicity—people are not startled by revelation of the fact that a union worker can be sent to jail for from a few days to six months in many parts of this country merely because some local big shot employer wishes it. Yet such cases are of the greatest importance to the labor movement. Where petty persecution is allowed to continue unchallenged it is hard to build organization.

Though the Yakima case of 1933 is not exactly to be classed among the lesser cases, since it involved trumpted up charges of criminal assault against men who defended themselves on the picket line, it illustrates the importance of having a defense organization on hand ready to fight with legal aid and publicity machinery at a moments notice.

Among the more important fights the General Defense Committee is now carrying on is the defense of Mike Lindway. Lindway is in the Ohio State prison, having been convicted of illegal possession of dynamite in connection with a strike in Cleveland in 1935. The frame up, the illegal use of evidence, the prejudice involved in this case have repeatedly been brought to the attention of American workers by the committee. The case is still in the courts on appeal and it appears now that it may be taken to the U. S. Supreme court a second time.

Twenty years of useful activity has amply proven the value of the General Defense Committee. Not all of its work consists of fighting court battles. Soon it will remind the workers of America again of their fellow workers who are in prison for labor's cause, and start collecting for the annual Christmas Fund which the committee raises for and distributes among those who have fallen in the struggle.

* * *

OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

(Continued from page 19)

wears a mask." We should be thankful to friend Hutchins for partially and, no doubt, unintentionally, tearing aside the disguise under which our educational system is working to demoralize the young by systematically withohlding the truths of modern science.

Thanks to scientific methods we can produce abundance for all and our youth will not be content with theological "pie in the sky," nor with metaphysical pork chops. One car in the garage looks better than ten of the supernatural kind. Science marches forward regardless of the efforts of stooges of "Big Business," the most vicious of whom are our "educators."

When Chief Justice Hughes stated that, "the arch enemies of society are those who know better, but by indirection, misstatement, understatement, and slander seek to accomplish their concealed purposes or to gain profit of some sort by misleading the public," it is doubtful if he had the teachers in mind. But the shoe is a perfect fit, and most educators are conscious of it and hate to have a man in the position of Dr. Hutchins blab the secret to the whole world and even try to make conditions worse.

Some time back there was an editorial in the "**Social Frontier,** a journal of educational criticism and reconstruction, regarding the qualifications of American teachers. It stated in part:

"It is admitted without argument that American teachers as a group are timid and docile. Their mental horizon does not reach significantly beyond the three "Rs." They are for the most part strangers to literature, to music, and the plastic arts. POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY THEY ARE ILLITERATE. Seldom is the distance between what a profession thinks it is doing and what it is actually doing, so great as in the case of teachers."

We are witnessing today a world-wide reorganization socially and politically. It is vain to expect any guidance from educators that are too ignorant to understand what is taking place and are too cowardly to tell the truth if they know. Let the younger generation beware of the educators.

Counter-Revolution in Spain

Introduction and Translation
By JOSEPH WAGNER

By R. LOUZON, in the Paris "La Revolution Proletarienne," under the title "Notes on Spain."

INTRODUCTION

The articles on Spain, prepared by me, for the One Big Union Monthly, consisting largely of translations appearing in the current and two previous issues of this magazine, were not meant to serve as news articles of the Spanish War Front.

The news about the ups and downs, of victories and defeats, on the various fronts of fighting Spain are abundantly covered by the papers of all shades and creeds. Each of them colors the news according to the interests or the principles of the writer writing them up, or of the publication printing them. The lessons drawn from the developments of the events, differ from writer to writer and from publication to publication. That cannot be helped, and perhaps it should not. The questions involved in the Spanish struggles are much too complex to be lightly disposed of.

Neither was the intent of these articles to pass judgment over what is being done in Spain by the anti-fascists, and to take sides with one or another of the various contending parties and groups, that grim circumstances brought together in a common fight against the gory beast of fascism.

But even though we are not so situated as to take a direct hand in the great struggle on the Iberian Peninsula, we are greatly interested in it, because, as workers, and as revolutionists, we feel that the struggle going on in Spain is our struggle as well.

Different political parties, radical groups with varying philosophies are thrown together to form the anti-fascist front. And although they have one common aim, these component groups are separated by class interests and by philosophical and political views. In the course of the war in Spain the political supremacy of what is called loyalist Spain, has shifted more than once, and before the end comes there will be very likely more shifts taking place. With these shiftings, tactics of struggle also change. The ones at the helm at a given moment are prone to claim credit for every victory that takes place while they are holding the reigns of government, blaming the opposition for the reverses taking place. The opposition looks upon it in just the opposite way.

Because of the complexity of the question, I intended to place before the readers of the O. B. U. M. the views of serious working class observers, and who, moreover, had first hand knowledge of the situation, and speak not by hearsay, but from actual observation.

In this issue I present an article by R. Louzon, one of the founders and present editors of that admirable and well known semi-monthly, French syndicalist magazine, **"La Revolution Proletaire."** The article appeared in the second July issue of the magazine mentioned.

Fellow Worker Louzon is one of the old guard of the pre-war French General Confederation of Labor. He is still a French syndicalist with the old revolutionary, non-political meaning of the term. He was personally acquainted with Haywood; has closely followed the development of our own I.W.W. with great sympathy ever since the I.W.W. was founded. In spite of his multiple activity in the French labor movement, he has been closely watching our own General Defense Committee cases and at times has made financial contributions towards them. At the outbreak of the Civil War in Spain, where Louzon is well acquainted in the revolutionary world, he went over immediately to Catalonia, to secure first hand information and to be able to write understandingly in his magazine. He has visited Spain often in the last year, and made faithful and objective reports of his findings to his readers. The following article is one of his latest.

NOTES ON SPAIN

When I wrote in this magazine, nearly a year ago, my "Notes on Barcelona" they were notes on **Revolutionary Spain,** as the subhead indicated. My notes of today, however, are on the **Counter-revolutionary Spain.**

I left Spain by the end of May; I returned there at the beginning of July. One month is a tremendously long time in revolutionary . . . or counter-revolutionary times. During that month of June the events have succeeded themselves with great rapidity. Things, that could be dimly outlined as possible hypothesis in the May days, have since been realized in an accelerated rhythm.

The present situation in Spain can be summed up in two facts:

First: total loss of power by the working class;

Second: transfer of power into the hands of the Spanish fascists, by the intermediary of the communist party.

Working Class Loses Power

When I say that the working class lost the power, I am, naturally, not alluding to the fact that now the CNT has no longer representatives either in the Valencia or the Catalonian governments. Cabinet ministers are but cogs in the bourgeois-capitalist State machinery, therefore it is not by its participation in the machinery of the bourgeois State machinery, but by the creation of its own institutions, that the working class develops its own power.

If the working class of Spain was partially in power until recently, that was due to the fact that alongside of the bourgeois State power the working class was able to impose the power of its own organs: the labor unions, workers' committees, etc.

Today, this power of the working class is non-existent. It cannot be stated too often, that political power is essentially—one can almost say, exclusively—a power of repression; it is the police force and the armed force. Today the working class of Catalonia no longer has police or armed power.

The "Patrols of Control" of Barcelona and vicinity, of which I spoke in my former article in this magazine, have disappeared. This workers' police force, that was functioning since August 1936, alongside the police force of the State, was dissolved last month, and this time not only on paper, but in fact: all of its members have been disarmed, the most active of them were imprisoned, the leading militants have "disappeared," an euphemism signifying **murdered.**

The same holds true of the workers' militias. Wherever these militias existed, whose duty it was to enforce revolutionary order upon avowed or camouflaged fascists, especially along the extensive frontiers, they have been completely disarmed, their best elements were imprisoned, a certain number of them murdered.

In Barcelona and in the entire Catalonia, nothing was left in the way of organized armies except the mercenary corps of the State police: the assault guards, the civil guards, carabiniers.

The same has taken place with the army. Working under the Catalonian C.N.T. War Minister, the C.N.T. formerly had the control over the army of Aragon; after this Cabinet post was taken over by General Pozas, an appointee of the Valencia government, the commanding machinery was lost by the workers' organizations and it fell into the hands of the State.

The labor militants, the creators of the militia, who after the "militarization" were supposed to merely transfer their title, from "delegations" to army "ranks," are now obliged to ask the Minister of War for confirmation of such transfers and the Minister confirms those of whom he thinks he has nothing to fear, while postponing indefinitely the confirmation of those he doubts, thus eliminating the ones and placing the others in the position of being under obligation. By this twofold scheme the entire hierarchy of the army passes under the direct control of the State.

Thus, the workers' police and army has been done away with. To be sure, there are still men on the police force, especially among the assault guards who are at heart with the working class and with the C.N.T.; certainly the soldiers of the Aragon front and a good number of "confirmed" army officers have not forgotten their origin and when the day comes they will be on the side of the people and not with the State. And certain it is that besides the visible arms, there are plenty of hidden arms, for the Catalonian proletariat, it seems, has conserved its hidden arms. But, all that does not alter the fact that today there are no longer any regularly and publicly functioning workers armed institutions. The working class still has means of fighting the power, but it no longer possesses organs of power.

Removed from the police force and from the army, the working class is, just as naturally removed from all auxiliary institutions of power. The representatives of the F.A.I. (Iberian Anarchist Federation) have been excluded from the popular courts of law, where the representation of the workers have been reduced to a feeble minority. The C.N.T. representatives likewise have been excluded from a large number of municipal councils that have replaced the former municipal revolutionary committees (but which were nothing in reality but committees, since they had been composed of representatives of all the anti-fascist organizations, in a determined proportion) under the pretext that the C.N.T. has not repudiated their protest movement in the days of May. The district workers' committees can no longer function and there hardly passes a weak without some new decree being issued surpressing the representation of the C.N.T. as well as of the U.G.T. in this or that Council or administration.

Everywhere the State, the bourgeois State, constituted in its traditional forms, re-establishes its sole and entire power. In Catalonia as in Valencia, the working class is now completely excluded from power: **It has lost the power.** Such is the first truth that we have to establish, but there is a second.

What the Spanish Communist Party Is

The much lauded policy of the Spanish Communist Party, as dictated by Stalin, is well enough known by now: it is the defense of the bourgeoisie and of the private property; no more expropriation is to be countenanced; the landed proprietors to be re-established into their "rights"; the small and so small employers to be organized in "labor" unions. Such is the program. A program of hindrance and of destruction of the conquests of the revolution; a program of bourgeois defense.

Such a program of bourgois defense, naturally should have attracted the entire bourgeoisie, and it has not failed to do so. The bourgeoisie flocked in masses into the communist party and into its annex, the Unified Socialist Party of Catalonia, as well as into the Catalonian U.G.T. (General Workers Union), founded for their convenience. They joined partly because the communist party program was their program, their class program. But above all, they joined for reasons of personal security. To be suspected of fascism, was until recently, a very serious matter. But, by the very nature of things, the bourgeois is always in danger of being suspected of that very thing. What better way of avoiding suspicion than of having in his pocket a membership card in the communist party or in one of the locals of the U.G.T.?

The Spanish communist party and its annexes have, therefore, become bourgeois organizations not only in virtue of their program, but also by their social composition. But this first fact was bound to be soon followed by a second: Of all the bourgeois, the most interested in averting the suspicion of fascism were the very ones who were actually fascists. And that is how the communist party in its composition, soon became not only bourgeois, but above all, **fascist bourgeois.** Whether in Valencia, where the district secretary of the Gil Robles party, among others, is at present a member of the communist party, or in villages far removed from Catalonia, the most active members of the communist party are former members of the "Patriotic Union" of the CEDA, etc. etc.

Republican Spain Passes into the Hands of Fascism

It naturally follows that the Spanish communist policy is not only a bourgeois policy, but actually, a **fascist** policy. Through the racket in connection with the furnishing of arms to the Spanish government, the Russians having succeeded in giving the State powers to "their" party, the fascist followers of the communist party made the party follow a policy favoring Franco and the Russians were much to dense to notice it. The facts, however, are evident.

While hundreds of the militants of the anti-fascist organizations were murdered and thousands imprisoned, and while the help rendered to Spain by the foreign organizations were systematically sabotaged, the **Falange**, yes the Spanish Phalanx, the Phalanx of Franco, is making open propaganda and is recruiting almost openly in Catalonia. The Falangistas arrested by the workers' Control Patrols (before their dissolution), for attempts of sabotage, are now free. And while the anti-fascists arrested during the last two months, especially the foreigners, are lamentably treated, kept in airless cells from which they are not taken out for a moment, and are forced, like the prisoners in Calle Corcega in Barcelona, to go on hunger strike, the imprisoned fascists enjoy all manner of favors, so much so that the anti-fascist prisoners of Carcel Modelo of Barcelona demanded that they be granted the same rights as enjoyed by the fascist prisoners in the same prison! Finally, as they cannot absolve all the fascists without too much open scandal, the authorities decided to free them on bail of several thousand pesetas. The most notorious fascists, who are rich or who have rich friends, can thus leave the prison . . . for an indefinite time.

Government of Defeat

The facts related above are serious enough, but what follows is even more so. It is openly said that the fall of Bilbao was due to treason. The fall of Bilbao is the masterstroke realized by the fascists, through the medium of the communist party, by the overthrow of the Caballero government in May.

To relieve the pressure on the Biscayan front, the Caballero government had prepared a vast offensive to the south of Madrid, where the front is not far from the Portuguese frontier, with the intention of cutting the rebel armies in two. Everything was ready for the offensive that was to begin early in May: 75,000 men had been assembled with adequate war materials on hand.

But, a couple of days before the launching of the offensive, the communist party torpedoed the Caballero government, forcing his cabinet to resign and replacing him with the Negrin government, whose first task as government head was to countermand the prepared offensive; the assembled troops were scattered and during the entire month following nothing was done to relieve the hard pressed Biscayan front. The Basque minister's letter of resignation (because of lack of aid from the central government) was prevented publication by the censors, and the Madrid journal C.N.T. was ordered suspended because it had published it nevertheless. But nothing was done to save Bilbao; it was necessary for the city to fall, for so it was decided by the fascists in the Stalinist party.

Only after the fall of Bilbao—and the fall enabled Franco to withdraw, without danger, a part of his northern troops—that they started an offensive, for after all it was necessary for them to appear doing something . . . especially at the wrong time.

The sum total of all the above facts cannot leave room for doubt: The Negrin government is entirely dominated by treason. The cleverness of the fascists, acting under the cover of the Stalinist stupidity, makes the Negrin government, nilly-willy a government of defeat.

If the Negrin government holds out, if the evil forces that brought them to power are not destroyed, the defeats will succeed each other continually. That will be certain victory for Franco and the certain defeat not only of the revolution but of the republic itself. This is the second truth that needed telling.

Causes for the Defeats of Russian Imperialism

The defeat of the Spanish republic will also be a defeat of Stalin. And on this subject it is interesting to note that the serious defeats suffered in the last ten years, by Russian imperialism, are all due to the same cause.

The Stalinist imperialism had experienced two notable defeats: that of China with the boosting of Chian Kai Chek, and that of Germany, with the ascension of Hitler to power. Spain is reserving him a third defeat, for he will either be beaten inside of republican Spain by the other anti-fascist forces, or, if he maintains his hold over the Spanish republic, it will be beaten by Franco. But the cause of these three defeats are one and the same. Odd as it may appear, that cause is Stalin's absolute lack of understanding of the class struggle: in all three cases the policy that lead Stalin to defeat consisted in his disregarding of the class antagonism.

In China he imagined himself able to marry the fish to the hare: the bourgeois Kuomingtang to the revolutionary workers and peasants. To hinder such a marriage, the Kuomingtang massacred everything that was Russian. After having furnished Chiang Kai Chek the means with which to conquer all China from Canton to Peking, Stalinist imperialism found itself expelled, from one day to another, by this same Chiang Kai Chek.

In Germany, Stalin imagined that the revengeful Hitler will turn to be a better support for his struggle against Poland and the other neighbors on the western border of Russia than the timid social-democrats. The two dictators could divide the existing spoils if the States emerged from the Versailles treaties, just as their royal and imperial predecessors had, in the past divided up and annexed Poland. Therefore every time, before the advent of Hitler, the communists of Germany were ready for action, the Communist International sternly forbade them doing anything.

But, the attraction of the "corridor" did not cut much figure in the class interests of Hitler's backers. No matter how anti-socialist the Stalinist regime had become, the absence of private property in Russia was not agreeable to them; no matter how opposite to the October revolution Stalin's regime was, to the bulk of the world proletariat, and especially to the German working class, it appeared to be the continuator of that revolution and the symbol of their emancipation; hence the fight inside of Germany against communism and against the working class was not compatible with an alliance with Russia. That is the reason that Hitler, brought to power by the Ruhr magnates to extirpate communism and socialism in Germany, could not base his foreign policy on a Russian alliance, but on the contrary on a struggle against the U.S.S.R. From Hitler's coming to power Stalin expected a strengthening of the Rapallo treaty; the first act of Hitler was the destruction of Rapallo.

Under different forms, this same misunderstanding, of the fact that the class struggle dominates the foreign as well as the domestic policies of States, is the cause that leads Russian imperialism to its defeat in Spain.

It was Russia that saved Spain last November. The fact is incontestable: it is foolish to deny it or to belittle the fact. Without the Russian planes and without the International Brigade—which was a communist creation, it would have been all over for republican Spain. The blockade of Mr. Blum —the greatest treason ever committed by social-democracy in the entire course of its history—was accomplishing its work. Just as it was Russian help that enabled the Kuomingtang to conquer China, it was Russia that enabled the Spanish republic to save Madrid. . . and the rest.

But, again, the same as in China, where Stalin, believing thus to best serve his imperialistic interests, ordered the communist party of China to collaborate with the Kuomingtang, to uphold the interests of the Chinese buorgeoisie, just so in Spain, he forced his party to defend the Spanish bourgeoisie against the revolution.

The result will be the same: as in China where one nice day, Stalin saw his followers massacred at Nankin and at Hankow by the soldiers of Chiang Kai Shek, so in Spain, he will wake up one of these days to the fact that his party is but an annex of the Falange, which has secured victory for Franco.

The C. N. T. Continues to Live

In the presence of the situation as described above, what is the C. N. T. doing? How does it react to the loss of power by the proletariat and to the fascist control of the bourgeois power?

The C. N. T. is playing dead. It keeps itself carefully from reacting. The C. N. T. allowed without the least protestation the disarming of the Patrols of Control; it forbids any retaliation for the murdering of its militants (official figures: 60 C. N. T. members "disappeared"), and against the imprisonment of its members (official firgures: 800 C. N. T. members imprisoned) it is opposing only respectful interventions and legal defense.

In the meantime its forces—so it seems—are intact. In Valencia as in Barcelona, the C. N. T. press is the most widely read. One comrade even claimed—and his claim seems to be very nearly the general opinion—that the C. N. T. never was as strong as it is now, for the prestige it may have lost while participating in power, it now has regained, and the Stalinists's stupidity makes them grow stronger every day.

On the other hand, it is certain that it still retains its arms, keeping them in the most unexpected places.

Finally, the economic attainments of the revolution are being preserved almost entirely. As a general rule, the labor unions and collectives are functioning the same as before. Stripped of political power, the working class still retains economic control.

Thus in Puigcerda, of which I said last month that I don't know whether the work of collectivization, that I have seen in February, is still in existence, and which is one of the places where the exclusion of the workers from power was most complete and most brutal (seven murdered since the end of May, without counting former murders; 50 imprisoned. Continuous presence of 500 guards in a town of 4,000 inhabitants), the collectives are still in force almost entirely, according to what one of the local militants told me, whom I met in the middle of July: only the rayon cooperative was closed; a few tailors and certain other bourgeois elements belonging to the UGT have seceded from the cooperative, "but, added the comrade, this was fine, for on account of them we were obliged to admit representatives of the UGT in the administration of the cooperative; now that we are to ourselves, we can go ahead more openly than before."

The C. N. T. unions in Puigcerda have been dispossessed of their hall, but they have simply occupied another hall, a little less imposing than the old one. And, they are only waiting for the arrival of their paper supply, in order to resume publication of their local Libertarian Youth paper, SEMBRADOR (The Sower).

Thus, under the storm, the Puigcerda comrades have bent down, after the storm they are straightening out. And this is not a specialty of Puigcerda; it is, I believe, the traditional policy of the C. N. T.: "let the storm pass."

To let the storm pass and saving everything that can be saved. Advancing step by step, and maintaining its least attacked and most solid positions as intact as possible. These positions at present are the economic sectors. Not to engage its forces in order to save them for the favorable moment, when circumstances are favorable for a new offensive.

However, this is not a new tactic with the C. N. T. and the F. A. I.: it is their traditional, historical tactic. When the foreign comrades, alarmed by these repeated retreats, of these abandoning positions of primary importance without a struggle, communicate their fears to the Spanish fellow workers, they invariable receive the following answer: "This is not the first time that we are persecuted, we have known many others; after every persecution we came out stronger than before. It will be the same now as it happened in the past."

The optimism that results from the strength of the C. N. T., a strength that is not based on the mass of its members, nor on the wealth of its treasures, but, if I may say, on the morale.

Through their principles, through their manner of being and of acting, the C. N. T. and F. A. I. have deep and manyfold roots in the entire Spanish proletariat. Due to that, they dispose at any moment, an important number of active militants who can, at the first favorable opportunity raise the flag and take spontaneously the necessary action. The labor union action and the anarchist morale are at present so rooted into the body of the Spanish proletariat that they cannot be separated; that bond cannot be severed without destroying the proletariat itself.

It is that, no doubt, that explains the expectant tactics followed at present by the C. N. T. and which perhaps justifies it.

* * *

West Coast Chaos

By Card No. X13068

THE CIO-AFL INTER-UNION WAR

Labor history now being made on the Pacific Coast bids fair to be a chapter of which the working class can in no way be proud. Inter-union strife between officials and labor fakers of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. using every method of attack on each other and promoting violent wranglings and even sluggings not soon to be forgotten among their rank and file members, who, in not a few cases, are only dues-paying pawns in the hands of unscrupulous union bosses with political or other anti-working class ambitions, is fast sapping the unity of Coast labor.

Added to the natural union jurisdictional fight are the everpresent so-called labor party promoters, those jackals who take every oportunity to feast on the vitals of labor.

The writer of these lines is a member of neither the C. I. O. nor the A. F. of L. and nothing here said is intended as a defense of either group. It is an attempt to portray briefliy what is now going on in these unions of the Pacific Coast.

Teamsters vs Longshoremen

The struggle is centered between the powerful A. F. of L. Teamsters union, and thte International Longshoremen's Association which recently left the A. F. of L. and joined the C. I. O. Disregarding the frantic supporters of both sides who do things through emotion without applying logic, it is necessary to point to some of the purported leaders.

For a long time prior to 1933 the I. L. A. and other maritime unions were of no consequence in the Coast labor set up. In that year a campaign was put on which succeeded in establishing the I. L. A. locals in all ports. The seamen's union also had a revival in their part of the maritime industry. By the early summer of 1934 these unions were going strong enough to challenge the shipping masters.

Strikes of 1934-1937

The 1934 maritime strike was a hard-fought and bloody battle. This memorable struggle ended in victory for the unions in all ports. One outcome of the 1934 strike was the formation of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific.

This organization, embracing all the maritime unions, was hailed as a progressive step in promoting solidarity and in giving the maritime workers a potent weapon for concerted action. The 1934 strike closed solidly all important ports except Los Angeles (San Pedro harbor). The chief supporter of the strike was the Teamsters union which had strong locals in all ports except Los Angeles.

Along with union action the teamsters poured thousands of dollars into the strike relief fund. The refusal of the other port unions to sign agreements unless all ports signed, forced the notorious Los Angeles harbor also to recognize the union.

This unity between the maritime workers and the Teamsters union proved an unbeatable combination, not only in 1934 but also in the strike which started in the autumn of 1936 and ended early in 1937.

Due to the refusal of the ship owners to try to recruit scabs the 1936-37 strike was a strange affair. Continuous negotiations were carried on with some near-clashes over perishables and medical supplies. Again the Teamsters union and other A. F. of L. unions poured money out for strike relief. The teamsters also strengthened their organization all along the line, getting a strong foothold, even in Los Angeles.

At this time under the direction of Harry Bridges the I. L. A. started organizing warehouse men, in some instances far removed from the water front. This was a move that would obviously cause a clash with the teamsters. It should be remembered that at this time the Pacific I. L. A. was still a part of the A. F. of L. The Maritime Federation of the Pacific never had an opportunity to test its mettle under fire and is now probably doomed to die, and with it the solidarity of the maritime workers for a long time.

Industrial Background

To get the proper perspective of labor on the Pacific Coast it is significant to point out that there are no great mass production industries such as are found in autos in Detroit, rubber in Akron, or steel in other eastern and mid-western cities. There are branches of the various eastern manufacturers but they are comparatively small and employ hundreds where in the East thousands work. Consequently the C. I. O. strength has been chiefly recruited in the West by raiding already organized A. F. of L. unions.

This raiding is, of course, vigorously fought by the AFL. In the view of the writer who believes that both the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. are conservative unions it puts the C. I. O. promoters in the position of being more or less union splitters. Further, the great horde of unorganized agricultural workers are as yet not an objective of the C. I. O. As with the A. F. of L., these most exploited workers are not considered important enough for the C. I. O. leaders.

The suspicion arises that, again like the A. F. of L., the C. I. O. knows that 20 to 30 cents an hour agricultural workers will be unable to pay the high dues and assessments charged by them. Certainly the C. I. O. slogan to "organize the unorganized" which was carried out in the automobile and steel industries is sufficient excuse for their existence. As much as one might wish to find that same excuse on the Pacific Coast it is not apparent, search as you may. The wrangle in the Northwest is over the withdrawal of already organized A. F. of L. unions in the sawmills.

No Clearcut Division

The outlook for the workers would be better and the position of the C. I. O. more secure if it were true that there is unanimity in the ranks of the recently withdrawn A. F. of L. unions which are now C. I. O. But the I. L. A. itself is split on the question, and even though the I. L. A. majority voted C. I. O. there is a grave danger of the formation of the not insignificant minority into new A. F. of L. locals which will create further havoc on the water front in case of a strike.

In every port these minority groups are active and are pointing out the obvious instances where appointed C. I. O. officials did not consult the rank and file of their unions on serious moves.

Then there are the other maritime unions besides the I. L. A. which are not affiliated with the C. I. O. Chief among these is the Sailors Union of the Pacific which is very much anti-C. I. O. Neither is it in good standing in the A. F. of L. due to the charter-revoking scandal of a year or so ago. The S. U. P., no doubt, is an outstanding exponent of rank und file unionism. This union's record since 1933 is the most clear cut of all the maritime unions. The S. U. P. in spite of threats from both bosses and other maritime unions went down the line in refusing to accept the Copeland fink book. While on the East Coast the only outstanding support they got was from the I. W. W. Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 510.

The Sailors' Stand

Those who are now promoting the National Maritime Union (N. M. U.) branded themselves by advocating the acceptance of the fink book. There is now no compulsory continuous discharge book, The S. U. P. in other instances has taken an excellent stand, such as on the minimum wages and hours bill for seamen and on the present effort of another Copeland bill to abolish the hiring halls. At least one C. I. O.-N. M. U. representative favored this union-wrecking bill.

Harry Lundberg, secretary of the S. U. P., seems to be a different sort of official and consequently is not popular with Harry Bridges, Joseph Curran, or the communist Western Worker which is blatantly supporting the C. I. O. Some of the other maritime unions, such as the Marine Firemen, Oilers and Water Tenders, are taking the same stand as the S. U. P.

Beck and Bridges

The recognized boss of the Pacific Coast Teamsters union is Dave Beck of Seattle. There is nothing to be said in his favor. He is a typical A. F. of L. ruthless labor faker. But the Teamsters union has an estimated membership of over eighty thousand, and the teamsters are traditionally not kid glove performers in any kind of dispute.

In a recent case in Los Angeles the leaders of the C. I. O. wrote long letters to the chief of police demanding police aid in fighting the A. F. of L. teamsters. In at least one instance they had members of the Teamsters union arrested and taken to court for assault and battery.

The present director of the Pacific Coast C. I. O. is Harry Bridges who was appointed by John L. Lewis. Bridges rode to popularity and power from the I. L. A. strike of 1934. Although an unknown before that time he rose from the I. L. A. local in San Francisco on the cry for rank and file rule. Yet it is to be remembered that he sought and accepted an appointment from Lewis while an official of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific without bothering to ask the sanction of the Federation in advance.

No doubt Bridges is an able man and he has a large following who are his fanatic supporters. As to his course—it depends on whether one is anti- or pro-Bridges. He has been given undue publicity in his activities. During the 1936-1937 strike his name went on all advertising in box-car letters while the strike itself went in smaller type. Bridges is, to the outside observer, a cagy performer and certainly appears definitely committed to the formation of a Farmer-Labor party. Which is true also of the whole Pacific C. I. O. leadership. He is supported by the communist publication, the Western Worker, and this may well be one of his handicaps.

Harry Bridges is at a crisis in his career. Regardless of his sincerity he has yet to demonstrate the possession of unerring tactical knowledge necessary to take him to the hights of labor captaincy to which he so obviously aspires.

Further light on the Bridges' position may be obtained from the files of the Voice of the Federation. In the published charges against an editor by Bridges the careful reader may draw a clear conclusion of Bridges' idea of correct action.

(Continued on page 33)

A Little Economics for the Home

By WALTER PFEFFER

Warning!—This is not a play— it's just a conversation!

Workingman's front porch. "The Missus" is on a hammock.

I. W. W. Organizer: (walking up the steps) Is William Jones home?

The Missus: What do you want with him? I haven't seen you before.

I. W. W.: I wanted to see him about some plans that the men down at the shop are making for themselves.

The Missus: I'll bet their plans are for no good.

I. W. W.: The general idea is to get a raise for William.

The Missus: That's different. Oh Wil-yam! Come here!

William has been working long and real hard, and he should get a raise the way prices are going up.

William (coming outside): Er, ma, this is one of the organizers that have been trying to get all of us down at the shop into a union. I've been figuring on joining.

The Missus: Oh—he's one of these blamed trouble makers that I've been reading about in the paper—and here you come and tell me that you wanted to see Bill to get him a raise.

I. W. W.: That's why we want the union, and don't let the papers fool you, ma'am. You've been having lots of trouble trying to make ends meet long before I ever met your husband. Lot's more people have had plenty of trouble trying to get a job at all. We're not here to make trouble. We're here to fix things so that people have less trouble.

The Missus: And the first thing you want to do, I'll bet is to take some of Bill's hard-earned money to make him belong to the union.

I. W. W.: That's exactly what I called to do.

The Missus: I'll say that you're brazen enough about it anyway. Why don't you go to work and earn your living?

I. W. W.: Now that is an idea, ma'am. I can run a press just as well as William, and I suppose the boss down at the shop would be so glad to see me stop organizing the men that if I told him you wanted me to quit organizing and go to work, he would even give me Mr. Jones' job. Would that please you better?

The Missus: It wouldn't be fair at all.

I. W. W.: As long as they have no union down there, you can't make them fair. And even if I didn't take Mr. Jones' job, I'd be taking Mr. Somebody Else's job. . . and I suppose Mrs. Somebody Else would say that wasn't fair either. I really prefer this job of getting men to stick together and win higher wages for themselves. In fact I'm pretty good at it, and because of the work I've done at it, there are thousands of workers who have more money to spend; they have the power to insist that seniority rights are observed, and that things are run closer to their idea of fairness. They are more secure in their jobs. They are better off all the way round. So what good would it do you if we quit organizing? You'd just find it that much harder to make ends meet, and you'd be sitting around saying somebody ought to do something about it.

The Missus: That's just what I told Mrs. Logan down at the butcher shop. Porkchops are forty cents a pound. It's outrageous! But if Bill pays you to go into your union that won't help us buy any porkchops. We'll just be out so much good money. That's the trouble with Bill—he never did have any sense.

Bill: Oh yeah?

I. W. W.: Do you tell the butcher what you will pay for porkchops, or does he tell you what you will have to pay to get them?

The Missus: Ain't you got no sense a-tall? Certainly he puts the price on a card and sticks it right up on a little stick right over the porkchops.

I. W. W. If he let you set the price, would he be able to make ends meet, and keep in business?

The Missus: I don't suppose he would, for I can remember when porkchops were ten and eleven cents a pound.

I. W. W.: Now, Mr. Jones, do you tell the boss what he should pay you, or does he tell you what he's going to pay?

Bill: Fact is, we're never real sure what we're getting until pay-day. There's hourly rates, and piece-work, and bonus, and gang-piece-work-bonus.

I. W. W.: So you sell your life at so much per hour, and let the boss set his price on it—in fact you wait until what you sold of it has been used up before you find out the price—and Mrs. Jones wonders why she can't make ends meet when everyone who sells her anything does just the opposite of what you do.

The Missus: What do you want me to do, pin a price tag on William?

I. W. W.: In a way, yes. Mr. Jones can't set his price on his labor himself, but he and his fellow workers can, if they organize, and tell the company what their wage rates will be.

Bill: Yes, ma, all the men figure we ought to get together and tell the company a few things about wages, and hours, and time and a half, and a few other things.

The Missus: And then you'll get fired and have no job at all.

I. W. W.: There's millions of men in this country with no job. It isn't because they belonged to unions and asked for too much. It's because there wasn't enough unionism, and they didn't ask for enough.

Bill: And when we have a union, the men will stand back of each other, and we won't be afraid to speak up for our rights.

The Missus: So you have to go through all that to get a raise. Why don't you just speak up for yourself and tell them that you're worth more, and that I had to pay forty cents a pound for porkchops, and that rent is up. Believe me if I worked there, I could tell them plenty and not bother with any fancy union business about it either.

Bill: The foreman can't change rates for just one man. He has to change it for all the men on the same job.

The Missus: So if the rest of the men get a raise, you'll get one too.

Bill: Sure.

The Missus: Then why do you have to spend some of your perfectly good money on a union card?

Bill: I don't want to have the rest of the men get a raise for me by joining up, and me not going with them. That's too much like stealing pennies from a blind man's cup, or waiting at the post office for somebody else to push the revolving door around for me.

I. W. W.: Besides, if too many wait for the rest to get a raise for them, there won't be any raise.

The Missus: I don't see what good a raise will do you that everybody gets, for then prices will go up too. That's all been explained right in the morning paper, right in this cartoon on the front page.

I. W. W.: No, don't let the papers fool you ma'am. If the higher wages were added to the price, no company would put up such a fight to stop the men from going after more money.

The Missus: But that's just what they do. I remember during the war, how Bill kept getting more money but it didn't do us any good because the cost of living kept going up faster and faster. And it was all on account of these unions.

I. W. W.: Prices went up because so much was being used up and destroyed in the war. How well off would you have been if your husband's pay hadn't gone up too? The unions kept raising wages where they didn't have contracts to stop them, to keep somewhere near the rising cost of living. Prices are going up again, and if your husband doesn't organize and raise his wages, you'll be most decidedly up against it.

The Missus: What union is it you want him to join?

I. W. W.: The I. W. W.

The Missus: Oh them terrible I Won't Works.

I. W. W.: The papers go to a lot of trouble to give the wrong idea about our union, and it's just because it's such a good union for the workers, and the employers don't like to shell out with their profits.

Bill: Sure, if we let the boss pick our union it would be one of these inside company unions. That's why we figure on the I. W. W. It must be good to have such a reputation. See, my card costs $1.75.

I. W. W.: Yes.

Bill: Say, ma. I need another quarter, I've only got a dollar and a half here.

The Missus: It don't make much sense to me, but I'll give you the quarter. And you better be a good union man from now on so I can get my money back.

I. W. W.: O. K.—you'll get it back many times over in wage increases, or I miss my guess.

* * *

The I. W. W In Theory and Practice

A BOOK REVIEW

"Industrial Unionism the C.I.O. and the I.W.W. in Theory and Practice" by Justus Ebert. Published by the Industrial Workers of the World.

How the Industrial Workers of the World fits into the present day industrial scene and how it lays the ground work for the industrial commonwealth to come is plainly and interestingly set forth in the new I. W. W. booklet entitled, *Industrial Unionism, The C. I. O. and the I. W. W. in Theory and Practice,* written by Justus Ebert.

Though this timely work is based on and is to a considerable extent a revision of the earlier *I. W. W. in Theory and Practice* by the same author, the new data it contains makes it in a very real sense a new and striking contribution to the literature of working class revolt against the capitalist system.

In approximately 150 brief pages (at this writing the work is still in manuscript form) the author has succeded in depicting those conditions which in recent years have given so many knotty problems to the American worker for solution. The new deal, the new politics growing out of capitalist integration and technological development, and the pseudo-industrial unionism promoted by reactionary labor leaders are discussed fairly and thoroughly. Contrasting the I. W. W. with the C. I. O. the author says:

"The A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. are both essentially the same. . . They both believe that the capitalist system is a final one. They have no social outlook beyond capitalism. They are bulwarks against socialism, or any other upward workers‘ movement. Accordingly they resist the new society. They join the capitalist class in the persecution of those who advocate one; and expell them from their membership.

"The I. W. W., on the other hand, believes that capitalism is but a phase of social evolution that is breaking down. The I. W. W., accordingly, organizes industrially to prepare to carry on society when capitalism shall have collapsed as it gives every indication of doing. It welcomes all workers at work in industry; or unemployed because of industrial maladjustment."

In discussing the democratic structure and policy of the I. W. W. he contrasts these with the autocratic leadership system that obtains in other unions, pointing out especially the C. I. O., of which organization he says:

"The C. I. O. is even more highly centralized then the A. F. of L. in this respect (centralization of power). Where the A. F. of L. international union heads only dominate their own individual unions, the C. I. O. heads dominate all of the C. I. O. unions. They have the most highly centralized control in all American labor unionism."

The book also has more than a word to say about the "anti-working class socialist-communist politics" which "in the name of Joseph Stalin and Karl Marx supported Roosevelt to save the workers of the country from relief cuts and fascism."

With the A. F. of L. and the C. I. O. in existence, is the I. W. W. needed as a labor organization? Ebert asks this question and answers it with a clear and unequivocal, yes. He succeeds in showing, in fact, that "the I. W. W. is the only labor organization in the country today."

The book gives a thorough and easily understood account of the I. W. W. as it functions, of its ideals, motives and objectives. With such complete coverage of theoretical and practical material there is, of course, not room left in the book for a detailed history of the I. W. W. but even so enough of this has been included to give the reader an excellent picture of the eventful past of this organization.

This new "Theory and Practice" is a book that will make a place for itself in every labor library but what is more important, it will prove to be an eye-opener to every worker who reads it. Its predecessor has for years been used as text book in labor unionism in half a dozen different languages. There is every reason to expect that the present work will do even better.—C. K.

THE MARCH OF PROGRESS

By A Tannery Worker

Way back in 1849 there were in the United States 6,686 establishments engaged in the production of leather and there were 25,595 workers employed in the industry.

Since then some noteworthy changes have taken place in this industry which is one of the few that has not been affected tremendously through introduction of new machinery, showing that the concentration of industry into fewer and fewer hands goes forward even without pressure of great technological change.

By 1919 the number of establishments had decreased to 680, only a little more than one-tenth of number operating 70 years before. Side by side with this rapid decrease in plants there was an increase in the number of workers employed up to 1919, when there were 72,476 workers who had jobs in the industry.

But after 1919, along with a continuing decline in the number of plants, there has been also a decrease in the number of workers employed. In 1935 there were only 384 establishments and 50,877 workers. The decline in both the number of plants and the number employed has been steady, year by year. Between 1923 and 1935, about 9,000 workers were dropped; this number would have been more than doubled had it not been for the shortening of the work hours from 48 to 40 a week in this period.

In spite of the rapid decline in the number of plants, the typical leather manufacturing establishments still remains small compared with the size of plants which prevail in many other important industries. Even relatively large leather plants employ fewer than 500 workers on the average.

A considerable amount of the work done in leather tanneries is performed by hand. Hardly any of the machines in use can be called automatic, and almost every process involves some manual skill. Hides are easily damaged by unskillful handling and at some stages they deteriorate rapidly if not put through with due promptness the routine of operations involved in the manufacturing process. Because of these factors a high premium is placed on skill and training.

What the workers get

Just the same the workers in this industry are not well paid—far from it. In a recent issue of the **Industrial Worker** there was an account of wages and conditions in Elkland, Pa. where the "biggest sole leather plant in the world" is located. Here, it appears, that these skilled workers with fairly steady employment live practically in a state of peonage in spite of their skill. However, the U. S. Department of Labor gives the average annual wage of leather manufacture workers for 1935 as $1,095. With this as the average it is certain that the majority receive much less; so it is a fair inference that even outside of Elkland the leather makers have a standard of living barely above the subsistence level.

Productivity

In 1935 a wage earner in the sole leather tanning industry produced an average of 20.70 pounds of leather an hour. This was an increase of about

18 per cent over the average of 17.51 pounds in 1929. Comparable data for the years further back are not obtainable but it is estimated that the increase in producivity between 1923 and 1935 was about 32 per cent.

These increases in productivity were not due in any substantial measure to the introduction of new machinery for few new machines have been introduced into this industry since 1923. The gains have practically all been achieved through "better management" which, to the workers, is merely another way of saying, "harder and faster labor."

It has come to be an old story. With an ever growing population there is a progressive shrinkage in the number of workers employed in useful production. Increasing numbers of workers are forced into unemployment or into socially useless or even harmful occupations. More labor is expended for munitions and battleships, more for the protection and pleasure of the rich; and less for the production of food, clothing, and shelter.

The progressive degradation of the common man is a theme that can be illustrated a thousand ways from the facts of modern industrial life. Humanity needs shoes, lots more than it is getting, so we are compelled to make guns, something humanity doesn't need, instead; or we walk the streets doing nothing.

It's high time that the people who have been running the world for us producers be given a permanent lay-off.

* * *

WEST COAST CHAOS

(Continued from page 28)

Animosity Grows

At this writing, mid September, the fight is on in earnest in San Francisco where the teamsters have practically stopped cargo movement to and from the docks. Only the state-owned Belt Line railway is reported as moving I. L. A. handled cargo. This dispute was precipitated by the I. L. A. warehouse argument. There are so many charges and counter charges from each set of leaders that it is hard to get straight story, but it is all a part of the same mess.

In the Northwest the A. F. of L. and Teamsters have succeded in closing a number of lumber mills because they are manned by one time A. F. of L. unionists now C. I. O. At Long Beach in Southern California, the California State Federation of Labor convention in session is busily purging itself of the C. I. O.

All this wrangling is likely to spread more, and to result in more open warfare. The capitalist press gleefully gives columns of space to this worker-against-worker strife.

C. I. O. Record

The C. I. O. unions have conducted few important strikes on the coast. In some instances they have shown amateur form in their tactics. The most notable fiasco was the Douglas Aircraft sit down strike of last February. Also the C. I. O.'s notorious Mine Mill and Smeltermen's union bungled a strike of construction workers on the Los Angeles Water and Power Project near Bishop, California; adding to the long, infamous record of this formerly A. F. of L. affiliate. This union also had some strength on the Colorado aqueduct. It is now conducting a strike at Banning, California on the unfinished Colorado aqueduct tunnels. Since their only demand is a signed agreement of union recognition and no demands for shorter hours or better conditions, it is not likely to succeed. The aqueduct is a 48-hour week job.

The outcome of all the confusion in Pacific Coast labor ranks remains to be seen. It is now apparent that neither the C. I. O. nor the A. F. of L. can win all. The A. F. of L. certainly has the strongest footing. The reader may favor either one or the other of these two official-ruled groups and expect unity eventually to be gained. The writer sees nothing to be gained for the working class except its disillusionment in movements that keep workers fighting workers and unions scabbing on unions.

The leaders on both sides will have their publicity and high pay. The communist Western Worker will become a daily paper. Those queer creatures the communists whose magic glasses make yesterday's misleading traitor appear as today's peerless leader and union man, will add another pock mark to the pages of labor history.

There is one solution. Let the workers say: "To hell with all you fakers" and organize industrially as a class as advocated so long by the Industrial Workers of the World. Until then—?

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

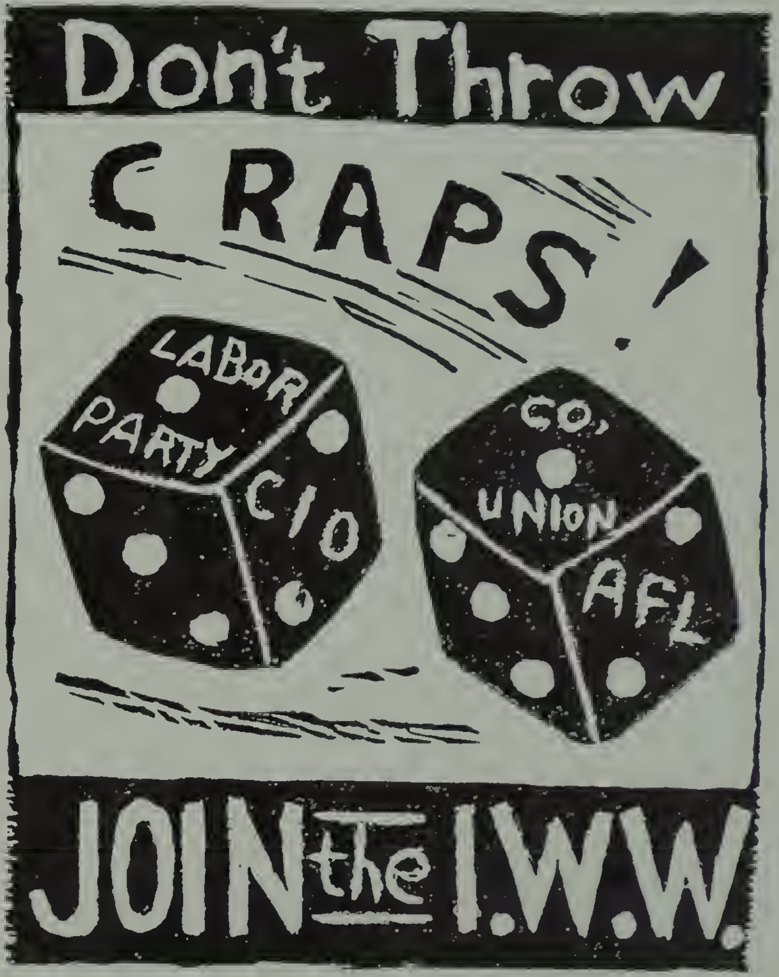
These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

You Can't Throw a Natural Unless the Right Spots Are On the Dice

◆



Once there was a small boy who went fishing for salmon in a wash tub. He didn't catch anything but he was only a youngster and had a good time pretending.

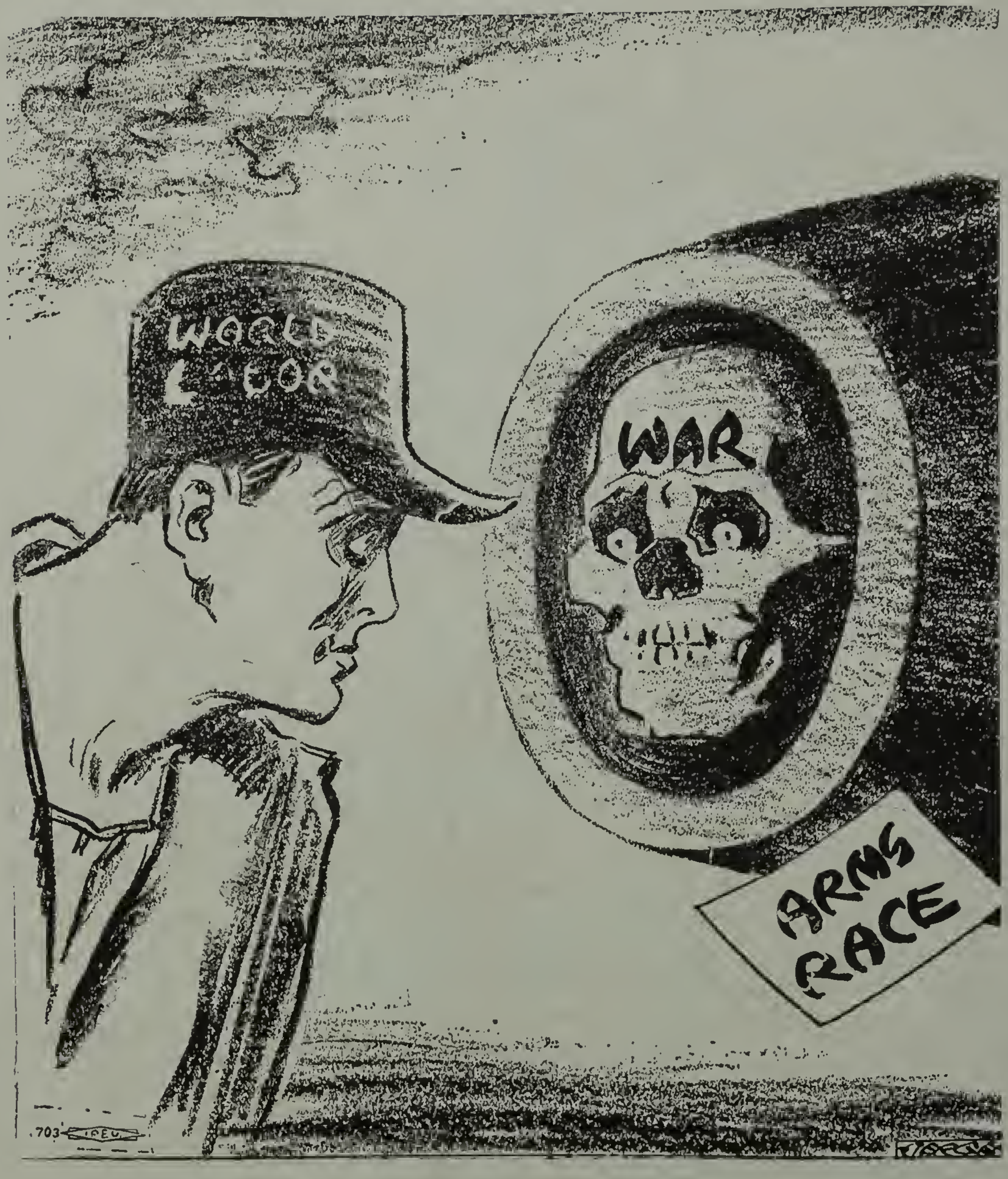
This boy had a grown up neighbor who got the goofy notion that he could find apples growing on sage brush. Of course he didn't find any and, because he persisted in his foolishness, he was finally safely stored away in an asylum.

There are thousands of workers who think they can get industrial unionism through the C. I. O., and other thousands who hope the A. F. of L. will give them economic security; and, strange as it may seem, there are still others who believe that a labor party holds some promise for suffering humanity.

No, they are not out of their heads, but just over credulous and misinformed.

When the workers sit in the game of labor politics, or craft unionism (old or new style), or Lewisized "industrial" unionism, even the greatest of good luck can't make them win. The right spots are not on the dice. They never have been there. Those are games so fixed that the workers always lose when they play them.

In the I. W. W. the rank and file members make their own rules and set their own goal. They may not win every time but of this they may be sure, they are not played for suckers.


WORLD LABOR
WAR
ARMS RACE

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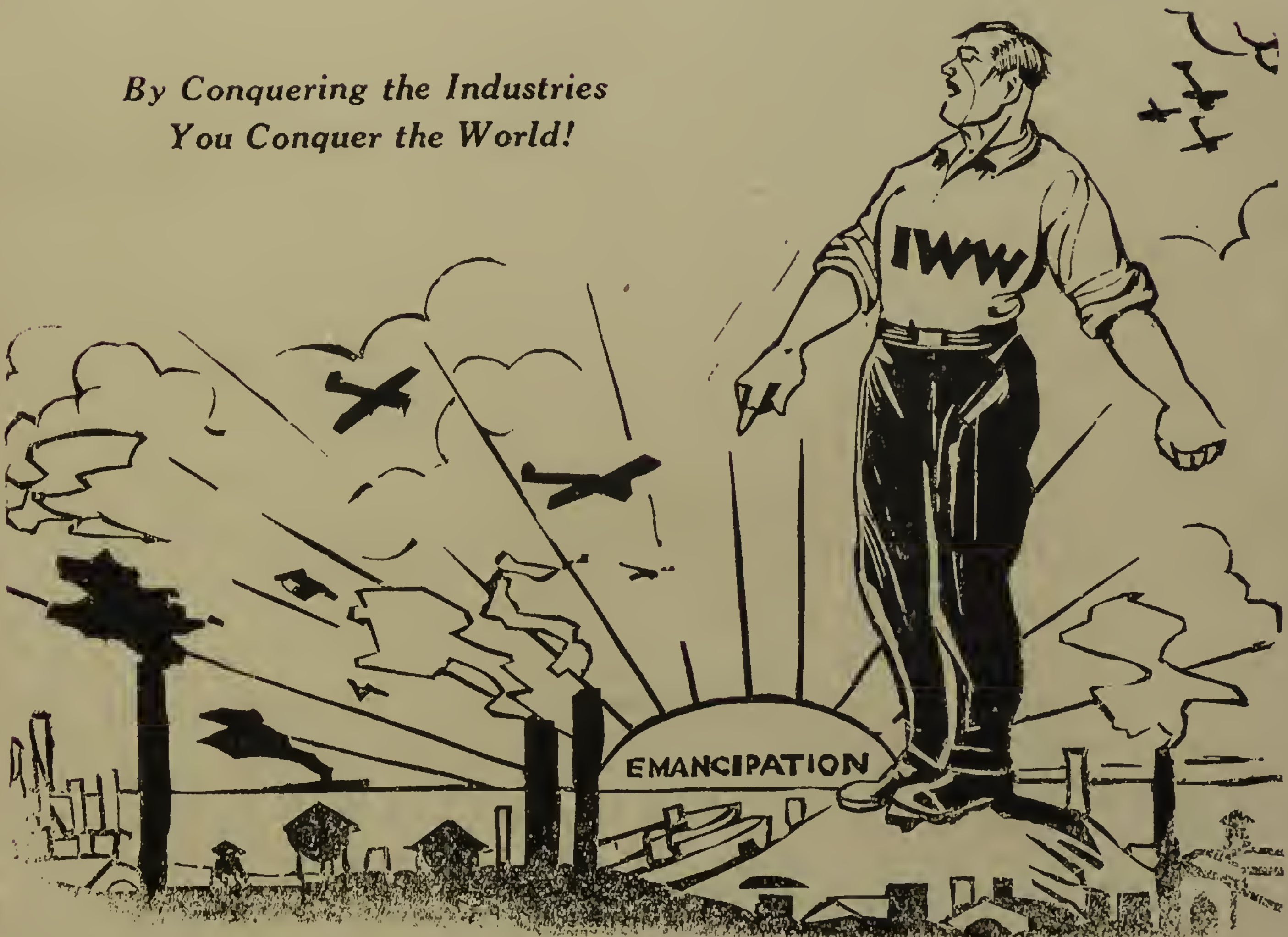

NOVEMBER 1937

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WORKING CLASS UNITY

The Industrial Workers of the World wants a unified labor movement; but it is an active unity that we want, not the passive kind that grows out of meek submission to employers, leaders, and dictators.

We want to see men and women of the working class voluntarily united by a common cause, a conscious urge for plenty in freedom, and fighting on the economic field against the common enemy. We want workers united by knowledge and understanding of their position in society and by the conviction that through industrial unionism alone can they reach their goal—freedom from wage slavery.

There is unity of a kind in a mob bent on distruction. There is unity in an army rushing to its death, and the death of others, at the command of a leader whose purpose and object the soldier cannot understand, nor is supposed to question.

We don't want unity of the millions for the glory and honor of political and industrial leaders, no matter if they do claim to speak in the name of labor.

The unity we want is established only in workshops and in union meetings where workers produce and where they make plans for the regulation of production.

Let working class harmony develop out of a common activity instead of from blind obedience to self-imposed leaders, and the troubles from which we suffer will soon be ended. The I. W. W. shows the way to freedom!

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November 11 Fifty Years Ago

By

LUCY PARSONS

Once again on November 11 a memorial meeting will be held to commemorate the death of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs—1937 is the fiftieth anniversary and this meeting bids fair to be more widly observed than any of the forty-nine previous ones.

It has taken fifty years to dig the facts of this case out from under the mountains of lies that was heaped upon our martyrs by the exploiters in their attempt to cover up their crime of sending five labor leaders to the gallows. You will hear people say today, as one said to me recently, "What! Calling those Haymarket bomb-throwers martyrs? Do you think I believe that? You will have to show me."

Now I am writing this article to "show" all such doubting Thomases.

The Protest Meeting

The Haymarket meeting was held as a protest against the brutality of the police who, during the great strike for the eight-hour work day of 1886, tried with all the vicious power at their command to defeat the hopes of the workers.

At noon on May 3, 1886, the striking workers of the McCormick reaper works were discussing their problems in a mass meeting near the plant when two patrol wagons loaded with policemen appeared. With drawn clubs the police rushed down upon the workers, clubbing them. Two workers were shot.

The next evening the famous Haymarket meeting was held to protest against this and other outrages of the police. This meeting was attended by about 3,000 people, men and women. I myself was there with our two children.

The meeting was perfectly peaceful but when it was about to adjourn a company of police charged upon it and ordered the crowd to disperse. At the onrush of these police, violators of the law they were sworn to uphold, someone—to this day he is unknown—hurled a bomb into the ranks of the police. Then hell broke loose!

The "Anarchist" Craze

The papers came out next morning with great flare headlines, "The anarchist dynamiters, bomb-throwers had started a riot and had intended to blow up the city; and but for the courage of the police they would have thrown many more bombs," and so on. They demanded that the leaders be arrested and made examples of.

Six weeks later eight men (our Chicago martyrs) were arraigned in a prejudiced court before a prejudiced judge and a packed jury. They were charged with murder.

Mayor Harrison of Chicago testified for the defense. Here are a few lines from his testimony:

"I went to the meeting for the purpose of dispersing it should it require my attention, when the meeting was about to adjourn I went to the station (about half a block away) and told Captain Bonfield to send his reserves home, that the meeting was about to adjourn, that the speeches were tame."

But State's Attorney Grinell, pointing to the defendents, said:

"These defendents are not more guilty than the thousands who follow them; they were selected by the grand jury because they were leaders. Convict them and save our society."

Bailiff Rylance was heard to remark:

"I am managing this case. Those fellows will hang as sure as death. I am selecting men that will compel the defense to waste their challenges, then they will have to take such men as the prosecution wants."

Triumph of Reaction

The trial, so-called, lasted sixty-three days. The jury brought in a verdict of guilty in three hours.

The judge in dismissing the jury-men thanked them for the verdict and told them that carriages were outside to take them home. The capitalists were over-joyed. A sum of $100,000 was paid the jury. The Chicago Tribune on August 20 opened its columns thus:

"The twelve good men and true have rendered a just verdict, let them be generously remembered. Raise a sum of $100,000 to be paid with the thanks of a grateful public."

When the march to the gallows was begun all the men showed remarkable courage without the slightest tinge of bravado. Parsons was wonderfully composed. The moment his feet touched the gallows he seemed to lose his identity . . . "No tragedian ever made a more marvelous presentation of a self-chosen part," a capitalist paper reported.

On that gloomy morning of November 11, 1887, I took our two little children to the jail to bid my beloved husband farewell. I found the jail roped off with heavy cables. Policemen with pistols walked in the inclosure.

I asked them to allow us to go to our loved one before they murdered him. They said nothing.

Then I said, "Let these children bid their father goodby, let them receive his blessing. They can do no harm."

In a few minutes a patrol wagon drove up and we were locked up in a police station while the hellish deed was done.

Oh, Misery, I have drunk thy cup of sorrow to its dregs but I am still a rebel.

"The Life Abundant"

A SHORT STORY

By WALTER PFEFFER

Suzanne Gives Some Low-Down On The Crust of the "Upper Crust"

Slim shouldn't discuss economics after a big meal. It always makes him too optimistic. Last Thursday he happened to be full of spare-ribs and cabbage—it was just the day after he got his pay from the WPA—and was discussing about Intelligence. It wasn't just the spare-ribs and cabbage, it must have been something he had read about a speech by one of these big shots who do the window dressing for the corporations.

"The world is going ahead to a greater abundance even if the unions don't do much about it," he opined. "Improved machinery not only makes it possible; it makes it necessary. For years haven't we heard political leaders of every party, in and out of office, business leaders, lawyers, college professors, everybody in general say that the problem is one of bringing consumption of goods to a par with our productive capacity? Isn't it plain as day that the economic problem is making everybody think? Aren't the capitalists, the industrial leaders, the big bankers, all talking differently about the standard of living than they used to? Yes, sir, there's a growing Intelligence among all classes of people, and that is going to solve our problem. They know that they've got to raise the standard of living, or they can't keep their machines running."

Suzanne had dropped in—Thursday is her day off—in the midst of this optimistic opinionation, and was already busy on her knitting. (That's a sure sign that she was all set for a big argument.) She actually stopped knitting to ask: "So the leopard is changing his spots, is he?"

"Yes, sir, right in front of our eyes every day," says Slim, "you can see them coming to recognize the impact of technology on our socio-economic structure." (Every time Slim feels shaky about an argument, he hoists up all the six-bit jawbreakers he can find.)

"Well, the only ones of the tribe that I know much about are the Old Man, and His Nibbs (that's the Old Man's son-in-law), and the folks that come out to eat, drink and be merry with them," says Suzanne, "and their spots ain't changing. In fact you should have tin-eared on them last night," she says.

"I was out in the kitchen, dishes all washed and Algernon in bed, and the house that quiet that I was pretty sure the little spoiled brat would soon be asleep, when the Old Man let a holler out of him. 'They're eatin' too damned much,' he says. So I look into the library where they had a log fire on to make it look cheerful, and there he was looking at the Saturday Evening Post.

He'd said it so loud that His Nibbs, and Letitia, (that's the Old Man's daughter that His Nibbs married), and Cornelia, (that's the other daughter that's waiting for the Old Man to buy her a title), and Mr. and Mrs. Spifldink who were over playing bridge with His Nibbs and the Mrs., all looked up respectful like. Even Gerald, His Nibbs' kid brother who's going to college, took his nose out of his book long enough to see if the Old Man was goin' to throw a fit.

"I was wondering if he was hollering about the help, but I'll say that for the Old Man, he always leaves it to Letitia to begrudge us enough to eat—yeah, she buys chops for us, exactly one apiece, and the butcher's boy is that well trained that he has to slip us something extra, and once in a while we take up a collection for him. "Look at this ad,' he says, 'in a magazine that reaches millions of people. How to coax kids to eat a hot cereal for breakfast! When I was a kid we used to fight to clean out the pot!'

"Well, they all relaxed a bit to find it was nothing worse than that. But he wasn't goin' to let them have any peace. He lays down the magazine, and glowers around at everybody, and lets another whoop out of him: 'Yeah, they're eatin' too damned much!'

"It set Algernon to crying that he wanted an ice-cream cone, and Mrs. Letitia sent the chauffeur out to get him one, and that's one chore Dick always kicks about, for he usually gets gypped out of the nickle. His Nibbs doesn't figure Algernon should have ice-cream after bed time either, and that must have made him sore, for he came back at the Old Man with: 'Well, dad, that's just a line of advertising that's brought you in plenty—you have a ten per cent interest in that—and they just grind up some wheat, and parch a bit of it—and package it and sell it at a fancy price by that kind of advertising, so what are you squawking about?'

" 'I don't give a damn whether I made a million on it or not,' says the Old Man. 'That ad is a sign of the times. It's a sign that these damned people that are striking, and raising so much hell, are eating too damned much. If they didn't have too damned much to eat, there wouldn't be any sense to this sort of advertising—and it all goes to prove my point that you can't pacify the beasts by giving them more. We put the lazy bums on relief, and even then they eat too damned much and want us to pay their doctor bills for them too. We'd all be better off if the kids were still scrapping to clean out the pots.'

" 'Then how would you sell them this cereal?' asks Gerald.

" 'We wouldn't have to sell it to them,' says the Old Man.

" 'If you didn't sell it to them, what would you do with the mills that make it, how would you make money out of them if you closed them down?' he asks.

" 'I'd damned well fire a few people if they couldn't figure how else to make some money with those damned mills. I know well enough that if we paid people less money, and they got along by wasting less food, and not eating so damned much, I'd have more money. Oh yeah, I can tell by the look on your face what you're thinking. I know what sort of radicalism they're teaching in that college that I'm fool enough to pay for—I've heard some of those political orators call me a gilded Grease-Us and you think I begrudge the working class the very bread that's in their mouth. But I'm telling you this, young feller, that there never was a kinder hearted man than yours truly, or a man who had the interests of the working man closer to his heart. It's the principle of the thing that I'm fighting about. We give these men jobs, and they bite the hand that's feeding them. We have to give them bonuses to get any damned work out of them. We get a bunch of college bred boobs as personnel managers, and every time some outside agitator comes around, they get yellow around their gills and tell us we'll have to give the men an increase or they'll organize and go on strike—and all the time it's the same old story—the more they get, the more they want. The world's going to the dogs and it's all because they eat too damned much. We got to do something about it. We got to save this damned waste. We got to save this damned civilization. And we're going to cut these wages next week, and we're going to keep on cutting them until kids start fighting to clean out the pots."

* * *

"Hell," says Slim, "he's just one of the Old Guard. The new type of capitalist is college trained—he knows his economics—he knows you can't keep on running that way—increased productivity won't permit it."

"Well," says Suzanne, "he may be Old Guard, but he's the guy that tells these other fellows where to get off at. I'm just telling you that you won't be wrong if you start telling the boys that they have to organize and fight, or they'll be getting wage cuts."

Industrial Unionism - - It's Power And Promise

By

COVINGTON HALL

No subject is being more "cussed and discussed" today than the question of Industrial Unionism.

Therefore, what is industrial unionism? Out of what environment did the idea originate?

To me at least, Frank Walsh, the chairman of the Industrial Relations Commission of 1913, "hit the nail on the head" when he said: "The I.W.W. is the most American thing in America." By which he meant that the plans and principles laid down in the Preamble to the constitution of the I.W.W. could have originated only on this continent; for only here were the economic and other factors ready for the birth of the idea. Well, what is this idea?

For A Democratic Society

It is, first, that democracy as defined by Thomas Jefferson, "equal rights and opportunities to all and special privileges to none," is a good doctrine for the masses to cling to and strive to perfect. Under the influence of this idea, the American workers have sought to organize from the earliest times. All their great spontaneous attempts at organization were based on class and not on craft rights, as witness the Knights of Labor, the American Railway Union, the Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the Western Federation of Miners, the United Mine Workers, the American Labor Union, the Industrial Workers of the World, the Brewery Workers, the Bakery Workers, and others too numerous to mention here.

No one who reads the history of American labor movements can honestly believe that the idea is "a foreign one," for, if any idea was ever born on American soil, it is the idea of industrial unionism and its logical corollary, industrial democracy. Craft unionism, not industrial unionism, is "un-American."

This is not the only source of the origin of the great idea, of course. There is yet one other that makes it a race-idea. And that idea is that economic and social evolution is inevitably driving us on, whether we will or not, to one of two things—revolution, or a going onward and upward to a higher and nobler society; or devolution, or a sinking backward and downward to a lower standard of living.

With this idea ever in mind, the industrial unionist forever insists that the hope of a free and classless society depends first and last upon the ability of the working class to control the factor that finally determines the lives of men and nations—the economic factor.

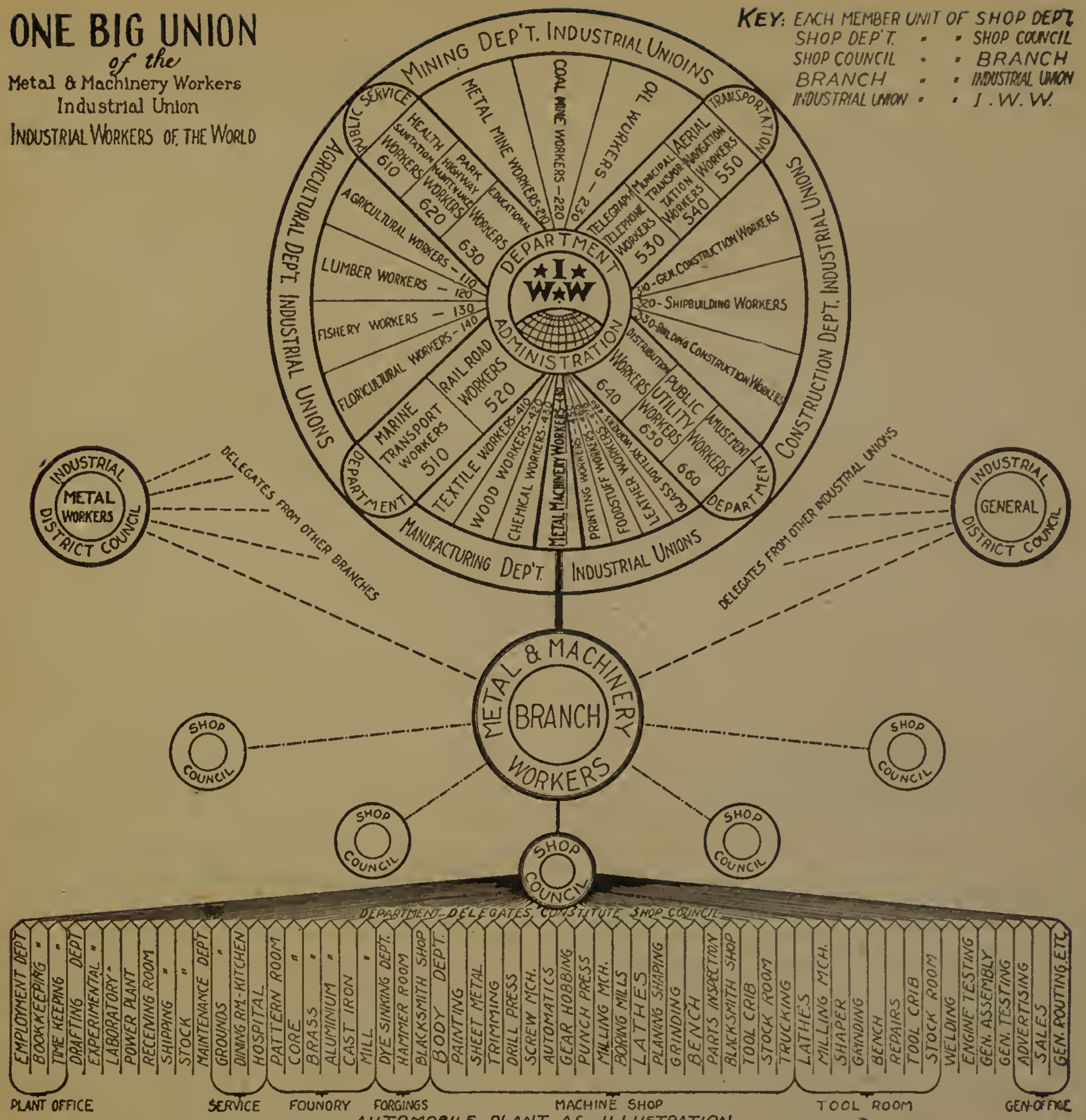
Industrial Unionism the Only Way

Holding steadfast to this idea, we further hold that it is only by and through the industrial union that labor can plan and control the production and distribution of the means of life, food, clothing, shelter, education, power, etc. All of which, we hold, should be produced for consumers' USE and not for private profit, whether of individual or corporations.

Believing this, we demand the organization of the workers into, first, unions covering an entire industry; and, second, that these industry unions be bound together in ONE UNION of the working class, the working class being, as we define it, all those who must depend upon the sale of the labor-power of their hands and brains to acquire the means of life.

Only by and through such an organization can we conceive of society carrying on when "capitalism collapses," as we hold that it most surely will, at no distant date now in these United States.

ONE BIG UNION
of the
Metal & Machinery Workers
Industrial Union
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD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MINING DEP'T. INDUSTRIAL UNIOINS
METAL MINE WORKERS-210
COAL MINE WORKERS-220
OIL WORKERS-230
TRANSPORTATION
MUNICIPAL TRANSPORTATION WORKERS 540
AERIAL NAVIGATION WORKERS 550
TELEGRAPH TELEPHONE WORKERS 530
CONSTRUCTION DEP'T. INDUSTRIAL UNIONS
310-GEN. CONSTRUCTION WORKERS
320-SHIPBUILDING WORKERS
330-BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS
DISTRIBUTION WORKERS 640
PUBLIC UTILITY WORKERS 650
AMUSEMENT WORKERS 660
DEPARTMENT
MANUFACTURING DEP'T INDUSTRIAL UNIONS
TEXTILE WORKERS-410
WOOD WORKERS-420
CHEMICAL WORKERS-430
METAL MACHINERY WORKERS
PRINTING WORKERS
FOODSTUFF WORKERS
LEATHER WORKERS
GLASS POTTERY WORKERS
DEPARTMENT
MARINE TRANSPORT WORKERS 510
RAIL ROAD WORKERS 520
AGRICULTURAL DEP'T. INDUSTRIAL UNIONS
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS-110
LUMBER WORKERS-120
FISHERY WORKERS-130
FLORICULTURAL WORKERS-140
PUBLIC SERVICE
HEALTH SANITATION WORKERS 610
PARK HIGHWAY MAINTENANCE WORKERS 620
EDUCATIONAL WORKERS 630
DEPARTMENT ADMINISTRATION
I W W
INDUSTRIAL METAL WORKERS DISTRICT COUNCIL
DELEGATES FROM OTHER BRANCHES
INDUSTRIAL GENERAL DISTRICT COUNCIL
DELEGATES FROM OTHER INDUSTRIAL UNIONS
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BOOKKEEPING "
TIME KEEPING "
DRAFTING DEPT
EXPERIMENTAL "
LABORATORY
POWER PLANT
RECEIVING ROOM
SHIPPING "
STOCK "
MAINTENANCE DEPT
GROUNDS "
DINING RM.-KITCHEN
HOSPITAL
PATTERN ROOM
CORE "
BRASS "
ALUMINIUM "
CAST IRON
MILL "
DYE SINKING DEPT.
HAMMER ROOM
BLACKSMITH SHOP
BODY DEPT.
PAINTING
SHEET METAL
TRIMMING
DRILL PRESS
SCREW MCH.
AUTOMATICS
GEAR HOBBING
PUNCH PRESS
MILLING MCH.
BORING MILLS
LATHES
PLANING SHAPING
GRINDING
BENCH
PARTS INSPECTION
BLACKSMITH SHOP
TOOL CRIB
STOCK ROOM
TRUCKING
LATHES
MILLING MCH.
SHAPER
GRINDING
BENCH
REPAIRS
TOOL CRIB
STOCK ROOM
WELDING
ENGINE TESTING
GEN. ASSEMBLY
GEN. TESTING
ADVERTISING
SALES
GEN. ROUTING, ETC.
PLANT OFFICE
SERVICE
FOUNDRY
FORGINGS
MACHINE SHOP
TOOL ROOM
GEN-OFFICE

AUTOMOBILE PLANT AS ILLUSTRATION

In building the one big union it is not alone a question of forging a fighting weapon to use in the struggle for higher wages and better working conditions. When capitalism shall have disappeared through the operation of forces that are even now hastening it to its end, the organized working class will take control—through its industrial unions—of the means of production and distribution.

The diagram of an I. W. W. industrial union above need not be taken as representing exactly the manner in which the functions of the workers on a job are or will be carried out. For instance the functions of the "shop council" indicated are at present merged in the shop branch.

Other than the machinery of the industrial union, we can see no other way society can carry on if our democratic rights are to be preserved and broadened. We cannot conceive of the co-operative commonwealth functioning through the machinery of the capitalist or political state, nor through any other machinery of administration based on territorial units of organization and representation, any more than we can conceive of a capitalist system functioning through that of feudalism. With President Woodrow Wilson, we hold that "the corporation is a new form of social organization that has already risen superior to and above the state"; and that, this being so, we either **democratize** the Corporation or lose all we have gained through centuries of bitter struggle.

Of, By and For the Workers

Seeing this fact of the domination of human welfare by corporations and the kings who own and govern them, and seeking for a way to establish a truly democratic co-operative commonwealth, working class thinkers evolved the idea of industrial unionism as the only means to gain control and management of industry and agriculture—as the only means whereby could be established "a government of, by and for all the people": for if the people, who are the workers, cannot control that on which their **jobs** depend—**industry**—their control elsewhere is a delusion and a snare. So, our idea is that the union and its correlated organizations will supersede the State as the administrator of society, and that the workers and technicians alone are capable of creating the Industrial Republic. We look to no "withering away of the State" save as the power of the industrial republic grows and developes; and, despite the seeming evidence to the contrary, we hold that no power on earth can finally prevent the conquest of social power by the workers, not in this country, at least, for if President Roosevelt is correct, we, the working class, already constitute "ninety per cent of the American people."

The Conquest of Poverty

To organize that "90 per cent" and run this continent on the good old American principle of "the greatest good to the greatest number" is the aim and purpose of all true industrial unionists, whatever their affiliation may be. We hold that this can be done, that President Hoover for once stated truth when he said shortly before leaving the White House that "the American people today stand face to face with the conquest of poverty, the first time in history any people have ever so stood." There is no doubt about the truth of that assertion, for it has since been backed up by statement after statement by many able engineers to the effect that a minimum income of around $5,000 per year was now possible for every American family, some engineers putting the minimum still higher.

Not within the bounds of the present economic system, however, can this higher standard of living be achieved, but only in a system based uncompromizingly on **production for use.** It is either that—PRODUCTION FOR USE—or a steadily falling standard of living for the mass of the American people from now on, and no matter what their money wages may be.

It may be said that production for use means socialism. It does. But it is no longer a question of "whether we will have socialism or not." As regards that, the only question now before the American people to decide is this: "Shall the socialism that is ALREADY here be an industrial democracy or an industrial despotism?" That is the only choice we have, for all our great basic industries and natural resources are today operated, not by individualistic, but by collectivized labor. They have been trustified—**socialized,** but not for us who labor.

Therefore, seeing this, and while we battle ever for higher wages, shorter hours and better working and living conditions, industrial unionists never forget this: that the final purpose is INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, the ending of kingship in industry, of dictatorship everywhere.

Power in the Union

There is no doubt that the One Big Union, once organized, will have the power to bring this about, for it will have the power of food, clothing and shelter, of transportation and communication, aye! and of rifles, cannon and machine-guns in its hand. It will control the mightiest might on earth—ECONOMIC POWER, the source of all other powers, and of all other freedoms, as well.

Finally, there is no other plan that offers so great a promise of individual and collective security and prosperity, so much of spiritual liberty to the race as that held out to mankind by the industrial unionists and syndicalists of the world. It is a promise of free men and women working in free workshops and on free soil and of free children in free schools and free playgrounds everywhere under the banners of the **Democratic Industrial Republic.**

Let us rise and march, my comrades, to the song
that Freedom sings!
Let us hurl a Man's defiance in the ashen face of
Kings!
Let us rise and organize for justice, freedom, homes
and bread
Till the whole world shakes and trembles to the
thunder of our tread,
To the thunder of our tread, to the thunder of our
tread,
Till the whole world shakes and trembles to the
thunder of our tread!
Onward, onward, onward
Till the toilers all are free!
Forward, forward, forward
In a mighty jubilee!

"Fordism's" Sacrifices

By JOHAN KORPI

On Thursday evening the radio broadcast "March of Time" dramatizes the news over the ethereal waves. Regarding one particular news item from Paris, the dramatization was as follows:

Women, in an apparently paralyzed condition are brought to emergency receiving room of Hospital from a sugar refinery, their nerves irritated to the utmost, the slightest confusion could bring about an awful hysteria.

The physician arrives, examines the patients, makes notes of his findings, at last asks:

"Where were these patients brought from?"

"From the sugar refinery."

"What kind of work did they do?"

"They worked on some machinery."

"What happened to them in the refinery?"

The party who had brought the women related:

"They were working on machines, the speed of which is exceedingly fast and the speed of the attendant's hands must conform with that of the machines. Oftentimes a worker gets a fainting spell, but now it was a little more. In the place of just fainting—they just stood with a horrified stare in their eyes, when suddenly one screeched in a terrifying voice at the machinery, others joined her. Finally they fell in a faint."

The Doctor asked one of the patients—"Do you remember what happened to you?"

"—I remember. The high speed of the machine, from day to day, week to week, the terrifying noise of machinery in motion, it gets my fingers to shaking, my eyes see images, see a horrifying, shattering machine. Oh! It's there! In front of me! . . . I can't get my hands away from it. — Now my eyes!!! Oh! Oh! oh . . ."

The woman shrieks the last words in a voice filled with terror and suffering. The doctor follows every detail of the happenings with keen interest, until once again the patient has been revived to consciousness.

It was not the first occurence of this kind that the doctor had witnessed, therefore, he appears before the Health Commission and speaks as follows:

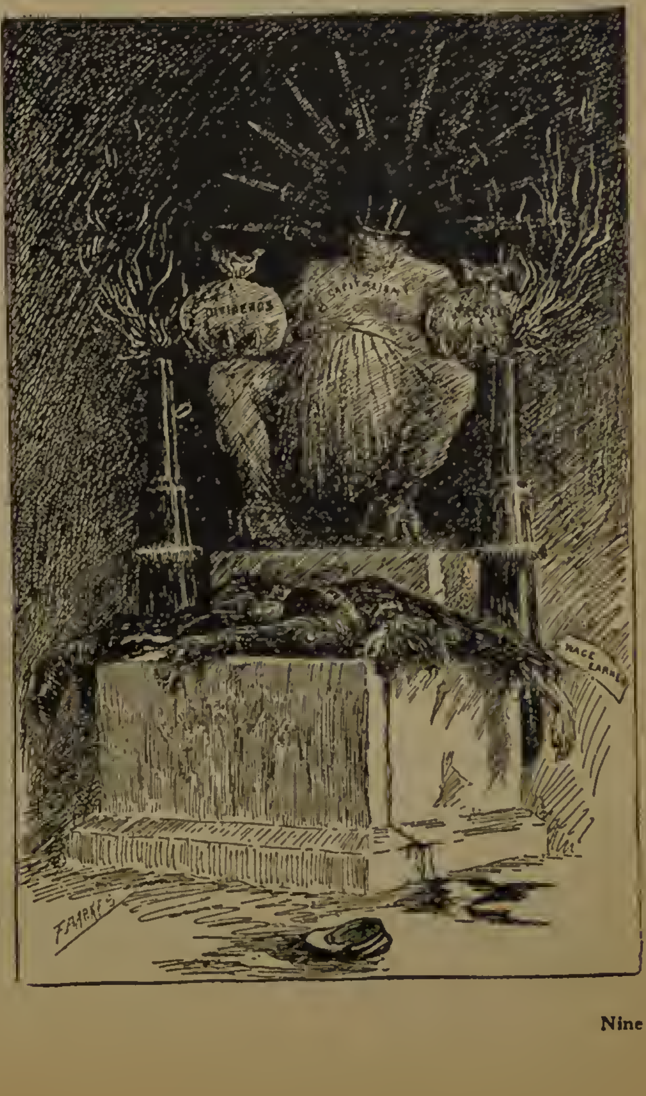
"Medical Science has come to the conclusion that the mass production era, its speed and excessive noise-producing machinery has created a heretofore unknown disease which is widely spread and of serious nature. It creates high blood pressure, nervous prostration, fainting and it may have as a climax total paralysis."

* * *

This, in brief, was the contents of the radio broadcast.

* * *

This news item deprived me of my sleep that night for I too have been at the mercy of similar machines. Only once in my lifetime, but, that one time was enough to create memories, harrowing mental images of a machine for the remainder of



my life. Originally I was a cobbler by trade. In this trade, as in all handicraft, the worker handles his tools as well as the materials worked upon, being totally individually in control of the work and speed thereof. The worker can either speed up or slacken his pace at will.

We Used to Control the Machine

At the age of sixteen I started working in a fully machine-equipped shoe factory, now about thirty-five years ago. The machinery was primitive and the output, accordingly very small. Each machine was separate, operated individually, not depending upon the other for speed, hence, the worker was the master of his machine. He was able to either start or stop it whenever he wished so to do. He could control the speed of his machine according to the speed of his own ability.

Upon my arrival in the United States in the year 1905, I worked in a few shoe factories, but then machinery still was in its early stages.

The automobile industry probably is the first, in the so-called, mass production form, where the machine and article worked upon control the movements of the worker on the working premises. Its murdering effect upon the worker can hardly be fully realized by no one outside of the ones who become the sacrifices of this sort of industry.

The Ford output probably was the way-opener of the development of this creation.

Many corporations in the automobile industry have followed Ford's ways of development and some have possibly exceeded him in it.

In the year of 1923 I experienced the fate that befalls workers of mass production. At that time I secured work in Ford's River Rouge Plant, where, already then, 45,000 workers were doing three shifts. Seeking work, we stood close to a thousand in number, in line. This line lasted from 4 in the morning until 3 in the afternoon, for many were the seekers and many hundreds of workers were employed.

A Job at Ford's: Preparation

A stout man, equipped with eagle eyes, reminding one of a southern slave driver, walks alongside the slow moving line, cane in hand, with which he points at a worker, whom he has approved. He asks a few questions. If the answers are satisfying, he points with his cane to an office where this worker gets a stamped slip and then upstairs, where, first some routine questions are asked regarding his former places of employment. If the answers are satisfactory to the officials, then starts the physical examination by the doctors. The first doctor examines the eyes and tests them as to their sight. The next doctor examines chest, heart and lungs and the third examines the hands, feet and completes the examination. This occurs while the worker or applicant is stripped. If the outcome is satisfactory as was in my case, then he gets a slip which designates the department in which he is to work.

On stepping out, Ford transportation, which took about twenty of us straight to the factory, was waiting. We went not directly to our departments, but first into a theatre within the factory, where there were about a hundred men already waiting. Then the show started. On the white screen appeared a machine and beside the screen, with pointer in hand, stood the instructor who explained the moving parts of the machine as they appeared on the screen. He explained each movement in detail and how the worker is to conform his movements accordingly so as to keep the equipment and the material under control during his time at the machine.

First the moving parts and the functions of each, on the machine were explained thoroughly during the showing of the slow motion series of the picture, then it was speeded up faster, then still faster. The instructor brought out very carefully all of the dangerous movements, with which the workers could cause damage to the machinery, the material and also to themselves, but the greatest stress was laid upon how to use the equipment most efficiently so as to eliminate all pauses and gain more and more speed. So, on the screen there appeared one machine after another, with their respective movements and, before two hours had elapsed this audience knew just what department they, each one, would be referred to and how the speed of this work could attain its maximum.

The Job

After the show each was given a number with instructions which shift he was to work and in what department. I was assigned to the Open Body Department. My duties were to paint the space for the lock in the door frame which is about four inches wide and four inches long.

At that time the frame was of wood and the paint was to eliminate rot. It did not need much skill, three strokes with the brush and that was all, but, the speed, it necessitated was more than I was capable of or could withstand.

The boss who first showed me the work, just how it was to be done, pointed and made motions with his hands and movements with his lips, for his voice was not audible above the din and noise of the machinery, it was so great, unless he hollered in my ear.

The work was to be performed alongside a conveyor. From the department where the frames were manufactured, the conveyor brought a continuous line of frames. My duty was to take the frames from the conveyor, place them on the floor, then paint them, and pile them up for the next operation to be made upon them, the covering by sheet metal panels.

I felt a certain attachment to my duty, as insignificant as it seemed. In endeavored to keep up with the speed of the arrival of the frames, but that was impossible, I could not. The frames stacked up more and more which I had no time to paint. When I started to paint, the conveyor which kept moving constantly, took the frames past me when I could not snatch them off fast enough.

An Introduction to Speed

The boss came around and watched my panicky circumstances and smiled. It created in me a thought that he surely is thinking: "There is another ass without brains." And, perhaps, he would not have been very much in the wrong, for I was not there for pleasure but for the want of bread. Soon a young man came to assist me. He yelled in my ear: "Do not hurry! I shall assist you this shift and the shift following to get you accustomed to the speed. Take care, not even the best of men have been able to stand the gaff more than a couple of months."

The extreme noise and din of the machinery caused me to nod my head in assent. I endeavored to quieten from my first bewilderment, I tried to think that others before me have been unsuccessful here, but the work and its din drowned my thoughts.

During the eight-hour work day we had a fifteen minute rest period, during which we grabbed some sandwiches. The keen interest in the work during the first shift had caused forgetting to note anything else. Up to then I had not noticed the so-called mercury lights; it destroys color. Starting to eat my sandwich it appeared soiled green, then my working tools, my skin, the skin of others, all seemed a soiled green. Later I read of such a light completely destroying the optical nerves in a short period, so much so that over 50 per cent of the Ford employees have weak eyesight.

The Machine is Master

I resumed my work with the same vim and interest after lunch. Should it be necessary to leave even for a moment, another worker must take your place for that time, for the machine cannot be stopped. At the lavatory door is a guard with stick in hand, should anyone overstay, either falling into a stupor of relaxation or faint, for even such has occurred from overexhaustion, — then the guard steps in and does his duty.

So continued the first, second and even the third shift, and so on until I had attained the speed required to put out from six to eight thousand frames in an eight-hour period.

But the effect that this speed has on one, I have never experienced in any other work. This constantly moving conveyor, frames, painting, stacking up the frames, they control every iota of the human being, hands, eyes, body and mind, so that it is impossible to remove ones thoughts without impairing the speed.

When the eight-hour strain is ended, the workers of the next shift take the place at the machine without a stop, stepping out of the shop with the noise of the machine in ones ears.

When the outdoor clear and quiet air contacts the worn and strained body, it is as though paralysis had struck each nerve and muscle. Thus weary we get on the street car and hardly a block is passed when this paralyzed body and nervous system is in a drowsy sleep. It so happened to me and also to the other workers. This paralysis does not stop on the way; it also continues to the home. Still tired, weary, sleepy, no desire to go anywhere but sleep, to remain quiet and away frm noise and hurry. The saying throughout Detroit is "Nodding like a Ford employee."

Voiceless Mummies

Thus arriving for the next shift we are still weary, sleepy. Voiceless mummies we move inside of the entrance, but, what a miracle! When we step within the factory, where grease, gas fumes and the din of the machinery surround us, then the outward appearance seems to change. Every nerve and muscle becomes alert. The eye becomes sharp, the movements become quick. So living is the memory—as though this small individual human, stops being, thinking, and joins and becomes a part of, a moving part to this large, giant-like, noisy machinery. Without our own desire we feel ourselves becoming a part of this mass production. It pulls us along with itself.

Human Scrap: A Machine Product

Thus I felt, also saw my work companion feel. We hurried to our machinery, not hearing, not seeing, not thinking of anything but that we must do our part in this hellish conglomeration. At the end of the sixth week I was at the end of my wits. The constantly increasing speed was increased according to my ability and the constant bending over paralyzed my back. I could not bend it. The boss referred me to the first aid department. There I had to wait, for there were 28 ahead of me. It was not a pleasant sight. Many a worker had a mashed hand, some a foot, an eye, head, or some other portion of the body injured. I asked one comrade:

"Have all of these been injured in this department?"

"They have, and the day is just beginning, there will be many times this before the day is over.'

"Never have I read in the paper that workers are injured here."

"Oh, that is not necessary, why that would injure Ford's reputation and would probably hinder the sale of Ford automobiles."

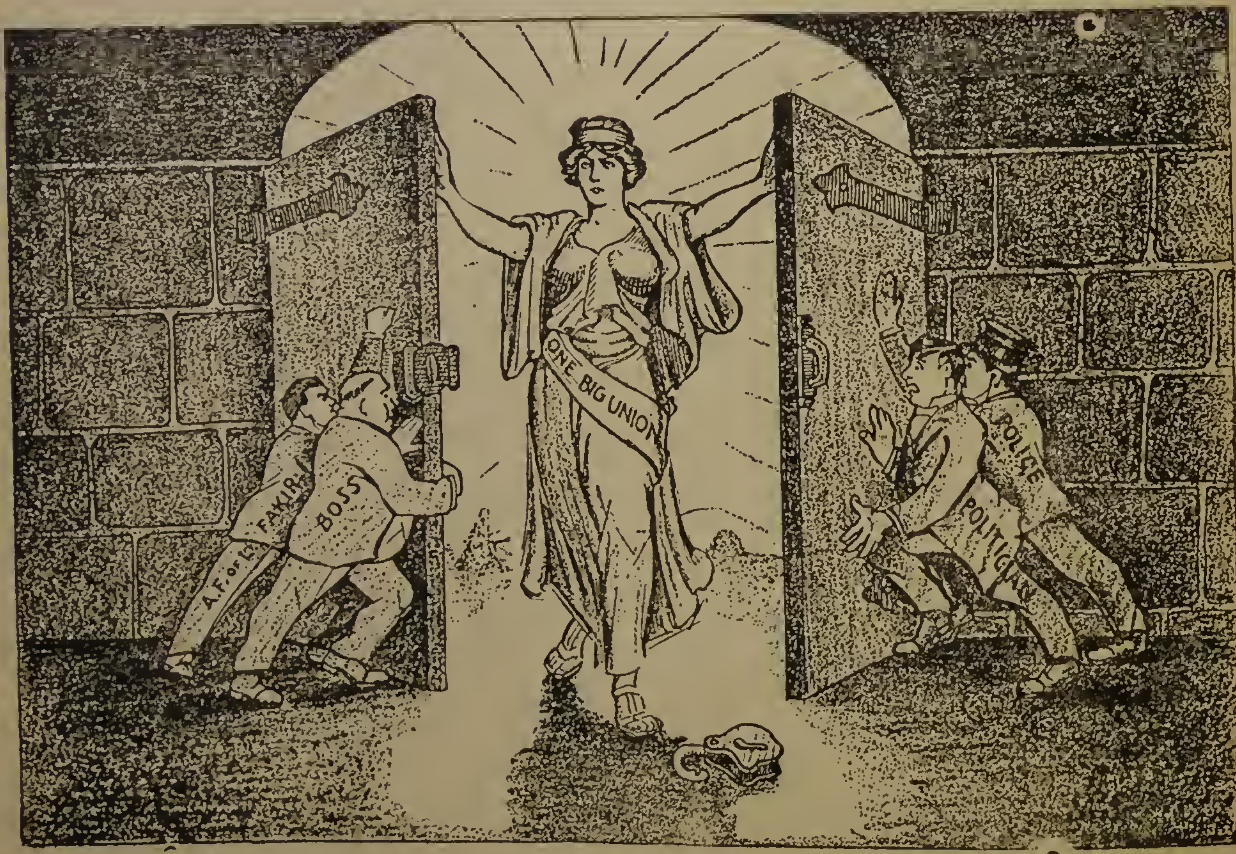
"So, now I understand why they hire so many workers each day."

I received a plaster on my back and was ordered to the factory hospital nearby for examination. There I was advised that I could come again for treatment, but should I not recover within 14 days, I would lose the hospital treatments as well as my job. I was in bed for close to two weeks.

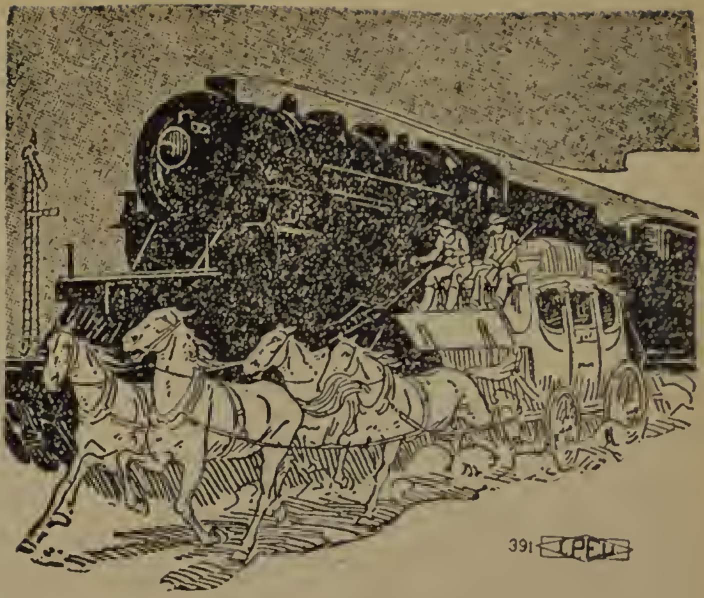
I received employment in other factories, where I thought myself more human, although yet a wage slave. But even then finally, I developed lead poisoning which is an occupational disease attributed to metal finishers, as in the development of machinery, even in that I became the sacrifice of "Fordism."

Workers Awaken!

Of the foregoing has been heard for over ten years. I know of many, many, working companions during this period who became paralyzed, sacrifices of "Fordism." How large is their number —and how many thousands suffer in hospitals . . . Could I but call so that I would be heard from one end of the earth to the other, in the factories, mines and mills to the slaves therein, brothers of mine—I would call in their ears over the din of the machinery with the last of the broken down strength of my lungs: "Stop! Look! That machine will crush your muscles, your nerves! It will maim you long before your time! It will dullen and paralyze your brain, making you dull, desireless, machine-governed robots . . . That machine will murder you unpityingly with its noise and speed . . . Think! You are human! You have a life and you have a right to the good in life! You have human responsibilities to your loved ones, to your working companions, to your own class! Organize in your class . . . Organize on your jobs, in your industries, over production! Organize and get possession of that machine, the machinery of all production, and make it the slave of the human workers! Clothe the machine in your garments, give it the speed you desire to protect the good of life. Use the production of the machinery you govern, use it for the good of your relatives, your beloved ones, and for the good of the class that has made this production possible . . . Then and only then is the machine the upbuilder of the human race.



The End of an Epoch



By A. B. C.

The period beginning with the discovery of America and just coming to a close has been, in many ways, the most remarkable in human history. The best traits and the worst, carried men into new wildernesses in search of souls to save and bodies to enchain. Intellectual heights were scaled by men of genius; new depravities were invented, more ruinous than those of Sodom and Gomorrah.

In the preceding centuries all forms of wealth had become private property in the hands of a few; even religion was a monopoly in most cases and was the ready tool of despotic governments, But the newly discovered lands promised wealth and liberty of conscience to all.

Under the banner of religious and political freedom the oppressed of Europe murdered natives of the new lands and took possession. They enslaved the red men or chased them into the desert; the blacks were chained and taken to far countries; white slavery soon flourished in every port of the world. The new freedom was the same as the old—freedom of the strong, the crafty, the unscrupulous. From the very start force and fraud ruled in the new colonies. Private property everywhere became the corner stone of the new governments. Now the wealth of four new continents is as thoroughly monopolized as it was before the sailing of Columbus.

The Triumph of Monopoly

Not only are all the available resources marked private property, every day new machines take the place of the men and women who labor. One man stays to tend the machine, others are turned into the street. The mechanical equipment that has brought us in sight of the promised land becomes a weapon in the hands of the oppressors. The accumulated wealth and knowledge of the ages are used, not for our welfare but for our destruction. Those who still have jobs or some petty property are clinging to a sinking ship. Foolish are their hopes, if they expect to ride safely through the coming storm. Private ownership of resources degrades those who own as well as those who work. The prosperity of manufacturing countries such as England, Germany, and the United States was cheap, one-sided, and transient. The poverty of the world at large was wide-spread, deep, and lasting. The day of reckoning is at hand. It is time to choose between industrial democracy and industrial slavery.

For whether the process be fast or slow, the inevitable end of private ownership of resources is monopoly. And never in all recorded time has the development of small properties into monopoly been so rapid. Four continents, each larger than Europe, have been surveyed, colonized, made private property and then gathered into the hands of a few. The scientific and mechanical advances of the race have been rapid, even startling; these also have been turned to the benefit of the money changers, so that all future progress is subject to the whims of the miser and the profiteer. Humanity stands face to face with world-wide monopoly and no new lands as a refuge.

Individualism is Doomed

Two roads are open before us, reorganization and chaos. Already we see in Europe a row of dictators with promises in one hand and force in the other.

Behind them stalk hunger, ignorance, and demoralization. The same causes will bring the same results here in America. Monopoly of resources means political centralization. The sooner we face the facts, the better for all concerned.

Even though the iron hand of monopoly were not at our throats, even if privately owned labor devices did not threaten our standing as wage workers, the totalitarian states would surely put an end to the fiction of individualism. When millions of people equipped with modern machines and scientific methods are armed with the avowed purpose of conquest and pillage of their neighbors, such action compels all other governments to arm likewise or face extinction.

The totaliarian state is another product of monopoly whose development is easy to trace. The main business of all political states is the protection of property. In the colonies, especially in the English colonies, a large proportion of the colonists obtained land or other wealth. Under such circumstances a democratic government is usually formed.

Government Through Force

While giving ample protection to property, such states seldom need to use much force as land may be had for the asking, jobs are plentiful, and the general standard of the people is one of comfort. But when the day comes, as come it must, when the great resources are monopolized by a few, the pressure from the landless and the unemployed calls for a stronger government and the use of more force to protect the monopoly.

The ruling gang in such a state, usually headed by some dictator, dominates all individuals, classes, minor groups, and even the property they are supposed to protect. Democratic forms and ideas are abolished; force is the only argument.

But the greater police power of the state requires greater revenue to keep it. Revenues must be increased. At first this is done by lowering the standard of living of the population at home and, when finally that fails, by conquest of weaker nations. The struggle for world domination is on and no matter which dictator wins, the human race will lose. The "Age of Individualism" is dead.

Truth vs Humbug

By A. B. COBB

A Short Discussion About Education

"What a piece of work is man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! In apprehension how like a god!"—Shakespeare.

"The properly trained intellect can understand, describe, the whole world in a simple, natural way."—Dietzgen.

"Nor are we possessed of any evidence which authorizes us to assign even an imaginary boundry at which human intellect will, of necessity, be brought to a stand."—Buckle.

But do not take the word of these men, though they are recognized as authorities. Go to the playground and see for yourself. Better still, try to answer the questions of some bright boy. It is nothing less than miraculous what they see, hear, and ask about.

Yet in a few years those brains will be dull and inattentive, and their later years will be spent in an atmosphere of confusion and frustration. Most of them will be like masterless dogs, ready to follow the first demagog or neurotic who promises a rescue from insecurity. Those intellects, the most complicated and delicate tools in the universe, have been crammed with facts, figures, rules, and tables—most of which are worthless and even meaningless. Those minds capable of analyzing and classifying everything in nature, resemble a storehouse for unclaimed freight; only a few items are labeled or classified and the rules for classification have not been learned.

Obscurity Reigns Supreme

In a time when the future of every nation, the fate of humanity, hangs in the balance, not one institution can be relied upon to tell the truth.

Radio, press, and church are no more respected. But, says H. V. O'Brien, columnist, "In my catalog of smitten shams, education must take a high place. What was long regarded as a miracle appears now as menace . . . It is the crowning irony of our faith in education that the educated man, in his attitude toward ideas, is emotional, childish, indistinguishable from the taboo-ridden savage of the jungle."

"But it is dangerous to tell children the truth," says someone. It can be dangerous only to those individuals and institutions that profit from fraud and deceit. Harm comes to the children by lying to them or by withholding from them the truths of nature and the civilization in which they live.

"Head Fixing"

"The children will learn to think for themselves," says another. The most important natural laws are concealed from them. How will they learn? As for social laws, the wiseacres themselves are ignorant of them; how can they teach others? Why not teach students the rules of sound thinking, the nature of the human brain processes?

We are told that scientific laws of thinking are too difficult for them. "Such is not the case," says John Dewey, who ought to know if any of them do: "The native and unspoiled attitude of childhood, marked by ardent curiosity, fertile imagination, and love of experimental inquiry, is near, very near, to the attitude of the scientific mind," he adds. But regardless of ability and capacity, which are infinite, they are compelled by law to go to school to instructors who are also compelled by law to withhold the most important truths and to palm off untruths, half truths, and plain humbug.

Then comes Chief Justice Hughes of the Supreme Court with another wise crack: "Then there will always be a multitude who are congenitally unable to think straight." In the face of the evidence, Your Honor, I think you are wrong. And when Pegler says we owe more respect to the Supreme Court than to nine old bums in the back room of a saloon, I fear he is getting effeminate. I vote for the nine old bums.

In view of these vicious circles that afflict the educational system and for which our wise men have only silly answers, what is to be done?

As a general proposition when any institution becomes useless or detrimental, that institution will be remodelled or abolished, or be permitted to die out. Since it is inconceivable that the school will be allowed to die or be destroyed, it remains to us to find means and methods to modify it to suit the present needs. It is proposed, therefore, to those, especially students, who have given serious thought to this subject, to write to the author in care of the **One Big Union Monthly**, giving their opinions as to causes and conditions of this disease, and suggestions for a cure. Write if you are interested, or give this magazine to a friend who is.

Fundamental Truths

"Profoundly pathetic is youths' hoping against hope that some older person can help untangle the riddles of existence." Let us hasten to add that it is absolutely damnable. For these great riddles are not natural but artificial creations, propagated by church, state, and school with the knowing and avowed intention of misleading the young regarding the most simple and important truths about themselves and the society in which they live. In the hands of well paid, highly trained specialists, the simple facts of individual, sexual, and social life are so mixed with the prejudices, traditions, and delusions of past ages that the young and innocent minds of children are wrapped up in a vicious maze from which they seldom escape. Let us examine a few of these truths and then see how they have been smothered with lies.

First: Man is an animal, nothing more. This very evident fact is so constantly with us throughout life that we cannot entirely escape it. But by starting on the child at its mother's breast, with lies about his divine nature, following this with solemn rites and music in the church; then the evasions and hypocrisy through school, even into the university, the facts are obscured and the lies are accepted.

Second: The sex life of mankind is wonderful but as simple as that of the domestic animals and less difficult to understand than that of the honey bee, the kangaroo, or the spider. Yet out of these simple, natural processes, prejudice, religion, and school have built taboos and ostricisms that wreck the lives of millions. Our savage ancestors venerated the sex organs and at times worshipped them. We in our superior wisdom must not so much as utter their names.

Third: Man is a thinking animal. Thinking is as natural as digesting food or the circulation of the blood and hardly more difficult to understand. The laws for sound thinking could be written on one sheet of paper. Says Dietzgen, "Thinking, understanding, explaining, realizing, are so many terms for a formal classification and description of the final test, anyone can verify whether he has been thinking truly, as soon as he compares his thought with the available material of the studied object." Our primitive ancestors allowed accidental and imaginary relationships to assume permanent forms; they peopled the world with mermaids, centaurs, unicorns, angels, gods, and ghosts. The medicine men took advantage of their ignorance, made these creatures of fancy into permanent tools to browbeat and blackmail their fellows. All modern religions can be traced back

(Continued on page 28)

The Power of Folded Arms

All the wheels be standing still
If thy folded arms might will!

By

W. E. TRAUTMANN

(Continued From Last Issue.)

Another period of ten years passed on the annals of time. What is now recorded had direct bearing on what is transpiring at the present time in the field of conflict between capital and labor. Under date of May 17, 1937 there appeared the following news item in Washington D. C. newspapers:

> WASHINGTON, D. C.—The distinction of having been the scene of the first sitdown strike in the United States—and a successful one belongs to Schenectady, N. Y., it is claimed here.
>
> In 1906 the Industrial Workers of the World organized a sitdown strike in the General Electric plant to back up a demand for higher wages. At a given signal, picked groups of mechanics in key departments stopped work, folded their arms and sat quietly looking at their tools and work tables. Picket lines were thrown around the plant and most of the 5,000 employes joined in the strike.
>
> The sitdowners stayed in the plant 65 hours, receiving food and drink from outside friends. The demand for more pay was agreed to by the G. E. and sitdown tactics accomplished their first victory in this country.
>
> It was a demonstration of what Bill Haywood, famous I. W. W. leader, called "the power of folded arms."

We may discount the latter part, for at the time of that "Folded Arm Demonstration" Haywood was awaiting trial in Boise City, Idaho. After his acquittal Haywood did not come near the I. W. W., nor did he mention it until he paid to Joseph Ettor in Pittsburgh on May 1, 1910 his admission fee into the I. W. W. as a member at large. The "Folded Arm" method, however, had been explained to Haywood in Worta's Hall on January 5, 1905.

The Buzzards Come to the Rescue of Gould and Belmont

Again the background of events leading to the affair in Schenectady—and incidentally in Lynn and Pittsfield, Massachusetts; Fort Wayne, Indiana; and Erie, Pennsylvania—must be projected into closer view.

Once again railroad workers, of ninety percent native stock, were forced into rebellion. In May 1904 Jay Gould's heirs had challenged the right of labor to be treated as human beings and entitled to consideration for long years of service.

August Belmont, under Tammany Hall's political dictatorship, had assumed control of the subway system then completed. Engineers and conductors of the Second and Third Avenue elevateds, controlled by Jay Gould interests, were to be transferred to service on the subways, but only after each and everyone had passed a physical examination, without regard to the senority rights by which the retirement pension was regulated. It meant, in blunt language, that half of the superannuated were to be discarded. So the workers on the Jay Gould elevated and on the Belmont-Tammany Hall subway revolted.

As the American Federation of Labor buzzards had long since scabbed every Knights of Labor Assembly out of existence, the rebelling railroad workers turned to the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance organizers and their publications for sympathetic support. Rozelle and Samuel French, both strikers themselves, took charge of the muddled up affairs, and directed the activities of the men.

Instantly the Belmont-Gould-Tammany Hall interests branded the rebellion as instigated by international revolutionists. Easley, Secretary of the National Civic Federation of which Samuel Gompers was vice-president, summoned all labor leaders to New York City for a conference in the Waldorf Astoria. Chief Stone represented the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, William Mahon the Amalgamated Association of Street Car Employes. All made common cause with James Farley, engaged by Belmont to regiment thousands of strikebreakers into service. The charters of the rebelling members of the different trade unions were revoked. New charters were issued to the professional scabs and a free range was given hired thugs to use the tactics of civil war against the strikers.

The orgies staged in the Waldorf Astoria, and the drunkards' brawls when the gangsters came to receive their orders constitute one of the blackest chapters in the history of proletarian uprisings in the United States—aye, in the whole world.

The Industrial Workers of the World is Launched

The resentment among Americans, I say this advisedly, was tainted with a bitterness beyond description. It was in this period that the Industrial Union Manifesto was issued—another Declaration of Independence—after a conference in January 1905 at Worta's Hall in Chicago. In another conference at the end of June, 1905, between Thomas Hagerty, Daniel DeLeon, and William T. Trautmann, a Preamble was drafted which in its original draft was adopted at the convention when the Industrial Workers of the World was launched on July 4, 1905 in the noon hour.

During the days of the convention a conference in the Ontario Hotel deliberated on the methods and tactics of an impending conflict with the employers combined with the hoodwinked masses of trade unionists sold over the counter of collective bargaining—so misnamed then—for a mess of pottage.

The idea of a general strike was discarded. The method of "passive resistance" offered a way of avoiding bloodshed and riotous encounters at the factory gates. It gave Daniel DeLeon the idea of advocating the lockout of the Employing Class" by

Charles Proteus Steinmetz, "electrical wizard," and "unreplaceable superman," he was called in the scientific world—was to the last days of his life a class conscious working man. From the time of the famous sit-down strike discussed in this article to his death in 1923 he remained a firm friend and generous supporter of the Industrial Workers of the World.

immediate application of passive resistance methods. Bear in mind that nowhere in the literature of the I. W. W. of those days is there any mention of overthrowing the government by ballots or otherwise. The passive resistance methods could, therefore, be applied only to industry, and that alone, not to destroy but rather to safeguard the tools and instrumentts of production against vandalistic designs.

When the delegates from New York left the convention, they made Schenectady a point at which to deliver a message on the Preamble of the I. W. W. Daniel DeLeon's speech on that subject, a classic in itself, delivered in Minneapolis, was printed and distributed in thousands of copies in the plants of the General Electric company.

Eighteen craft unions of the American Federation of Labor, however, were determined to exercise control over the workers in the plants of the G. E. and, in case the employes would make demands, repeat what had been done to the workers on the elevated and subway of New York City.

G. E. Workers Sit Down

The eight-hour work-day with corresponding increase in wages for all employes regardless of station or craft, was the key issue. To have called a strike would have been disastrous to working class solidarity and conducive to the engineering of riots and bloodshed by the trade union leaders who would make contracts with the corporation to keep the workers in their places.

So, therefore, the workers decided to stay at their places and fold arms. It is needless to say that in this matter venerable old engineer Steinmetz who occupied a high position with the corporation, had secretly approved of that method. Passive resistance—and that alone—intelligently applied, brought the results anticipated.

Whenever the history of those great days is written the names of a few workers, will stand out as true industrial democracy; men whose names glorify the records again as the itellectual leaders of the "Folded Arms Protest" staged in the plants of General Motors in Detroit and Flint in the winter months of 1936-37.

1909

In rapid succession the men and women in the industries of steel and iron applied methods that demonstrated the stupenduous power that can be wielded by the "Folded Arms."

At the third convention of the Industrial Workers of the World it had been recommended that international connections be established so that workers in European countries, when landing on the shores here, would not fail to make contact at the nearest places with the advocates of "One Big Union," a term used by me first to embrace the symbol of interests in common by all engaged in services of Field, Factory and Fireside. The three stars in the emplem of the I. W. W. were conceived in that meaning. That symbolic objective of the industrial union movement was portrayed in brilliant oratory by Thomas Hagerty on July 5th 1905 in the Bohemian Hall mass meeting in Milwaukee.

In the wake of the first Russian revolution of 1904 a wave of uprisings swept all over the Slavic countries of Central Europe, directed mostly against the absentee lords of manors in Slovakia, Hungary, Kroatia, Slovenia and extending into the Paduah, Italy's agricultural districts. The uprisings of the rent-peasants and agricultural workers assumed alarming aspects, for it was verily a "Passive Resistance Strike" of immense proportions. Harvests went to rot on the ground; and thugs of the landlords set fire to the drying grain so as to collect insurances and place the onus on the leaders of the uprising. Thousands of them fled across the borders, and, indeed, landed in the United States together with thousands of others who were gladly received as willing workers in the steel mills, particularly.

By the indoctrination method discontent ripened into the fruit of action. When, therefore, steel workers in McKees Rock, later in New Castle, Sharon, Monessen, Martins Ferry etc. suspended work they had the leadership of men seasoned in furious conflicts across the sea, and these leaders had made close contact with friends in the I. W. W.

McKees Rock Strike

When, therefore, trainmen on the Lake Erie Railroad refused to haul trains past the immense plants of the Pressed Steel Car and the Carnegie Steel Mill plants in McKees Port and Schoenville, — — the railroad corporation deemed it rather expedient to reroute the course, and not a wheel stirred either inside or outside.

Then it came to pass that in the political-economic contest for subterranean traffic control between the interests of August Belmont-Tammany Hall on one side and the Pennsylvania Railroad—Wm. Gibbs McAdoo on the other side it became a paramount issue that work be resumed in the plants of the Pressed Steel Car Company. August Belmont, boss of the New York Subway, did not want the Pennsylvania to fulfill the terms of a franchise whereby passenger cars were to run through the Hudson-River bore built by William Gibbs McAdoo. So therefore A. F. of L. union men of the bridge and structural iron workers, of which one J. McNamarra was Secretary-Treasurer, passed with passports signed by one Ernest Boehm, for the Central Federated Union of New York, through the picket lines into the plants of the Pressed Steel Car Company. With them went about 250 seasoned "Passive Resistance Militants" under disguise of strikebreakers. What happened then within the plant is well recorded in the "Pittsburgh Leader" of those days. That was a Sitdown Strike indeed, and the corporations paid for it at the rate of twenty thousand dollars a day.

Tired of having such a farce continued, the company paid off all the men quartered in the plants over two weeks and all were told to leave the plant in the evening. However, the company officials had failed to inform the State Constabulary (Cossacks) also quartered within the mills, that there was to be a general exodus of over a thousand men from the plant after the payoff.

It was then at the bridgehead of the viaduct spanning the freight yard of the Lake Erie R. R. that the Cossacks opened a fusillade only to find themselves encircled by thousands who had gathered to give a welcome and cheers to the hired men from New York who had sat down on the job of strikebreaking." After seven cossaks fell dead under a counterfusillade by trained men, the rest were disarmed and released on their word of honor.

Another, a more important episode, came as an aftermath of a vote taken by ballot in the town hall, and the return of the day shift to work under accepted terms of settlement.

In the spacious hall established by the I. W. W., steel workers' locals of Pittsburgh,—at that time 22 industrial unions were in the process of formation—about 50 volunteers from Pittsburgh militants were busy posting membership books and collecting dues that came in that day by the thousands of dollars, when, headed by one W. Novak, as official of the Iron City Trades and Labor Council, an A. F. of L. affiliate, who displayed a letter from Charles H. Moyer, President of the Western Federation of Miners addressed to J. McArdle of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers, deputies came to put the I. W. W. out of business. Tables were overturned, the cash drawers confiscated, and I was placed under arrest and taken to the lockup, manacled.

Instantly a word was passed around by Joseph Schmidt, the greatest of loyalists who ever crossed my path of life. Alarm spread. Max Forker, speaker for the Pittsburgh Turnbezirk (Gymnastic Unions) with a committee came to consult about posting bond. Twenty thousand dollars were required,—in cash. They went to get it.

Solidarity

Soon word came through the Servian, Kroatian and Dalmation Committees that the workers in the Aliquippa plants of the Jones-Laughlin Steel Corporation, only a few miles off down the Ohio River, were ready to sit down on the job. U. S. President William H. Taft who had married into the Jones family, had heavy interests in the corporation. Alarm spread all over the valley. The night shift had gathered at the gates of the Pressed Steel Car Company and when the day shift came out, both shifts formed lines of march, and the heavy tramp of 8,000 men augmented by twelve thousand more of closeby mills, echoed from the hills around the Indian Mount.

Close to midnight the McKees Rock business district and the fire house where I was locked up, was occupied by a throng of not less than thirty thousand people. The detachment of 50 cossacks, all mounted, yet trembling, surrounded the lockup. In vain did Max Forker try to break through with the news that he had the cash for the bonds.

"No bonds," roared like a thunder of warning the voice of Joseph Schmidt, supported by the giant Katuskas, a Lithuanian. "Stoicie razem, obivateli towarzicie" came the response from a hundred steel-strong chested men.

The burgess, for a preliminary hearing to be forced, came trembling, under the escort of a dozen heavy set steel workers. As he was pushed into the firehouse, more than fifty of the known leaders of the McKees Rock rebellion rushed to the front. With a smashing blow G. Heney, a Magyar, splintered the rolltop of the judge's desk.

There were charges. Nineteen counts. The "Bloody Purge" affair was charged in the indictment. Most convincing to the burgess-judge was the letter from Charles H. Moyer. There was no doubt in the mind of thousands that the Western Federation of Miners was now an ally of the interests who wanted someone as a scapegoat to go to the gallows. Charles H. Moyer was merely the deliverer of the rope. Further comment at this time is superfluous.

In 1906 three hundred thousand men and women had marched through the streets of Pittsburgh and Allegheny to the airs of the slogan "If Haywood, Moyer, Petibone die, fifty million workers must know the reason why." I headed that monster demonstration, walking afoot. Surging neck to neck on the streets of McKees Rock was part of that crowd of 1906. By the morrow they would be half a million,—folding arms. Wires ran hot from Washington not to permit the Jones-Laughlin mills to be affected; anything to be done to avoid implicating a firm in which the President of the United States was a heavy stockholder. Sheridan was on the ground to witness that the President's silent wishes be fulfilled "Not guilty!" was the plea by the prisoner before the bar, "Acquitted"—came the judgement, and a hundred thousand steel-muscled workers marched that night, carrying me on their shoulders. Will there be another day when the Power of Folded Arms will thwart the policy of craft union leaders in their resort to violence and bloodshed as the result of pitting one group of workers against other groups and fomenting hatred so horrible in its disastrous consequences?

Victory

Let it here be said to the credit of the stalwarts of the Socialist Labor Party in the Pittsburgh district that in the crucial hours when my own life was in jeopardy, they did forget all differences that had arisen over tactics, methods and objectives of the industrial union movement. Nor should we forget that in the supreme test for intellectual fortitude, as an aftermath of this industrial revolt of steelworkers, involving all around 150,000 men, two men blazed a new trail in the defense of rights guaranteed in the constitution of the U. S., J. McCarthy who was present at the scene of my acquittal in McKees Rock, and Ben Williams, on the grave charges of being involved in a conspiracy of subversive sedition, stood their ground against a galaxy of highly eminent jurists in the court of New Castle, and they proved to the consternation of a stern judge and jury that the movement to dislodge capitalist-profit control of industry does not necessarily suggest the overthrow of government by insurrection. As both were acquitted, the principles of the I. W. W., their methods and tactics, the objectives of building within the shell of the old the structure of a new social system as so originally incorporated in the Industrial Union Manifesto, were vindicated before the law of the land.

Too little attention has been given to this epoch-making decision! much irreparable injury to others might had been prevented in later controversies and judicial anathema, if more information had been disseminated among workers in other parts of the country.

Fifteen years before this steelworkers uprising in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio, Samuel Gompers and the leaders of the craft union movement in 1894, had helped to break the solidarity of labor, assisted in destroying the American Railway Union; gave moral and factual support to the court to hamstring the workers by injunction and send leaders of the industrial movement to jail.

In vain did these same leaders, of whom quite a few are at present "headmasters" in the Commitee for Industrial Organization, try to strangle the I. W. W. in the crucial test of strength of ideals; and they failed, though enlisting the aid of the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners in this nefarious scheme, to place the stigma of murder on us so as to have us hang by the neck by verdict of a court of law. The Power of Folded Arms was justified in the claim to be the best safeguard against the methods of violent destructive force.

However, with all this illuminating display of the power of organization and power of intelligence in the past, how is it that now, quarter of a century after the passing of foregoing events, workers in the steel mills, in the same districts where they won their skirmishes, are being pitted against each other? Why should it be that violence unexcelled in fury, and killing in bloody ancounters is displaying a tragedy of errors that, in comparison on a smaller scale, but in consequences leading to the same disaster, is on the same pattern of events as the Civil War episodes in Spain?

Syndicalist League

Let us retrace occurances to get a clearer picture. In 1919 William Zack Foster, appointed general organizer by Samuel Gompers, although known by the latter as president of the Syndicalist League, summons the highest officials of eighteen national unions of the A. F. of L. to Youngstown, Ohio, to prepare for a general strike of all steel, iron and tin mill workers.

At that time the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers is recorded as having a total membership of 5,200, the other national unions had no members whatever in any of the mills and possessions of the United States Steel Corporation, the Jones and Laughlins, the Republican Steel, the Inland Steel, and two other independent corporations represented in the Iron and Steel Institute under a "Gentlemen's Agreement," and the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a Rockefeller controlled corporation. Of the total of 456,000 employees in all these possessions about twenty-eight thousand workers had retained their industrial workshop councils although then divorced from the I. W. W.

In the Youngstown conference one main demand is formulated as basis for commanding a "general strike." "*The check-off system,* the power to be delegated to the employers to deduct an approximate total of five million dollars in initiation fees and eight million dollars annually in dues, and turn it over to designated financial agents of the eighteen national unions.

Approximately two hundred thousand workers follow the strike call. Instantly an approximate sum of $850,000.00 is collected from the strikers to be used as an "organizer's fund."

The corporations make it known what the check-off system means, the Workers Industrial Councils also issue a warning. Thereupon two-thirds of the strikers break their neck in trying to get back to their vacated positions. Bloodshed and riots follow; at the mill gates. A fake issue demands a toll in life that runs up to over one hundred all around.

Further back! In 1911 William Zack Foster declares in the Chicago Federation of Labor in presence of Samuel Gompers that the Syndicalist League was operating for the purpose of eliminating the Industrial Workers of the World. Gompers nods his assent.

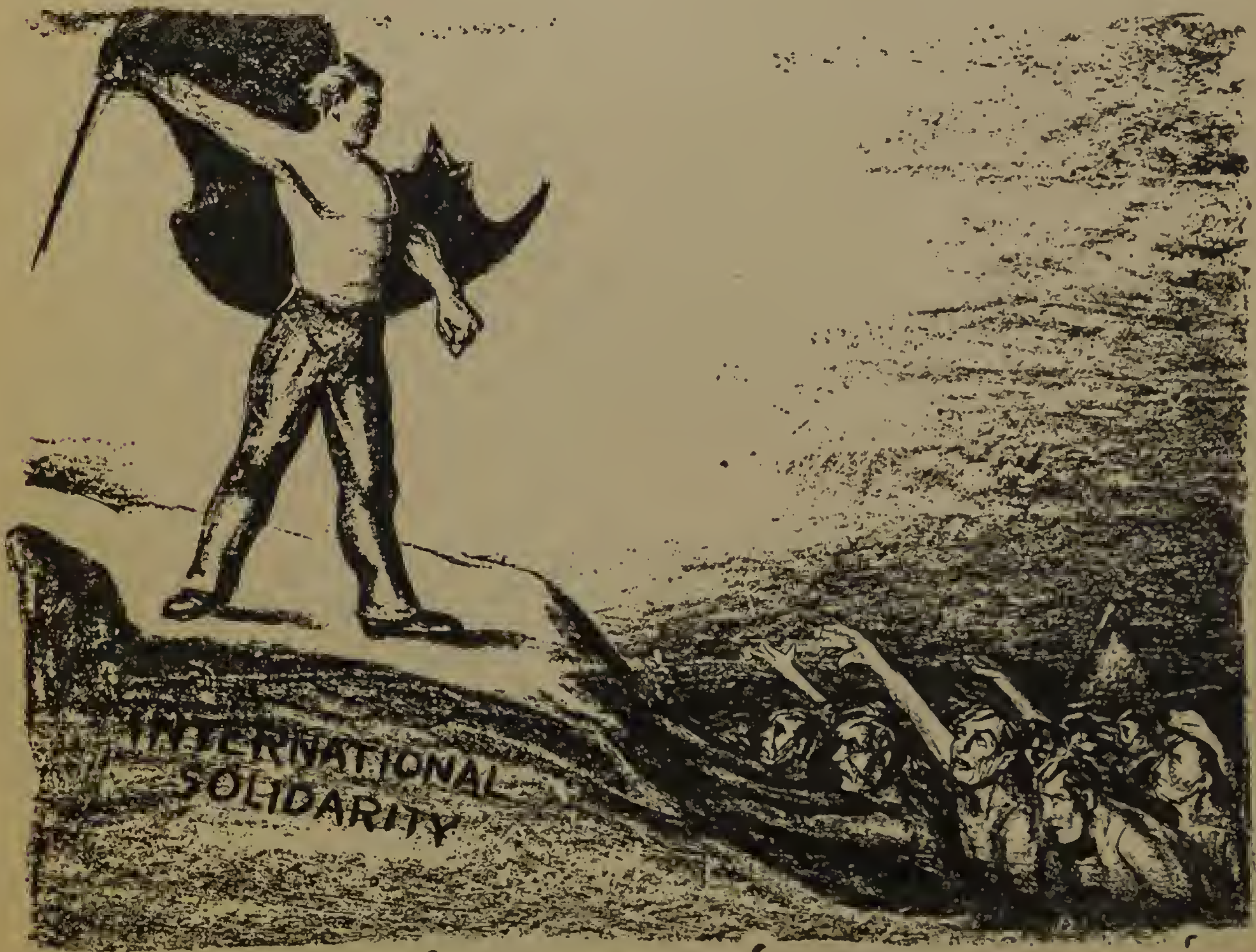
In 1910, a day after the blowing up of the Los Angeles Time building by dynamite Andrew Gallagher, pal of Anton Johanson, bursts out the inuendo: "This is another of the dastardly acts of the I. W. W." And Samuel Gompers, knowing better, nods assent.

In 1909 at the International Trades Union congress in Budapest, James Duncan, Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, and admitted by the congress as delegate, offers bond for the release of William Zack Foster, picked up by the police as "vagabond" in Harlots Alley. Foster is released, and then travels extensively in European countries, returns to the United States, organizes the Syndicalist League, enlists an army of traveling agents preaching the gospel of destructive sabotage, all received with open arms in the meetings of the craft unions, particularly in cities along the Pacific Coast. Acts of violence and sinister destructions are recorded, quite a number of wobblies too mouthloose for their own good, are picked up and dumped into dungeons for things they talked too much about although the deeds were done by agents provocateur organized in the Syndicalist League. We have the word of William Hynes, captain of the "Red Squad" police in Los Angeles that he got into the I. W. W. through the Syndicalist League of which he was a member to get the goods on the *I, double you, double you* so as to help in their elimination.

At this time, 1937 the issue of the check off system,—nothing else, once more is pitting workers against workers in the mills of five steel and iron corporations, in East Chicago, Indiana Harbar, in Cleveland, Youngstown, Warren, Niles, and in the plants of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation where, forsooth, the workers had to go on a strike in 1910 conducted by Joseph J. Ettor to obtain, along with better wages and shorter hours the "abolition of the abominable check-off system."

No one must expect the CIO to be in reality an industrial organization not more than getting good wine by pouring it for aging in old vessels where the liquid had turned into vinegar.

THE END.



The Right Kind of Education

By "A PAL"

In order to perform any job in our line of duty. we must have the necessary tools to do it thoroughly. When you start to write an article for publication as I'm doing, you must dig up a typewriter or some other instrument to perform your writing. The same think holds true in our every day struggle for more of the good things of life. We must be prepared with the right kind of tools to get them. One important tool to get more of the good things of life is the right kind of education.

The men who put the three stars in the I. W. W. emblem knew what they were doing. The first star stands for education; the second star means organization; and the third star is the best of all—emancipation. The first star is the beginning of it all—it will lead to organization and emancipation. The second star has been shining off and on ever since the I. W. W. was born. The first star has been shining from Work Peoples College for some twenty odd years showing the way to real revolutionary workers education. Workers have struggled for real working class knowledge for many decades, but without much success. The public school system was given to the workers when the employing class saw that it needed better educated and trained slaves. Naturally it made the school system into the biggest bulwark of capitalism that we have today. To counteract the poison fed us in the public schools, the I. W. W. has its own workers residential labor college at Duluth, Minn.

Work Peoples College

The school itself is located on the shores of Spirit Lake, eight miles from the business district of the city of Duluth proper. Stitll the street car line goes by two block from the college giving it a very suitable location. Being a residential labor college, the only one of its kind in the country, it can take care for food, shelter, and instruction to the satisfaction of the students who are inclined to take advantage of the real bona-fide workers' education that is taught there. All is not work at the college. The college has a very good gymnasium and skating can be very readily indulged in on the clear mirror like surface of Spirit Lake. Duluth is located in the nothern part of Minnesota, so heavy clothing is in order. Still while in school, the students are in complete comfort, because the college has its own steam heating plant.

For Industrial Unionism

The school and instructors are required to stand for and teach the industrial unionism of the I. W. W. Subjects taught are Marxian economics, labor history, Industrial Unoinism, sociology, organization methods, public speaking, journalism, english grammer, etc. This year for the first time, three subjects are going to be required, namely Marxian economics (a thorough explanation of the capitalist system), history of the labor movement (an examination of the past struggles of labor) and Industrial Unionis (the ultimate road to workers emancipation.). The rest of the subjects are elective. Work Peoples College is the one place wher the brutal functions of capitalism are analyzed and the way for its removal shown. The purpose of the college is to get trained speakers and organizers for the I. W. W. along with writers, and other functionaries of a labor organization. Te dough that goes to make the products of the school. If the raw material is good, the products will be good.

Any body, regardless of sex, color, or previous schooling can enroll providing they have attained the age of eighteen. Room, board and tuition is reasonably low being only $30.00 per month. The coming winter courses will beginn on December 1st and continue for four months. Do not fail to investigate the possibilities offered by this school and if possible attend the courses. Let's put our shoulders to the wheel—support the college, use the college, and boost the college. Let's actually go out on the limb and find out how many students we can get to go to the Work Peoples College for the "right kind of education."

If anybody is interested in further information about the college, I'm sure the business manager at the school will provide it for you. Just address your inquiry to:

Work Peoples College, Box 39, Morgan Park Sta., Duluth, Minn.

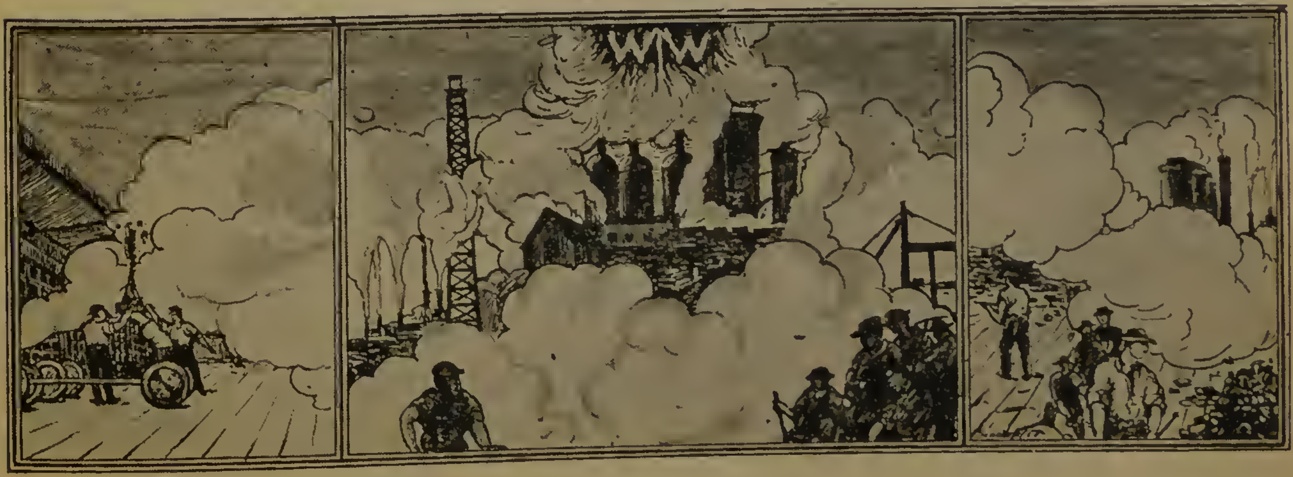
On with the Fight!

By *COVAMI*

There is no "Natural Wealth"—
Without LABOR the Fairest Gardens soon return to Jungle Wild and Desert Waste,
The Monuments and Mausoleums, the Palaces and Pyramids, quick crumble into Dust!—
All Learning, all Science, all Cities, States and Empires, all—
All on Labor's mighty shoulders rest!—
Without the HANDS, the BRAINS that boast themselves Supreme would perish ALL with the setting of the Summer Sun!

There is no Wealth, no Good that LABOR does not give!
Tis from the INDUSTRIES, and not the CRAFTS—
Tis from the INDUSTRIES, and not the GOVERNMENTS—
Tis from the INDUSTRIES, and not the BANKS—
Tis from the INDUSTRIES, and not the CHURCHES—
Tis from the INDUSTRIES, and not the ARMIES—
Tis from the INDUSTRIES by LABOR comes all things Beautiful and Good and True!
Tis LABOR that ALONE CREATES—

Tis LABOR is the SAVIOUR of MANKIND—
Tis LABOR stands between the World and CHAOS—
Down with ALL DICTATORSHIPS!—
The Last Great Fight is on—
On with the fight for INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY!



HI-JACKING THE REVOLUTION

Translation and Introduction by
JOSEPH WAGNER

L. Nicholas reveals some interesting facts about the betrayal of Spanish Workers by the "friends" from Moscow.

INTRODUCTION

I am presenting the readers of the One Big Union Monthly another translation on the Spanish situation, written by another old-time revolutionary syndicalist, for the "Revolution Proletarienne" of Paris. The writer is entirely at home in Spain, and is intimately acquainted not only with the political situation, but with the personnel of the various workers' political and economic organizations of that country. He has written in the past many valuable and informative articles on Spain or the French revolutionary press, and continues to do so. Many months before the outbreak of the Franco rebellion, and even before the historic convention of the C. N. T. in May 1936, he predicted pretty accurately what would take place in Spain in the near future, including the present long drawn out civil war.

Perhaps, a large portion of the article will seem superfluous to the readers of this magazine, as they are already acquainted with the facts; other parts will appear to be obscure. The reason for these shortcomings is that the artitcle was written for the French reading public and I, as translator, could and would not take too many liberties with the writing of others. But, I am sure that the article contains also some very valuable information for the majority of our readers. It throws additional light on the mission of the Stalinists in Spain and on the role they are playing.

The arrest and kidnapping of "Marc Rein" is not exceptional, but rather a typical case of the work of the bolshevik "comrades." Whatever the outcome of the present phase of the class struggle in Spain, when the history of it will be written, among the black pages that that history will necessarily contain, I am not sure that the blackest of these will be those furnished by Franco and his outspokenly fascists, gory beasts, I am not sure but that the first prize will be awarded to the Stalinist gangsterdom. For while the fascists are openly declared enemies of the working class, the Stalinists, as the champions of proletarian revolution, profiting by the crying need of the Spanish working class for weapons, *sold* them some, but at what price! They not only had to pay in gold for the arms and services received, but in addition they had to turn over the country, their army, their government, and their freedom to the Stalinist gang and allow them to set up their own private police and jails and death chambers, and to offer their best and sincerest friends and warriors as sacrifices to the hatred of the new masters in exchange for Russian arms and ammunitions.

And perhaps the greatest tragedy of all is that a portion of the leading element of that excellent proletarian militant organization, the C. N. T., are accepting the situation, are willingly accepting the Stalinist tutelage, and are proud of what they are doing.

In the light of the above, the vacillating policy of England and even of France, toward the Spanish situation will seem a little less puzzling.

In the meanwhile history is marching on, the class struggle will continue until the working class achieves complete victory, in spite of all the stumbling blocks and betrayals and desertions.

IN THE SPANISH MIX-UP

The Difficulties of the "Whites"

Public opinion in loyalist Spain is mainly preoccupied with the situations that are being created at the war fronts, on the one hand by the fascist advances, which, after having taken Bilbao and Santander, are now seriously menacing Asturia, on the other hand by the governmental offensive in Aragon, where for the first time since July 1937, the government forces succeded in capturing a very important position, namely Belchite.

Unfortunatly, it must be conceded that the successes of the governmentals are far from equaling in extent and importance the successes of the fascists. Inevitably, therefore, the question arises: If tomorrow the Asturias are taken by the fascists, will all revolutionary resistance in the North be crushed? Will this fascist triumph be as lasting as that of Hitler in Germany and as that of Mussolini in Italy? Or will the Russian phenomenon of the Civil War, where the occupation of Siberia by Kolchak and of Ukraine by Denikin brought about the disintegration of the whites, be repeated in Spain?

There is no doubt but that one has to take with the greatest of reserve the news dished out constantly by the government dispatches, announcing riotings in all parts of the zones ruled over by Franco. And yet, on this subject there is much information coming from fascist sources, evidencing that as a matter of fact, the situation in fascist-ruled Spain remains unstable and the revolutionists are continually harassing the Francoist power. One instance is the ban of Guiepo de Llano, published in the "ABC" of Seville and reproduced in the *Solidaridad Obrera* of August 28, which plainly reveals how extensive is the menaced zone in the fascist rear and the extent of the support of the civilian population given to the revolutionists; moreover these things are taking place in regions occupied by the whites almost since the beginning of the civil war. Part of this ban reads as follows:

> Article 1. The region composed of the Province of Huelva and by the corresponding parts of the Provinces of Seville and Badajoz, up to the Seville-Badajoz road will be delimited and considered war zone in which all servise demanded by the authorities will have to be performed in the same manner as on the battlefield, when facing the enemy; these limits may be extended and they will be so as to include all the zones necessary in order to fight and to defeat the unsubmissive Marxist elements.
>
> Article 3. (This article designates the additional offenses, revealing the existence of extremely summary Martial Courts).
>
> The following shall be considered as acts of rebellion:
>
> a) acts tending to furnish alimentation or any other aid to fugitive persons within the prescribed zone;
>
> b) furnishing information on the situation of the forces, or of their movements to fugitives in the villages;
>
> c) leaving the proscribed villages in the mountains without the possession of documents, issued for the purpose by the military chief of the zone;
>
> d) disobedience of any orders given by the military as well as civil heads of the zone;
>
> e) neglect or lukewarmness in the execution of orders and of military services demanded by the chief of the zone;
>
> f) giving shelter in urban or rural properties to fugitives considered rebels;
>
> g) failing to inform the regular authorities of the existence of rebels, by possessing such information will be considered as rebellion;
>
> h) traveling in the mountains or to stay there without a clear justification of the reason and the object of the travel.

Another proof of the efficiency of thte action of the civil population in the rear of the white front, is the account of the Italian legionaire, Albert T. de Parme, fighting at Guadelajara, published in *Libro e Moschetto*, organ of the Italian Fascist Students and reproduced by the *Nuovo Avanti* of Sept. 18:

> In the occupied villages some of the best elements of the population whom we have respected, were hostile to us; they signaled to the reds, by radio, the positions of the nationalist forces, indicating the objectives to the aviators, directing the artillery of the reds. This was done by a few traitors whom we had spared because they were unarmed. In the meantime we were being methodically bombarded both from above and from the land and we found ourselves menaced by the insidious blackguards. In spite of that our moral and material strength was not lessening. . . . every evening we shouted with pride our "Saluto al Duce!" every night we sang with passion the songs of Italy, in answer to our enemy, who, by means of loud speakers, invited us to go over to him in order to attain finally liberty, well being, and other such foolishness. . .
>
> This activity of the reds that presupposed a perfect knowledge of our positions, filled us with stupor, but we were entirely amazed when that same plane, flying very low over us, scattered thousands of tracts, written in Italian, stating that we were being betrayed and inviting us to pass over to their side. What did that mean? What was going on behind our backs? Why did the division commandment's telephone no longer answer our appeals? Why was it that our artillery, usually so prompt and precise, did not at present heed our plea for fire and failed to counterstrike the rapid and correct firing of the enemy artillery? Only much later have we learned that our telephone line had been cut by the spies and that our artillery was being bombarded from the sky as well as from the earth. Everyone of us, without saying a word, was being tormented by the suspicion of having the enemy behind his back, while on the front an unusual movement could be discerned.

Difficulties of the "Governmentals"

But the rear of the "governmentals" is also extremely divided. The main internal fight is that led by the communist party against the FAI-CNT. The Stalinist leaders understood that they were not yet sufficiently strong to destroy the syndicalists on a frontal attack. So they consented to some concessions, preparing the spirits for the acceptance of the latest note of the Political Bureau of that party as told in *L'Humanite* (Paris) of September 16:

". . .The communist party is disposed to enter into friendly conversations with the CNT in order to definitely dissipate misunderstands and to arrive at a collaboration that will become more efficient from day to day."

It was necessary to throw out some ballast in order to keep the boat afloat. The French press announced the liberation of J. Acaso (CNT militant), ex-president of the dissolved Aragonian Council. Furthermore, the trial of Tortosa, which resulted in death sentences, will be revised. According to *Solidaridad Obrera* of September 9 all the defendants who were present at the trial were acquitted, only those of the accused who could not be arrested were sentenced to 15 years each.

It would be in order here to reproduce the answer of Vidella, Minister of Labor in Catalonia and member of the United Catalonian Socialist Party, to a delegation composed of the parents of the prisoners: Here are the essential passages quoted from *Solidaridad Obrera* of Sept. 9:

> . . .The judges could not admit the charges based on acts of revolutionary character that sprung out of the movement provoked by the rebellious generals, for that would be placing the revolution itself on trial.
>
> . . .For these reasons, the judges not only ought not to have accepted charges of this kind, but they ought not to have accepted them when these charges came from persons whose flats were requisitioned on the ground that they were considered fascists, or that they have abandoned them themselves. The judges ought to accept only concrete charges against such persons who, instead of having acted as revolutionaries, actuated by mercenary spirit, have availed themselves of the revolutionary situation in order to eliminate their personal enemies or were inspired by the base desire of stealth.

This thesis was accepted unanimously by the Generalidad, (the Catalonian government), and that means that the persons at present imprisoned for various causes arising out of the revolutionary facts, should immediately be given their freedom.

It would, however, be an error to believe that these concessions mean an intention to practice a policy of understanding between all the anti-fascist sectors. It is only maneuvering to cover up new measures of repression. Thus it is taken for granted that the members of the P. O. U. M. and the syndicalists arrested for the May events, will continue remaining in prison. In the place of Acaso, who has been set at liberty, we have now in the Carcel Modelo, Aurelio Fernandez, well known CNT militant, ex-Minister of Hygiene, ex-director of Police, charged with participation in the attempt against Andreu, presiding judge of one of the important Courts of Barcelona. It is to be noted here, that the FAI and the CNT have repudiated immediately any solidarity with the attempt, and that there is not the least presumption that Fernandez had any share of guilt. Tens of political refugees, Germans and Italians, tried and true syndicalists, are being conducted under escort to the border as rewards for the months they put in on the war front. The CNT limits itself to sending messages to the CGTSR (Revolutionary Syndicalist General Confederation of Labor) of France, asking that body to come to the aid of these twice outlawed revolutionists.

And on the economic field, the counter-revolutionary attacks inspired by the Catalonian United Socialist Party, are developing also. A violent campaign is led by the communist press towards the militarization of the railroad employees; it is a question of taking away even the last vestiges of the workers' right to have a say so in the conduct of that industry, a right accorded to them by the nationalization of the railroads.

Solidaridad Obrera of Sept. 8 informs us that the dispositions of the new Administration forbids the Shop Committees from giving the workers any information which would enable them to judge as to the progress of the institution.

When it comes to the agrarian question, it is only now that it is fully understood how much the workers' collectives have been encroached upon. An underground paper, *Liberdad*, published by the POUM and by the minority anarchists of Barcelona, in its Aug. 1 issue describes, with much detail, a series of attacks, confiscations and arrests the collectives of Catalonia were subjected to. And, it is this paper that also gives for the first time a precise account of the kidnapping of the young Russian social-democrat, Marc Rein Abramovich, son of the militant social-democrat Abramovich, member of the Executive Committee of the Second International.

The Work of the Cheka in Barcelona

The night of April 9-10, the Cheka, of which we have previously spoken, cleverly seized the journalist Marc Rein. Rein had come to Barcelona at the end of February and was lodging at Hotel Continental, Rambla Canelatas.

But, who was this Marc Rein and what was he doing in Barcelona?

"Marc Rein" is an alias, which would betray North American nationality. In reality he was the editor of Social-Demokraten of Stockholm, a paper that published sensational but true information about political problems of the USSR. The great Soviet leaders were extremely embarassed by this paper, that often unmasked their most intimate secrets, and led them to suppose that it was an important communist party member who gave out the information, furnishing all the data, details and documents.

Marc Rein came to Catalonia to see the revolution at close range. On his arrival in Barcelona he gathered around him a small group of socialists—anti-fascists and anti-P. S. U. C., who considered themselves his collaborators. He published several articles on the Spanish situation, criticizing some aspects of the activities of the CNT anarcho-syndicalists; he explained that the reason he criticized exclusively the activities of the CNT was because the CNT is the only one that was creating something.

The GPU having learned of the presence of Marc Rein in Barcelona, conceived the plan of getting hold of him. For that purpose it brought over some of its best elements with the double mission of seizing the social-democrat journalist and of perfecting the Cheka in the service of the communist party.

The night of April 9-10, Marc Rein was writing one of his articles in the room he was occupying at the hotel. Soon the phone rang; an agreable feminine voice was heard through the receiver asking for an immediate interview on matters of great interest. Marc Fein interrupted his writing and left the hotel.

What happened?

Shipped to Russia by the G. P. U.

What became of Marc Rein? Some believe that he has been murdered by Herz's gang. (Herz is the chief of the Cheka in Barcelona according to *Libertad* (Autor's note). We, who are better informed, do not believe so. Well, in order to efface all trace of that "raid" that was clumsily enough performed, Marc Rein was constrained to write a letter by his own hand to one of his friends, Nicholas, whose wife is at present detained in prison, after having been horribly manhandled, and one to the owner of the hotel. In these letters the journalist is taking farewell from them, begging them to forgive him for his flight and for the expenses he has caused them. The letters seem to have been written in Madrid but it could be seen without much trouble that the date was written in by another person. This ruse does not betray much intelligence on the part of the elements working under the orders of Alfred Herz.

We said that Marc Rein was not assassinated in Barcelona. But one could be informed with more authority and knowledge by a certain Schaya Kinderman, a Polish Jew, a militant communist who lived in Barcelona for some time and who was the "chief of the foreign police of Valence"; this function enabled him to keep track of all the movements and plans of the other parties, especially when these parties wanted to get in contact with their respective Central Committees in Valencia or in Madrid, and creating difficulties in the contacting of all non-communist parties.

Marc Rein was not murdered; it can be affirmed with certainty that he is at present in Russia, in the hands of the G. P. U., having been transported there "as a package" on board of a ship, between the dates of the 11th, and 30th of April.

The Retort of the FAI-CNT

When the maneuvering tactics of the communist party are too raw, the FAI-CNT answers with written or verbal protests; but at the same time the anarcho-syndicalist leaders are not missing a single opportunity for hinting the idea of approachment with the communist party and its boss, the Russian government.

Thus, the infamous speech of Commorea, in which he referred to the first heroic confederal militias as "tribes," led the Regional Committee of the CNT in Barcelona to refuse the invitation of the communist party to celebrate September 11, the National Day of Catalonia, in common; yet, these same leaders, a few days later, accepted a similar invitation from the Catalanist Union, (which includes the communist party).

The campaign carried on in the communist press against the now dissolved Aragon Council provoked a break in the parleys between the CNT and the communist party; but later and without any retraction of the insults, the parleys were resumed.

The anarcho-syndicalist officials are attaching great importance to their re-entering in the Cabinet; they are carrying on an active campaign in that direction. They seek by all means to prove that the foreign bourgeois governments would not be displeased by the collaboration of the CNT in the government of Spain. They widely publicized the conclusions of their militant Augustin Souchy (ex-secretary of the IWMA) just returned from a tour in Europe. We reproduce them from *Solidaridad Obrera* of August 28:

> The liberal and democratic powers of Europe see in anarcho-syndicalism the most authentic expression of the character of the Spanish people.
>
> The participation of the CNT in the government is considered by them a strong guarantee of the independence of Spain.
>
> . . .A Federal Republic of a socialist character, created with the participation of the CNT would be acceptable to the foreign powers.

The same in regards Russia, the anarcho-syndicalist press is displaying, in big letters and boxed, hossanahs extolling the Stalinist foreign politics. Here are a few examples: *Solidaridad Abrera*, Aug. 9: *"The Rock of the USSR in the Pool of European Diplomacy;"* same paper, of Sept. 12: *"The Voice of the Only One that Arose at Nyon;"* same paper, on Sept. 9: *"The World Proletariat Should Support the Position of the USSR in its Actitvity."*

Their concessionist policy is growing in the interior also and the leaders of the Libertarian Youth are following the same road. Only a few months ago this organization had formally refused the invitation to join in a common front of Youth; the reason for the refusal was that the Stalinists within the United Socialist Youth, who were the inspirators of this front, as a preliminary condition, demanded the non-admission of the Youth movement of the P. O. U. M. qualifying them as fascists. At that time the Libertarian Youth indignantly and categorically protested against that conception of a Youth Alliance.

However, as early as September 2, *Solidaridad Obrera* reproduced from *Ahora*, a summary of an accord, grouping the Libertarian Youth, the United Socialist Youth, the Syndicalist Youth with the bourgeois organization such as the Youth of the Left Republicans and the Federal Union of Spanish Students. The summary follows:

> This accord establishes the collaboration for unity of all the political and syndical anti-fascist forces; it pledges action by the Youth in the popular army, in the field of production and in the other manifestations of life; it determines that the Youth will intensify its efforts towards better production in the fields and in the shops, and will increase its sacrifices by furnishing fresh thousands of soldiers to the people's cause.
>
> For moral principle, this Alliance of the Youth will combat the use of insulting terms, slanders and acts tending to produce discord on the front as well as in the rear; it will fight against anything that weakens the unity of the anti-fascist forces.

It is plain that there was no longer question of including the POUM Youth in this anti-fascist alliance. This changing in the attitude was decided by the Peninsular Committee of the Libertarian Youth, without a convention and without consulting the rank and file of the organization. As a result of this policy we now see Fidelio Miro, the young Libertarian, making speeches from the same platform with the worst of the Stalinist valet, Santiago Carillo, and this only a few weeks after the "extra-legal" murder by the Cheka of the eleven Libertarian Youths at Barcelona, after the May events; all these after the mysterious kidnapping and "disparition" of the Libertarian Youth leader, Martinez, at Barcelona.

The National Committee of the CNT is going in the same direction: it accepted the invitation of the "Friends of USSR," (an organization to serve the Spanish Stalinists) to celebrate in common the Russian national holiday, November 11, the committee appointed its militant Alfonso Miguel to arrange in common the details of the common parade where the Spanish syndicalist workers will march arm in arm with the assassins of Andres Nin and of Berneri, in honor of Saint Stalin!

At the same time the Madrid paper "C. N. T." reproduces from *Solidaridad Obrera* the answer to the underground tracts published by the POUM, appealing for a coalition of that body with the CNT, in order to create a revolutionary workers' front in opposition to the Negrin-Stalin government. The text follows:

> The comrades of the POUM should not let themselves be misled by the advise of those who are not living our revolution, nor by their state of spirit that was necessarily the result of the treatment they received. Demagogy leads nowhere. The anti-fascist front should be defended with the greatest determination by all those who really wish to win the war and assure in the rear the conditions that will open the road for the march towards social and political progress.

How odd! The press informs us that the journal "C. N. T." will be suspended for an indefinite period by the censure of the... government.

* * *

TRUTH VS HUMBUG

(Continued from page 15)

to the infancy of the race. Later, when science had undermined the old religions, metaphysics—fantastic speculations—, were invented to further beguile humanity. Metaphysics is a reversal, a contradiction of the inductive method of modern science, " an undigested relic of the theological period." Metaphysics must go.

Fourth: Man is a social animal. Yet in no part of the school courses do we find any emphasis upon this fact. Go from the first grade to the Ph. D. degree and you will not find one law of social development nor an acurate definition of a society. Most students will come out obsessed with individualistic ideas, not knowing that the age of individualism is dead and that at best it was but a short and an abnormal period.

If the millions of students now in school want to fit themselves for contact with the world or to remake the world so it will be a fit place to live in, they will have to do a lot of reading and thinking on the outside. If our educational system is to be improved it will have to be done by the present generation. Thousands of youngsters are now engaged in a crusade against syphilis. With the experience gained in this struggle they should be able to tackle our diseased educational set-up. But they will find it a much larger undertaking, and perhaps more nasty.

Fifty Years After Haymarket

"A day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today."

By ART HOPKINS

There are two monuments in the United States that on November 11 of each year are an inspiration to much oratory and an attraction to the gaze of crowds of people who pause to read their inscriptions and then pass on.

One of these monuments is in Arlington cemetery near Washington, the other in Waldheim cemetery near Chicago.

On one of these monuments are inscribed the word: HERE RESTS IN HONORED GLORY AN AMERICAN SOLDIER KNOWN BUT TO GOD.

The other bears the prophecy of one of Labor's martyrs: A DAY WILL COME WHEN OUR SILENCE WILL BE MORE POWERFUL THAN THE VOICES YOU ARE THROTTLING TODAY.

Arlington

One is erected in memory of those soldiers who fought and fell in the World War. The second is dedicated to working men who fought and fell in the class struggle. The former is a symbol of militarism; the latter symbolizes all those things that true rebels of the working class have fought and died for and the coming unity of the workers.

The tomb of the unknown soldier! Somehow, while standing near that sepulcher last summer, I was reminded of the words of Robert Ingersol at the tomb of Napoleon, when he said that he would rather have been a French peasant than that "imperial impersonation of force and murder known as Napoleon the Great."

I could not help reflecting while standing there watching the honory guard that paces back and forth before this largest piece of marble ever mined that it would be infinitely better to be an unknown fighter, fallen in the class war, than that symbol of capitalist war-making—the Unknown Soldier.

Monument in Waldheim cemetery in memory of the Chicago martyrs—Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, Adolph Fischer, and Louis Lingg. Lucy Parsons, surviving widow of Albert R. Parsons, is standing in front.

What was the progress he had brought to this world? None whatsoever! His was a career of war—fighting his fellowmen—killing, plundering, murdering. He did not reason nor question. His duty was to obey!

He is one of many who went to France and returned a corpse.—

He is a hero of war, of patriotism, of nationalism, of plunder, of murder. He is a hero, honored not by his class brothers but by those who believe in social inequality, in class distinction, in wholesale murder—WAR.

Waldheim

Those eight men who lie buried under that monument in Waldheim are heroes of a grander, a more wholesome and a more humane cause; they are the heroes of the international working class. They are the heroes that are condemned by the powers-that-be; they are the martyrs who have fallen in the class struggle. They fought not for the supremacy of a particular nation or group of nations. They believed not in slaughtering their fellow men. Theirs was an ideal of uplift, of international solidarity.

There is no stately guard pacing before the Waldheim monument. No governmental body supports the upkeep of the monument over the graves of the Chicago Anarchists. Poor workingmen, humble workingmen—with their pennies and dimes and quarters support that monument.

Who Are the Heroes?

The story of the Haymarket is written large in working class history. It is a story that would make an effective plot for one of Dickens' novels, were it not for the horror of its actuality.

Webster's Dictionary defines a hero as "a man honored after death by public worship, for exceptional service to mankind. . . ."

When we hear the patriotic orators speak this November Eleventh on the Nineteenth Anniversary of the Armistice and they will issue a flow of oratory about the heroes of the World War and the Unknown soldier as the representative of those who died in an honored and glorified cause—let's stop and ask ourselves this question: "What exceptional service did these men,—did the unknown soldier render to mankind that they are to be called heroes?"

They may have decreased the population a few million—but that does not warrant their being called heroes? Birth control has found a more effective way of limiting the growth of population.

Did those heroes "save the world for democracy?" Have they made the world a better place to live in? Have they left an heritage that the next generation may be proud of? All these questions must be answered in the negative. The only thing that can be said of them is that they were dupes who were lead to believe that they would make this world a better place to live in. But their accomplishments were nil.

On the other hand, the Haymarket martyrs are heroes in the true sense of the word. They are "honored after death, for exceptional service to mankind."

What is this exceptional service?

It lies in the fact that they preached the unity of the labor movement. They preached the gospel of the organization for labor. They said: Labor must organize. We must have a shorter working day, a shorter working week. Labor must organize against its masters. It must throw off its chains.

They Saw Truth and Spoke It

These men taught, that men can live in a more beautiful way, that they can live in harmony and social co-operation. That well-being and joy can be the heritage of all. They believed in that old Greek maxim: "Man is the measurement of everything."

They despised government and the State for they saw it an evil—having no function of necessity. They believed that instead of government of men there should be an administration of industry.

They despised law because they saw it as rules of the master class, made for the benefit of that class.

It will be fifty years this November Eleventh, the very samè day that "patriots" will celebrate the Armistice, that these men walked to their gallows in the Cook county jail in Chicago.

Fifty years ago these men spoke for the eight-hour day. Today it is a reality.

Their Challenge

Fifty years ago these men issued a challenge to Labor to organize for freedom.

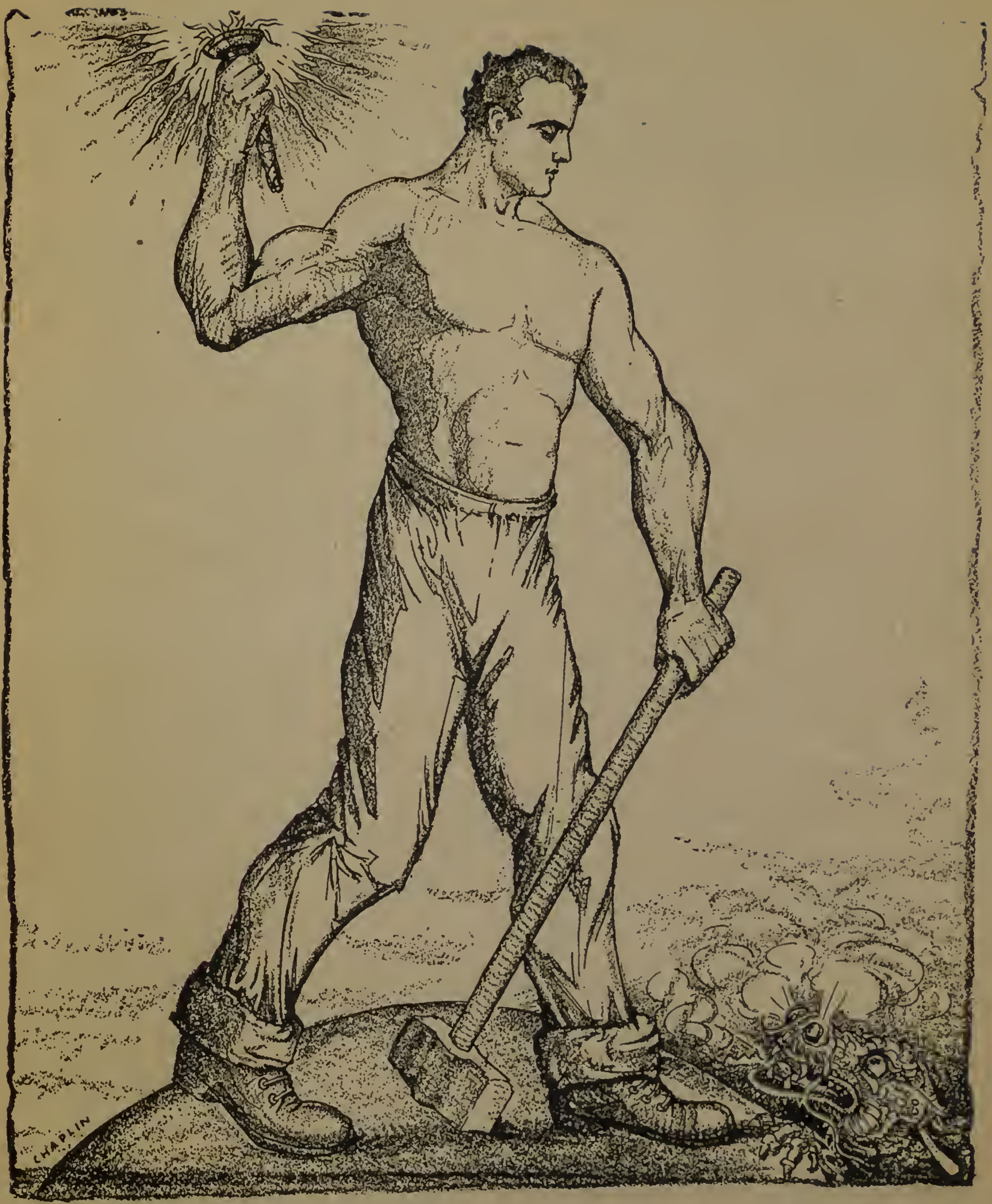
Fifty years ago it was a crime to tell Labor these things—and so they were judicially lynched.

These men are heroes! Their philosophy, their ideas have rendered exceptional service to mankind. They opposed slaughter of millions of men in war. They opposed the oppression of the working man. They revolted against the tyranny of the State. They spoke of organization. They were not interested in politics; they were interested in economics. They did not believe in political action, they believed in revolutionary industrial unionism.

Politically and economically they were anarchist believing in the destruction of the State and the establishment of a communistic form of society. In tactics they were Revolutionary Industrial unionists.

Long after the marble monument has crumbled to dust, the monument in Waldheim will stand as a symbol of victorious martyrdom.

Long after the Unknown Soldier will have been forgotten, the names of Spies, Parsons, Fischer, Engels, the four who were hanged November 11, 1887, and Lingg, who committed suicide in his cell, and Fielden and Schwab, who served prison sentences, will reverently be remembered.



There is promise of power only in a working class united on the Industrial field to control the wealth it produces.

Book Reviews

The 'Hero' of Kronstadt Writes History

By PAUL MATTICK

THE REVOLUTION BETRAYED

By Leon Trotsky.

Doubleday, Doran $2.50

To those readers who are already acquainted with Trotsky's ideas and the publications of his movement, his present book will be a disappointment as it contains little new material. In this review we shall therefore limit ourselves to those portions of the volume which indicate that even in the mind of the party-intellectual changes do take place. But, it must be said, even such changes as Trotsky sees are only matters of emphasis—an effort to adapt his "theoretical line" to the new situation which has obviously contradicted previous postulates of his theory.

Any serious student of Soviet Russia must admit that Trotsky's factual material gives an accurate picture of the real situation in Russia. It may also be said that, on the whole, he has paid due regard to the high-lights in the history and present policy of the Third International even though he still tends to account for the counter-revolutionary role of that institution and its sponsor, the Soviet state, by referring to the stupidity and viciousness of Stalin and his associates. The subjective "errors" and "crimes" of these leaders seem to play, according to Trotsky, a more significant part in the general development than the objective factor of economic-social necessity.

Hazy History

The farther Trotsky searches back into the past of Bolshevism and Russia, the more meagre are the fruits of his investigation. It is regrettable that the period during which Lenin and Trotsky held sway is dealt with in such a cursory manner as not to admit of a critical evaluation. It should be evident that to explain Stalin's triumph it is necessary to refer back to pre-Stalinist conditions in Russia and it is precisely these important years that preceded Stalin's rise which meet with no criticism at the pen of Trotsky. Stalinism can be explained only by way of Bolshevism. If Leninism was the revolutionary stage of Bolshevism, Stalinism is its phase of consolidation. The two are inseparable and a criticism of one is of small value without an analysis of the other.

Trotsky writes: "Socialism has demonstrated its right to victory, not on the pages of *Das Kapital*, but in an industrial arena comprising a sixth part of the earth's surface—not in the language of dialectics, but in the language of steel, cement and electricity." (p. 8. This sentence, accepted at its face value, vitiates all criticism of Stalinism for certainly, this "right" of "Socialism" has been better demonstrated in the period of Stalin than before. Only with Stalin has this "right" been demonstrated at all "in the industrial arena." Lenin himself did not think it possible to do more than vindicate the "right" of *state capitalism* after the Bolshevik seizure of power. Can it be that when Trotsky innocently states that the "term 'state capitalism' has the advantage that nobody knows exactly what it means," he is expressing a hope that his readers are unacquainted with Lenin's position on this question which dominated the ideas of the Bolsheviks prior to Stalin's ascendancy?

Lenin, at the eleventh party congress, stated clearly his line: "*State capitalism* is that form of capitalism which we shall be in a position to restrict to establish its limits; this capitalism is bound up with the state—that is, the workers, the most advanced part of the workers, the vanguard is ourselves. And it is we on whom the nature of this *state capitalism* will depend." But it was necessary to camouflage the state capitalist character of Russian economy before the Russian masses. As Bukharin expressed it at a government conference toward the end of 1925: "If we confess that the enterprises taken over by the State are state-capitalist enterprises, if we say this openly, how can we conduct a campaign for a greater output? In factories which are not purely socialistic, the workers will not increase the productivity of their labor." This plainly reveals that the Bolsheviks did not think it convenient to tell the workers that Russia is a state capitalist system. Of course the international bourgeoisie understood that they could deal quite as well—if not better—with the One Big Corporation which was Soviet capitalism as they had done formerly with the multitude of individual capitalists.

Frequently Lenin identified state capitalism and socialism... In *Towards the Seizure of Power,* he writes: "Socialism is nothing but *state capitalist monopoly* made to benefit the whole people; by this token it ceases to be capitalist monopoly." In spite of tthe unmistakable meaning of Lenin's words Trotsky nevertheless writes that his analysis of the concept of state capitalism "is sufficient to show how absurd the attempts are to identify capitalist state-ism with the soviet system." (p. 248)

Russian State Capitalism

Trotsky denies the state capitalist character of Russian economy by reducing the term state capitalism to a meaningless phrase. That is, he sees in the concept no more than was seen in it prior to the Russian revolution, or than is seen in it today with reference to the state capitalist *tendencies* of the fascist countries.

Since it is clear that Russia today is dominated by an economy different from what is implied by the term state capitalism in fascist or general bourgeois society, Trotsky is enabled to win his argument by posing the question to suit his convenience. But a full-fledged state capitalist system is surely something other than *state capitalist tendencies,* or state enterprises, or even state control in an otherwise bourgeois society. State capitalism as a social system presupposes the expropriation of the individual capitalists, that is, a revolution in property relations.

While the capitalist *mode of production* grew up historically on the basis of individual ownership of the means of production, the Russian revolution has shown that under certain conditions the capitalist *mode of production* can continue to exist even though the individual proprietors are eliminated and replaced by a collective exploiting apparatus where factories are not owned by capitalist "X" or "Y" but are "controlled" (i. e. *owned)* by the State (i. e. the controlling classes).

The Russian revolution changed property relations, replacing individual proprietors by the Bolsheviks and their allies, substituting new "revolutionary" phrases for the old pep slogans, erecting the hammer and sickle over the Kremlin where the Czarist Eagle once stood, but the Bolshevik seizure of power did not change the capitalist mode of production. That is to say, under the Bolsheviks, there remains, as formerly, the system of wage labor and the appropriation by the exploiting class of surplus value which is profit. And, what is done with such profit is exactly what was done with it under the system of individual capitalists, allowing, of course, for the special character of state capitalism.

Such surplus value is distributed according to the needs of the total capital in the interests of further capital accumulation and to safeguard the state capitalist apparatus by increasing its power and prestige.

Only a change in the mode of production can bring about socialism; otherwise, as far as the workers are concerned, they will have only exchanged one set of exploiters for another. Under the conditions of state capitalism the process of accumulation, the development of the productive forces by wage labor is bound up, as in the case of "regular" capitalism, with an increased appropriation of surplus value, with further exploitation, and hence with the development of new classes, of new vested interests in order to continue this process since the working class cannot exploit itself.

This capitalist necessity serves to explain Russian development; no other "line," no other "policy" could have essentially changed this development. By failing to recognize the state capitalist character of Russia, by regarding its present economy as a transitional step to socialism, Trotsky merely indicates his readiness to precipitate a new state capitalist revolution which must lead to a new Stalinism—another betrayal of the Revolution.

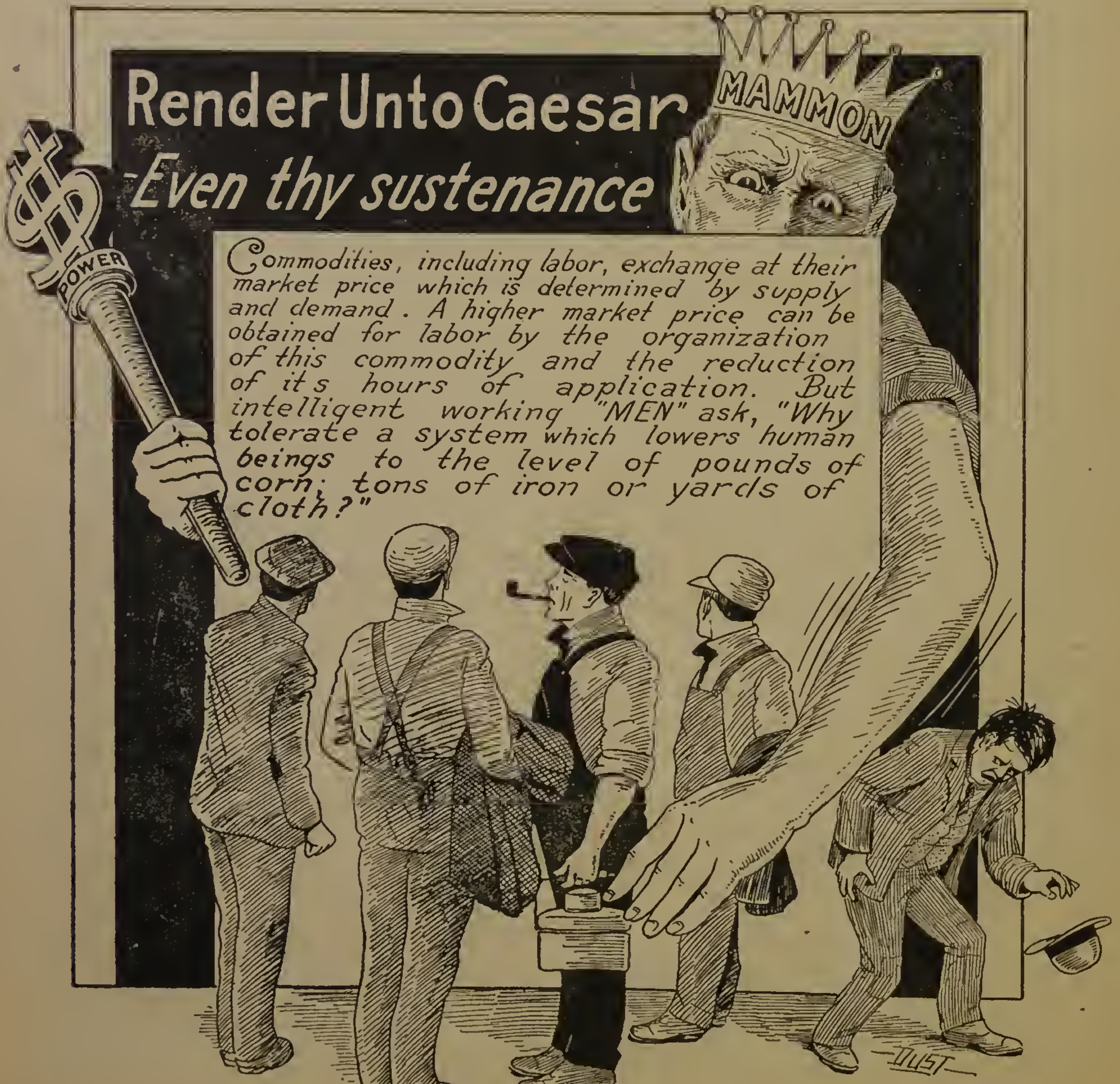
Advocates A New Machine

Trotsky describes the contradictions of the Russian economic situation as follows: "To the extent that, in contrast to a decaying capitalism, it develops the productive forces, it is preparing the economic basis of socialism. To the extent that, for the benefit of an upper stratum, it carries to more and more extreme expression bourgeois norms of distribution, it is preparing a capitalist restoration. This contrast between forms of property and norms of distribution cannot grow indefinitely. Either the bourgeois norms in one form or another spread to the means of production, or the norms of distribution must be brought into correspondence with the socialist property system." (p. 244)

The solution, according to Trotsky, lies in the replacement of the present parasitical bureaucracy by a non-parasitical apparatus. Nothing else in his opinion needs to be changed as the Soviet economic system is fully qualified to proceed toward socialism in combination with the world-revolutionary trend. This new bureaucracy, essential in Trotsky's transitional stage, will, according to Trotsky, introduce a greater equality of income. But Trotsky must remember that the present bureaucracy started out with the same idea, originally limiting salaries to Communists, etc. It was the circumstances enveloping the economy which not only enabled but obliged the present bureaucracy to adopt a program of ever increasing economic inequality in its favor. This was in harmony with the need of a faster accumulation to secure the system as a whole. There is no guarantee that a hypothetical Trotskyist bureaucracy would be any different in this respect from Stalin's machine.

Under the prevailing mode of production Russia cannot develop the productive forces higher than the old familiar brand of capitalism in the western world was able to do. Because it cannot do so its system of distribution can never exceed the norms of capitalist distribution. Such a contradiction between forms of property and norms of distribution as Trotsky envisions does not exist. The Russian method of distribution is in perfect harmony with its state capitalist method of production.

It is only necessary to reflect on the paramount role which Trotsky played in the first thundering years of Bolshevik Russia to understand why he cannot admit that the Bolshevik revolution was only able to change the form of capitalism but was not able to do away with the capitalist form of exploitation. It is the shadow of that period that lies in the way of his understanding.


Render Unto Caesar
-Even thy sustenance
MAMMON
$
POWER
Commodities, including labor, exchange at their market price which is determined by supply and demand. A higher market price can be obtained for labor by the organization of this commodity and the reduction of its hours of application. But intelligent working "MEN" ask, "Why tolerate a system which lowers human beings to the level of pounds of corn; tons of iron or yards of cloth?"
DUST

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

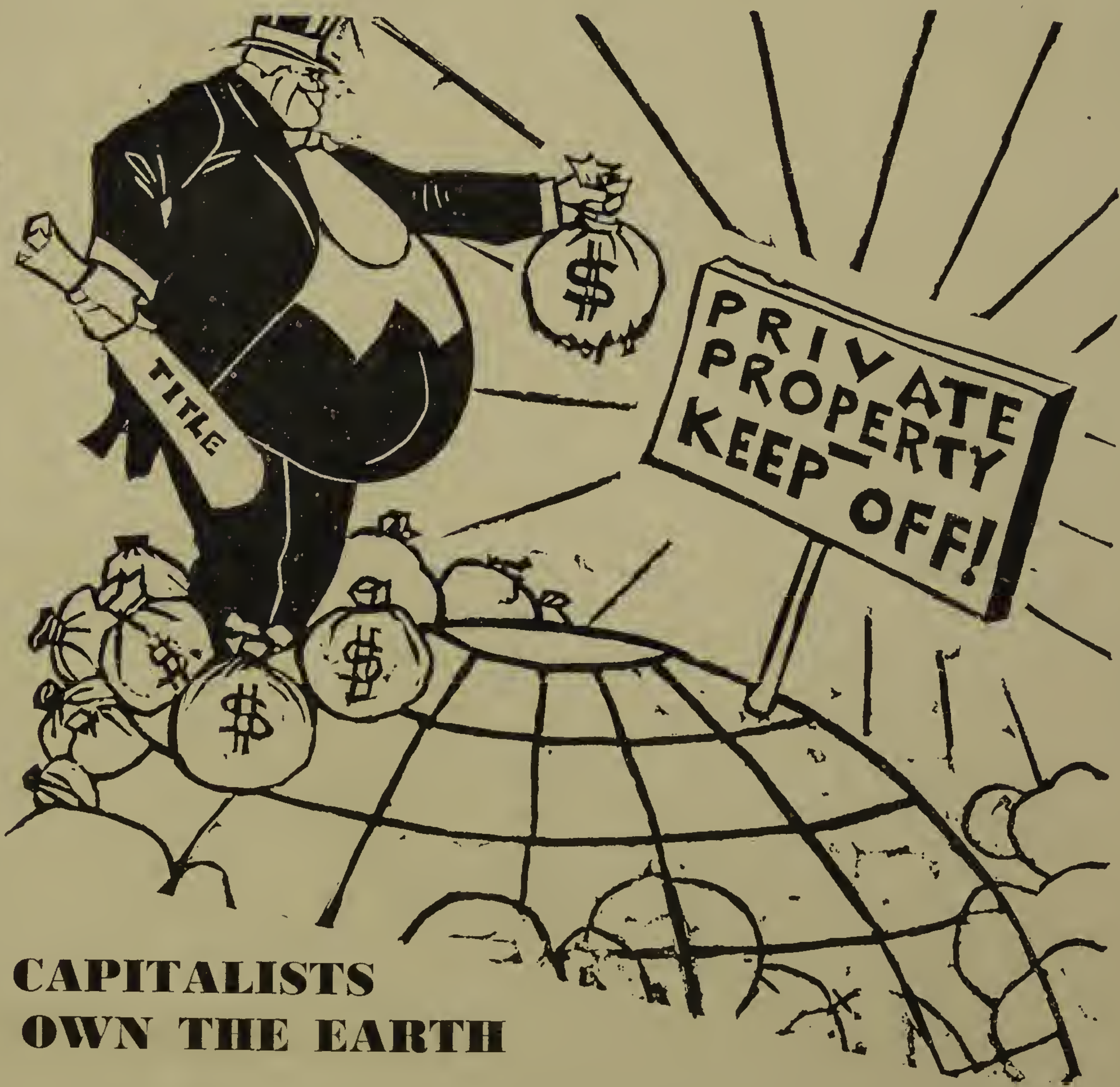
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



CAPITALISTS OWN THE EARTH

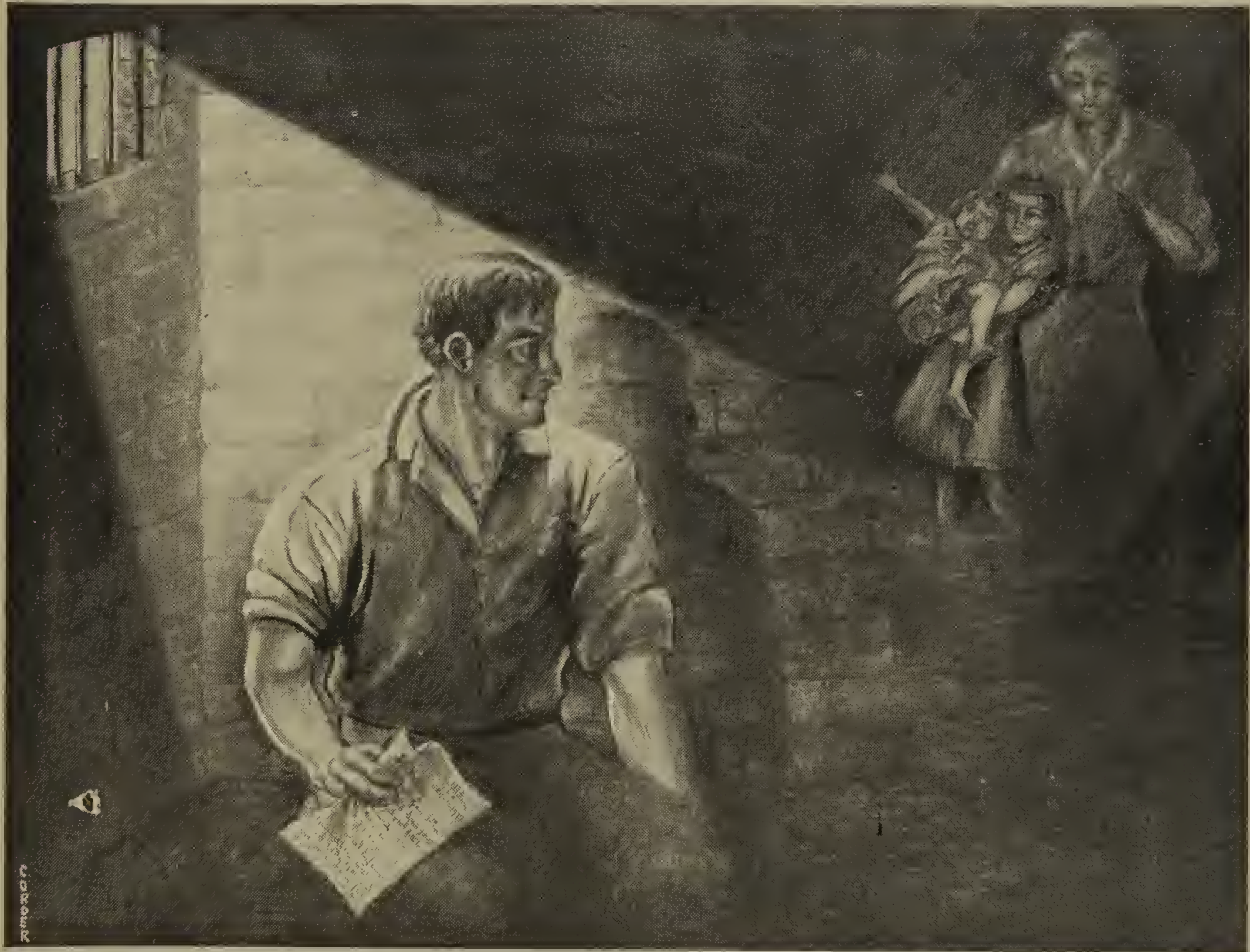
That the ownership and control of the whole world has passed into the hands of a few is the most astonishing fact of our civilization—it also is the most important. All economic problems are rooted in this circumstance, every movement for the improvement of the lot of the many must take it into consideration.

From this fact it follows that owners need not be producers and that those who live only by producing cannot be owners. It follows that the producers are slaves of the owners.

Private property in the means of production is the great, outstanding evil of our age. A working class movement worthy of the name, and entitled to the support of labor, must aim at establishing worker-control of the means by which the population lives. The Industrial Workers of the World is such a movement.

The ONE BIG UNION Monthly

Published by
THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD



DECEMBER 1937

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CHRISTMAS IN PRISON

When at the time of year we now call Christmas, our pagan ancestors decorated their homes with holly and green pine boughs in celebration of the return of the sun from the winter solstice there was often great scarcity in the land. People went hungry because there was not enough food to go around. Man was at the mercy of nature because he had not learned how to produce with the aid of machines.

When the sun rose higher above the horizon and the days started to lengthen, giving promise of another spring with warmth and a fresh growth of things for him to eat, he rejoiced in the prospect.

An age has passed since those days and there is now plenty in all the lands of the earth. There is equipment to produce still more, to produce in such abundance that there need never again be a man, woman, or child in want of anything needful to life and happiness. But that abundance is withheld by the owners of the world's wealth from the workers who produce it. Those who have more than they can possibly use allow the many who work only enough for a bare existence.

So the workers of the world still look forward to a new day, to a more cheerful world. There is an ever-growing number of these workers who are not content to wait for the better time to come. Knowing that there is power in organization they are building organization of the dispossessed to combat the criminal economic masters responsible for the darkness that now envelopes the world.

Some of these organizers of labor have been falsely accused of crime and sent to prison. The masters are afraid of them; they want them to suffer so that their plight may discourage others from organizing and demanding for all that which rightly belongs to all.

Labor must organize to free these champions of its class from the prison cells where they will spend this Christmas. Labor must organize to abolish a system where such injustice is possible.

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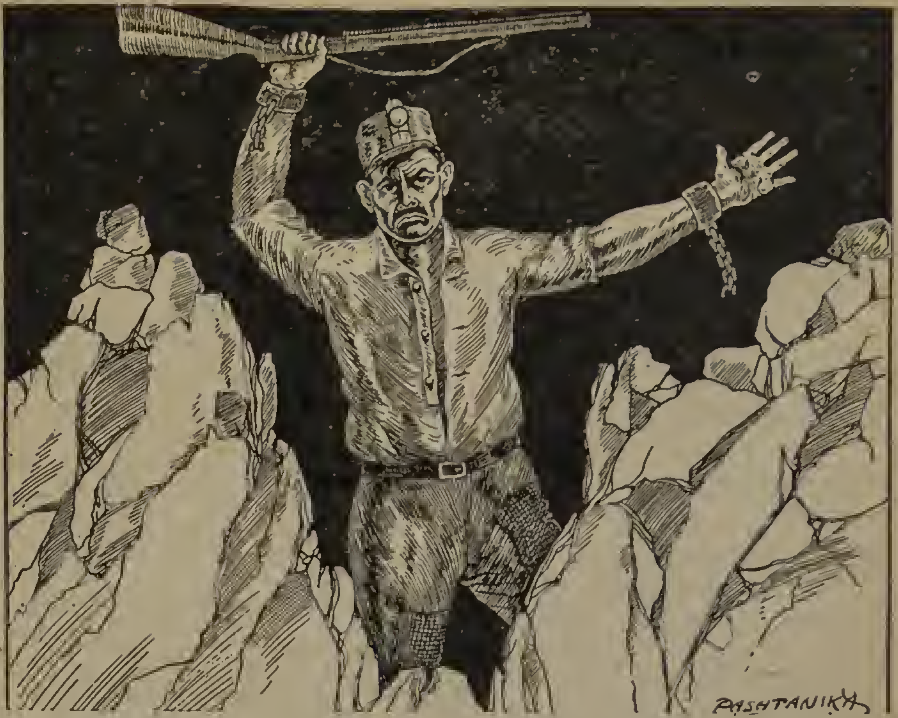
Sacrifice of the Asturian Miners



In 1934 the miners of Asturias (in northern Spain on the Bay of Biscay) rose in revolt against a government striving to set up a fascist government after the model of Italy and Germany.

That was the famous October revolt. It proved that Spanish fascists, then set on making of Spain another prison pen, would not succeed as Mussolini and Hitler had succeeded in crushing the labor movement without help from the outside. Though the heroic miners suffered defeat in that encounter, it was accomplished only through the use of savage Moorish professional soldiers brought into Spain for that purpose from Spanish Morocco.

Anti-Fascist Spain was saved from imminent danger of a fascist upheaval, was given time to prepare for the epic struggle that was to come so many months later—in July, 1936.

Now, after more than a year of incessant fighting against fascist forces armed by Germany and Italy, the Asturian miners have gone down to defeat. Cut off from the rest of Spain and poorly armed they succumbed to the superior forces of the fascist murderers.

The Asturians could have received help from other countries—from democratic France and England. But the "Popular Front" government of France was and is too capitalistic, and therefore fascistic, to help a people who were and are bent upon making freedom for workers a full and complete reality; and England, as always, was concerned only for her right to continue exploiting workers in the rich mines of northern Spain. And so, while Franco's forces were well supplied with Nazi arms, the fighting miners looked almost in vain for ships coming to their ports laden with the things they needed to repel the invader.

Though admission of the fact may dim a hope that the democracies will some day arise against the maurading fascists of the world, the world's workers had better face the reality now that no nation is against fascism in principle. Only class conscious workers are against it, and in a position to develop effective resistance against its expansion. There are many lessons to be learned from the conflict in Spain, but this one stands out so plain that no worker who reads and thinks need be deceived by the soft words of "democratic" politicians.

The workers of Spain, particularly those organized in the C.N.T. in Catalonia have shown us that labor intelligently organized to fit the conditions of economic development can take control and operate industries, can successfully protect their gains from their own master class, and that they can even carry on where international capital supports their enemies. But we have been shown also, as in the case of the Asturians, that national or local labor fighting alone against an organized international enemy cannot win.

Labor must take these lessons to heart. Labor must organize first of all to control production and distribution of goods to such an extent that it can refuse to make goods for or ship them to any fascist country engaged in a maurading expedition. This would be a real economic blockade, real "sanctions"; intelligent, just and effective. Let labor once undertake to shape world events through its own organizations and the nightmare of fascism and its parent, capitalism, will soon be wiped out.

"Resistance Against Fascism Depends on Us"

The Iberian Anarchist Federation Addresses the Libertarians of the World

From
BOLLETIN DE INFORMACION

The Spanish proletariat is maintaining a war against three nations who are invading Spain and supporting Franco's cause with arms and men.

The Holy War of the absolute monarchs against the French revolution, and the capitalist countries against the Russian Revolution (1918) is being repeated, improved and intensified against Spain and the Spanish proletariat.

In spite of the heroism of the people, in spite of the combatants, in spite of the superhuman efforts already made, the attack of the fascist countries against Spain, tolerated and even approved by the cowardice and the interests of the European democracies, seriously threaten our cause. Let us add to that the contemptible behavior of the socialists and communists, the silent torpedoing of the revolution by the bourgeois republicans in defense of their class interests, and we have an approximate idea of the gravity of the situation in which anti-fascist Spain finds itself at the present time.

The Workers Will Win

We do not say "desperate" because we know the inexhaustible energies of our people, the tenacious combative spirit of our men, which permits, even today, the Rio Tinto miners and the Gallician fishermen to carry on the armed struggle in the very heart of fascist Spain, risking their lives a thousand times a day.

We know, however, that if the world proletariat, including all the socialist tendencies, do not consider the cause of Spain as the crucial cause of liberty, of progress, of improvement of human conditions all over the world, we may be reduced. Once again, therefore, we address ourselves to our comrades of all nations, to all men of free conscience, asking them to do everything possible to rouse morale, to arouse the working masses in order to compel the so-called democratic countries to oppose Italian and German imperialism, barefaced invaders of our unfortunate land.

Position of the Libertarians

If we wanted to speak out we could say much . . . With a sense of responsibility that the other sectors do not have, we have kept silent in the face of the destruction of the work accomplished by the peasants in the agricultural collectives, and carried out under the inspiration of the communists frantic maneuvering for the annihiliation of our movement.

They stopped in time because they realized how suicidal was their policy, and because they learned soon enough that ours was not a force to be easily destroyed. We kept silent when we lost Bilbao, victim of the blackest betrayals. When Santander fell, only two CNT-FAI companies fought to the bitter end, while the others either fled or arranged for the surrender of the city.

We are still keeping silent when we reject all responsibility for those unfortunate events which were taking place at the same time as the absurd attacks against the revolutionary conquest of the people. And the latter, now more than ever, are turning to us and placing all their hopes in us.

We are where we have always been, richer, if possible in the tremendous lessons of an incomparable experience, and in the certainty that we shall follow our road with a firmer step than ever if the more immediate and more dangerous enemy, fascism, is crushed and the revolution is not throttled by the hordes of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco. More: we solemnly affirm that if Bakunin were living in Spain today and going through the revolution, he would be working in the same spirit as we are, under the pressure of a long and tragic struggle, cut off by a world that is sacrificing us, for an illusory peace to an egoism maddened by the bloodshed and the moral and material disaster of the World War. Malatesta, Kropotkin, Cafiero, all our theoreticians and fighters, would have been doing the same if they were facing our situation, forced to solve the problems with which we are beset.

It Must Not Happen in Spain

For us as well as for the libertarians of the entire world, the most important question is and should be that of the life or death of the cause of liberty throughout the world, that fascism does not triumph, that the only hope for liberty in Europe, SPAIN, be not suppressed, and thereby allow humanity to sink abruptly into the darkness of the Middle Ages. If that were to happen, would not our libertarian principles be relegated to the limbo, condemned to death and disappearance, brought to collapse by social democracy which, vacillating and cowardly, prepared and permitted the triumph of fascism in Italy and Germany, as well as by communism, which did not know how to organize the great masses of the world proletariat under the control of a revolutionary banner, sacrificing them to the necessities of their international policies in the face of the Russo-British alliance such as panslavism has always pursued from Peter the Great to Stalin?

For Spanish libertarians, for all libertarians with a realistic spirit and a general understanding of our problems, the fundamental task is to defeat fascism, to fight the totalitarian states, to arouse the revolutionary spirit of the wage-earning masses.

The future of our ideas depends on the latter, the ability of our movement to win the emancipation of the exploited; our influence in every realm of human activity, and the very basis of our ideas: the philosophy of progress, now interrupted, the theory of evolution, and our trust in humanity, ever seeking its well-being and liberty; all this must be opposed to fascism and must push on the slow development toward federalistic and libertarian socialism.

What We Ask

The entire resistance against fascism depends on us. Thanks to us, who have suffered so many injuries and so much injustice, including even illegal persecution on the part of our political opponents, the Cains who forget their origins and raise an armed fist against us, preferring to risk the loss of the war rather than permit libertarianism to strengthen its position and continue being the greatest force in Spain; thanks to us, we repeat, the anti-fascist block is being maintained. We are keeping it up, not for what it represents in our country, but for example it offers to other countries, threatened by fascist aggression in the near future. Anti-fascist unity, the pact of non-aggression and of mutual aid against the enemy, fascism, sealed with the blood of the July fighters, left republicans, socialists, communists, and anarchists, we want to keep it at all costs.

It is the lever that can save us, the given line, the possibility of victory in the cause of liberty throughout the world. If others guilty, conscienceless, break or threaten it, we don't want that guilt to be ours.

Furthermore, we are the only united movement that forms a single body with three branches: FAI, CNT, and the Libertarian Youth. While the Marxist sectors are devouring each other, engaging in public conflicts from the platform and in the press, reaching the point of insult and the most ferocious persecution—the annihilation of the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unity) by the Communist Party is an example—our movement offers the people the robustness of a united movement, a single line, always firm, facing reality and preaching unity by example, maintaining itself compact internally, and fighting energetically to impose anti-fascist unity among all the sectors who are today fighting among themselves and censoring each other so bitterly.

Part of the international brigade—The Tom Mooney Battalion

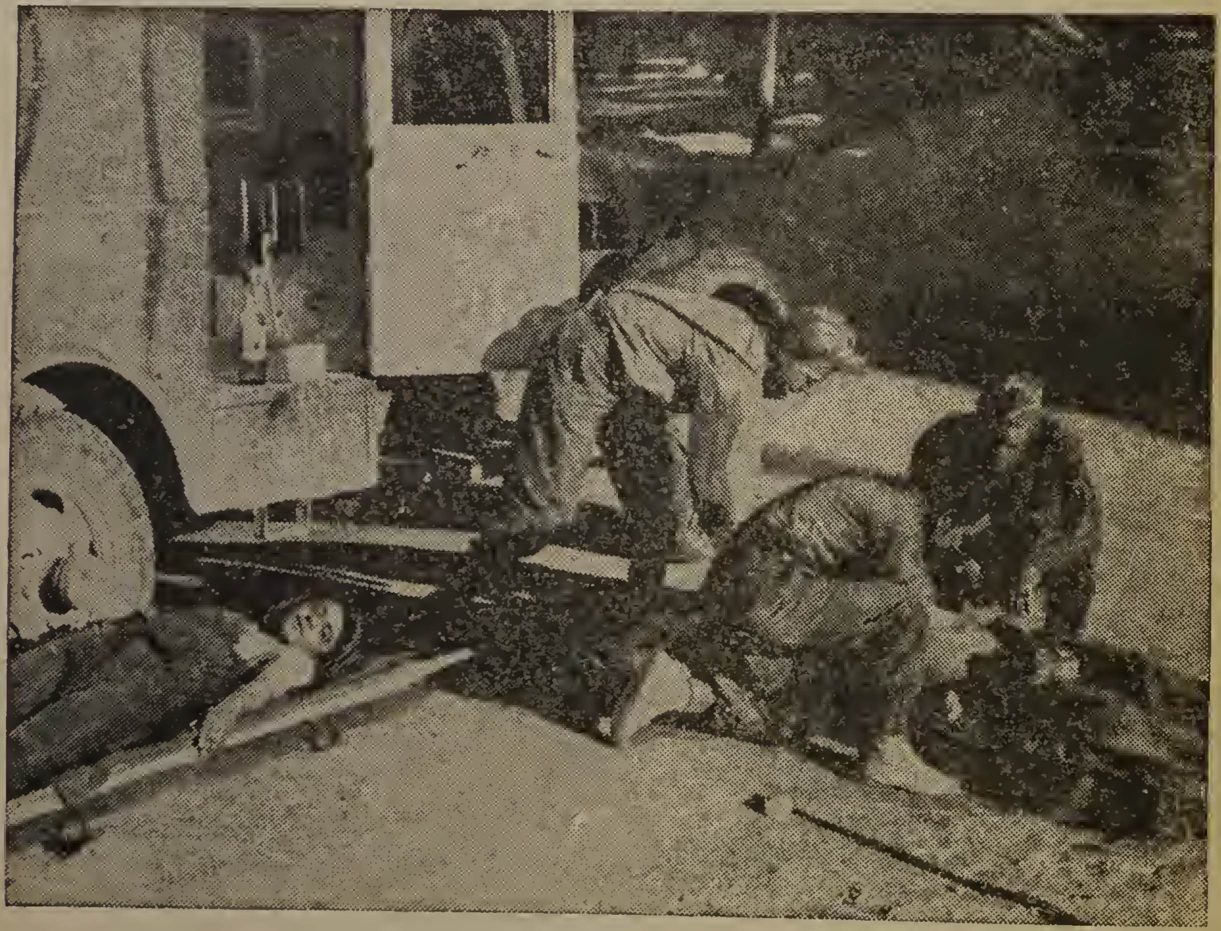
We have a right to give the workers of the world our opinion regarding aid for Spain. Although we are grateful for all the aid given us, for the outburst of romanticism that brought so many workers of brain and brawn to fight on our soil in the International Brigades and in the anti-fascist militia, working in the munitions factories and enthusiastically supporting all activities and aspects of the struggle, there was a job to be done that international libertarianism did not do, that the revolutionary workers abroad did not do. Far better than the solidarity of individuals who had come to our land would have been direct action against fascism carried out abroad. Better, and more effective, organized and calculated, converted into an expansion of the revolution capable of wounding the enemy by a flank attack and in the rear to such an extent that it would have greatly impeded the arming of Franco's fascist hosts, and the absolute impudence of Italy and Germany.

These words are not an accusation. They are a recognition of an error on the part of the international revolutionary movement, that can always be repaired. Let the libertarians in Europe and America think this over; let the masses of anti-fascist workers in general who do not know what to do to help us consider these words carefully.

The Great Asturias Tragedy

Finally, we appeal to the whole world, the proletariat of Europe, which is watching in anguish, its great heart gripped by what is and by what is yet to be the tragedy of Asturias, which, isolated from the rest of the Peninsula, is fated to be destroyed, razed to the ground, annihilated by the fascist hords unless intenational solidarity comes to the rescue.

We know that the dozing, old heart of Europe is hardly stirring. But we are addressing the libertarians, defenders of all just causes, eternal fighters for liberty and justice. ASTURIAS CANNOT PERISH, BECAUSE THE ASTURIAS IS THE REVOLUTION, IT IS THE LIVING SYMBOL OF OUR STRUGGLE AND THE CRUCIBLE FROM WHICH THE RESISTANCE AGAINST FASCISM CAN ARISE, MOLDED AS IT IS IN THE BLOOD OF ALL THE MARTYRS OF OCTOBER, WITH ALL ITS PASSION AND THIRST FOR REVENGE.



Loyalist soldiers, wounded in action, are shown being cared for by Dr. William Pike, American doctor who went to Spain with a unit of the Medical Bureau to Aid Spanish Democracy. The ambulance at the left was bought with American contributions.

The I.W.W. on High Seas and Waterfront

A History and Tradition of Action that Presages Great Things for the Future.

By

JOHN S. MORGAN

It's the same wheel in any industry, put your shoulder to it.

Briefly described Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union is, within its industry, a mass One Big Union; it is also a vanguard union in marine transportation. Comprised of wage workers only, it is democratically governed by its members **whose enrollment is at all times voluntary.** It does not go into time agreements with the employers.

Background and Tradition

The Industrial Workers of the World organized the M. T. W. I. U. actively in 1914, propagating the program of "One Big Union" for workers both on the ships and on the docks. For a time it functioned as a minority group within the old corrupt craft unions.

But in 1917 the M.T.W. pulled a strike of 4,000 longshoremen on the Clyde Mallory Line Docks for higher wages. The same year it carried on a strike of seamen for higher wages on the Atlantic coast. In both cases the demands were granted by the ship owners and stevedore contractors. As a consequence of these strikes the A. F. of L. unions—International Longshoremen's Association and the International Seamen's union—were given time agreements. They cashed in on the efforts of the M. T. W. I. U.

Also in 1917, this I.W.W. union organized a strike of 8,000 longshoremen at Philadelphia, won demands for 85 cents an hour, time and a half for overtime, and complete control of hiring and job relations. Before the strike wages of only 45 and 57 cents an hour were paid.

Helping the Revolution

In 1919, when the democratic nations were supporting the Russian imperialist whiteguards against the revolution, the union struck an effective blow against reaction by striking in protest against the attempted shipment of amunition and other war materials to the Czarist General Kolchak in Siberia. The centers of that strike were Philadelphia and Seattle. The ships held up in Philadelphia, Chester and Camden alone numbered 268.

Again in 1919 it participated in the five-day joint general strike in Seattle and cooperated financially with the Winnepeg general strike which lasted nine weeks in the face of an A. F. of L. international opposition.

In 1921 the ship owners, wishing to effect a wage cut, locked out the organized seamen and, owing to the corruptness of that union, 115,000 seamen stampeded out of the A. F. of L. International Seamen's Union; 35,000 of them came into the M. T. W. I. U.

Under the banner of the M.T.W., 5,000 New Orleans longshoremen went on strike in 1922 for higher wages. The strike was won; the owners raised the wages and gave a contract to the International Longshoremen's Association of the A. F. of L.

Moscow Wrecking Crew

The communist party at its Red International of Labor Unions Congress in Moscow laid down a program to wreck the I.W.W. (1922) because the I.W.W. refused to go under the control and domination of the Moscow Communist International. From that day to this the communist party has been trying persistently to wreck and discredit the I.W.W.

The first international convention of the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union of the I.W.W. was held in 1922 at Chicago. In 1923 it pulled a seamen's strike, stopping all movement of shipping at San Pedro harbor and a large part of the shipping on the rest of the Pacific Coast, the Gulf and the Atlantic. The demands in this strike were: three watches, the eight-hour day (at this time most ships were working two watches of 12 hours each, and the release of class war prisoners.

No signed agreement was asked and none was offered. Owners and government announced a wage increase and three watches on deck, some of the prisoners were released. The strike was called off.

In 1923 the M. T. W. I. U. organized 4,000 longshoremen and opened a branch hall in Hoboken, fought a pitched battle against political gangsters and police of Tammany Hall, who were supporting the I.L.A. of the A. F. of L. This latter outfit, always a racketeering job trust, was supported in its fight against the I.W.W. union by the communist partyites.

International Solidarity

In 1925 the M. T. W. I. U. actively supported the British seamen's strike by tackling and picketing British ships in American ports. Then in 1926 the M. T. W. I. U. was the only organization in the marine transport industry to actively support the British general strike. In the face of organized opposition from the A. F. of L. and the communist party the M. T. W. I. U. picketed English ships in American ports.

From 1927 to 1933 the union carried on job action on individual ships, organized a direct action union for marine workers' relief of the unemployed, held many propaganda meetings, distributed educational literature propagating the One Big Union, shorter hours and the employment of more men on ships and docks.

In 1934 it was the M. T. W. I. U. membership that comprised the militant minority group of workers that precipitated the May 1 longshoremen's strike in the Gulf ports for higher wages. The A. F. of L. interfered in this strike and called it off for a time agreement between the I.L.A. and the bosses with an increase in wages.

Then in the same year, the M. T. W. I. U. organized a strike of the seamen, May 18, in support of the Pacific Coast strike and that of the Gulf longshoremen. When the A. F. of L. got the Gulf longshoremen back to work, the I.W.W. members within reach were placed in prison. This caused the disintegration of the mass of striking seamen; they went back to work despite the efforts of the I.W.W. to keep solidarity with the West Coast.

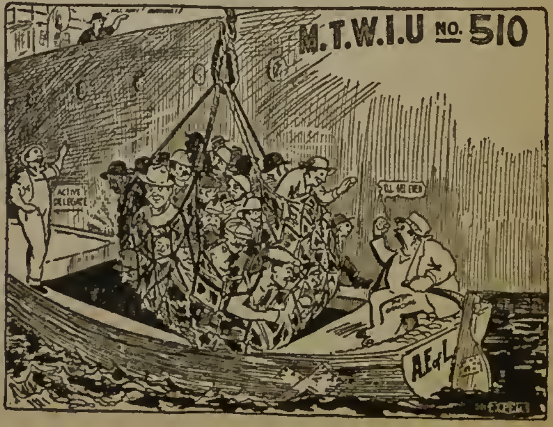
The communist Marine Workers' Industrial Union played the part of Judas in this strike when they circulated a leaflet stating that the strike was no strike and urging the seamen to go back to work. The title of the leaflet was, "A strike or a Shakedown?" It was issued by the Marine Workers Industrial Union, a paper organization of the communist party.

The Perpetual Judas

In 1934 the M. T. W. I. U. members comprised the vanguard of the big strike of unorganized maritime workers on the Pacific Coast; the A. F. of L. called it off for arbitration. In 1935 many job strikes on individual ships were called by members of our union.

In 1936-7 in the big maritime strike on the Pacific, Atlantic and the Gulf coasts, the M. T. W. I. U. members participated actively. Two members were killed and two were injured while on picket duty.

In this strike the communist partyites interfered with the strike funds. They managed to get the inside track to the cash box. On the Atlantic and the Gulf the money they got control of was diverted from the strike. It passed into the hands of lawyers and politicians in fake injunction appeals to the state and the courts while the strikers were half starving on the picket lines. To some extent the strikers overcame this difficulty when a little beef was brought in off the range for the Gulf under the able supervision of the direct ac-



tionist I.W.W.'s. A piece of meet in the soup stimulated the energy of the strikers, thanks to the M. T. W. I. U.

In the spring of 1937 the union took the initiative in organizing the marine transport workers of the Great Lakes. A new hall was opened at Buffalo, N. Y., and preparations are now being made for a real One Big Union on the Lakes at the opening of navigation next season.

The I.W.W. Will Win

The bosses, the A. F. of L. and its offshoot, the C.I.O., and the Moscovite communist partyites, or red fascists—these constitute the triple alliance against the One Big Union. They are forming all kinds of fake federations and confusionist moves to stave off the progress of the One Big Union. But despite that opposition Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union of the Industrial Workers of the World progresses and stands out as an authority in marine transportation and as the only real hope for the marine transport workers.

The only organization in the world, the One Big Industrial Union, democratically governed by its members, is the Industrial Workers of the World—the I.W.W.

Royalty is Out of a Job

By

BERT RUSSELL

There Isn't Much Work for Kings Any More but the King Business is Trying to Stage a Come-Back.

The ranks of the unemployed kings were increased by one when Edward of England was unkinged. Just as when Alphonse, the Kaiser, and Salassie were demoted, the sale of newspapers and the amount of tea drank was increased tremendously for a few weeks. But in all other respects the job of living and industry went on just as though he had not up and quit the people of England.

The poor and miserable workers of Wales for whom the late king said during his visit there, "Something must be done," are still poor and miserable. The coal mines where they had been working still remained closed and the ones that were operating are still doing so if it is profitable to the owners. They will continue to until such times as other kinds of fuel will make it unprofitable to operate. Kings haven't much influence on industry any more.

Several hundred years ago a king's actions affected all of his people's lives. And he did pretty much as he pleased. He could marry anyone he pleased and get rid of them when he was tired of them. If anyone said anything about it they lost their heads. If the king's actions weren't in accord with the religious belief of his millions of subjects it was a simple matter to change the religion of these millions until it was in accord with his actions. The king's actions were justification in themselves, the theme of plays and stories. But now about all they can use his skylarking around for is to get the peoples' minds off unemployment, wage cuts and killing of thousands of their fellow workers in Spain.

Whether to put Edward on the dole or find another job for him must have been a hard one for the unemployment administration there to decide. There isn't a lot of other things that a man can do if all he has been trained for since he was a kid is to be king. When you have a highly specialized guy like a king on your hands it gets you to thinking what in the world use can he be.

Displacement of Kings

There was a time when if a king lost his job he could create another by copping a sneak on some other fellow who was losing his popularity. The king served a useful function then, according to the prevailing ideas of usefulness. If a community ran out of food or clothes, or good looking women, it was the king's job to organize his men to go after some in another place. And if some other community ran out of the same things and they came robbing the king's people he had to get busy leading a fight against them.

Things developed so that there came to be an over supply of kings and shortage of kingdoms so some of them had to call themselves "Pretenders." It is funny to think of an unemployed king with an army pretending to be king. It is something like what Franco is doing in Spain. He has an army but no people or goverment, but Hitler and Mussolini are kidding him along into thinking that he is the dictator of Spain and his government, which doesn't exist, is the lawful government there.

In England they have been cutting down on their allowance of kings for quite some time. About a thousand years ago they had seven of them in England alone. But they kept laying them off until about a couple of hundred years ago they got down to one king and a Pretender. Finally they formed a trust of the kingdoms and put one king on the job for the whole British Isles. In the last few years they have managed to get along for short periods without a king at all.

This is going to show people a lot of things about kings they didn't know before, or if they did know them, they didn't let on. For instance, they put his brother on the job and even considered putting his brother's little girl in the position. Now if they can put a man who has never been trained for "Kinging" or a little girl who has just learned to write her name (and that is a pretty big job considering the length of some of them) to take a king's place it just shows how much is in this king stuff today. Anyone could do it.

The Job Isn't What It used To Be

Just think what would have happened a thousand years ago if a king took out on his subjects like Edward did and some other king got to hear of it. The other fellow would just muscle in on the ex-king's territory and the whole job of living and the industry of all the people would be disrupted trying to pay off the new gang of robbers. But now if a king quits, the ones that are hungry remain hungry and the ones that have a job will continue to have one so long as the boss permits them and, in general, nothing is disturbed. If another king is put in his place, industry still goes on as usual.

No one raids England on the chance that the defenses are disorganized. The king doesn't have anything to do with the defense of the country or conduct of war. The people may say all they want about how they love their king, how important he is and how they would die for him or without him, but even a king could get wise just how important he really is when they go on running the country to suit themselves without paying any attention to him.

It might have been the thing for a king at one time to do a little "can-can" dance to propitate the spirits to make sure of good crops, or to do a little leading to get some extra things to eat that the neighbors had, but modern methods of production have made these obsolete. Now if you want good crops you fertilize. And if you need more water and there is none due to fall in the area, irrigation brings it. And if there aren't enough shoes, machinery can be speeded up and that it all there is to it. Kings aren't necessary here anymore and if they did hang around a factory in their long silk stockings or two-feet fur hats they would be in the way.

Facts vs. Tradition

Divine rights, blue blood, and a family tree running back to the one that Eve picked the apple from, play as little part in the making of automobiles as does ancient witchcraft in fighting the bubonic plague. Modern technology recognizes facts not traditions nor wishes. If a tradition gets in the way of making a stream-lined train then it is too bad for tradition. Any movement built around a tradition of things as they once were, with its eyes closed to changing technical arts and subsequent social changes, will be crushed by the onward march of progress.

Our technological progress is smashing through our accepted traditions like a rotary snow plow through a snow drift. Facts move faster than minds and many are frantically clinging to the old way of things as a frightened man clinging to a sinking ship. As with the frightened man, our safety lies in casting off so we will not be sucked down with the ship of old ideas. The increasing capacities to spew goods and services in abundance on every one in society knocks the pins from under our old ideas and traditions.

As the aristocracy of learning was destroyed by the printing press and the aristocracy of royal blood was scattered to the winds by the changing mode of living, so the aristocracy of labor is fast joining its brother aristocracies in the garbage can of history. To attempt effectively to rebuild society on the basis of traditions and divine rights, as they are doing in Italy and Germany and other absolutist countries, is to attempt to roll back the wheels of history. Attempts to organize labor on the foundation of skill and in crafts is likewise reversion to a nigh forgotten age before the superpower machine. The development of the technical arts, the assembly line, and electric eye, has destroyed alike the need of kings and craftsmen.

American craftsmen may smile at and jibe the Englishmen for their adherence to royalty. But the I.W.W. sees a similar "living in the past" in the craftsmen's futile attempts to stay the march of progress by exalting skill as a basis of organization instead of the machine. The non-sensible authority of traditions blinds them to the present and turns their back to the future.

A few years ago this labor aristocracy was a sizeable minority. Their skill as craftsmen was zealously guarded and protected from encroachment by their unions. Birth and heredity began to be, the necessary qualifications for membership. Democracy was scorned even within their unions. The Aristocracy of Labor was founded.

But those kings are not getting the chance to abdicate for love. When they do it is not their love of some one else but the bosses' love of profits. They abdicate willingly only when they can't keep up the pace. Machinery has debunked their aristocracy. The Green Bottle Blowers is an example. To be a Knight of the Green Bottle cost one thousand dollars. Knighthood was in flower. Along came the machine and the last rose of sumber faded. The Owens machine took the skill on which another union, whose initiation was eight hundred dollars, was based. The ousted aristocrats sank into the ranks of the lowly commoners.

For the first time in the history of civilization, mankind has reached a point where the means of satisfying its needs are in excess of those needs themselves. As the method of production abolished the belief of divine rights and the machines have abolished skill, so the same advancing technology has antiquated all social theories based on scarcity. Thrift and incentive to thrift, back breaking toil and compulsion to labor, the fear of insecurity—all are of the past. And as extinct as dodos are the moral values of scarcity.

They Try to Come Back

The idea of king does not die easily, nor of its own accord. As men came to understand the natural laws of the universe so they gained confidence in themselves. When they gained confidence in themselves they lost confidence in kings and witch doctors. When there was no confidence in kings they became unemployed. But the age of kings is building for a come-back. It is appearing in many guises. They have changed their names to El Duces, Fuehrers and Commissars. They pose as being in accord with the time, and assume an interest in technology, invention, social conditions and, as the ex-king of England is coming to America to do, in housing.

Their promoters are those who have lost confidence in themselves to meet the situation developing from the changing methods of production, workers whose jobs have been wiped out with machinery and effect of technology on society. Like a scared child crying for its mother when faced with unfamiliar surroundings, they ardently pray to the traditional guardian of the tribe, the King, to save them from the unleashed "devils" of science. Asking a king to fix up modern technological development is like asking a Sandwich Island chief to fix a no-squint-no-squat radio.

Working people's courage and confidence in themselves and science, which has made possible the steamships, the railroads, radios and television, dwindle before the social necessity of the consumption of abundance. As their confidence in themselves diminishes so the thousand mile span between superstition and science fades away; as their confusion and fears increase the age of kings is ascendent. The dictators, the El Duces, the Fuehrers, are the modern Moses and tribal kings. Only renewal of confidence in ourselves, as working people, and our capacities to organize and build, can save us from a reversion to the age of kings, scarcity, the thumbscrews, the concentration camps and Siberia.

A World of Free Men

"I see a world where thrones have crumpled and where kings are dust. The aristocracy of idleness has perished from the earth.

"I see a world without a slave. Man at last is free. Nature's forces have by science been enslaved. Lightning and light, wind and wave, frost and flame, and all the secret subtle powers of earth and air are the tireless toilers for the human race."

Thus began Robert Ingersoll's "Vision of the Future."

It will remain a vision if we do not retain confidence in ourselves as workers but put our faith in the Edwards, the Benitos and Adolphs. Dreams are made reality only by those with the confidence in themselves to go ahead and attempt to make them so.

"Daring, daring and more daring," said Danton, when fighting the King of France.

"Confidence, confidence and organization," says the I.W.W. when fighting the "Kings of Scarcity."

* * *

To Those Who Preach Passivity

You bolster exploitation with your creed
Though blood upon its whiplash never dries.
You do the work of hired thugs and spies;
Like them you serve the System for your feed.

The world's great Wrong cries out; you do not heed,
But drivel rot with heaven-uplifted eyes,
Then creep away behind a cloud of lies
To kiss the palsied hand of murderous Greed!

This is the work for which you get your pay:
To keep the world unchanged in sullen "peace"
Where serf-men toil at tasks that never cease,
Heartbrokenly, from bitter day to day—
The Crime upheld by preachers and police
While Lust, unhindered, battens on its prey!

Soybeans

The Story of a Worker's Education in Economics

By **Ralph Verlaine, x229442, I. U. 620**

It was June, 1932. The champion of the Forgotten Man was comfortably installed in the White House. A "lame duck" session of Congress was engaged in increasing the heat and humidity of Washington D. C. with the argumentative hot air of politics. Headlines in the brass-check journals were dedicated almost exclusively to the meaningless mouthings of ranting Democrats. Amidst all this fanfare and hautbois, I was graduated from a Roman Catholic institution of higher education not a mile away from the United States Capitol..

Franklin Delano Roosevelt distributed the diplomas and received an honorary doctorate in philosophy for his efforts. He spoke of a new day dawning whose noonday would be effulgent with promise. With honesty, it must be admitted I was touched with the visionary spectacle of a new world of wider opportunities being erected under the benevolent direction of this enemy of laissez faire capitalism, this re-incarnated Pericles. The picturesque word-tapestry of a delightfully changed existence wrought under the beneficient leadership of Roosevelt was pleasant to contemplate. My education in the brutalizing realities of working class life was nil. After all, I had studied six years for the Roman Catholic clergy and my scholastic life had given me no basis for an appreciation of the fallacy of his remarks.

During my last two years of university life, I was possessed by ranking doubts of the validity of religion. Penetration into the sciences of biology, chemistry, and physics, worked havoc with my religious faith, and I was not averse to carrying my precious little heresies into the classrooms to fling them into the faces of the professorial clergy. At first, I shot embarassing questions at the theological doctors, but when they barricaded themselves behind the smoke screens of metaphysical evasions and sophistries, I changed my tactics to open challenge and fought them grimly to the glee of a small group of comparatively free-thinking students and to the undisguised horror of the larger group of the complacently pious.

Shortly before my graduation, I wrote to my four brothers and five sisters (mother and father were dead), announcing my withdrawal from the church, stating elaborately, almost pontifically, my reasons and welcomed them to take similar action. Their joint answer was couched in the bitterest terms of denunciation. I was disowned! I was the Anti-Christ! I was the agent of Satan! I was the epitome of everything connoting evil! It was too tragically funny to warrant a reply. Recollecting their attitude evokes from me a peel of spontaneous laughter even to this day. However, there was a discordant note in the chorus of anathematizing. One sister independently wrote me, mildly congratulating me, but chiding me for antagonizing the family and storming against the citadels of the whole of Christiandom, painfully pointing out the economic comforts and advantages I was losing by not currying favor with the Church, and by refusing to pander to the petty prejudices of its followers. Shades of Machiavelli! She expressed the desire to attend my graduation, but declared that to do so would invite the wrath of her intollerant brothers and sisters and jeopardize her comfort. She sent her good wishes accompanied by a check for fifty dollars.

My professors emitted a sigh of relief when I left the familiar hallways; but I felt a lingering hesitancy to leave. The thrill of manipulating test-tubes, of dissecting small animals, of peering down a microscope, and the delicious madness of rancorous debate on the battlefield of religious philosophy, were realities evaporating into mere reminiscences. I regretted the transformation. It had become such good fun tilting with the clerical windmills!

II.

Under the spell of Rooseveltian optimism, I set out to find these new worlds to conquer, to seek the bright dawn of a re-born civilization, only to discover very shortly that Mr. President was indulging his warm imagination, projecting chimeras and mirages with careless abandon. I made fruitless rounds to the banking houses, newspapers, hotels and congressmen. Applications for positions were easily acquired, but real jobs never materialized. I was impressed with the glaring fact that I was not alone in the search for work. I had a lot of company comprised of some hopeful, some discouraged, some rebellious.

My money was running low and I was perilously near to being broke, when I decided to work with my hands. I accepted a job as a hod-carrier at thirty-five cents an hour. The work was hard and there was obviously too much of it for one man. Each bricklayer worked with ease because there was a superfluity of them, or so it seemed to me. They kept me hopping with their shouts for materials.

"Hey, there! Bring me a load o' that Irish puddin'!" roared a husky son of Erin.

"Irish pudding? What's Irish pudding?" I asked a worker close by.

"Cement! Ya goof!" he bellowed.

All morning long I took abuse from the bricklayers who seemed organized in a conspiracy against me. When I laid the materials down near them they never missed a chance to squirt a stream of tobacco at my legs, and make caustic statements about my clumsiness. Once, when I was running with a load of brick, a giant of a fellow maneuvered a stick between my legs and I went sprawling headlong into a heap of rubbish. Laughter from all quarters went up over my plight. Their sadistic cruelty was beyond my understanding. Scratched, bruised, and limping, I went to the foreman with my troubles. He talked to the men rebuking them mildly for their conduct, adding that he would chastise them by firing me and in that way force them to carry their own materials! This curious speech in my defense called forth low laughter from the men as they bent over their work and renewed their campaign to discomfit me. It was all very bewildering.

The noon whistle blew. Workers dropped their tools with the alacrity of a child pulling his finger out of the fire, and reached for their black tin lunch boxes. I went to a nearby restaurant with an appetite completely out of proportion to my new income. After eating heartily, I proceeded to walk back to work followed by three men who ran up and intercepted me.

"You're the new hod-carrier, aren't you?" asked the huskiest of the three.

"Sure he is!" said another before I could answer. "What are ya stallin' fer? Plug 'im!"

"Yes. I'm the new hod-carrier. It's the first work I've found since I left college. Why do you ask?"

"A collitch bred scab, huh? Lemme slug da rat!" begged the noisy one, but the husky spokesman of the trio prevailed upon him to be patient.

"We belong to the International Hod Carriers Union, fella, an' we're on strike for six-bits an hour. We're workin' on the job you're workin' on but we struck 'cause we can't eat on the wage you're gettin'. You're doin' the work of three guys an' you ain't even gettin' wages enough for one," he said calmly and logically.

His two co-strikers clenched their calloused hands into four formidable fists ready to fly at my already bruised face.

"A scab's a scab!" insisted the third, "and dere's nuttin' ya can do but pick it off!" anxious to use his knuckles on my face.

At this point a policeman strolled over and curious, asked,

"What's goin' on here? Fight, eh?"

"No, sir. Just a friendly debate, sir. We have no intention of fighting. The bruises I have are the result of an accident I had, sir."

"Wot are ya debatin' about?"

"The state of nation, sir, and the difficulty one meets keeping his job."

"Reds, huh?"

"Oh no, sir, Democrats."

"Well, git along. Don't block the sidewalk."

The four of us swung around the corner and walked several strides in silence when one of the belligerents broke the tension.

"That was white of ya, mug."

"Yeh, you're a good egg," corroborated his sidekick, "I thought ya wuz gonna squeal to da copper."

"What are you gonna do 'bout the job?" the spokesman asked.

"What do you want me to do? I'm late for work already."

"Walk off an' stay off!" volunteered the sidekick.

"And if I don't . . .-?"

"We'll bounce ya off, see? We'll bounce ya off!" huffed the big bad wolves in broken chorus, forgetting what a "good egg" I was a few moments before.

"Listen, why do I have to walk off and stay off? Why can't I walk off and stick it out with you, win with you, and go back to work with you? The idea of seventy-five cents an hour appeals to me."

"Ya don't belong to da union!"

"Can't I join? What does it cost?"

"Ten bucks to our local!"

"Ten dollars! That's an impossible fortune! It's apparent you don't want new members when you put up a protective tariff like that. The jobless and hungry have no recourse but to take your jobs when you leave them."

"We don't want none of ya chatter. Ya ain't goin' back to work, ya see?"

III.

I saw that a return to work was plainly improbable. I had to retreat to the ranks of the unemployed, or suffer broken bones, and missing teeth at the hands of three strikers bent upon winning their demands for increased wages. It was my first contact with the wage.system, and the American labor movement. I was not favorably impressed by either; both left me frankly puzzled; but my mind received its first real impetus to think along economic lines.

With no money to pay my room rent I was in the streets. Hungry, dishevelled in appearance, my courage waning, I thought frequently of returning to the Church, of rescinding my convictions, and throwing myself at the snug mercy of my family, a repentent prodigal. But the thought was not pregnant with action. To concede they were irrevocably right and I was unalterably wrong would be too intellectually and morally humiliating.

In long-faced despair, I dragged by weary feet toward the railroad yards. A freight weighted down with young and old of the dispossessed, chugged to a stop with brakes squeaking and bumping cars clattering noisily. Crowds crawled from the tops of the box-cars, and scurried over the tracks. One youthful chap with a smutted face walked toward me and begged a match.

"How's moochin' in this burg, buddy? Any good?"

"I don't understand, young man?" I was not familiar with the unique jargon of the road. My young friend seemed surprised.

"How's the food, I mean?"

"Oh, it's good, if you can get it."

He proved quite capable of getting it and he taught me the art. I was an apt student, frequently besting my instructor on many of our foraging campaigns amongst the petty bourgeois bakers, butchers, and grocers. On one occasion a grocer growled his refusal to give my companion food, threatening to call the police when my colleague consigned him to a six-penny Christian hell amidst a torrent of uncomplimentary epithets. Promptly taking up the cudgels in defense, I delivered myself of a flow of oratory on the manifold miseries of the wretched creatures who huddled themselves around jungle fires seeking protection of the damp night air and a little warmth for their chilled bones. The grocer stood mesmerized. Shoppers came in and enjoyed the drama. I wound up by appealing to him as a man of Christian virtues, saying that what he does "for the least of these, His children, he does it unto Him!" The bourgeois repented his decision, giving generously of foodstuffs, enough to feed a dozen. My sharp buddy rose magnificently to the occasion and passed his dirty cap amongst the shoppers, collecting nickels, dimes and quarters.

My prestige in jungle society shot up like an arrow. My friend never tired of eulogizing me to the tramps, hoboes, and disemployed workers who filtered through the camp. He was a superb press agent, and his Wamba-like antics and enthusiasm irritated me to laughter—laughter in the jungle! Humor in the dark basement of a Dante-esque hell!

I lost my instructor. He failed to make a train under the watchful surveillance of railroad bulls. We had planned to go to New Orleans together to get a job hauling bananas. It was his idea. I missed him miserably—him and his quaint resourcefulness. I dropped off the train in Macon, Georgia. It was impossible to hold it down to Louisiana. My belley told me so. My eyes were bloodshot and burning with lack of sleep.

While standing before a restaurant window, gazing longingly at simmering hamburgers on a grill, guessing at the liberality of the chef, a gentleman brushed by me, hesitated, came back and asked if I were hungry. Upon receiving my frank reply, he invited me to dine with him. I waxed eloquent of my recent experiences while smoking his cigarettes. He was the very essence of tenderness and solicitude. Impressed with my eagerness to find employment, he declared he would do his level best to put me to work.

IV.

We drove in his car to the edge of the city, parked and walked a block. His attitude quickly changed. My whole world changed! I was thrown in a crowd of thirty or more men with scared, cowed looks in their eyes. They were manacled one to another. I demanded an explanation! I "stood on my constitutional rights as an American citizen!" only to be silenced by a strong fist wielded by a khaki-clad guard.

My charming benefactor of a few hours ago, received the munificient sum of two dollars for delivering me into the hands of these sadistic Georgia satraps! It was a frank and open "deal." Judas of biblical fame struck a far shrewder bargain. When I was safely manacled to my fellow prisoners he walked up to me and extracted from my shirt pocket the half package of cigarettes he had previously given me, sneered, and walked off with an air of having accomplished a clever feat.

We were pushed into trucks and hauled off like cattle to a dreary spot several miles from the city. Our manacles were exchanged for shackles around our ankles with eighteen inches of heavy chain from shackle to shackle. Our sleeping quarters were rolling iron cages, with iron bunks, crawling with a hundred varieties of vermin, and with a labyrinth of chains from bunk to bunk interlocking the wrists of the prisoners in their slumber thereby prohibiting a change of position while sleeping. If a strong prisoner turned in his sleep, he did so by taking up the slack in the chains and wrenching the arms out of the sockets of a weaker brother-in-bondage.

Into the night I wailed against injustice. I did no wrong! No charges were preferred against me! I appeared before no judge! I was not sentenced! Why? Roosevelt spoke of the dawn of a new day!

The Rights of the Forgotten Man! Piddling politicians! Deceivers! Liars!

I raved until sleep stilled my cries like a gentle opiate. The guards aroused us at dawn with brutal shoves and brutal words. Before the cage lay a washtub of the tenement variety. In it was water to splash into our faces. Sanitation on a chain gang!

We were marched into a big tent that served as the commissary and messroom. A tin dish, a leadish spoon, and a tin cup were given each prisoner. Into the dish was dumped steaming unseasoned oats; into the cup was splashed black chickore heavy ladden with salt peter. That and a chunk of dried bread constituted our unvarying breakfast diet. Many times the same thing appeared at supper. There was no noon meal. Upon very critical inspection, a piece of something faintly reminiscent of a carrot or a bean might be distinguished in the Dada-istic hash.

Our work consisted in clearing acres of rocks and tree stumps and levelling off the land. But for refusing to eat the breakfast slop, I was put to cleaning out the vile open-air latrines. The stench sickened me and I fainted, falling into the human excresence around me. When I opened my eyes a guard was standing a few paces away to avoid the smell, bellowing orders at me. I started my second rebellion, yelling my defiance in a stream of profanity that would have burned the pink ears of my pious professors in the Catholic seminary.

My action did not go unpunished. My face was rubbed in the stuff of the latrines. I was beaten with hard fists and taken to the blacksmith who sharpened and repaired the shovels and picks, and had several links chiseled from the chain between my feet so that I would trip and bash my skull on the ground if I took a normal step. Before I was to leave the chain-gang most of the links were struck from my chain so that I shuffled like a geisha girl, or hopped.

As days wore on, I received a broken nose. lost weight; and skin eruptions, the result of prison diet, broke out on me from head to foot. (The Job of Messianic times was a piker next to me. He was fortunate in having stray dogs to lick his sores, but the baying blood hounds in this prison camp were trained to bite—not lick.) The fierce August sun blistered my back so that sleep was frequently impossible.

One prisoner in the cage suffered weakened kidneys. Chained, he could do no more than react to the urge for relief while lying in the bunk. He tried hard not to, so that the rest of us would not be exposed to the odor. The strong nauseating smell of dried urine compelled some of us to vomit making a stinking hell of the cage. There was no cleaning these messes until daybreak.

An elderly colored worker with white hair bunked opposite me. He was a man-mountain with rippling muscles in his back and arms. In early youth he worked lifting bales of cotton on the sidepaddlers on the Mississippi River near Memphis. His right hand lacked fingers; the rest of the hand was smashed into a hideous mass of contorted flesh. He lost the use of it while slaving for Henry Ford in Dearborn, Michigan. There it was where his economic education began. He was well-read, and having a special affinity for the quibblings of philosophy, familiarized himself with the works of Plato, Aristotle, Voltaire, Schoppenhauer, Godwin, and a host of others. Withal, he concocted a peculiar philosophy out of the material of his own experience.

V.

"I don't like to see you punished, son. But there is nothing so beautiful as a slave in rebellion. I rebel, too. But in a different way. When I'm out in the hot sun I'm supposed to work. But I don't. I just go through the motions when the guards are looking. When they're away, I don't even do that. Every now and then I break a rake handle. It makes the guards think I'm working hard. That's called sabotage."

Sabotage! The word sounded like sweet music. The logic of his philosophy was tantalizingly irresistable.

"When I lost this hand I resolved never to work for Henry Ford again, and to avoid all work, if possible. But, it's impossible sometimes, isn't it?" he said chuckling. "Son, I'm convinced the world is crazy. Suppose you and I were marooned on an island abounding in ripe fruits and eatable animals. We'd pick the fruit and eat it, wouldn't we? We'd hunt the animals and eat them, wouldn't we? We'd build a shelter and live in it, wouldn't we? Surely, we would. In spite of the fact that I'm tan and you're all white. America is just like the island I dream of. Everything is here. But here we build mansions and sleep in box-cars! We raise fine food, and eat garbage! We make automobiles, and walk! Why, America is one big nut house!

"When those chains are knocked off your ankles, don't imagine you're free. You're still a prisoner chained to the task of creating the good things of life for others to benefit by. You're a slave to the class that pays you wages. Yes, and robs you of the full product of your toil! I'm sure that here we're working for someone else, aren't you? I'm convinced we're not going to benefit from all this, aren't you?"

The old philosopher did not stay with us long. Gangrene was crawling up his left arm. It was the result of a filthy wrist chain chaffing the skin. He was removed to the hospital for its amputation.

After eighty-four days I was released. Sick, with sores and boils, coughing, I was a ghost of that fat young lad who dared to argue with priests.

I borrowed from clotheslines, a shirt from this one, a pair of trousers from that, until I acquired a regalia that suggested a miscellaneous column. To the Gulf Coast I went and basked in the warm rays of a Texas sun, regaining my strength. Then to New Orleans to haul bananas off the ships from the British Honduras and to be "discovered" by an erudite and young technical worker who steered me into a good position. I worked with youthful engineers, architects, and the like, freshly recruited from American universities. My own position bestowed upon me the grandiose title of "statistician." I worked until the mid-summer of 1933 when I was fired for lampooning the upper classes in swingy verse, and for my humorous tirades against politicians.

The losing of the position cost be no regret. I was suffering an acute nostalgia for the familiar faces of my old friends of yesterday before the world changed . . . changed me. I was curious to know what they were doing, so I welcomed any excuse to return to Washington.

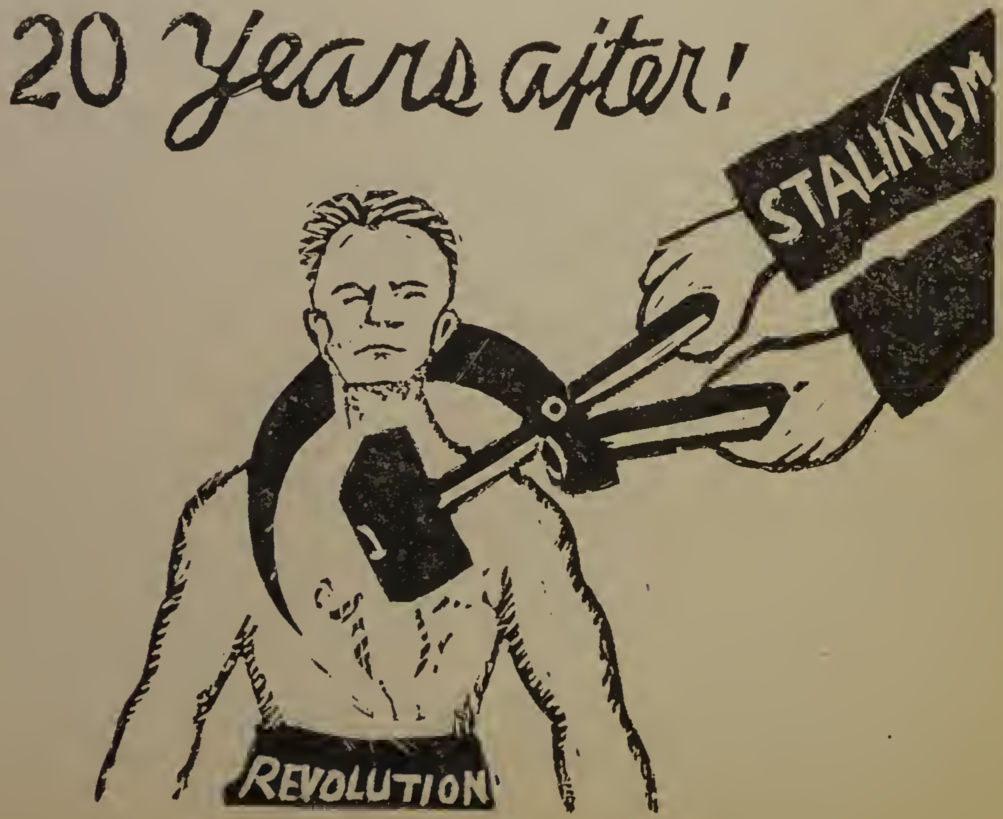
With the fascination a criminal is alleged to have for the scene of the crime, I went to Macon, Georgia. Nearly fifteen miles west of Macon I came upon a few familiar landmarks that identified the place. No evidence of a chain-gang here now.

I stood in a setting sun that was casting its red glow over fields of soybeans . . . soybeans, waving listlessly in the warm breeze. The fields seemed drenched in blood . . . hot, human blood. I shuddered as with ague as I recalled in panorama the horrifying events that took place at this spot but a brief year before. Impossible! The wails of a youth crying out for justice in a world bereft of justice. His cries stifled with the hard fists of an agent of the State, the hard fists of a servile servant of . . . .

I walked along for many yards inspecting little white signs with bold black letters imposed upon them, shifting my gaze intermittently from the signs to the soybeans. In my heart welled up an uncontrollable hate that sent a sweat to my brow. In the flash of a moment I became class-conscious with a vengeance! I found myself uttering repeatedly a vow to organize my fellow workers to fight.

●

Each sign boasted in bold letters . . . FORD MOTOR CAR COMPANY! FORD MOTOR CAR COMPANY! FORD MOTOR CAR COMPANY!



To a Hard Working Lumberjack

By Carl Madsen, Card No. x193962

When your day's work is done and you are dog tired, and the boss tells you that you are fired—Jack, do you ever have a thought wondering why you have never fought the bosses who have imposed on you such conditions that the devil must be ashamed of the system?

It is the greedy master that keeps you there, eking out an existence bare. Did you ever stop to wonder why, after your day's labor you could not buy plenty to eat and plenty to wear? Then don't you realize that you were robbed out of your share at the point of production by an idle beast who does not worry or care the least if you have shoes on your feet or shirt on your back?

All HE is after is to pile up the jack. Oh, why must you always be humble and meek and perform like a band of wooly sheep? You have heard before and will hear again of a brave body of working men who are fighters now and have always been— the WEDGING POWER of all the workers, known by the name INDUSTRIAL WORKERS.

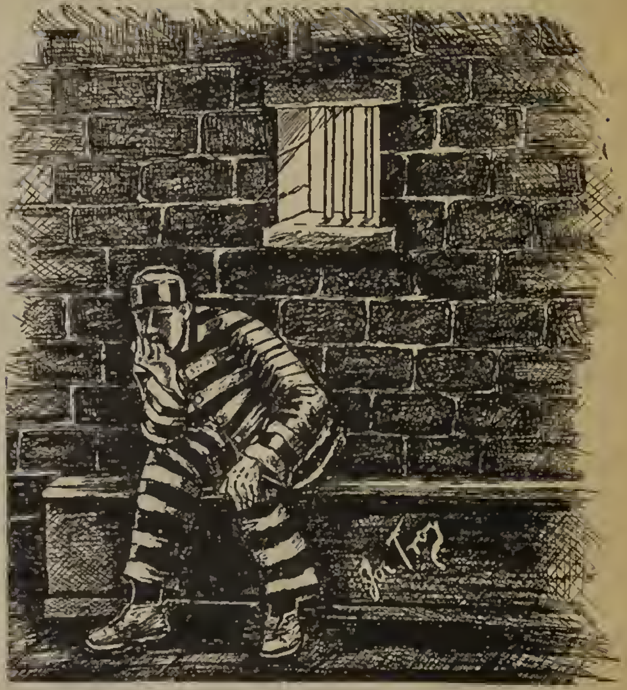
While some of you have stood close by and heard the moans and painful cry as the masters' tools and all their stools beat some of them up because they dared—the tales of exploitation to the world they bared.

Now, slave, do you ever stop to think that you might have been a potential fink as you sat on the fence with the unorganized mob, your only concern a menial job? You did not care if the hours were long, or how many workers you added to the unemployed throng.

Do you think it is right to speed up on the job while all around you—can't you hear the sob of destitute children or a workless working man?

It is up to you to do all you can, to organize yourself and your fellow man, in the ONE BIG UNION GRAND.

What Will Labor's Men In Jail Think This Christmas?



Christmas is celebrated in most prisons by having two meals instead of three. There is also an earlier lock-up, and the inmates have that many more hours with little to do except to contemplate what the outside world is doing.

In these prisons there are all manner of people—a regular cross-section of the outside world, except that the well-to-do are not there. Among these prisoners there is a sprinkling of men who are locked up for no other offense than that they did their utmost to make this a better world for all of us to live and work in. They are the Class War Prisoners of America. It is with them that the General Defense Committee is particularly concerned.

Some are young and some are old; some are famous and others unknown. There is Bart Dudek, for instance, in the State Penitentiary of Ohio. He is a young man, little known. Early one morning during an I.W.W. strike in Cleveland against the National Screw & Mfg. Co., he drove some of the girl strikers down to their picket line. On previous days these girls had been attacked by the plug-uglies hired to break the strike. So this time he had a revolver in his car. Police stopped the car, searched it, and that is why Bart Dudek will spend this Christmas—the fourth such Christmas for him—in the penitentiary. With him is Mike Lindway, another victim of the same strike, framed-up by the simple device of walking into his home without a search warrant and walking out again with some dynamite bombs and the story that they had found them in his cellar.

When the guards go their rounds this Christmas, and lock their charges up shortly after noon so that they themselves may go and make merry elsewhere, we want Bart Dudek and Mike Lindway in the "big house" at Columbus, and Jim McNamara and Warren K. Billings in Folsom, and Tom Mooney and Matt Schmidt in San Quentin, and all the other Class War Prisoners of America to know, when they contemplate what the outside world is doing, that they have friends on the outside who think well of them.

We want these men to know that their dependents also are not forgotten. When Mike Lindway thinks of his little girl this Christmas, we do not want him to have a picture of a sorry little waif who got no Christmas presents, and who is told by the neighbors that Santa doesn't come to her house because Mike is a "bad man," locked up in the penitentiary. We want Mike to know that little Mary Leona has her presents, that his wife is not in want, and that if the neighbors are curious enough they will find out that there are enough good people in America who are back of these Class War Prisoners and the ideals for which they suffer, to bring them these substantial tokens of friendship and good will.

Lindway's Chance for Freedom

The best thing that we can do for these men and their dependents is to get them out of jail. That of course is the chief concern of the General Defense Committee wherever it is possible. In the case of Mike Lindway in particular, we feel that it is possible, and that by fighting for his release we are erecting a safeguard against future frame-ups of a like nature. Without a search warrant or witnesses Kurt Gloeckner of the Cleveland police, bent on "getting" Mike, according to their own declaration, went into his home when he was away, and came out claiming to have discovered dynamite bombs in his cellar. Since it is possible to secure any desired evidence in such a way as this, the General Defense Attorney, Morris Wolf, moved to have the alleged evidence arrested. This was denied and a conviction obtained. The Court of Appeals agreed with us that such evidence was not admissible, but the Ohio Supreme Court set aside its own previous decisions as to the rules of evidence to keep Mike in jail.

We took the case to the Supreme Court of the United States but the "nine old men" said nothing. We took the case then to the Federal District Court, and we plan to take it, if necessary, back to the "nine old men" on a basis where they will have to say something—either that the rules of evidence must be changed to keep Mike Lindway in jail, or that Mike goes free. It has cost thousands of dollars to fight this case, and we expect to spend thousands more on it, for the security of every person whom powerful interests might seek to frame depends very largely on the ultimate decision in this case. If we have enough after such expenditures from our fund as our customary gifts of $25 to each prisoner in jail, and $50 to his wife, mother or other chief dependent and the various other gifts to other dependents, we will use it for the costs of this great legal battle.

Mike Lindway

The Harvest of Hate

But there are other casualties in the struggles of labor than men in jail. Sometimes the courts have ordered labor's spokesmen to be hanged. Sometimes instead of bothering with the courts, the great interests have their gunmen kill and cripple those who dare to strike.

Fifty years ago, on November 11, 1887, four advocates of the eight-hour day were hanged in Chicago for their participation in an orderly protest meeting at the old Haymarket. Last year when we sent our present to Lucy Parsons, the widow of one of these men, and the last living tie we of this age have with these men, she wrote back:

"I received your check for $50, and I thank you many, many times. You address me as 'Fellow Worker.' I am a 'Fellow,' but sad to say, not a 'worker,' for my life consists of yesterdays. I have only a few tomorrows left."

We who enjoy the shorter hours that these men gave their lives to win, should not let this sole surviving widow of that tragedy spend her few remaining "tomorrows" thinking the world has forgotten the good men who were hanged in 1887.

Dalton Gentry

Paralyzed by a gunman's bullet in his spine, Dalton Gentry lies on a hospital bed in Orofino. He was one of the lumberjacks who struck in the summer of 1936 against the filthy camp conditions in the Idaho white pine belt. They wanted single bunks, clean sheets, shower baths, better food, higher wages, and in general the conditions that organization had previous-

(Continued on page 29)

Who Will Make an End of War?

Labor Can Stop Capitalists Wars and Labor's Interests Demand That it Do So

By

Card No. x226183

Pacifists in theory are opposed to war under any circumstances. In practice they go to war or remain at home according to their individual desires or government edict.

Liberals are opposed to all wars excepting war for humanitarian purposes, such as making the world safe for democracy, or others with similar slogans.

The communists are opposed to war unless it benefits the diplomatic plans of the Soviet Union.

The capitalists favor war when their profits are preserved or increased thereby, at other times they are uninterested. Capitalists never go to war.

Governments merely reflect the capitalists' wishes in regard to wars and declare them when the capitalists bid them to do so.

Workers aren't supposed to have any views on wars either and, like the governments, are declared to be sitting in the game when the capitalists say so. Workers just do the fighting and leave the planning to others. "Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die," says the poet.

And because up to now the workers have been content in the role of doing and dying, they are not taken into consideration when war and peace plans are made by the pacifists, the capitalists and their governments, the liberals and the communists. A case in point is the slogan, "Take the profits out of war."

The workers never make profits out of war anyhow, so their abolition wouldn't concern them. This concerns only the capitalists and those communists and liberals who have money invested in armament factories. And so with all plans in preparation for or against war. Workers are supposed merely to accept the outcome of the conniving of government diplomats acting for the capitalists.

The position of the U. S. government in regard to the Spanish situation is determined solely by American capitalists' investments, and the investors' sympathy for their brother investors in Spain. There isn't enough American capital at stake to declare active intervention on the side of the fascists but, nevertheless, the international brotherly spirit of capitalists imposes on the American capitalist, through the government, a position of neutrality that favors the fascists.

The liberals, though criticizing the neutrality act of the government, preferred the isolationist position until the Roosevelt speech suggesting the quarantine and "collective security." Since then the liberals have been devoted to justifying intervention. The liberals are like back-seat drivers, they will rant and rave about the way the ship of state is being driven but they will go along with it no matter where is goes.

The Slogans

In the event such collective action as suggested in the Roosevelt speech results in international warfare, the emotional and jingoistic slogans are already being prepared by the liberals. "If Japanese aggression—**indeed fascist aggression in general**— is to be stopped it will have to be by prompt collective action growing out of the nine-power conference of October 30." "The situation calls for strong and prompt action . . . the kind of action that will **end the long successful game of bluff and bluster played by the fascist powers."** (NATION, Oct. 23.) From these two quotations the slogan for another international war can be gleaned. It is going to be a "war against Fascism," or a war of "Democracy versus Fascism." In any event it will be a war that workers will have to fight, a war in which they will benefit no more than they did in the "War to end Wars."

One thing is interesting in this promoted war against fascism. To fight fascism in anoher country we will first install it here in America. According to the Industrial Mobilization Plan considered by Congress (reviewed in the INDUSTRIAL WORKER by Melvin Jackson in May and June, 1936) virtual fascism would be installed in the U. S. within twenty-four hours of the declaration of war. Just as we abolished all evidence of democracy to fight a "War for Democracy," just as we went to war to build peace, so it is proposed to install fascism in this country to endow the blessings of democracy on the "furriners."

The fascists will like it. The capitalists will like it because it will abolish all genuine labor unions and working class opposition. The government will agree with the capitalists, and the liberals with the government. The communists will consider it a victory for, having no democracy in the USSR. they wish to abolish it in other countries. And it is from the quarter that will benefit from fascism that we can expect the war fever to be stimulated.

Spasms like that in the NATION of October 23, "that we prefer support of a concrete program calling for collective economic assistance to the aggrieved nation and for embargoes against the aggressors" demonstrates the confusion of liberal opinion. Already the Neutrality Act, as administered toward Spain, has shown the one-sided purpose of government activities. The demand for the same sort of action toward the Sino-Japanese quarrel shows conclusively that liberals learn not one whit from experience.

Functions of Government

It is not embargoes or boycotts that are at fault. These are effective means. But the function of capitalist governments is to govern for the capitalists and to assist other governments in governing for the capitalists. To expect a capitalist government to administer boycotts and embargoes in favor of the working class is unreasonable.

If we want boycotts and embargoes to work for the benefit of the working class in other countries, then we, the working class, must administer them; and to do this we will have to use our own organization and not those of the employers.

The proposed boycott of oil to Japan by governments might work, and it might not. It depends on whether the governments want it to work. The patrol of Spanish waters by foreign governments worked in favor of the fascists. But if the workers on the oil tankers decide that oil is not going to Japan, whether or not an international boycott of governments has been imposed, oil is not going to Japan. And if the workers of the world decide that armaments are not going to be shipped to Franco, and they organize to this end, Franco isn't going to get any arms. If the workers of the world are determined not to buy Japanese goods then all government edicts in the world can't make them.

That workers will use direct action internationally regardless of the attitude of governments is not just a theory. It is a tendency that has been exhibited many times. When the government of England was going to ship armaments to the counter-revolutionists in Russia the workers said no. Armaments were not shipped. The I.W.W. longshoremen refused to load cargo for the same Russian counter-revolutionists.

Solidarity in Action

On September 11, 1936, at Philadelphia the Marine Transport Workers of the I.W.W. struck the United Fruit company S. S. "San Jose" because it carried dynamite which was to be re-shipped to the fascists in Spain from some South or Central American port. Members of the Sailors Union of the Pacific forced the "Admiral Nulton" to give up the loading of war gasoline. Unfortunately the I.S.U. seamen worked the ship that the I.W.W. members struck and the C.I.O. longshoremen loaded the war gasoline on foreign ships to be taken to the scene of war.

The boycott of Japanese goods shows how effective this action can be whether or not the government approves. Many other incidences could be mentioned of this kind of action during the Italian "civilization" of Ethiopia, but these few demonstrate that it can be done.

Direct action like this by workers is the most effective manner of stopping this country from getting tangled up in some foreign war and the best way to help our fellow workers in other countries. It is the best way to gain their respect and international support. And, last but not least, it is the best way for the working class organized in many different unions, to build up confidence in itself as a class.

Not one organization in America is strong enough today to carry out this program of direct action by itself. But all the labor unions have in one way or another proved that there is a militancy that can be directed into these direct action channels against war. Maybe they can be united in time to offset the confusion spread by the war mongers, liberals, and communists.

If the solidarity of labor can be practiced in time of war then it can be practiced in time of peace. The working class can control production and transportation to stop famine, unemployment and depressions. On the solidarity of labor depends all.

The Growth of Wage Slavery

By

JOHN SERSHON

Development of the Process of Wage Slave Exploitation from the Beginning of the Capitalist System.

The background for American Wage Slavery had its practical beginning several hundred years ago in England. It had its beginning with the advent of the factory, which in turn owed its origin to the invention of machinery, especially machinery for the weaving of woolen and cotton cloth.

Before the birth of the factory the work was performed in the home by the weaver on a hand loom. This manner of working in one's own home is now called the "domestic system." A later phase of the domestic system was the "putting-out system," by which a capitalist enterpriser put into the hands of cottage labor wool or cotton to be spun into yarn or woven into cloth by the various weavers' families who took the work.

The first real step in the direction of our present capitalism was when an enterpriser with capital set up a building of his own with improved machinery for the manufacture of yarn.

Weavers' communities would grow up around these factories, because the yarn made by the improved machines was cheaper to buy than to make by hand, and the weavers wanted to be near the source of supply.

Gradually with the appearance of new inventions all of the weavers' work was done in factories.

It was not until about 1830, however, that weaving machines seriously threatened the former hand looms.

The advance of the factory system and factory civilization, if it may be called that, is coincident with the advance of technology and machine invention.

The tempo of the industrial revolution, which usually is dated from 1750, was quickened immeasurably with the great textile inventions. Kay's fly-shuttle (hand weaving, 1773), Arkwright's roller spinning frame (1769), Hargreave's spinning jenny (pat. 1770), Crompton's loom (1779), Kelley's self-acting mule (1792), Cartwright's power loom (1785).

The invention of the steam engine by James Watt (1769) was an infusion of power which has carried over to the present day, although electric power in modern factories is more widely used. "It was first used in mining, but in 1785 it was applied to cotton spinning in some of the New Nottinghamshire factories and after that its use was extended so rapidly that King Wool was dethroned by King Cotton."

Not only was the textile industry revolutionized but also the mining and iron industries. Steam engines were used in the mines for pumping water, sinking shafts, hauling up coal and ore, and in other ways.

Such new methods and inventions as the system of steam blasts discovered in 1788, and Nelson's hot-air blast (1829) plus the huge demand for iron for new machinery, and for coal in smelting, was responsible for the great development of mining and iron manufacture. Bessemer's cheaper process for making steel came into use in 1866. The advance of transportation during this period was accelerated tremendously by the invention of the steam blast and the locomotive. New inventions of farm machinery brought about an agricultural revolution along with the industrial revolution. From these inventions and conditions there grew the system of economic production and social control that we call capitalism.

Workers Resist Wage Slavery

One of the characteristics of the new social order was the transformation of relatively free workmen to wage slaves. For at the very time that the worker abandoned his tools and his home as a please of work, selling his labor power to the enterpriser who now furnished the machinery and workplace (factory), he became a wage slave entirely dependent upon the master for his economic well-being.

"The aggregation of workers (in the factory) created new problems of discipline. When work was done in the household no regularity of hours was necessary. The craft worker enjoyed considerably freedom as to the manner and time of doing such work as was necessary for his support. Even when the 'putting-out' system had become elaborately organized it was not possible to exert much pressure on workers as to the time of finishing the work allotted to them.

"The aggregation of workers in factories made it possible to improve the timing of the productive process, the work could be made to flow along without interruptions; no groups of workers were obliged to wait for the group engaged on the earlier stages of the work. The division of labor that existed under the 'putting-out' system could thus be more effectively carried out, but on one condition—the subjection of the whole body of workmen to a systematic schedule."

The cottage weavers with their hand looms and personal job control were the envy of all the working class neighbors who did other work. "With all its usual distress and degradation, the trade of single hand weaving (requiring a minimum of strength and skill) offers half the liberty of savage life for which the uninstructed man is almost tempted to sacrifice half the enjoyments of the civilized. Thus, there is a well known feeling among farm laborers, the bricklayers and other ordinary artisans in this district, that it is very hard on them to be turned out at early hours every day instead of being able to take whatever hours they please, like the ribbon weaver, and like him, take **Saint** Monday and **Saint** Tuesday too, if they choose.

"Precisely the counterpart of these feelings is also found in the other sex. Notwithstanding the wretched state at which, until recently, the trade had been, it was impossible for respectable families to procure domestic servants. There is the greatest difficulty in prevailing upon parents to let their children come to service. The young women looked down with scorn upon it, and preferred the liberty of the Monday and Saturday, the exemption from confinement, and the little finery, with the liberty to wear it which the loom furnished them."

The supervision of every detail of the work, without any change in the general character of the wage contract by the capitalist employer, gave him authority over the workmen which was deeply resented. This resentfulness on the part of the new wage workers (now slaves) is given as a possible cause for the slow development of the factory system. "The great attraction of hand loom weaving was the degree of freedom enjoyed, the weavers refusing to leave their cottages for the factories even when the factory offered higher wages."

It was the efficiency of the factory machine which "ultimately forced the workmen to accept the discipline of the factory. As long as there was some measure of freedom of choice between cottage and factory the workmen preferred the cottage."

Neither riots nor machine-wrecking could prevent the fulfillment of the Industrial Revolution. It has continued its course to the present day.

Division of Labor Efficiency

One of the most striking features of industrialization was the increased use which was made of what is termed division of labor. With division of labor a workman made no complete article as before, but only one part of the whole product. In the manufacture of shoes, for instance, one man cut the leather, another sewed a part of the leather, another put on the soles, etc. The proficiency gained in repetitive tasks, coupled with the added use of machinery, increased the total output of goods to a degree never known before.

However, though the hours of labor were long and the discipline, as noted before, had its inception when the factory system came into being, not until recent times was there any completely scientific system for the performing of labor tasks.

Frederick W. Taylor as far back as 1895 was introducing scientific ways for causing the worker to increase his labor productivity. His two books, "The Principles of Scientific Management" and "Shop Management" laid down his theories of industrial management. There was a flare af public interest in Taylor's ideas about work in 1911 and 1912 but this interest soon petered out.

During the war the need for greater output for the murder of foreign workers revived interest in Taylor's principles in every country in the world. A conspicuous example was France, where Premier Georges Clemenceau early in 1918 called on the heads of all military establishments to study and to apply the methods of scientific management. Even in Bolshevik Russia in April 1918, Premier Lenin declared, "We must introduce . . . the study and teaching of the new Taylor system and its systematic trial and adaptation."

By invoking the patriotism of the men, the speed-up system was fastened upon the working class of the world with a vengeance. When the war was over the great task of repairing the damage wrought by four years of destruction was used as the basis for the continued use of scientific management.

How this work has been carried on until today is current knowledge. For those whose knowledge of scientific management is incomplete, however, let us review some of the outstanding features.

More Work Per Man

Scientific management, as the name implies, refers to the scientific methods used in running an industry, as opposed to industries run by casual or traditional methods of trial and error. Scientific management involves a minute appraisal of all of the elements having to do with the productive process. Workers and machine precesses, materials and tools, and equipment are all thoroughly scrutinized with the expressed object of exacting the greatest possible amount of wealth from the capital invested in a given industry.

"Labor control periodically furnishes the facts which govern the settling of base wage rates. In order to carry maximum net profits, a business must pay the least amount in wages and welfare work which will secure loyalty and satisfaction sufficient to result in continuous quality and quantity production."

Time saving is the mainstay of scientific management and to that end machines are made faster and more efficient; workers are regimented and reduced to the ignominy of a number and are speeded up in their work with mathematical precision that is diabolical. The strain of doing a single repetitive task in one rigidly specified way thousands of times in a day, and day after day is a monotony that is almost unendurable.

Scientific management is best divided into two elements, the element of "motion study" and the element of "time study."

"Motion study is concerned with the layout of the plant, the department, and the work place, and with methods or motion sequences employed by the workers. Motion study endeavors to establish the best way to do the work and to train the workers to do it that way . . . Time study is concerned primarily in establishing the correct or standard time for performing an operation according to the method determined upon. Each operation is broken down into its elements; each element represents a distinct series of motions of the worker covering a short interval of time convenient for study. A sufficient number of stop watch readings are taken of each element on different workers to be assured that the correct time for doing that element has been determined void of all unnecessary 'delays' and 'coasting.' All readings are 'speed rated' so that variations in the speed will be properly compensated for in the establishment of the final standards."

In studying the motions made by a worker in performing an operation a motion picture camera is sometimes used to determine the exact motions to be used in doing a particular task. The result is called a micro-motion study and after the right motions have been selected, the time for doing the work is divided into seconds, hours, etc., for the necessary fulfillment. Or as they are sometimes termed, "man minutes," hours, etc.

The very energy of the worker is also sounded in this way and by a process sometimes called the "survival of the fittest," after Herbert Spencer, only the strongest and the swiftest are hired by the capitalist masters as factory fodder.

"All possible motions performed by any worker are resolved into seventeen types or classes. For example, to reach for an article and place it closer to you would consist of four motions, namely, transport empty, grasp, transport loaded, and release.

"Graphic symbols and charts are used for designating the major steps taken and for tracing the flow of materials and man; also for recording the path of travel or motion sequence of right and left hand of each worker. These symbols and charts are then studied with a view to determining which major steps and which motions can be shortened or entirely eliminated.

"Revised charts are then prepared based on the proposed layout and methods. Unnecessary travel is eliminated, distances are shortened, production lines are straightened out, machines, tools and materials are brought nearer to workers, surplus motion and often entire operations are removed, two hands are made productive instead of one and material is conveyed by gravity, instead of by hand from one operation to another."

Incentives

In order to bring about the cooperation of the worker "in striving to reach or better the task time" two incentives are made use of, "the financial and the non-financial."

The financial incentive for practical considerations dictate that the incentive for industrial workers should take the form of bonus or premium based on the worker's regular rate of pay, whether this be computed by the day or by the piece.

Needless to say if the wage rate is "too high" the employer will see to it that there is an immediate reduction. "Unduly high wages have repeatedly demonstrated a tendency to make many workers irregular in their attendance and, frequently, more or less shiftless, extravagant, and sometimes dissipated. Men tend to become more thrifty when they receive such proper recompense for their effective days work, live rather better, save money, and work more steadily. In short, they more fully realize the value of money."

There are a number of piece rate systems based on time study and "recompensed" by financial incentives. All of them follow or are later adaptations of the original Taylor method. Some of these systems are the Henry L. Gantt plan, F. A. Halsey plan, the James Rowan (Glascow Scot) plan, the Carl G. Barth premium plan, the Charles E. Bedaux "stretch-out" plan.

The Bedaux system of B units is "a system of wage payment in which work is subdivided into units equivalent to the number of minutes that a task should take and the payment of the worker on the basis of the number of points of work accomplished in a given length of time."

The B. F. Goodrich Rubber Co. makes use of the Bedaux plan and Bedaux claims that more than 1,000 plants in some twenty-two countries, involving more than one million men are now using his system. Foremen under the Bedaux system receive a bonus for speeding up the workers under them.

Some of the qualities of a "good" foreman are, "1. The forman shall know all about the work which is done in his department. 2. That he be a good disciplinarian. 3. That he shall have the ability to crowd work through and get it out quickly." In short, the Bedaux and similar systems are a means of speeding up production without the use of greater man power.

The non-financial incentive is the manner of inculcating the workers with the idea that they can promote themselves to better positions by working harder, improving the quality of their work, by bringing out a pride in good workmanship, etc. Countless books of a psychological nature have been written for this purpose.

Labor saving machinery and scientific management are responsible along with the profit system for the great number of unemployed in capitalist countries today. This combination is also responsible for the degredation and robot like miseries of the working class.

A social scheme which places machines and profit making before the life values of human beings should be destroyed. Not destroyed in the sense of destroying factories or breaking machinery but by adopting the philosophers' dream of making the machine the slave of men a reality. The machine and machine civilization made use of in the right way would give to humanity an abundance of the necessities of life with an amount of leisure which is almost startling to contemplate. To do this we must be prepared to "take over the machinery of production and abolish the wage system." Only industrial organization can accomplish this satisfactorily, and only the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) is equal to the task.

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The C. I. O. in Lawrence

By

A Lawrence Worker

Without Opposition from Employer or Police the Almost Indifferent Employes of the World's Largest Woolen Mill are Organized in a Lewis Union. "No spontaneous Striking," was the Organizers' Most Effective Argument.

In Lawrence, on September 15, some 9,000 employes of the American Woolen Company's Wood mill, world's largest woolen and worsted mill, voted on whether C.I.O.'s textile workers organizing committee shall represent them in collective bargaining.

The following day, 2,000 employes of the company's Ayer mill voted on the same question.

The two-day election was the largest yet conducted in New England by the National Labor Relations board. Of the 11,000 workers in the two mills, about 6,500 voted for the C.I.O., 3,500 voted against, and 2,000 did not vote. This gave the C.I.O. a majority and the power to represent workers of these two mills.

Outside of Lawrence, very little is known of the real situation in Lawrence and how this election was brought about. The following report will throw some light on the methods used by the C.I.O. to try to get control in the textile industry.

At the time of the vote of the Wood and Ayer mills the C.I.O. did not have one hundred paid up members in these two mills.

For months the Lawrence committee for Industrial organization with the help of Boston volunteers, had canvassed the workers' homes, and had asked the workers to sign pledge cards. The pledge was that in case sixty percent or more of the workers wanted the C.I.O. they would join the C.I.O., and only when they had 60 percent of the workers pledged, would the C.I.O. leaders approach the mill officials on the vote question.

Friendly Police

There has been hardly any interference by the police with the C.I.O. activities in Lawrence. In fact, most everything they asked for was granted, such as permit to pass out leaflets, etc.

In past attempts by other organizations to organize the workers they have always been met by vicious opposition by the police. The present attitude of the police is in part attributed to the open policy of the C.I.O. of being opposed to spontaneous strikes. They have often said in their mass meetings and also membership meetings that in as much as when a strike is on, before settling said strike the workers have to sit in conference with the representatives of the employers, they might just as well mediate first, and if nothing can be gained peacefully, then declare a strike.

Afraid of Strikes

These words had a deep effect on the workers as well as on the police and chamber of commerce, etc. The Lawrence workers are afraid of strikes. This cannot be blamed on the C.I.O., but on former strikes where most always the workers gained a raise in wages, but got more speed-up along with the raise, and the most militant strikers were done away with after a short time, if not right after the strike. Of course if the workers had got a strong union, no active member could have been laid off for his or her activities, but Lawrence never got a strong union after a strike was settled.

They have always joined the union by the thousands in time of trouble (most of them with the prospect of getting something for nothing), but after the strike, when called upon to pay, their dues, there was nothing doing. One of the old timers said:

"I have been assigned to do such work more than once after a strike, and of all the new members I visited, not two percent would pay dues; and the old members would pay providing we went to their homes to collect, but very few of them were willing to come to meetings. This is bad and makes it very hard to organize the Lawrence workers. And today under the C.I.O. it is not much better. A little new blood has been injected into the union, but by far too little of it.

"I was present when they selected the Wood and Ayer weave room representatives (shop committees) and in fairness to the C.I.O. organizers, I must admit that they gave the workers full power to select their representatives. Only, all the old-timers declined. Most of the weave shop committee are French Canadian with one Belgian and one German. A good representative group, but all new blood and somewhat green. To qualify to vote, or for shop committee member, you must have received 12 pays in a current year. I've only worked six weeks in 13 months, so I couldn't qualify in any mill."

Too Much Speed

The main grievance everywhere is too much speed-up. For the weave room, the workers seem to agree on four magazine looms per weaver instead of six. But right here is a source of trouble. Nobody wants to accept a cut in pay and it is a general belief that if the Wood and Ayer mill weavers want to get 4 looms, they will have to accept a cut in pay.

Again a Lawrence worker speaking: "I have worked in plenty of woolen and worsted mills in New England. I know the kind of cloth they weave in the many mills, how many looms they run and also the average pay. Compare first, the Lorraine Mill in Pawtucket, R. I., with the Wood mill. In the Lorraine they run six fancy worsted looms for about $30 for 40 hours. In the Wood mill there are four different kinds of automatics. There are the 2-shuttle Drapers, the Baker loom for three-shuttle work, the old magazine loom and transformed Knowles and then the new automatic speed loom. All with the same price list.

"The two-shuttle Drapers and the Baker looms cannot run fancy filling and fancy filling pays 10 percent up to three kinds, if you have 3 kinds of filling that means 20 percent extra. For colors in the warp 5 percent for each fancy, and as they make a lot of fancy worsteds on the magazines 4 kinds of yarn means 20 percent for the filling and 15 percent for the warp, that means that often a weaver on magazines get 36 percent above the price list.

"Now, good weaver's pay for the Draper and Baker looms is around 40 dollars, let us say $38, on the magazine looms $40 or better and the speed looms $50 and up. Of course, with business slack, small warps, waiting, and short time these pays look pretty sick some times. But that is a general condition.

"But do you think that the Wood and Ayer mill weavers will succeed in getting 4 looms with a proportional raise in pay when elsewhere they run six looms for less pay than a Lawrence worker could make on four looms with the present price list?"

Starvation Wages In Many Mills

The above does not apply to all of the Lawrence mills. For instance, the Lawrence Woolen Mill and all of the three small worsted mills in Methuen are paying starvation wages and those are the mills where the union can get but few members.

Then there are the Arlington and the Pacific Mills, two large companies. It is said that the C.I.O. feels almost safe in taking a vote in the Arlington mill.

But the Pacific mill is a harder nut to crack. They investigate every worker's record before giving him a job. You must apply at the employment office on a certain day (on Thursday). There they ask you every question they can think of. Then they send you home with the promise of sending for you when they need you.

Again quoting a Lawrence worker: "I put in my application a very long time ago, but never heard from them since. One is warned when filing his application not to repeat (that is, not to come again unless sent for); because if one does repeat the big shot in charge is going to make it very unpleasant for repeaters when discovered.

"I hear that the Wood and Ayer mill officials are absolutely reluctant to discuss the 4-loom plan and they name mills where workers are running 8 looms. But I believe that it is because they fear that the workers will demand a raise in pay; but for me, 4 looms first, the question of pay I am willing to let that wait for a while. This may sound yellow, but I am very sick of the 6 looms. It is too much for me anyway.

"The New Deal has not been put into effect enough for me to notice it here. If dividing up the work were tried it might not hurt us so much after all, as I know plenty workers who have not

(Continued on page 29)

Book Reviews

Poor Henry Ford! The Bad Capitalist Did Him Dirt

By JUSTUS EBERT

Upton Sinclair's latest novel, "The Flivver King" is well named. It is all about Henry Ford and how he got that auto-monarchical way. Incidentally, it brings in three generations of Ford workers, through whose eyes much of Fordism is seen and described; especially with regard to its effects upon Ford employes.

In many respects, because of its cronological description of modern capitalism, together with its latter day effects upon the Ford workers, the city of Detroit, and American society in general, "The Flivver King" is a story well told. But otherwise it is apt to prove pernicious, as the tale of a mechanic-inventor idealist gone wrong, that is, as the tale of a superman who passed from an early phase of humanitarianism to a later phase of hard-boiled gangster, nazified capitalism; thanks to the bad capitalism about him.

In other words, "The Flivver King" is, in a sense, a lousy story, because it is the great man theory all over again. This, too, in a day when the tendency towards collectivism is being recognized on all sides, even by men who were never sicialists like Upton Sinclair.

Unsound Theory

Henry Ford, according to "Flivver King," was originally a noble character whom environment changed into a decidedly ignoble one. Poor Henry Ford! Capitalists and capitalism did him dirt to the extent of a billion dollars and a philosophy of futility and defeatism, not omitting his final dependence on a strong arm squad and Hitlerism. It's terrible, if true.

In these days when workers, even alleged socialists and communists, are electing good men to office, a la Roosevelt and LaGuardia, it will serve the purposes of pseudo-industrial unionism well to depict the good capitalists versus the bad ones (curses on the villains!) and to influence the organization of labor accordingly. However, it is a wholly erroneous and unsound procedure.

Thus it comes about that as a picture of "Ford-America," Sinclair's novel is disappointing. It is more biographical than fictional. It is also an over-simplification; an attempt to segregate Fordism, as it were, from capitalism, except as it is affected by the latter. Fordism is not described as a phase of capitalist industrial evolution, but as something growing up in the midst of it in a sort of primitive, pristine beauty, only to be badly affected by it.

Weak in Industrial Facts

There is no attempt to depict the evolution of the motor car and the motor car industry as a whole. The aim of the novel, perhaps unwittingly, is to make Ford at once its able hero and its great moral; the latter being, "don't 'make' a billion, lest you lose your original character." Another version of "What profit a man if he gain a whole world and lose his own soul."

So, apparently, there was no machine age before Ford. Nor was there any vertical industrial development before him. Nor were there any other men trying to invent autos (some of whom threatened Henry with infringement litigation, not mentioned by Sinclair)—Ford is the wonder worker of it all. Listen to this, for instance: Ford has to abandon his original model car; his competitors are pushing down his sales. So here is what happens according to Sinclair (page 69):

"A stupendous task confronted the Flivver King. Most of his forty-five thousand machines would turn out one thing and nothing else, and would have to be remodelled or else scrapped. Before any car part could be stamped, new dies would have to be cut, and there were more than 5,000 parts. There would have to be a complete shut-down, except for the making of new parts for the old cars, which would continue at Highland Park. **"Henry (mark this) would create a whole new industry at the River Rouge plant, with a million and a half feet of new floor space."** (Our emphasis.)

Here we have Henry as the **creator** of "a whole new industry!" Of course, this is twaddle. Henry was nothing of the kind. His dunderhead, non-creative salesmen had warned him long before the event that the change in models would have to happen! And his equally non-creative, stupid, thousands of laboratory workers, top-notch executives, skilled die and tool makers, and unskilled laborers evolved those 45,000 new machines and put them in operation—all in five month's time.

The Cart Before the Horse

In other words, Upton Sinclair is guilty of failure to point out the collective, cooperative, social labor which makes the Fords possible, and not vice-versa. He makes society dependent on the Fords, instead of the other way around. It's a crime against society that should be left to the bourgeois exalters of "great men." It's no job for a socialist like Upton Sinclair. That is, provided he knows what his socialism is all about.

However, read "The Flivver King." Its working class characters are well drawn. You'll pity Abner Shutt, and realize that the working class is full of his likes. After which you'll understand the working class as a whole better. Then there's his son, Tom, the very antithesis of old man Abner. A bright boy who goes through high school and college, only to become a Ford worker and then a union organizer. Our heart goes out to Tom, though we don't think it necessary for union organizers to be college bred. We've met many who only went to college to lecture about the labor movement to the collegians. Never mind, Tom is the calibre of man who is going to help the workers to victory.

"The Flivver King" is not very dramatic. But the march of the unemployed Ford workers to Dearborn and the murder of Tom by Ford thugs thrilled us and left us more determined than ever to work for the overthrow, not only of the Flivver King, but all of the other crowned heads of capitalism made possible by the exploitation of the cooperative, social labor of the workers whether in River Rouge or elsewhere.

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The Story of Haymarket

Labor Agitator: The Story of Albert R. Parsons by Allen Calmer, International Publishers. Paper cover 35 cents.

It's a well told story of an American labor agitator with a long line of American ancestors who, after years of fighting to make America a better place to live in, died on the gallows, November 11, 1887, one of the immortal five murdered after the Haymarket affair of the preceding year to punish labor for daring to challenge the right of the money masters to do as they please with their wage slaves.

Mr. Calmer's book is short, 126 pages, and as he sets out to give a complete biography of Parsons beginning with his pilgrim father ancestors in Massachusetts, it is somewhat lacking in important historical detail. One might almost get the impression that the labor movement of those interesting years when the first big railroad strikes took place and when the 8-hour day movement was launched, existed exclusively in mass demonstrations and soap-box meetings. We are given little or no information about the forces at work in homes, factories, and union meetings that brought the workers out to public gatherings where the spell-binders such as Parsons and Spies could get at them.

On the other hand we are given a good deal of useful information about the workers' political movements of the time and about the anarchists. This, of course, is as it should be because Parsons was, during a number of his active years, a believer in political action as a means to achieve the emancipation of the working class, a belief which he later gave up.

It is in the discussion of Parsons' anarchist leanings that the biographer ventures a criticism which will not be altogether to the liking of most of those people who feel themselves, with justice, to be most closely related ideologically to the Haymarket martyrs.

Mr. Chalmer says (page 71) of Parsons' idea of the state: "He had never read Marx's and Engles' writings on the state (most of them were, of course completely inacessible to him) which pointed out that the workers must use forms of organized force, including the state, for purpose of crushing the resistance the bourgeoisie even after the masses have won power; that, while the capitalist state must be smashed, the workers have to put in its place a 'revolutionary and transitional form'—the dictatorship of the proletariat—which would pave the way for a classless society in which the proletarian stateform would 'wither away'."

Now there are many, including some who have read Marx, who believe that Parsons was right in thinking as he did that the state-form could well be dispensed with after capitalism has been overthrown. However, the quotation above seems to be the only place where the writer gives evidence of having attended that cock-sure school where everything is proved conclusively by selected passages from Marx and Lenin.

The author does a lot to clarify certain points that trouble some students who are inclined to believe in the peaceable intentions and actions of the Haymarket martyrs, but who are worried about the violent language they sometimes used. He explains, for instance, the circumstance under which the famous "Revenge" leaflet was composed and what Spies really intended when under terrific strain and excitement following the brutal assault of police on the McCormick strikers' meeting, he gave instructions to the printer. He points out that the possession of arms and drilling with arms by private groups was at that time still legal. Lacking this bit of information many a reader of labor history is apt to jump to the conclusion that workers groups that drilled with guns were outlaws.

He reminds us that these famous men, Parsons and the others, were real revolutionaries who had faith in the work they were doing, so much so that they expected that the revolution was right around the corner. And we get a fair picture, too, of that other class that trys hard to "do something for humanity"—the liberals, those good people who never know what is going on until it is too late to do much more than put a wreath on the monuments of the victims.

There is no need here to repeat the story of the Haymarket case. The fiftieth anniversary of the martyrdom of Spies, Parsons, Lingg, Fischer, and Engel has just passed and we have all heard the account of those stirring times again and again.

But we gladly recommend "Labor Agitator" and trust that many thousands will read it and pass it on.—**C. K.**

What Will Labor's Men in Jail Think This Christmas?

(Continued from page 19)

ly won on the west coast. Company gunmen, hiding in ambush, shot at him and other pickets with dum-dum bullets. One of these, Mike Stetz, is dead. James Whalen, chairman of the General Organization Committee of the Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120 of the I.W.W. that conducted the strike, writes of young Gentry:

> "Paralyzed from the waist down for more than a year, there is little or no change in his condition since the time he was shot. The doctors at this hospital hold little hope for his ever regaining the use of his lower organs, and are doubtful that he will live for a length of time. We are faced with the problem of either exhausting the means of medical science by putting him under the care of a specialist with the possibility of him regaining the use of his body or taking care of him while he is in this sad condition until his strength and spirit leaves him. Frankly, the latter is more than a possibility in the near future. Meanwhile the boy wishes, and so do his folks, to be moved to a hospital near his home in Louisiana where his people can visit him.
>
> "Once we take him from the Orofino hospital we will have the responsibility of assuring him care. This means that an attendant must be with him during his trip to another hospital."

Will You Help?

To get young Gentry home, taking proper care of him, we are told will cost at least a thousand dollars; but it is much better to do what we can now than to send wreaths and sympathy later.

Such in general are the circumstances we have in mind when we ask our friends, new and old, to contribute once again to the Class War Prisoners' Christmas Fund. It is twenty-one years now since the General Defense Committee was organized. In that time we have defended thousands of workers and secured freedom for most of them; but the casualties of the class struggle accumulate, and the rulers of industry remain as vindictive as ever, their power to frame and imprison abridged some little bit by the decisions that this Committee has from time to time wrested from the courts.

This year we need funds as much as ever to accomplish the purposes of the Class War Prisoners' Christmas fund, so we hope you will respond to this appeal with a generosity that will warm your own heart when you stop to think this Christmas about the good men who are locked up extra early in order that more of the guards may get off to make merry elsewhere. We would like our gifts to reach them well before Christmas, so please send your contribution in plenty of time to

GENERAL DEFENSE COMMITTEE
W. H. Westman, Secretary
2422 N. Halsted St. Chicago, Ill.

C. I. O. in Lawrence

(Continued from page 26)

lost many days work while some workers have done very little work since last March. I suppose if they made them all feel the pinch of hunger, they would be more ready to kick together."

Negotiations But No Action

To briefly sum up the situation in Lawrence. The workers have gained nothing since voting to be represented by the C.I.O. on September 15th. The C.I.O. is still negotiating, but nothing has been achieved to date. Very few members are paying their dues. The officials have said openly that they would collect no dues until they have gained something for the workers. (That I believe was a very bad slip on their part.) The C.I.O. officials are still running the union, the workers do not seem to want to run it, they would rather let George do it. The leaders are calling their members to meetings and are trying to induce local workers to take an active part in their union. The workers of Lawrence will get what they are willing to fight for and nothing more.

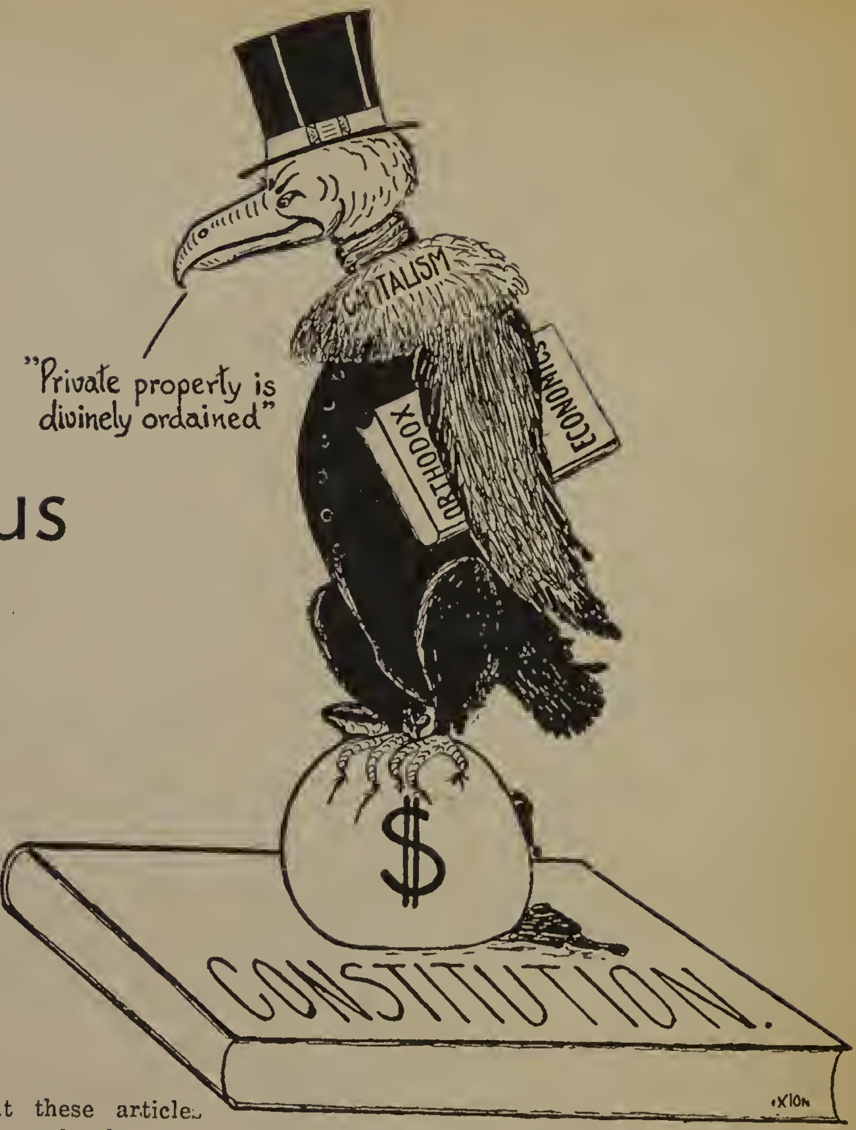
As we go to press we have word that young Dalton Gentry is on his way home to Louisiana.

The Modern Stegosaurus

Defender of Private Property

By

A. B. COBB



A correspondent complains that these articles have been too hard on the educators who, he says, "are sincere people; and home, press, and radio are each partly responsible for the miseducation of the young."

As to sincerity, the fox is as sincere as the hen, and the more sincere he is the harder it will be for the chicken. People who know Hitler assure us that he is well meaning. You can see that Mussolini is sincere by the way he sticks out his chin; and the odor of sincerity around Uncle Joe Stalin is as strong as the smoke from his pipe. We may conclude from these instances that individuals are to be judged not alone by their estimates of themselves but also by their effect upon others.

Moreover, it is not the individual educator who concerns us but the effect of the institution as a whole. And after making all due allowances for the evils that flow from other groups, it is only fair and just to hold the school system to be Public Enemy No. 1. They pick on the child in his formative years, full of life, hope, and ambition. They turn him lose in the world helpless, hopeless, and demoralized.

In the primary grades he is taught the three "Rs"; without that for a foundation civilization itself becomes impossible. But the vital facts about himself and the institutions that control him, these things he must learn elsewhere. In the secondary schools and in the universities he is introduced to literature, history and the sciences. But at all times the most important truths are held back. The scientific method is subordinated to the authoritariand method; nowhere will he find a consistent effort to apply scientific methods to social questions. When he has swallowed the whole works the most that can be said of him is that he is a Master of Alliteration, Distraction, Uglification, and Illusion. (Apologies to Lewis Carroll). The more seriously he takes what he has been taught, the more confused he will be and the more damage he will do.

For we have arrived at an era of change; new forces are at work in the world and the old authorities cannot help. To quote Marx and Engels:

"Uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish our epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antequated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into the air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses, his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind."

In such a situation the university man, whether graduate or instructor, is not only useless, he is an incumbrance and a nuisance.

Other Institutions

Ever since the adoption of the American Constitution we have been assured by men in high places that it stood as a general guarantee of freedom, that we have a system of government by checks and balances so well devised that tyranny can never raise its ugly head. Much has been made of the phrase in the preamble (to the U. S. Constitution) about "general welfare"; those voices are muffled that tell that back of all government, including ours, stands the right of private property, and that the term "general welfare" is merely a sarcasm.

The much advertised division of the government into three departments as checks upon each other has resolved into three wings of an army enrolled solely for the defense of privilege for the few, each sharing in the spoils and the guilt while trying at all times to shift the blame onto the other. Against such a combination the unorganized public hasn't a Chinaman's chance. If, against this unholy trinity, grown men have no show, what hope is there for the young?

Long before the child is brought into direct contact with the political state he feels the influence of other equally baneful institutions, church, school and press. Even at his mother's knee he is apt to fall under the witchery of the fables, traditions and prejudices handed down from the ignorant and credulous ages of the past. If he falls under the influence of the church he is scientifically humbugged, drilled to have faith, respect, confidence, in every one and in every institution, but none in himself. He must obey his superiors without fail and if he doubts he must never admit it.

If by some miracle he escapes the sway of tradition and religion, another, more powerful institution besets his way. Like all other such institutions the school appears as the benefactor of childhood, a bringer of wisdom and a guide to character. In reality it is a "whited sepulcher" in which to bury genius. New pharisees conjure up new phantoms. Long before he knows how abstract ideas are formed he is pestered by such weasel words as patriotism, heroism, liberty, truth, justice, and freedom. Here too he is taught to venerate the men and institutions that, like Jacob of old, rob their own brothers of their birthright. In the lower schools they hide from him his origin, evolution, and destiny; even in the university they will not expose the origin, purpose, and nature of the institutions that stand between him and the things he needs. The power of the press has been overrated; the church has long been in decline; in the more advanced countries the school remains the principal instrument for decieving humanity in a world of make-believe. No other tool has exerted so much power for evil and still retained a reputation as a benefactor. If the lost generation expects guidance from our educators it is sure "out of luck."

An Illustration

The value of the opinions of educators on social questions was demonstrated not long ago when President Roosevelt sent letters to about one hundred institutions of higher learning asking suggestions as to how to cushion the shock when some new invention displaces large numbers of laborers. So far but one answer has made the headlines. That one suggested a remedy neither new nor humane. The problem of over-population was referred to the medical profession. It was proposed that in the future doctors dispose of all persons found unfit, crippled, or useless.

Now if this reply had come from the Dog House —Maine and New Hampshire—it might have been taken as a personal reflection upon the president himself, since he suffers from the effects of infantile paralysis. But no, this answer came from the good democratic State of Georgia, from the Georgia Technical Institute. When the mechanical cotton picker gets going, the poor whites and blacks of Georgia will be just so many useless mouths to feed. Someone suggested feeding them to the hogs, but hog raising is no longer profitable. Why not call on the great engineer, Hoover? He is well educated and a good Christian to boot.

For more than a hundred years the ablest men in every line of thought have insisted that the application of scientific method to the various branches of knowledge is essential to progress and that theological or authoritarian method is the worst possible impediment. These men have shown that science has been a menial, a scullion in the house of knowledge.

As a result the modern university is much like the extinct monster, stegosaurus, said by authorities to have had a brain in its tail larger than the one in its head. As long as our schools subordinate scientific method to theological or hind-brain method, education is bound to be a failure. And as to those who insist on the present program or on returning to the past for guide posts, we are willing to grant their sincerity but must question their sanity. We should quit calling our professors such pet names as Prof., Prexy, and Puff-Ball. It would be more in line with their intelligence and dignity to say Honorable Stegosaurus or Big Chief Brain-in-the-Tail.

Education and "Humanistic" Approach

By

CHAS. J. MILLER

The question of education is rapidly taking a more important place in the capitalistic scheme of things.

By this I do not mean only in the sense of bribery of educational authorities to carry on intensified propaganda for the benefit of certain corporation interests, but in the broader sense of the whole educational policy.

In recent years education has become an ever increasing topic for discussion among the educators and those that control the educational institutions. Ever increasing in number and variety of conferences and meetings to discuss with, and instruct the educators what to teach and what methods to employ.

The question of general education has never in all history been as vital to the master class as it is at the present time.

In the past systems of society it was not a question of how to educate the slave class, but how to keep them in ignorance. Both the chattel slave and the serf were kept in ignorance, first, because education was not necessary in their performance of their work, second, educating the slaves or serfs would have been dangerous to the master class.

But with the coming of the capitalist system of production, with the introduction of power, machinery and the factory system based on wage labor, with the development of the machine age, it became ever more necessary to educate the workers so that they could carry on production with increasing efficiency. Out of the ranks of workers it was necessary to develop highly efficient engineers, technicians, chemists, mechanics, managers, superintendents, selling agents, and specialists in the various processes of industry. From top to bottom higher education was necessary to keep this complicated system of industry functioning.

And so the question of how to educate the slave class to run this complicated system, and at the same time keep them in ignorance of the slave character of their standing in society and of the method by which they are kept in slavery, became one of the hardest problems of the master class. And now, with the system cracking, crumbling and decaying, this question of education is becoming still more difficult to handle.

With millions of working class youths unable to get jobs, continuing their education into high school and some getting into college, the question of how to keep up the delusion of democracy and still keep the basic economic truths from the workers has become a gigantic task.

Among the defenders of the Democracies the most common solution of our social ills come under the head of humanism. Educators, preachers, reform speakers, liberals; in round table discussions, in forums where the speakers do all the talking, this subject of humanism is prevalent.

The popularity of "Humanistic" theory among these speakers is at least in part because it is a safe subject to talk on. Humanism deals with individuals through all strata of society. It does not recognize a class division in society that is far greater and more important than the individual. It does not recognize that the class character of society is so basic that, while we are all members of the human race, the two classes are as far apart in life as the whale and the small fish that enter the whale's mouth.

A Dizzy Doctor

Dr. Henry M. Wriston, the new president of Brown University, speaking before the annual convention of the New England Association of School Superintendents at the Statler Hotel in Boston on November 5th delivered a caustic attack on the current emphasis on the theory that economic factors determine every phase of existence. He asked for a "Humanistic" approach to the problem of life.

Asserting that economic determinism "is inadequate as a philosophy of life or explanation of action" and that "the great teachers of all ages with one voice repudiate so shallow, so superficial, so tawdry a conception of the dignity of mankind."

Then he pointed out that Karl Marx was the author of the theory of economic determinism, which forms the corner stone of his socialistic philosophy and that "just as we have come to fear and hate the system of Karl Marx, we swallow it whole without questioning its major premise." Unless this major premise is rejected," he added, "your escape from his (Marx's) conclusion, socialism, will be difficult."

Then he went on to say that there was no trace of the theory of economic determinism in the teachings of Jesus, Buddha and Confucius nor in the masterpieces of Homer, Virgil, Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe.

Let us examine the above remarks by the head of an educational institution of higher learning.

First, he asserts that the great teachers of all the ages all with one voice repudiate the theory of economic determinism, then he admits that Karl Marx was the author of the theory of economic determinism (he meant the broader doctrine of historical materialism, of course), and then he goes on to say that there was no trace of this theory in the teachings and writings of some of the greatest scholars in history.

Will Dr. Wriston kindly explain how the great teachers of all ages could repudiate a theory of which there was not a trace in their teachings and writings and which he admits did not exist in their time as Marx wasn't born until 1818? As for the teachers since 1818 the present results do not speak highly for their judgement.

I would suggest that Dr. Wriston go to his professor of Psychology and have him psychonalyze his fear and hate for the system of Karl Marx. Maybe he could explain the reason for some of Dr. Wriston's utterances.

But the crowning assertion came later in his address when he said that by applying the theory of economic determinism to the whole educational process it would "impair or destroy great cultural, aesthetic, spiritual and emotional values, without giving the vocational aspect any significant effectiveness."

Can a working stiff, now out of a job, hungry, without a home, no decent clothes, his "jungle" invaded by the town clowns or state bulls duly appreciate what Dr. Wriston is saying to him, for after all he and millions like him do come under the heading of "humanistic."

He said, by applying the theory of economic determinism to the whole educational process, we impair or destroy the beautiful, your refining moral or intellectual faculties, your heavenly mindedness, your feelings and passions, without changing the situation for the better as far as your job is concerned.

Just think, by applying the theory of economic determinism, replacing our present capitalistic slave system political democracy, with an Industrial Democracy, we could insure economic security for every man, woman and child by working thirty hours or less per week from the ages of twenty to forty-five and the rest of the time be free, not only from work, but from worry; free to cultivate our "cultural, aesthetic, spiritual, and emotional values." But the doctor would have us believe that we would thereby not only destroy these values, but would not better our present job situation. Of course we can't understand this. You must have a whole educational process of a Dr. Wriston or his like to get as fine a point as this one.

He said, "All history shows that men live and love and fight and die, are heroes and patriots; they will suffer and rejoice, they will endure torture and not flinch, and all for causes in which economics is only a small constituent. The dignity of mankind rises above any market price."

Why Do Men Fight

What are some of the major causes for which men fight and die, suffer and endure torture? Are they not starvation amidst plenty, unemployment, war, etc.? These questions are all fundamentally economic. Individually we can not solve them.

The human being is a social animal. Man cannot live as man alone. Our problems of life are social problems. This humanistic approach to the problems of life is an individualistic approach to the problems of society.

Were the chattel slaves of the south freed by humanizing the slave holders? Or were they freed because the land became so unproductive under a primitive method of land culture that the slave system had to expand into new territory in order to keep going and thereby same into conflict with a cheaper and more productive slave system, namely, the wage system?

How successful has this humanizing process been with the sponsors, donators and graduates of your universities? Are we proud of their record? Millions of dollars in profits each year (some of it trickling into university funds) while workers who produce these millions are turned out to seek relief or starve, their service no longer profitable, never having received enough to live even on what one would call a decent American standard of living. I can give concrete examples of this right in your home town.

No. You cannot humanize parasites. They are a product of a system of society and it is only by changing this system that you can get rid of them.

Man's social choice is not free, it is determined by his environment, his class interest in society.

Dr. Wriston's present position as head of an educational institution, as well as his own education and his standing in society is the result of the social system, past and present. Dr. Wriston did not make the system. The system made Dr. Wriston.

Robert Blatchford in his book, "Not Guilty," said, "Man does not create himself. What a man does depends on what he is; and what he is depends upon his 'bread' and his experience. Heredity makes, and environment modifies a man's nature. Both these forces are outside of man. Our moral and ethical concepts are based entirely on our social relations."

How to Approach the Employer

For a worker to approach an employer with a humanistic appeal to stop exploiting workers is as unsound as it would be for a hare to approach a fox with an animalistic appeal to stop chasing him.

This capitalistic, wage-slave cultural value that Dr. Wriston is so anxious to preserve is the very thing we must expose for what it is. Veblen in his book "Socialism" has this to say of this culture:

"The canons of respectability in profiteering are so powerfully implanted in the young of all classes in America by the schools, churches and private opinion of all good citizens that any effective action which can be stigmatized as radical, socialistic or Bolshevik, still seems impossible to contemplate."

Veblen knew his educators.

If the workers had to depend on humanizing the capitalists to free themselves of this slave system the task would indeed be hopeless. But such is not the case. Individualism is anti-social. This is a class fight. Society is divided into two economic classes. One, the minority class, through the ownership of the means of living, control all the other institutions. But they control only because they are organized, while the other class, the working class, is unorganized and disorganized.

The workers that run industry, can, anytime that they will organize for that purpose, take over the means of living, i. e., the industries and thereby wipe out the owning class. Not until this is done will there be any sense in the "humanistic" approach.

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., Required by the Act of Congress of March 3, 1933

Of The One Big Union Monthly, published Monthly at Chicago, Ill. for Oct. 1, 1937.

State of Illinois
County of Cook.

Before me, a Notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Carl Keller, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the editor of the One Big Union Monthly and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher Industrial Workers of the World, 2422 No. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

Editor Carl Keller, 2422 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

Business Manager Carl Keller, 2422 N. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill.

2. That the owner is:

Industrial Workers of the World, 2422 No. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

W. H. Westman, Gen. Sec'y-Treas., 2422 No. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

Chas. Valsek, Chairman, Gen. Exec. Board, 2422 No. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are:

None.

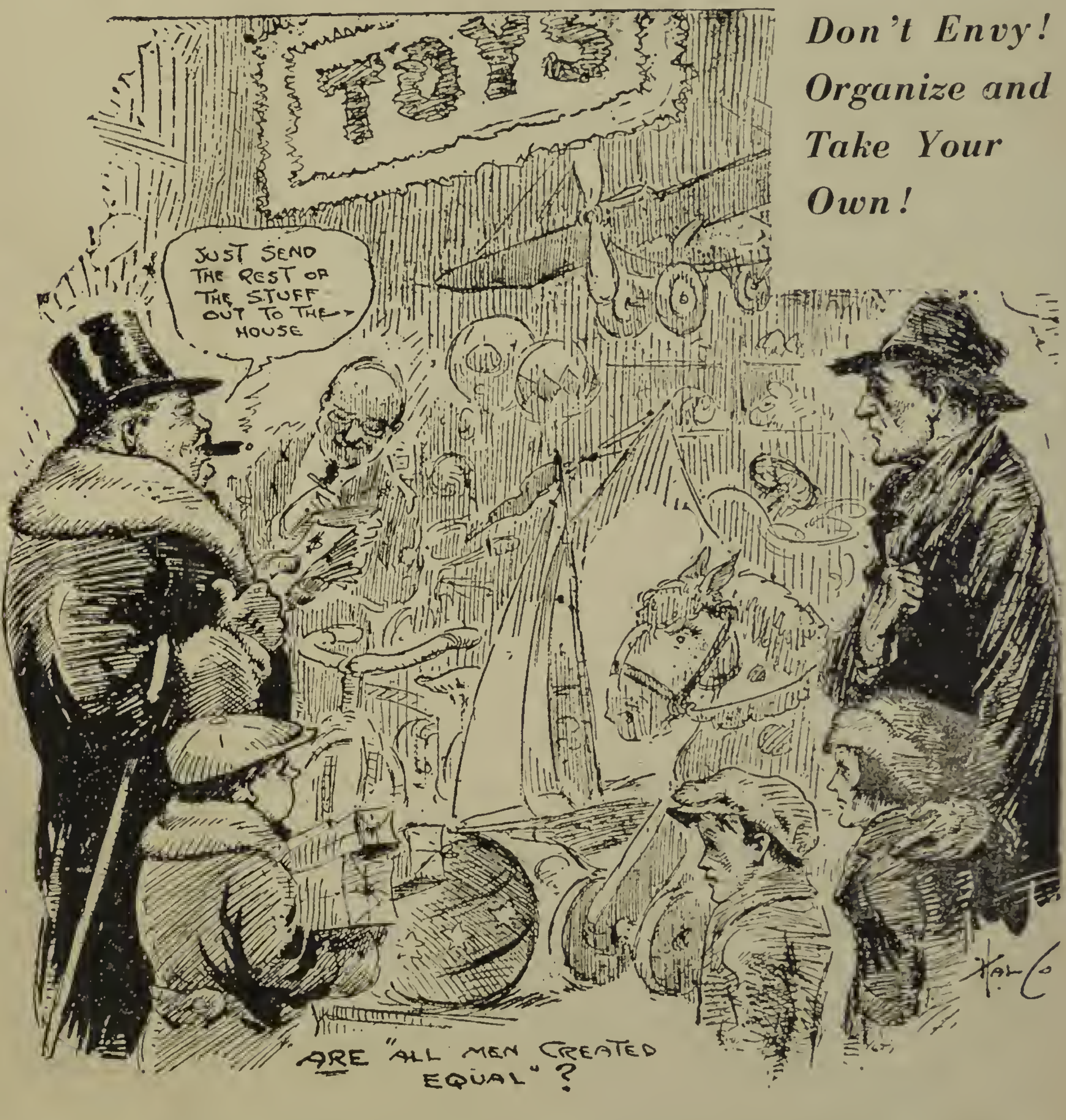
4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholders or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstaces and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

Carl Keller, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 1st day of October 1937.

Luka Mesic, Notary public.
(My commision expires 29th of April 1939.)

Don't Envy! Organize and Take Your Own!


TOYS
JUST SEND THE REST OF THE STUFF OUT TO THE HOUSE
ARE "ALL MEN CREATED EQUAL"?
Hal Co

A child's dream of abundance or a man's can be changed to reality through the magic power of organized labor. The goods so lavishly displayed for the benefit of those who have money to buy are as nothing compared to what labor could produce and distribute freely to all mankind if freed from the restraint of the capitalists who, having all they want for themselves, are reluctant to grant the workers the right even to a bare existence.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

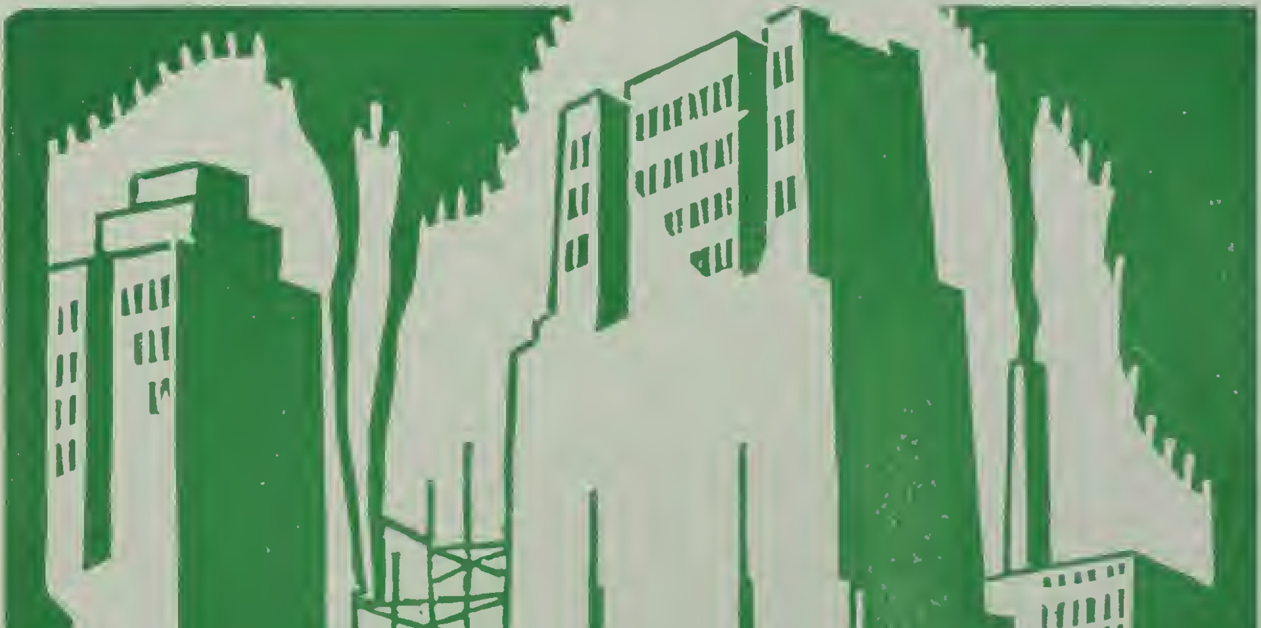
Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

JANUARY 1938

The ONE BIG UNION Monthly

Published by
THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD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END CAPITALISM

If our capitalist masters were content to be just plain parasites like fungi on a tree or like the vermin that infest a mission flop house, there might be reason in their being tolerated by a good natured working class. After all, feeding a bunch of no-account idlers, even in the luxurious manner to which they are accustomed, would not be an impossible burden. Though, of course, it would still be a most unreasonable thing to do.

But our parasites are not like that. They are not satisfied with robbing us; they want to rule us as well. They want the whole economic machinery directed in a manner to suit their needs. They're arrogant about it too, and object even to the most apologetic protests from their host, the working class. It is as though a bunch of fleas undertook to order the dog around.

Workers go hungry, go to war, and eat beans when they prefer steak because the parasites want it that way; they rear their children in slums, work too hard and long at difficult tasks, and allow themselves to degenerate in mind and body because the lordly lice (the non-producing owners of the earth) declare it must be so.

This insanity has gone much too far already. There is not one sound, sensible reason to be found in all the world's philosophy why it should be allowed to continue. There is, on the other hand, every reason why wage workers should join the I. W. W. as quickly as possible and help to cleanse the world of the most obnoxious and dangerous parasite that has ever sucked undeserved sustenance from it—the modern capitalist class.

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THE GENERAL STRIKE

The author throws more than a little light on the question of how the transformation of society from capitalism to industrial democracy can take place.

By

BERT RUSSELL

William Z. Foster, in his autobiography, pays his respects in a true C. P. conformist manner by relating the "folded arms" concept of the general strike as being held by the syndicalist. It is too much to look for the fact in this panegyric of the "correct line" that this idyllicism was treated as "childish" as early as the Paris Congress of the syndicalist C. G. T. in 1900, and that the term earmarks but one of the many phases of development in the general strike idea.

The point of view of the general strike, as with every important idea, has changed a good deal since it was first promoted as a revolutionary method by the pamphleteer, William Benbow, in England during the 1930's. And that which has changed, modified and transformed its value and tactics has been the practical experience of workers participating in general strikes.

In accord with the utopian ideas of the time, Benbow calls the general strike, the Sacred Strike, and spoke of it as a Holy Day. Previous organization and planning was not considered necessary to even mention, and the feeding of the people was to be dependent on the good heartedness of the owners of the foodstuffs. The utopian reasoning, that the poor were poor and miserable only because the rich were ignorant that the unequal distribution of wealth, of which they were the beneficiaries, was the cause, is reflected in Benbow's outlook. Therefore, the general strike was but a means of drawing the attention of the rich to the results of their riches. Once aware of the real condition the rich would immediately correct these evils.

His whole attitude is summed up in the way he solved the question of feeding the strikers for the duration of the month of the proposed strike. Pointing to the cattle in the fields, he suggested that the strikers send a "committee to plead" to the lord for these cattle to feed the people. If the first committee did not get the desired results (the cattle) then the committee was to be increased to plead "still more respectfully and energetically." With each succeeding refusal the number of the committee was to still increased "until the lord's cattle were forthcoming." It was perhaps with irony that Benhow suggested that the larger the committee the more respectfully would it plead with the noble. He was practical enough to suggest that the committee plead more energetically and that the lager the committee and the more energetic they acted the better chance they had of getting the lord's cattle.

However, in the first recorded general strike, called the Plug Plot because the strikers stopped the mills by pulling the plugs from the boilers, it was evident that lack of organization was disastrous and that the lord's cattle were not forthcoming to feed the poor. Neither did the rich see the error of their ways and make haste to correct the abuses. And they haven't until this day because enough workers have still not learned the lesson of organization and the real nature of the rich.

In France

France has been the most fertile field for theories regarding the general strike and this may partly be accounted for by the fact that the workers there have never engaged in a general strike. Talking, writing and passing resolutions in favor of a general strike are not a satisfactory substitute for the general strike. Nor are those most favorably inclined to the general strike the ones that do the most talking, writing and passing of resolutions.

The unions affiliated with the General Federation of Labor in France passed resolution after resolution favoring the general strike but when faced with the question of taking this action they did not bother to reply to the questionaire sent by the committee, "Are you in favor of an immediate general strike in the event that the railroad wokringmen should declare a strike?"

Nor did the politicians miss the benefit of this great talking point. Aristide Briand gained his popularity among the workers because of his great speeches in favor of the general strike when other politicians were opposing the measure. But after winning a high position in the government he called the railroad workers to the colors to operate the railroads under military control when a strike was initiated on the railroads.

During this period the French workers' ideas of the general strike was influenced by the experiences of the workers in the Belgium general strike, the Swedish general strike and 1905 strike in Russia. Without engaging in such action themselves they did learn from the experiences of others that a "folded arms" general strike was a "childish" conception. Zig Zag Foster apparently does not give the common herd the credit for learning from experience.

There have been general strikes in many countries and for many reasons and, with exception perhaps of the Plug Plot, all have been initiated and conducted by organizations of labor existing and functioning prior to the strike. Therefore, there is sufficient reason to believe that any future general strike will be initiated and conducted by labor organizations. That, at least, should be without question.

And the events of past general strikes, and even those not general, are sufficient evidence that the employers will attempt to break the strike with the use of militia and terrorism spread by vigilantes. Whatever name the vigilantes use, whether Citizens Committees of One Thousand, as in the Winnipeg general strike, 1919, or American Legion, Silver Shirts or Bergoff operators, they will be there to do their dirty slimy work.

Another condition, and less evident than the others, invariable characteristic of a general strike, though sometimes present in comparatively small strikes, is that the striking workers through their own elected committees assume some of the administrative functions of the political government. A dual government is set up by workers!

Workers' Control

Robert Owen foresaw this form of dual government developing from unionism, aside from strikes, when he addressed the convention of the Grand National Consolidated Labor Unions of Great Britain, 1835. He said in effect that "today there sit in London two governments, the political government in the Houses of Parliament and the workers' government in this convention, and some day this government will take over the functions of the other."

W. H. Crooks, from his wide studies of the general strikes, draws the justifiable conclusion that the essential nature of a general strike makes necessary the formation of this dual form of government. To substantiate his views he relates many incidences among them the following:

(Quoted from Strike Bulletin, Milan, Italy, about 1905): "The Chamber of Labor, in the name of the Milanese proletariat, has virtually taken possession of public power, and practically works the administrative and political mechanism of the town, which facts assume a profoundly revolutionary significance, showing the proletarian capacity to manage the proletarian commune."

(Quoting from the UNION RECORD, just prior to the Seattle general strike 1919): "Not just the withdrawal of labor, but the power of the strikers to manage will win this strike. Labor will not only shut down the industries, but labor will reopen, under the management of the appropriate trades, such activities as are needed to preserve public health and public peace." (The NATION on the same strike), "Before the (strike) committee appeared a long succession of business men, city officials, the mayor himself, not to threaten or bully, **but to discuss the situation and ask approval of the Committee for this or that step."** (emphasis ours).

The formation of a dual government by the strikers during a general strike is more definitely stated by Winston Churchill, when he was approached by the union officials during the 1926 general strike in England, with the proposal that the unions cooperate with the government to operate certain trains. He replied, "What government in the world could enter into partnership with a rival government, against which it is endeavoring to defend itself and society, and to allow that government to sit in judgment on every train that runs and every lorry on the road?"

The assumption of power over administrative functions considered the exclusive jurisdiction of political government is not confined to general strikes alone. Even small strikes assume some part of this power in controlling highways and closing saloons and keeping order. Nor does this assumption of power make a strike a social revolutionary strike even though the workers intended to maintain this control permanently. So long as the industrial control remains intact in the hands of the employing class the worker's control of governmental administrative power remains but a reform measure.

A general strike becomes revolutionary where the workers proceed further and assume the industrial administrative functions.

Where workers through their committees have taken over governmental administrative functions to protect society in the environs of the strike from pestilence, disease, hunger and terrorism, the period of their exercise of these powers is limited by the available stock of consumable commodities. Then, unless preferring to starve, they must relinquish their powers and end the strike, with or without the demands won,; or, the strikers can extend their jurisdiction over the control and operation of the industries where these necessary commodities are produced. Producing for themselves, the strikers can maintain their strike indefinitely. But time would bring increasing needs for raw material and machinery to maintain efficiency of production and necessitate a constantly increasing field of industrial control and in its train the transformation of the economic basis of organized society. The employers would be locked out. This consolidation of their control in the industries would minimize the risk of political adventurers taking control to build a dictatorship with its probable loss of freedom to the workers.

Thus the modern influences, that theorists contend makes the general strike less possible of success, such as oil burning ship, canned foods, air navigation, radio and automobiles, will tend to make the revolutionary general strike more possible of success because they will be under the control of the workers. Even the army marches on its belly and the belly of the army is filled from the industries not congress.

Even temporary effectiveness of a general strike is not possible unless a large number of workers are organized in labor unions. And unless there is a strongly organized group who know what they want and have sufficient knowledge of industry and technology to take the initiative, a group that has the confidence of the majority of the workers because of their previous actions and education among them, there is little chance of a general strike with reform demands developing into a successful revolutionary general strike.

A Lost Opportunity

For instance, though the workers of Germany were strongly enough organized to pull a general strike to beat off the fascist putsch of Von Kapp in 1922, they did not have the kind of organization or sufficient education and confidence to take over the industries then and run them for themselves. Instead, they looked to their political saviours to tell them what to do, with the result they left the industries in the hands of the employers who have since, with the aid of the workers' politicians, ground them under the control of the nazis.

But in Barcelona, Spain, not only were the industrial unionists able to take "time out" to settle the hash of the fascists but were able, because of their previous organization and education, to go back into the industries and run them for their own good. Unless they had been able to do this, their victory over General Godet would have netted them fascism but a few weeks later.

Had the Barcelona workers been content to become party to assuming just governmental administrative functions nothing substantial towards the social revolution would have been accomplished. But sufficient numbers of them were organized and educated to direct the movement into revolutionary channels and within a few months such accomplishments have been made which, irrespective of the final outcome, will stand as a concrete example of the capacities of our class through our unions to rebuild society on a basis of workers' control and ownership. It proves conclusively that the working class will not perish without masters.

The step that marks the revolutionary general strike is workers taking over control and operation of the industries for themselves, whether it takes place under civil war conditions as in Spain, or whether in times of comparative peace, it is an outgrowth from a general strike with reform as an issue. The time will not be chosen and we can't predict it. But it will be workers organized and educated for the purpose of running industries previously to the event who will be the ones to put it into effect.

Predictions have been made, theories have been worked out, and they could be again. But no good purpose would be served by doing so. We cannot set the time or call the event into being but we can prepare for it, because we know what it is going to take to do it. It will require the technical and working force organized according to their function in the industry of production and distribution of the necessities of life, prepared to take the step when the opportunity arrives.

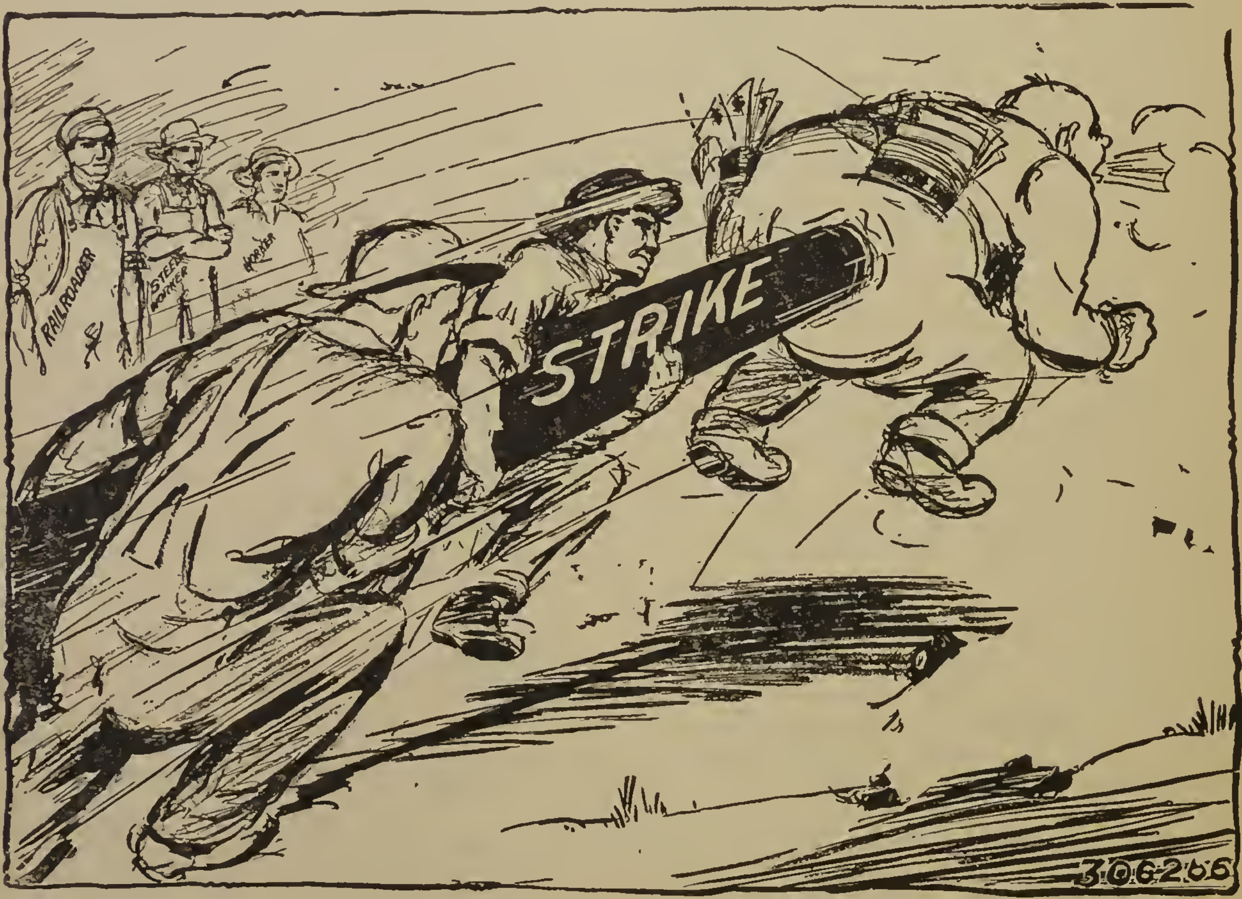
Three questions are all that we need be prepared to give a practical answer to:

1. How would the job we are working on, or last working on, be run in the event we were faced with the problem tomorrow of running them on our own?

2. Where would we get the raw materials we use on this job?

3. How would we distribute the commodities we produce on this job?

If enough workers can answer these questions of industrial procdure and organize now in accordance with the manner of carrying out these practices, the revolutionary general strike will not be a theory to talk about. It will be something to do.

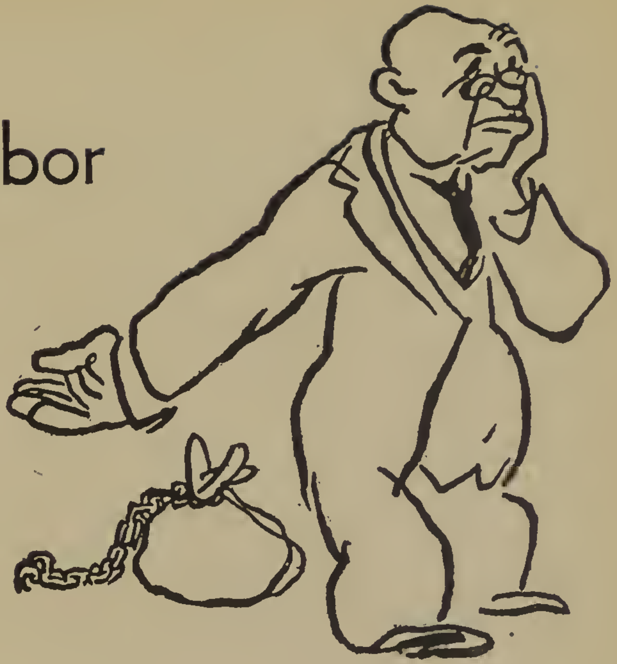


THE GREATEST GENERAL

The radical press is the hope of the nation, of the world. Often it is crude, coarse and banal, —what would you have from the unrespectable?— but always honest and straightforward. What it prints is the truth as it sees it, the utterance of honest men and purposeful. Support it, you who stand for love against hate; freedom, sympathy, kindness to human beings against poverty and exploitation. Support it, you who hope for the dawn. The commercial press is—commercial. In the radical press you will find the two words that make the Captains blanch—**General Strike!**

That will be Manhood's move against Money's federal courts—if it comes to that.—**Luke North.**

Yes, We Have a Labor Government



By VIOLET CLARKE WILKINS

Card No. X216219

No doubt you will have read about our recent federal elections here in Australia. The farce and futility of the whole business was very apparent in states like Western Australia, where we have a so-called Labor Government in office.

The present gang of labor fakers have been in power here just over four and one-half years, yet we find on their own official figures that there are over 5,000 men on relief work, and likely to remain on it permanently.

The Labor party when it won the state election in 1933, introduced a relief work scheme which is based on an allowance of one shilling per day per head in each family. They allow a man to earn one pound per week over and above that, to pay to the landlord for rent. For example, a man with a wife and three children is allowed to earn 35 shilling per week, plus 20 shilling for rent.

The maximum that a relief worker is allowed to earn is 59 shilling per week, so any of them who are unfortunate enough to have more than five to feed must feed the surplus ones out of the allowance of the others.

The Labor government also amended the police act so as to make it a criminal offense for anyone to "obtain relief work under false pretences."

Politicians Live Well

For example, men have been sent to prison for failing to notify the relief department that one of their children had died, and continued to work for and draw as wages 7 shillings per week more than the Labor party reckons they are entitled to do! The Labor ministers who enforce these conditions draw on an average 30 pounds per week in salary; and the ordinary members of Parliament draw 12 pounds per week; and yet, whenever they are asked to increase the relief work scale their invariable answer is, "We would like to do it, but there is no money to make it possible."

Any sane person knowing the conditions the relief workers have had imposed on them by the State Labor government would realize the utter futility of wasting time and energy trying to have the same party elected to the Federal Parliament as a means of getting better conditions for the workers, but the commies, as you fellow workers in the U.S.A. call them, or the comics, as we call them here, came out in full support of the Labor party, even though the Labor party turned them down with contempt!

This latest twist of the comics only goes to prove, of course, that the workers should shun all parliamentary crooks, under whichever label they travel, Republicans, Democrats, Labor, or Communist. They are all fundamentally the same and their first objective is to grab a well paid job for themselves and for their friends and relatives next. By the time these are fixed up, there is nothing left for the bulk of the poor mug workers who voted for them.

Comics Attack I.W.W.

One gratifying thing about this election was the large number of informal votes cast, showing that large numbers of workers are alive to the humbug and hypocrisy of the politicians.

When these people are ready to take the next step, line up with the I.W.W., and fight on the industrial field, then we workers will be able to get some, or all of the good things of life for ourselves instead of for the slimy politicians, as at present.

At the beginning of this campaign we were honored by a visit of Mr. J. B. Miles from Sydney, the boss of the Communist party in Australia.

At a public meeting here when our members criticized the policy of the comics in supporting the Labor party, Mr. Miles got very abusive and after refusing to debate the subject, made the astounding statement that the I.W.W. had "scabbed" scores of times in America.

Our members demanded that he produce proof of his statement or withdraw it. He would do neither, so he was called a dirty, rotten liar, and the meeting was held up. He then said he didn't mean that members of the I.W.W. had worked when there was a strike on, but that the I.W.W. had gone against the line of the Communist party in regard to the seamen's strike and elsewhere.

Of course, he was made to look like a fool but we all know that politicians have hides thicker than a rhinoceros, and little things like being proved to be dirty liars do not seem to worry them.

Perhaps many workers in the U.S.A., although they know that it makes not the least difference whether the Democrats or the Republicans are elected, may be under the impression that the election of "Labor" or Communist politicians would make a great improvement in the standard of living. The example of how "Labor" governs in Australia should help to dispel any false hopes in this direction.

As long as the present system of wage-slavery is allowed to continue, it makes no difference whatever as to how the boss labels his puppets who run the State machine for him. He may label them Labor, as in Australia; Popular Front, as in France; National Socialist as in Germany; Fascist as in Italy; Republican and Democrat time about, as in U.S.A. The system by which the workers are exploited is the same regardless of the label under which the exploitation is carried on.

So away with all crook politicians, "Labor" or Comic, Republican or Democrat. **Line up with the I.W.W. and fight for the good things of life where they are produced.**

The Prophet's Curse

The Prophet-soul can never rest:
It cannot see, What is, is best;
By a strange demon 'tis possesst—
It has a conscience in its breast.

—COVAMI

When There Isn't Any Money

BY COVAMI

When there isn't any money
There isn't any honey
On the battercakes and bread;
And tho the sun is shining
One cannot help repining
And a-wishin' one were dead.

Nor can we help implying
That the Experts all are lying
'Bout "prosperity is here!"
For when we're feeling hollow
It is tough to have to swallow
All this cheerio and cheer.

It is well for those who're eating
To advise us to quit bleating
For the bacon, beer and greens;
But I doubt they'd pep-talk, sonny,
If there wasn't any money
In the bottom of their jeans

Moral

If you want to go to eating,
Can the grouching and the bleating,
And go organize the crew!
For we'll face but stormy weather
Until we get together
In the O. B. U.!

EXTRACTS FROM EXAMINATION PAPERS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN:

1. Heredity is a bad thing and ought to be abolished.
2. All brutes are imperfect animals. Man alone is a perfect beast.
3. The theory of exchange, as I understand it, is not very well understood.
4. You can't really do so good when you have things on your mind and nothing on your stomach.

ITA EST

Stars and suns may perish,
Empires wax and wane,
But the law of struggle
Eternal shall remain.

Ragnar Redbeard.

PROGRESS IN THE MEN'S CLOTHING INDUSTRY

By

A Clothing Worker

Origin and development of a labor misleader and of an organization miscalled a labor union.

In the year 1911 on the advice of my relatives I started my career in the shops where men's clothing is manufactured. My aunt paid a woman $5 to teach me how to make hand buttonholes in men's coats. That teacher was the first exploiter I came in contact with before I reached the big shops.

Small contractors brought unfinished goods to her house and she would make the girls work on the coats while she charged them from $5 to $10 for the privilege of working. Most of the girls were young Europeans and put in months working for nothing in order to learn the trade. Actually it required only a few days to learn, but the teacher played all kinds of tricks to prevent the girls from learning too soon.

She would teach them how to make the buttonhole but refuse to show them how to put in the last stitches so, after a girl had made a whole coat, the boss would put in the finishing touches in another room so the girl would not have a chance to learn how to go on her own. This teacher would tell us of Polish girls who worked for her for many years. She expected us to do the same.

But after working four weeks as an apprentice I started out looking for work. I went from shop to shop until I landed in the Leopold Morse Co., in Boston, Mass. The company employed 500 people all of whom worked piece work. The wages earned were from $25 to $45 for the men and $14 to $18 for the women or girl workers. There was a 54-hour week. However, there was no clock to punch and workers often came late.

We younger workers hated the piece work system because we had to fight for the work and because of other unpleasantness that goes with piece work, such as the better work being given to the ones that bribed the foreman and the harder work to the newcomers in the shop.

During the noon-hour workers would talk about the piece work system, about the contract system, and about the 54-hour week; the general conclusion was that "we must have a union in Boston."

In February the Boston workers in our industry went on a general strike. Five thousand tailors were out demanding the abolition of the piece work system, shorter hours, and the abolition of the contracting system. We were out for three months under the leadership of the United Garment Workers of America of the A. F. of L.

While we were picketing the shops in zero weather and while many pickets took trips to the hospital after being hit by policemen with clubs, the union shops in New York and other cities were making coats for the Boston market.

However, with the coming of the spring season it seemed that the Boston manufacturers needed their own particular brand of suits so two great men came to Boston to settle our strike. They were the late Samuel Gompers, president of the Federation, and the late Congressman Meyer London, the socialist.

It took them less than two hours to settle the strike. We were not asked to accept the terms, we were just told that the agreement had been signed. We did not get week work or the abolition of the contract system but we were told to celebrate the fact that we had union recognition and the 48-hour week, which was a provision of the state law.

The Contract System

The bad thing about a contractor is that he is a man with small capital **who convinces the big manufacturers that he can produce better garments at less cost than the inside shop can.**

This is the way a contractor cuts costs. He rents a second or third rate loft, badly heated and badly ventilated, and drives the workers to the limit of human endurance. He drives in over time and straight time and always holds the threat over the workers' heads that if they don't produce, if they don't hurry—well, he is a poor man and will not be able to meet the payroll. And many times he cannot meet it anyway, and so the workers have to wait.

Those of us who listened to the many speeches during the strike and learned from them that a union is the workers' Training School and something about "in union there is strength," after the strike was over religiously attended union meetings.

The first meeting we attended the secretary told us that we should be out in the park for a walk and discussed the color of our stockings. We waited for the meeting to start, but we went home disappointed; there was no meeting. We discovered later that meetings were held, that certain people attended but that our presence was not needed.

When the war broke out in 1914 in Europe the American clothing manufacturers were hungry for the war profits. In order to get all the war orders would yield, the clothing bosses needed two things: They needed absolute peace in the industry and the MAN to do the job of regimenting the workers for that purpose.

The Bosses' Man of the Hour

In the cutting room of Hart, Shaffner & Marx, Sidney Hillman was cutting under-collars. Someone said that he attended night school, that he knew something about spouting radical phrases, but he was vouched for—he could be depended on.

He was coached by the manufacturers in what to do and how to do it. At the 1914 Men's Clothing Workers' Convention, Sydney Hillman caused the split in the union with his radical phrases and his talk of industrial unionism, and with other things that he suggested to the corpse that was the United Garment Workers. He had his faction organized, in the 1914 convention the split came, and Mr. Hillman proceeded to organize the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. The tailors became revolutionary over night and shouted for industrial unionism, through the mouth of Sydney Hillman.

No one knew where his traveling expenses came from but he traveled from city to city with his running mate Joseph Shlossberg, the S.L.P. man, in 1915.

The crusaders for industrial unionism for the tailors arrived in Boston. Many meetings were held and there were a lot of secret meetings somewhere. But the slow New England manufacturers did not respond to the call so quickly as did the manufacturers in other towns. They had to be sure of their share of the spoils before they would sign with any union, industrial or otherwise.

Those shops that needed the union label sent for the A. F. of L. men to keep the workers on the job, I remember a fat-necked man named McCarthy who came from New York and made a speech in the middle of the shop at Leopold Morse Co. telling us that "this man Hillman is a bum," and that we should be thankful to our good company for giving us a chance to work, also that he had arranged with the Boston Police Department to give us full protection against anyone who dared to stop us from earning an honest living; and finally, "that the good American Federation of Labor is working with the city government for American unionism." To prove that he was not telling lies he pointed to the door where two uniformed police were stationed for our benefit.

I felt a cold chill in my bones and a lump in my throat. I was not able to understand that one union was scabbing on another. There was something wrong somewhere, but where I did not know.

However, I couldn't work under police protection, the scissors fell from my hands and my eyes filled with tears. I walked out into the street to be greeted by 50 other workers who honestly believed Mr. Hillman was a revolutionist and worked for the benefit of the tailors.

The War Comes

The year 1915 was a slow one for the tailors in Boston. There was not work enough in the shops, so for one year I went without work because I sided with the Amalgamated against the A. F. of L. The Leopold Morse Co. was the only one working.

The next year was the beginning of America's war preparations. Uniform orders began to pour into the shops; EVERYONE that was able to hold a needle was put to work.

One day the shop foreman stood near the buttonhole makers' table where two girls were working on a navy officer's overcoat. He kept on shouting, "Faster, girls, faster, the boat is leaving at 3 p. m." One girl collapsed and was taken to the sick room. The foreman asked everyone if they had a cousin or a friend who could work and whom they could bring in.

The same situation prevailed in every department and in all the shops in the clothing industry. In May, 1916, Mr. Hillman and his crew came to Boston and signed agreements with every shop and then announced the establishment of the Industrial Union for tailors, the A. C. W. of A. We received books with constitutions and preamble. The preamble was very revolutionary and the last paragraph read, "The industrial and inter-industrial organization built upon the solid rock of clear knowledge and class consciousness will put the organized working class in actual control of the system of production, and the working class will then be ready to take possession of it."

I looked at this preamble and felt that the one year I lost when I left the Leopold Morse Co. was not in vain; at least we have a union for the workers, a union that will be our educational institution, that will abolish the nationalism and the many petty, ugly things, including piece work and the contract system.

The war was on. We were too busy and tired to think of meetings. We worked all hours—Saturdays and Sundays. The orders had to go out, that was all. If anyone refused to work he was obstructing the government in saving the world from the German tyrants.

We Make Demands

In 1918 the war was over. The shops were packed with work, prosperity was riding high in the clothing industry. We began to attend union meetings and to search for this education we had been promised.

The Russian revolution was on and we read something about shop committees. I asked for shop educational classes, for industrial union schools for the tailors. The younger workers agreed with me. We were making demands that union money be spent to teach the workers about industrial unionism and that a shop bulletin be issued.

Someone nominated me on the joint board. I saw that a rush was made to the next room where elections took place—loud noises, the paid officials were in a rage when they came out. I was not elected.

That day I was called into the office by the local secretary, Mr. Albert. "I want to talk to you privately, please," he said. The panicky look in his eyes and the slimy, sugary smile on his face when he put his fat hand on my shoulder made me feel like someone was emptying a sack of ants on the back of my neck. I looked at the man without asking him anything.

He began to talk rapidly. "We have known you since 1911, we know you went to night school and we are glad that a girl that works in a tailor shop finds time to educate herself. I have an offer to make you—a very attractive offer. You will never have to work in a shop again . . . You're married, I venture to say? . . .

"Who's is talking of marriage? I want to offer you a job in my office, you will be my assistant secretary. Your pay will be $48 a week. Listen, young lady, forty-eight dollars a week, that is more than you can hope to earn in a shop or in any office."

"Are you creating industrial union classes?" I asked.

"What classes? What do you bother with such nonsense for? The tailors don't need industrial unionism."

At this point his sugary smile vanished. He grew red in the face and began to shout, "Your job is to keep your mouth shut, sit in my office, do as you are told by the union officers, and attend to the clerical work around here."

I pictured myself in that dingy office taking orders from Mr. Albert. "Thank you very kindly," I answered, "but I would rather work in the shop." And so I walked out of the office feeling that our union had been stolen from us—or perhaps it had never existed.

We Get a Convention

The 1919 Amalgamated Clothing Workers' convention was held in Boston, in the Tremont Temple. The delegates were chosen by the paid officers. A meeting was called of all the tailors to inform them that they were assessed $1 each for the entertainment of out-of-town delegates.

We didn't get a chance to discuss the things we wanted the convention to take up, especially the abolition of piece work. We didn't get a chance to say anything about the things that concerned us. The chosen delegates were busy phoning sightseeing bus companies about the cost of showing the delegation from out of town the important sights in Boston.

In our shop our bookkeeper took up a collection for flowers to be sent to the convention. I was astonished. This shop that was the hardest to organize in 1913—many union picket heads had been cracked at the door of this boss—now out of a clear sky, he ordered the bookkeeper to take up a collection for flowers for our convention.

Why, if we wanted to send flowers to our convtntion that was our own affair—we should have discussed that among ourselves, but if the boss orders flowers for our convention there must be something wrong. I personally, refused to contribute . . .

Great men were to address the convention and everyone was invited to attend. The Boston capitalist sheets printed a lot about the convention. We all went to the largest hall in the Tremont Temple to hear the great men.

The then great revolutionary artist, now a likspittle of the Communist party, Robert Minor, put his hand on Sydney Hillman's shoulder and said, "Friends and comrades, I take great pleasure in presenting America's greatest labor leader, Sidney Hillman."

Hillman's voice sounded as though it came from a distance. He said a lot of things about what industry could or could not do. In concluding he was very much concerned about the industry. No one really know what he meant. He was followed by someone who told us that we must organize banks and explained the nature of banks. An elaborate band played some songs and we went home, cold and disappointed.

The next day a grand ball for the delegates was to conclude the convention's business. At the ball I asked Minor how he as a revolutionist could say about Hillman what he did.

"My dear Rebel Girl," he said, "you don't understand strategy."

The 1919 convention gave the tailors banks and the banks own large apartment buildings, where the petty bourgeoisie enjoy modern comforts.

In 1926 I lived in Poughkeepsie, N. Y. There I found that two large shops were making men's coats. The machine work was done in the shops with scab labor, while the finishing was done in the homes by housewives and little children. Upon making inquiries I found that the coats were cut in New York by union cutters.

"How about the A. C. W. U.? Don't they know about this?" I asked.

"Sure they know, but they are not interested in organizing the tailors, they are in the banking business."

In San Francisco

In 1930 I landed in the shops in San Francisco, Calif. I found that the largest ready-made clothing shop in town, the Strouse shop, was controlled by the A. C. W. of A. The firm borrowed money from the Amalgamated bank and the workers were forced to take a reduction in wages on that account.

Finally some of the workers rebelled and they were told by Mr. Rinish, the union manager, if they didn't like it they could go home, and that he could get plenty of cheaper help from Los Angeles.

One girl in the Strouse shop slapped Rinish in the face for a personal insult because she objected to continuous wage cuts.

The House of Oliver, another Amalgamated shop, asked the union to permit them to put in piece work. The workers objected because it was a special order shop where one worker has to do several operations. The workers called a shop meeting in their union hall. When they came for the meeting they found the hall closed.

The local union president and vice-president called a local union meeting to discuss the Oliver shop situation. They found that Mr. Rinish had six professional gangsters there. They took the vice-president, Bill Roads, by his hands and feet and threw him through a glass door, cutting the ligiments in his feet, while Mr. Rinish told him, "that is what you get for objecting to piece work."

Bill and four other workers, including myself, were fired from the shop of the House of Oliver for talking against piece work. The boss wanted piece work, therefore there should be piece work.

Mr. Rinish was later killed by a worker from the Strouse shop because he brought that worker from Los Angeles and because, when he arrived in Frisco, he found wages so low that he objected. Rinish told him that if he didn't like it he could quit and that he would get him another job. One day the worker asked Rinish where that promised job was.

Instead of answering him Mr. Rinish simply spit in his face and told him to get out. The worker, crazed from hunger and humiliation, pulled out a gun, and killed Mr. Rinish. He was later caught by the sheriff and killed for resisting arrest.

A Perfect Sellout

In January, 1937, Mr. Sidney Hillman signed for a 10 per cent increase in wages for all tailors. The tailors ware not consulted. The agreement was signed in January but the raise was not to go into effect until May 1. The clothing manufacturers immediately began to run their shops full speed, over time and Saturday work—nothing extra for over time. They filled the stores and stock rooms. After the raise went into effect the shops closed and the tailors are walking the streets. Edward Levinson in the N. Y. Evening Post tells us that:

Mr. Hillman is president of the N. Y. Amalgamated Bank;

Mr. Hillman is president of the Chicago Amalgamated Bank;

Mr. Hillman has been president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers union for 23 years with a steady income;

Mr. Hillman is a member of the Labor Board and a member of the Committee for Industrial Organization (C.I.O.).

The offices of the A. C. W. of A. are more elaborate than the bosses' offices. The business agents are dressed like bankers, but there is never a union meeting to discuss shop conditions. The workers in the shops experience double fear: They fear the boss for if they should get fired the union will not help; and if they get reported to the union as being kickers they will sit in the employment office of the union for months and never know the reason why they don't get jobs.

Knowing these facts from experience the worker accepts his fate like a slave that is chained for life. The boss extracts the union dues from the pay envelope. Business agents and employment office clerks are never changed. There are always the same names on the ballot. No one knows who nominated them. The wages in the shops are exactly what they were in 1911, before we had any union at all. The girls average from $14 to $18 a week, the men average from $25 to $35 a week. We all work piece work.

It's not a Labor Union

During the New York City municipal campaign all the shop chairmen were told to call the workers to a special meeting in Webster hall. When the workers came in after work, tired and hungry, the well-paid business agents closed the doors and the workers had to stay to listen to speakers urging them to vote for Mayor LaGuardia and all Labor Party candidates. Later we read in the capitalist press that the Amalgamated gave $5,000 to the LaGuardia campaign.

The tailors walking the streets, wondering if their next month's rent will be paid by some friend or relative or if they will be forced to go on relief, have nothing in common with this union or this union's president. The great Amalgamated banks will not give them one penny and LaGuardia, after his victory, will not stop the sheriff from evicting tailors any more than he will stop him from evicting any other slave who is dumb enough to delegate his power to a politician.

Those workers who are shouting "hurray" for the C.I.O. type of industrial unionism will do well to examine the A.C.W. of A. In 23 years the clothing bosses have become richer than they ever were, the tailors are poorer. They have nothing to say in their union. Mr. Hillman, between trips from New York and Washington and attendance at White House dinners, has long forgotten what the inside of a tailor shop looks like. His well-dressed, well-barbered $75-a-week business agents are continually telling the tailors that they should be glad they are working, and when they are not working the business agents lock themselves in their offices and are not to be seen.

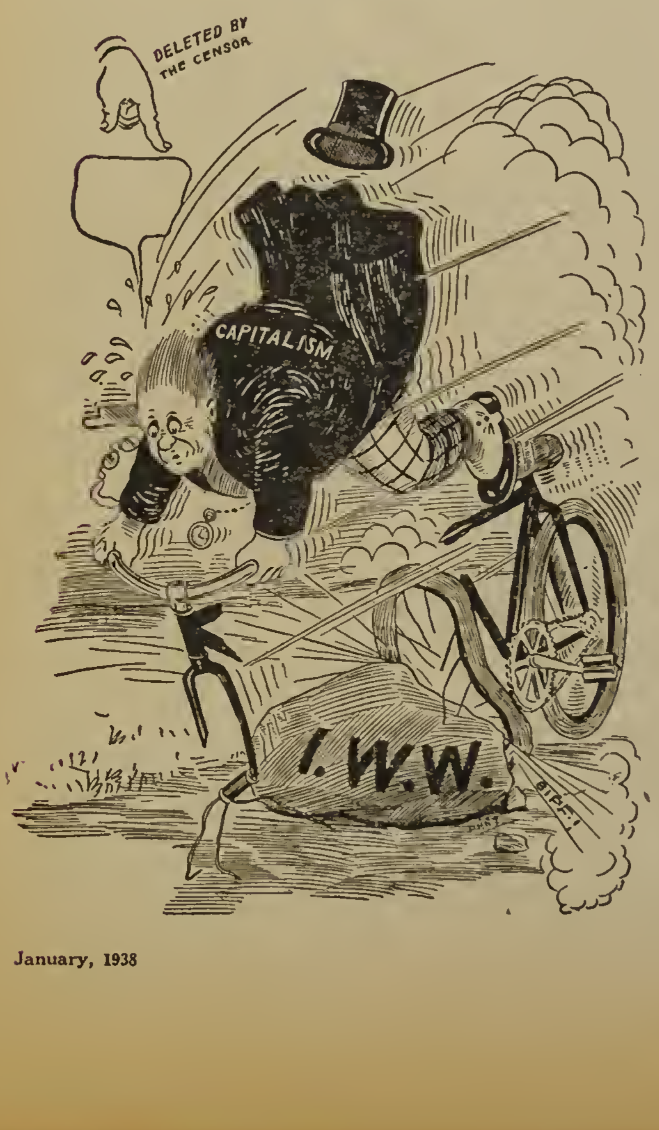
The capitalist press well appreciates the services of Mr. Hillman and sings his praises. Another World War is about to come. The workers are to be regimented on a national scale. The men that will help lead our young to be slaughtered and our older industrial slaves to help gather the gold that the next slaughterfest will yield for our exploiters, have been chosen—and how well they have been teamed!

Mr. John L. Lewis, mill owner, mine owner, and faithful servant of the American coal companies; Sydney Hillman, bank president, and faithful servant of the American men's clothing manufacturers; David Dubinsky, well-paid servant of the ladies clothing bosses; and all the other well-paid men and women in the C.I.O. controlling group who have demonstrated to the boss class their ability to prevent workers from gaining anything or learning how to gain anything for themselves.

The intelligent working men and women of the United States who are capable of reasoning and who can see that only through industrial solidarity can the working class, as a class, make this world a better place to live in, must help to build the only workers' organization—the Industrial Workers of the World. Make the workers in the shops, mines and mills be the legislative body for the interests of those who perform useful work. Lawyers and politicians will never do it for them.

UNAUTHORIZED

BY C. M. RUPEL



The "leaders" said with manner most emphatic,
"We never planned or authorized this strike."
And the union cannot function
For it hasn't got our sanction
And it's bound to be erratic
When the bosses cannot rule them as they like.

But the Workers calmly went on organizing.
They said, "We'll build it of the rank and file.
We'll ignore the would-be leaders,
And dispense with trouble-breeders,
And results will be surprising,
Now we've let them know we do not like their style."

Now, it's good to know the hours have been shortened,
And it's good that the wages have been raised.
Every self-respecting worker
That is not a chronic shirker
Or a hopeless scissorbill, is truly heartened,
And gladly will admit those methods should be praised.

Failure of the Workers Alliance

By L. NICOLAS

In La Revolution Proletarenne

Translated by JOSEPH WAGNER

A split in the Spanish U. G. T. is engineered by the Communists.

Readers of this magazine will no doubt recall the pact that was concluded towards the later part of July, between the National Confederation of Labor (CNT) and the General Union (UGT). The entire press in loyalist Spain hailed the act as "an historic event." Yet, in the two months following the event almost no attempt had been made to put any part of the adopted plans in operation. Of the numerous Liaison Committees, elected by the two organizations for the purpose of creating local united councils, the press has mention only of one case where such a thing was accomplished, that between the metal workers' unions in Madrid. The only statement issued by the National Liaison Committee to the press, mentioned other cases without, however, naming the localities. (**Solidad Obrera**, Sept. 9.)

The sabotaging of the alliance between the two unions is mainly due to the deep set hostility of the communist agents within the UGT; the communists are fundamentally displeased with the pact; because of that, they are contesting the right of the General Executive Board to conclude such a pact without submitting the question first to the National Committee of the UGT, which is made up by the Executive Committees of the Federations affiliated with the UGT. It would be a mistake, however, to believe that in their action the communists were prompted by a desire to uphold democracy within the union; they are simply relying on the fact that by devious maneuvering, of which they are past masters in all countries, they managed to obtain a majority favorable to their policy in the National Committee. They want to accomplish at any price the complete domestication of the labor union movement in Spain. They make use of every possible method in order to attain that purpose: towards the CNT they are using cunning and flattery; in the Levant they did not hesitate to create a peasant organization, in opposition to both the UGT and the CNT organizations; and in the UGT itself, they managed to create a split. The following are the facts:

The Stalinist agents being aware that the majority on the General Executive Board is composed of left elements grouped around Largo Caballero, decided to destroy the Board. Through the Executive committees, with communist majorities, of the different Industrial Federations, an ultimatum was forwarded to the GEB of the UGT, ordering that body, in virtue of article 33 of the Constitution of the UGT, to call a National Committee meeting within a week. They based their ultimatum on the fact that the signatories constituted a majority of the said National Committee. The order of business they proposed for the meeting was extremely important: Report of the GEB; the aid to be given to the Popular Front government in carrying on the war; the problems of production and workers' control of industry and the adaption of the most important of them to war conditions; the intensification of agricultural production; cooperatives and collectives; the scarcity of food and the fight against speculation; the municipalization of city services; the unity of action with the CNT; election of officers to vacant posts in the unions . . .

The General Executive Board answered the ultimatum through a letter addressed to the signatory Industrial Federation Executive Committees. We reproduce the essential passages of the letter from **Claridad** of Sept. 9.

"The Executive Board received the document bearing your signature, demanding the calling of a meeting of the National Committee. We are astonished to see that you are basing your claim on article 33, since in conformity with article 9, your federation is suspended for non-payment of its taxes to the UGT. Seeing that at the last National Committee meeting several federations that participated, debated and voted in that meeting, without having the right to do so, the GEB decided that this should not be done again and so it unanimously decided to apply to your federation the first part of article 9."

(The first part of Art. 9 says: "Organizations in arrears with taxes for two consecutive quarters, stand suspended.")

The ruling affected nine federations, miners, leather workers, clothing, gas and electricity, drugs, wood, teaching, banks and exchange, and oil, representing a total of 200,000 workers. On Sept. 6 the GEB sent communications to all the local unions of the suspended federations, inviting them to communicate directly with headquarters in order to re-establish the bond between them.

The Stalinites retorted with a violent campaign making much of the sentimental arguments, that the exclusions were hitting at the heroic Asturian miners; they evoked all the technical arguments on the one hand contesting the validity of the debts, on the other hand offering to pay them up. On September 24 the suspended federation committees invited all the Industrial Federations of the UGT to a conference where the question of suspensions should be examined. Of the forty-two federations affiliated with the UGT thirty-one answered the call favorably and participated at the conference. Three federations: Transport workers, Agricultural workers and Metal workers remained loyal to the GEB. The excluded federations and those in sympathy with them declared themselves the only regular organization and elected a new General Executive Board. Thus the split within the UGT became an accomplished fact.

Viewed from the angle of democracy within the labor movement, it would have been more logical to have called a special convention which could have settled the issue, instead of invoking the delinquency. However, such a call for convention was difficult under the actual conditions. How can a true representation be obtained from such a highly industrialized district as Asturia where the war was raging, or from the Bay of Biscay district, occupied by the fascist forces?

Naturally, men of the Caballero type deserve to be treated with the greatest circumspection. The fact of having radically changed his political attitude three times in six years, is by no means a guarantee of stability for the future. The massacring of socialist and anarchist workers in 1931 and 1932; the enacting of drastic legislation for the defense of the bourgeois republic against the workers, and then from that position flopping over to a camouflaged Stalinism, contributing to the bolshevization of the socialist party and of the UGT, in order to arrive finally to the idea of labor unionism free from political party domination, the road he traveled in six years was indeed a tortuous one. But, in spite of all, the left wing of the UGT contains many sincere rank and file militants, and their present position of barring the road of Stalinism, is in conformity with the interests of the working class.

We give below some of the arguments used by them in the **Correspondencia de Valencia**, in answer to the open letter of the Political Bureau of the communist party, tendering its "outstretched hand" to the anarcho-syndicalist CNT. The first article as reprinted by **Solidaridad Obera** of Sept. 17, follows:

"The document published by the 'Bureau' is one more irrefutable proof of the theoretical and practical inconsistency of that group of would-be leaders, who for so many years past was dragging after them what they call the vanguard of the revolutionary proletariat, in all the quagmires, and who so often in the past acted in a manner becoming to the sixth column.

"Just as on the day when they abruptly decided to jump into the workers' alliances after having fought against them with fire and blood; just as when they suddenly decided to fight with all their energy for the democratic and parliamentary republic after having demanded, holding the knife at our throat, that we break entirely all the ties that might have attached the working class to the bourgeoisie; just as at the time when of a sudden it threw itself at the feet of the socialists after having for so long vowed that their unity with the revolutionary socialists would not be accomplished until all the reformist roots would be first pulled up; just as at so many other culminating moments of the revolutionary development, these apostles of iron discipline and of the firm and immovable 'line,' made a complete turn and upheld that which the previous day they absolutely condemned."

The second article contains a warning to the CNT. We take it from **Solidaridad Obrera** of Sept. 19, where it was reprinted:

"The communist party persists in its eternal false position; its present attitude lacks all seriousness. We were right, when speaking of the document of the Political Bureau of the communist party, we said that nobody will trust them any longer; that all they wanted was to make a toy of the CNT pretending to be for unity and for the restoration of the Popular Front.

The communist party has once more betrayed those who naively would have liked to see in that statement of the Bureau, a change in their tactics. The communist party is not causing anti-fascist unity. It shook it up and broke it and today, by following their suicidal tactics, which the Bureau itself declared to be incompatible with the interest of the war and the revolution, makes the solution of the problem of unity more difficult. It creates an atmosphere of hostility, using the most repulsive methods against the two great labor union federations. These are the great merits of the communist party."

The **Correspondencia de Valencia** has been suspended since. The stranglehold of the Stalinists is so strong not only in Spain but in other countries as well, that the disappearance of Largo Caballero's publication passed over in silence. **People**, the organ of the French General Confederation of Labor

(CGT), and the **Populaire**, organ of the French socialist party, did not even mention the fact to their readers. And yet, a few weeks before, Largo Caballero was for these papers the grand champion of Spanish democracy. What sort of a convention would that of the UGT have been in such an atmosphere, where even a Caballero or an Araquistain cannot freely publish a paper, or speak at a meeting? And what can be the status of the common rank and file militants?

The explanation of this despotism is that there is a widespread discontent and grumbling within the unions. The appreciations of Claridad, a strongly communistic paper is extremely significant in this connection. We reproduce from its Sept. 6 issue:

"Every meeting is a fight in which no quarter is asked or given; in which, at times, one encounters the same passion as in the battles carried on in former days with the enemy class. Every election for any union function, brings forward, with bitterness and strife, all the instruments of agitation and propaganda, which we workers were in the habit of using when the bourgeois governments were calling us to the ballot box. Vote soliciting for candidates, anonymous tracts containing dire threats, strange behaviors and uncalled for manifestations. Such are the outward consequences of these suicidal battles, that some forces are interested in fomenting within the locals of our glorious union. But have those trouble makers given any thought to the internal repercussions of these fights?. If they have, then surely they would have put the brakes on some of their activities of which we are complaining. Such negatively aggressive policies will damage the labor unions most of all. These damages are manifesting themselves by a lack of activity, by the absence of energy with which to confront the actual and momentous problems of today. This road leads nowhere except to the entire discrediting of the unions, making them unfit for the special tasks that are incumbent upon labor unions.

"Calmly but earnestly, we take the liberty to warn the unions. We are forced to seriously consider the situation. The present time is certainly not the proper time for us to indulge in internal fights that will weaken our forces and further divide the energies of the working class. We have consistently urged the unions that they hold regular meetings and conferences. We have done so with a positive point of view; we believed that the unions, through their meetings, could realize a constructive plan of work, of which the immediate result would have been increasing material support to the government in its war work; overcoming the shortages in production by intensifying the work, putting in operation all the wheels of industry and agriculture, and generally orienting themselves towards the objectives that should be the same for all of us. But, if union meetings and conferences are to serve only for maneuvering, by using methods of Ignace Loyola, for breaking up everything that is now united and preventing the unity of that which is still separated, then it is better not to hold these assemblies."

The Stalinites certainly must have run up against serious resistance in order to make them speak thus.

The Opinion of the Left Socialists

The Madrid socialist organization makes known its appreciation on the situation in an open letter addressed to the Executive Committee of the Socialist party of Spain. This Madrid organization has in its ranks such outstanding socialists as Largo Caballero, Araquistain, Pascual Thomas and Llopis. We are reproducing parts of the letter from the **Information Bulletin** No. 49, of the FAI-CNT:

"A people is invincible on condition that it is not made to lose confidence in its aspirations of liberty, on condition that it will not see emerging from its own bossom and from its collective sacrifices, a new tyrannical power, and internal despotism that would freeze up its enthusiasm in the fight for freedom at home and in the long run its resistance to tyranny from the outside.

". . . Its knowledge that there is a political organization that is working above anything else, for the increase of its own power, having the secret ambition of becoming the sole organization both during and after the war, shatters the morale of the fighters on the front and of the workers of the factories and fields.

". . . We are referring to the Spanish section of the communist international. We are holding this party mainly responsible for the misfortunes experienced by the republican cause in the last three months, and we hold that party responsible for the even more serious disasters that will come in the near future unless an immediate remedy is found.

". . . Until three months ago there was a real unity of anti-fascist action in Spain. All parties and the labor unions were collaborating directly in the control and responsibilities of the conduct of the war. That unity of purpose and action has been diminishing from day to day. By whose fault? By the fault of the communist party in the first place, because it was they who first set up a conspiracy to remove from power the people and the organizations that would not submit to the orders imported by the communists; later they slandered the very personalities whom they have raised up on the pedestal, when they saw in them an obstacle for their partisan schemes, whether on the war front or in the state offices. They took the ridiculous attitude that political parties, and particularly the communist party, are privileged bodies of almost divine origin, charged with the mission of directing public conduct and that the labor unions were only good to do the work and blindly obey the newly selected aristocracy, as if people who follow a manual or professional calling had less capacity for the affairs of State than those whose calling is nothing but politics, and at times, what sort of politics!

"The communist party declared war to the death to those in the UGT and in the CNT who were opposed to its totalitarian policies, which is by no means a dictatorship of the proletariat. It broke the cordial relations existing between that party and the left wing of the socialist party since the October revolution and during the first months of the military insurrection in 1936. And now they even have the nerve to state that it is our party that has changed policy.

"The left wing socialists are now the same as they were before. They are not responsible for a single act of hostility against the communist party, but the communists are guilty of many such acts. The left socialists still desire the political unity of the two parties, subject however to three conditions which were formulated and established as a basis of discussion by a conference of their groups in April 1936.

"The united party should be at all times subject to an exclusively national direction and responsibility; in any case a national convention should have the right to terminate the unity.

"We are disavowing the campaign of force and persecution carried on by the communist party on the war fronts and in the rear; it is revolting to the socialists who are upholding the dignity of their party and their own dignity as men and Spaniards. The injustices and the favoritisms introduced by the communists were never considered favorably in Spain; the misguided leaders of the Spanish section of the Communist International should have taken this in consideration . . .

"Something more was destroyed: a government that was more truly Spanish through its aims, and was the most efficient both internally and internationally than Spain has had since the beginning of the war; this government was for the unity of all the parties and of the labor unions; thus it was for the comprehension of all the parties and of the workers supporting political unity. By the destruction of that government the confidence of the soldiers on the front and of the workers in the rear was shattered. In spite of the fact that the war was a tragic affair, costing rivers of popular blood, the communist party did not hesitate to profit by it in order to further its policy of absorption and of speculation.

"If the recent unfortunate war operations at Brunete, which have been rejected several times in advance by the military technicians, who considered them fated to failure, if these operations were due only to military errors, we would keep quiet about it, and would only ask for the discharge and the punishment of those guilty of having wasted so much of the people's blood; but in these operations the military objectives were subordinated to petty political ends: to the glorification of some communist chiefs, who conducted them, in case they would have succeeded. The intention was to demonstrate the superiority of a government that could come back and save Madrid, in contrast with a government accused of having deserted the city; to demonstrate also that if such an easy victory was not won sooner, this was due to the unreasonable resistance of those who confounded inaction with prudence, of those who confounded the opposition to the partisan passions of communism with the anxiety for not spilling criminally torrents of popular blood. The pityful results have demonstrated to who was right."

Summing up its position towards the communist party, the Madrid socialist organization concludes:

"Policy of division and spectacular policy at the cost of thousands upon thousands of dead and wounded without any strategical gain, such was the policy of the communist party. If we would be as evil minded as they, we would say that these policies are made for the purpose of creating the moral and the material conditions for a complete defeat.

"We prefer, however, to believe that it is only a question of errors of judgment, and of the maneuvering of poor and mechanized intelligence that can believe that victory is near and that the communist can attain it by themselves.

"If that is the case, they are erring profoundly. Victory will be the result of the combined antifascist forces or there will be none. For, of two things one: **either the communist party will alter its policy which leads to defeat, or it will have to be removed from public affairs as the enemy of republican Spain."**

The open letter adds that in justice it is necessary for it to state that even if the communist party is the most responsible for the present situation, yet it is not the only one. Without mentioning the socialist party by name, the authors of the open letter are accusing the socialist party of unexplainable complicity inside of that party:

"There are an infinite number of forms of treason. But that of wanting to liquidate one's own party for the benefit of another party, that is unprecedented . . . of such an act only an antirevolutionary, anti-democratic unscrupulous minority, seeking power for the sake of power could be capable."

Playing With Words

By **CHAS. J. MILLER**

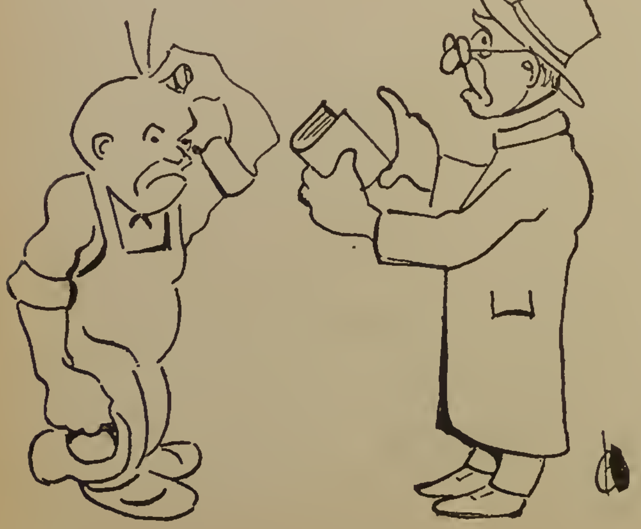
The greatest universal indoor game is Playing with Words. It is the favorite passtime of educators, trade union leaders and politicians of all shades. Next time you hear one, note how the words roll out, tumbling, twisting, turning inside out, somersaulting. You will be surprised what tricks they can do with words.

The game is as old as language itself. But at no time in history has the game reached the heights that it enjoys today. In the early days there were no telegraph, telephone, news reels; no newspapers and news systems as we know them today, no loud speakers to carry the words, no radio hookups that reach into the far corners of the earth.

When a person played with words in those days, if he spoke the words they could reach but a small number of persons and if it was the written word it did not reach so very many. It was a slow process. Today, when the President of the U. S. plays with words he is heard around the world.

There is another important factor involved in the game of words. In the early days the ways of living, the system of society was comparatively simple and the words to explain them were simpler and nearer to the root. Today, with the highly complicated system of living and with the rapid changing within the system the words used to describe the changes are so far behind the changes that many of the words used to describe the changes are meaningless and often silly when applied to reality.

What are some of these words and combinations of words? Here are a few that are overworked today. Heading the list I would put down, Democracy, and Democratic Countries. Then you have, the Public, the Consumer, the Rights of the People, Identity of Interest between Capital and Labor, Arbitration to Settle Disputes between Capital and Labor to Secure Justice, and so on.



Now, when people hear that word, Democracy, they immediately see a picture of a country that is governed by representatives, collectively elected by the people who are politically and socially, equal. There is not a country that could stand up to this test. So long as some people control the means of living of other people a Democracy is impossible.

Next, you have the play on the words, Public and Consumer. Now, these two words mean the same people. We all come under the head of the Public and we all are Consumers. But when the player on words uses these terms he invariably means that the public's and the consumers' interests are identical. It is only when you examine who the public is or who the consumers are that you realize that you cannot lump them together under either head on the assumption of identity of social interests.

The public is made up of two separate economic classes whose interests are opposite. One of these classes controls the means by which the other class lives and as long as they do control the means of living there can be no equality between them in the social, political or economic sense.

And the same holds true in regards to the other term, consumer. It is true that we all consume, but, there are two totally different forms of consuming. One is destructive consumption, the other productive consumption.

If you consume to reproduce or you produce more than you consume you are a productive consumer. But if you consume without reproducing, then you are a destructive consumer.

A fire that consumes your home is destructive. A fire under a boiler that generates power to run a plant is productive.

The working class is the productive consuming class. The capitalist class is the destructive consuming class. You cannot lump these two classes under one heading because their social interests are opposite.

With these brief explanations you can readily see that to accept these words at their face value as used by these players with words is a dangerous practice and will account, in a great measure for the confusion and mess we are in.

Starting on such false premises you cannot possibly arrive at a sound conclusion. We must not take the Word for the Reality. It is the reality that counts.

IN THE COURSE OF EVENTS—

By GEFION

When Larry Holman was fourteen, he came to the conclusion that he was fed up. The old man's grumbling, when he came dragging home from the mill at night, made him so damn sick and tired that he couldn't stick it any longer. The squalor of the ramshackle dump where they lived was getting his nanny. The everlasting bickerings of the old lady, the howling and squabbles of his half-starved kid brothers and sisters were getting in his hair. The stink of unwashed diapers hung in his nostrils wherever he went. So one fine afternoon, Larry rolled up an extra shirt and his other pair of socks, went to a can in the wood shed where he had planted a dollar and sixty-five cents, saved from his paper sales in town, and beat it. At any rate, he thought, it will be one craw less to fill.

Larry skirted the town till he came to an uphill grade where the trains for Seattle slowed down. He laid down behind a stump and waited. Over him crept a feeling of release—a feeling as if he had just escaped a nightmare. His plans for the immediate future were hazy. He had no clear conception of where he was going or of what he intended to do. He thought vaguely of going south. Anyway, things would shape themselves somehow.

Night came. Frm behind the hills, the moon rose full and with a benevolent grin on its golden face. It climbed over the tree tops and flung a dancing streamer of silver through the green waves of the Sound. A steamer coming in from the Pacific sounded two hoarse and emphatic warnings at an outbound lumber schooner. It growled back angrily, as if to say: "I heard yer the first time, Stupid."

Larry lay drowsing behind the stump and let the noises of night soak through his being. He was not worrying about what the old folk would say or think of his sudden and unannounced departure. He didn't feel sorry for them nor for himself. Somehow, he felt that the tears shed over his disappearance wouldn't cause a tidal wave. He knew the factor that would determine the parental feelings would be: "Well, it's one less to feed and clothe." And, anyhow, he would drop them a line as soon as he got somewhere and connected with a job. Then from the north came the shrill, warning whistle of the southbound freight.

Larry had thought that he was alone. But out of the night there came men. Young and old men—straight and bent. Men with bed rolls upon their backs. Grouchy men and humorous men. Working stiffs without a dime in their pockets. Stiffs with a dollar or two in their jeans. Human beings with empty guts. Some who had been lucky enough to connect with the flesh pots. They came from behind stumps and trees. They came clambering up over the embankment. They drew back in the shadows, waiting. Larry kept to himself, waiting, and with fear hammering his ribs.

Then through a cut in the embankment, the locomotive's headlight cleaved a blinding channel through the night. A long-drawn whistle, then two short ones and the train began slowly to gather momentum again. Larry sprang from behind the stump and swung himself up on the rear end of an oil tank. He saw the others come from their hiding places like distorted figures in a flickering film and scramble aboard—some with the agility of youth, others with the angular stiffness caused by the calcified joints of old age. And the train with its freight of goods and humans was swallowed by the night.

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Larry's dollar and sixty-five cents had gone with the wind long since. The seductive movie houses of Seattle had gotten most of his hoarded wealth. Jobs were as scarce as hens' teeth. His overalls looked like an introduction to a washtub wouldn't harm them any. Fuzz was sprouting on his chin. He had in his mouth the vapid taste that comes from the missing of meals, and he didn't feel any too favorably disposed toward the world in general. But he would be damned if he would slink back to the old folk—not for all the tea in China.

He was mooching up Yester Way. On the corner of Second Avenue, he felt the eagle eye of the patrolling flatfoot rest suspiciously on the back of his neck. He geared his steps a notch faster and succeeded in making the corner before the Law could make the prescribed inquiries as to his right, if any, to be on earth. He drifted down toward Washington Street and got talking to a kid of his own age—a wise punk, who knew the ropes. They decided to beat it to Tacoma.

And from his new-found partner, Larry learned the gentle art of bumming back doors for lumps.

He absorbed the intricacies involved in making the right approach for nickles and dimes. He learned that in the dark crevices of life there were practised certain sexual peculiarities which were not strictly in accordance with Hoyle. And his normal instincts revolted against the whole lousy affair—bumming and all. He told his sidekick what he thought of it. They had a row and parted.

So Larry began making the rounds of the shops and mills—only to be told, "Nothing doin'." More back door bumming—one had to eat. More job hunting. Then one glorious morning, Lady Luck took Larry gently by the paw and lead him into the golden valley of jobs. He was taken on as general roustabout in a box factory at the bank-busting salary of two and a half per diem. And Larry clung to his job like a green cowhand to a bucking mustang. For months, he felt he was on the road to riches. He sent the old folk a five spot, telling them how well he was doing, and best regards to the kids. Then one fine day, the can was tied to him and several others—Reduction of force necessary, due to seasonal lack of orders, the notice by the timeclock had it.

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Life is a stage. You are the master of your soul. Life is what you make it. Don't watch the clock if you wish to succeed. Every cloud has a silver lining. Half a loaf is better than none at all.

Larry had heard all these chin-whiskered bromides, and many others, time without number during the course of his young and hopeful life. His school teachers had drummed them through his skull. He had read them, set off in bold type, among the intellectual claptrap of the papers he had peddled in his kid days. His old man, twisted and toil-worn, had mumbled the one about the half loaf whenever there had been a wage slash at the mill.

Oh, yes, Larry was well acquainted with them all. And he had come to believe that they just about epitomized all the wisdom that had ever emanated from the brain pans of the wise guys.

When Larry got canned from the box factory, his visible means of support consisted of eleven dollars and four bits. He had on a pair of new overalls, a warm logger's shirt, and his feet were encased in a pair of fairly good brogans. And hard knocks had begun to teach him a thing or two. This time he didn't blow his dough on the movie joints. Oh, yes, he took on one or two—mostly depicting the remarkable adventures and lion courage of Hollywood cowhands wiping out, single handed and by the bushel, foul villians and slavering seducers of fair maidens. But he had been taught a lesson in moderation when his dollar and sixty-five cents had gone by the board. And he knew that if he failed to connect with a job of some kind before his present eleven bucks were shot, there would again be the old song and dance of, "Madam, will you please—?" And, dammit, he detested that.

But jobs were hanging as high as the rowan berries that the fox couldn't reach. Larry rustled the shops and mills early and late—Nothing today—Sorry—May come back some other time. And his wealth dwindled until once more he found himself on the bum.

And so Larry Holman grew into manhood. Now and again a job. Then back on the bum. Thirty days for vag. Lousy—Boiling up in the jungles. Sick in the county hospital with pneumonia. Kicked out half cured, weak on his pins, without a dime. Every cloud has a silver lining. You are the master of your soul. Life is what you make it. Ha, ha! This guff, Larry came to realize, didn't quite jibe with the sharp-edged corners of reality. Well, what t' hell, one had to learn!

Yes, Larry trod the pathways of life. He learned a little here, discarded a screwy notion there. He learned to see and to listen. He found the delights of libraries. The kicks in the pants that life gave him did not make him bitter or sour—he realized that he had a lot of company—but he preferred to be alone. When in the company of others, he spoke quietly and he learned the knack of finding out indirectly what others thought and believed. He paid attention to their words, but most, he observed their actions. When in the jungles, he would sit off by himself and let the talk of the other stiffs drift through his brain. Now and again a truth floated to him and stuck. He would roll himself a pill and mooch off, meditating the while on what he had heard and on how it shaped up with actualities.

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A manifested freight was rumbling south through the night-blanketed land of sunburnt California. The monotonous grey hills billowed in the distance as if they were dirty circus tents that the wind was trying to lift from their moorings. Somnolent farms and villages fitted by and in the pastures cattle were lying in the dim moonlight like models in the relief map of some enterprising real estate shark. From the top of the train, they were no larger than Nurnberger toys, out there against the dark earth.

Larry Holman sat on the top of a refrigerator and watched the cars on the highways zoom by. They looked like swarms of enormous beetles that were scurrying from their burrows, trying frantically to escape some impending catastrophe. Overhead an aeroplane was buzzing its way eastward like an angry gadfly.

Once again in his life, Larry wasn't quite positive as to destination or immediate plans. He had been north as far as there were land and jobs. He had been east and gotten a gutful of mass production and the speed-up. But he had never yet feasted his orbits on that boasted-about, bragged-about, screamed-about chamber-of-commerce paradise known as Sunny California. So, now, here he was and he felt somewhat like Mark Twain in Innocents Abroad—a lot of blah—nothing much to get excited about, at least not as far as first impressions went. Well, he would hold her down till he struck the gold-paved avenues of the City of Angels and see for himself if the aborigines of that burg were of a clay different from that of ordinary saps.

Larry turned his back to the wind and rolled himself a cigarette. He lighted it under his coat and sat gazing into the night. He was getting on to twenty-five now. Hard work had put tough muscles on his bones and he looked out into life unafraid. He had learned self-reliance and how to think. In his busy life of helping to build up the bosses bank accounts, he had found out several things as to how this little hen yard, called life or society, is thrown together. And he had come to the conclusion that as matters stood, they were rather dizzy. The hinges could stand a little oil. It was tough mathematics to strike a balance. On the one side, warehouses stuffed to the rafters—out here, John Workox with just about enough dough, when "gainfully" employed, to buy back a mere handful of crumbs from what he had turned out. To say nothing of the millions of workless pounding the sidewalks looking for non-existing jobs or for dimes. It was worse than trying to figure out a Chink lottery ticket—it couldn't be done, at least not by the equations used by the good bosses' yes-men.

Once in the jungles, Larry remembered, an old bewhiskered stiff had stood up from his java can and declared to a gang of wise buzzards that the working class and the employing class had nothing in common. And, further,that there could be no peace so long as hunger and want were found among millions and the few who make up the employing class had all the good things of life. And he had furthermore declared that, goddamn their dirty scissorbill hides, all the moron wise cracks in the world wouldn't alter the case.

Old Whiskers' statements had drifted to Larry through the smoke from the fire and the laughter with which the others tried to ridicule him. Larry had then thought that the statements originated with the old stiff and he had come to the conclusion that they weren't badly thought out for a broken down old dingbat. Later he found out his error. But it didn't matter. They were the truth—the kind of truth he and all the other pack mules needed before they could do much about getting accounts balanced.

And now he sat here on the top of a rumbling freight and thought about life and its peculiarities. The moon had disappeared over his shoulder and was sinking behind the coast range. Now and again a dog barked at the passing train. Cows rose from their sleep and the earth steamed under them. They humped their backs to get the stiffness out of their joints, then they lowed a throaty welcome to the morning's milking time. In the distance, roosters were proclaiming to their seraglios that it was time to shake a feather. Slowly the sun crept up over the eastern hills and bore on its pale rays the first gray light of a new day.

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Larry didn't find the City of Angels a New Jerusalem. Nor did he discover any vestal virgins daintily treading avenues of gold—at least not around those parts the burg set aside by the best people for the scum of earth—Nay, nay! On the whole, Larry thought it was the dreariest hoosier lay-out he had laid eyes on in many a moon. And as for its denizens, well, he found them on par with the rest of Moronia—no better nor worse—just another cross section of dear and beautiful life.

Larry set out to explore the city and its sand-blown environs. And he couldn't, for the love of Pete, figure how a couple millions of bipeds had gotten corralled in this gray and joy-forsaken corner of the globe. But when he made inquiries, those who had been in town long enough for a clean shirt looked at him as if he had been goofy enough to ask: "Why does one enter Paradise?" He went out of town and gazed at the mountains and came to the conclusion that the bloody things looked like Sahara set on end. Well, well, each to his own taste. He was damn certain that he wasn't going to make the burg any more crowded than it was.

Larry was meandering down the skidroad. The sour stench from eating joints that hadn't changed grease since they were first opened filled his nostrils and brought vivid olfactory recollections of the acrid diapers that had been part cause of his leaving the parental gables. Bleary-eyes winoes were guzzling barrel wash in the doorways. He met stiffs he had slaved with up north. Things weren't so hot, he was told. Not t' helluva lot going on and wages lousier than ever. Same old tale. So Larry decided that it was time for him to get out of this crummy hole and rustle a master in some other part of the great open spaces.

II.

The strike on the Sherman Dam, Federal Reclamation Project, was rolling into its fourth week. Larry Holman had been on the picket line practically day and night since the morning when the duly elected strike committee had let it be known to their kind and benevolent bosses that from now hence it would be nix on low wages, rotten chuck and lousy bunkhouses.—Here are our demands, look 'em over and let's have your answer by eleven.

At eleven, the Brains, with befitting calm and kindly-stern miens, had informed the committee that the demands were simply preposterous. Why, the present wages were positively as much as could be paid. And hadn't they themselves on several occasions partaken of the food served in the cookshack and found it excellent? They certainly had! The boys had better go back to work. The boys should realize that altho the project was being done by contract, they would virtually be striking again' the Gov'ment, and that simply wasn't done. Yes, the boys had better return to work and they, the Brains, would sincerely see as to what could be done in regard to the bunkhouses. They would, they admitted, grant that the sleeping quarters could possibly stand a little improving. The committee said, "Oh, yeah?," and turned on its respective heels.

A meeting was called of all the stiffs. The refusal to grant the demands was reported by the committee. The stiffs voted nuts on going back to work and a strike was called immediately. So, now, Larry and his fellow workers hiked the picket line for miles, keeping out scabs. And they sang songs of class rebellion and solidarity.

Larry reported to the nightly meeting at the picket camp that he expected trouble. The chairman wanted to know upon what he based his assumption. Larry said that he had observed several new mugs being added to the company's gunmen, and that some of the pickets in town had sent word that the company apparently was figuring on moving a gang of scabs in from some eastern point. So Larry thought it best to be on guard and warned the other pickets to watch out.

Larry's suspicions proved true. Up over the yellow desert road that lead to the job there came several mornings later a convoy of trucks loaded with a collection of derelicts and barrel house scum. Each truck was amply protected by company gorillas. The picket line closed its ranks, tensely awaiting developments. Larry stepped in front of the first truck so that it either had to stop or run over him. It came to a standstill. A gunman jumped from the driver's seat and pointing his sawed-off shotgun at Larry, he wanted to know what in the goddam hell was the matter here. Larry said, "Do these men know there is a strike on this job?

The plug-ugly let Larry know that it was none of his damn business what they knew.—Them guys was gonna go t' work and no goddam red was gonna stop 'em, see? The thugs from the other trucks put in an appearance. Like a row of mephetic figures from the exhibition of a venereal disease quack, they formed a fence across the road. Pickets went out around them and yelled to the human flotsam in the trucks not to scab. They answered with a barrage of empty booze bottles. The pickets retreated toward the road. A bottle missed the line and struck a gunthug on the skull and laid him flat. The one next to him whirled and emptied his shotgun into the ranks of the pickets. Larry saw three men go down and lie struggling in the yellow sand. His heart pounded against his ribs. He sprang at the gorilla and before he had time to turn, Larry had the gun twisted from his grip and rammed the butt of it into the base of the thug's skull. He saw him make a half-turn and drop with a dull thud in the middle of the road. Then it was as if an army trampled him underfoot and all became night.

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Larry vaguely felt himself floating up from a deep shaft of darkness. A strip of light crept between his eyelids and a sharp smell of disinfectant filled his nostrills. He tried to open his eyes, but they felt as if two heavy weights had been placed upon their lids. He could dimly see a barred window. A white-clothed person came toward him as if he were emerging from a fog. Larry wanted to know where he was and what had happened. The man answered: "You're in the hospital ward of Las Palmas county jail—What happened is none of my business."

Larry tried to sit up, but pains shot through his head and chest. He fell back upon the cot and discovered that his head was wrapped in bandages. He tried to remember what had happened—then he saw the gorilla drop in the road and remembered the other thugs laying him out —"Christ, my skull is busting—the mugs must surely have given me the works." He asked the attendant if any bones were busted. "No, but's a wonder—You've been out for two days."

In the afternoon two gumshoes came—Name, birthplace and age? And they let Larry know that he thought himself a tough guy, eh? Well, he was going to get the rope for this. Larry wished they would get t' hell out of the joint and let him alone. The next day a bespectacled lug came and droned through a warrant, charging that on such and such a date, anno so and so, at or about 7:30 o'clock A. M., Larry Holman, aged 27, had wilfully and with malicious forethought caused the death of one Jess Bullock, special guard, Sherman Dam, United States Reclamation Project, Las Palmas County, State of New Mexico, by forcefully striking him at the base of the skull with the butt end of a shotgun, wrested from the hands of aforementioned Jess Bullock, now deceased, by the herein named defendant, said Larry Holman.

Larry twisted himself up on an elbow and looked incomprehensibly at the mug that had done the reading: "Did I actually croak that fink?" he asked.

"Yuh evidently did—He's as dead as a doornail—And who's yer attorney? It's a federal charge, ye know, bein' committed on Gov'ment property."

Larry told him that he didn't have any mouthpiece nor any dough to hire one. He would have to think the whole jumble over before he could decide on anything.

Two days later, he was removed to the jail proper. Larry crept around his stinking cell, trying to work some of the pain and stiffness out of his joints. Several days later, he was brought out to the visiting pen. Three stiffs from the picket camp yelled at him through the double screen:

"How are ye, Larry? We'd been here long ago, but the Law wouldn't let's. How are ye making it, old boy? Got any smoking? Anything ye need? We've wired the Committee in Chi and they are sending a lawshark down here to take charge. We're taking up dough for yer defense."

Larry said never mind to trouble about him. What he wanted to know was how it came that the finks didn't bump him off. The stiffs from the picket camp yelled that they had charged the gorillas as soon as they had knocked Larry for a goal. They had gotten several of their guns away from them and told 'em that the healthiest thing for them to do was to scram before they were made into salt and pepper shakers. The finks and the scabs had scattered all over the damn desert like a flock of flapping buzzards. But before they could get Larry out of the way, a gang of bulls from town had rushed them and put the pinch on him. The guys that the gunfink had fired on were doing okay, and Larry needn't worry—they'd stand by him till hell froze over—"And, goddamned, we won our demands—no more scabs after the last performance, and the dear bosses suddenly had a change of heart. All the guys went back to work yesterday, but we was elected as a committee to see about yer defense—and we're figuring on pulling another strike in protest against yer being in the can."

Larry said nix on that—the stiffs needed the dough and never mind him.

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A deputy marshall unlocked Larry's handcuffs and told him to sit on a bench inside the railing separating the space set aside for spectators from the court room proper. The room was alive with buzzing voices and craning necks. From the streets came the rumble of traffic. Larry sat quietly and gazed at Lady Justice, hanging in glum fly-specked righteousness above the high-backed oaken chair intended for Hizzoner. His attorney nodded him a greeting and motioned him to sit over at his table. They spoke together in low voices—defense, jurors, witnesses.

The jury box was filled with twelve good men and true. They sat solemnly with hands crossed over their bellies. Some were young, some middle aged, some fat and others lean, but it was as if they had all been molded by someone who simply had refused to variate. They had not all been accepted yet, but Larry's attorney whispered that he thought they would do—best that could be expected in a hayseed community. Mebbe the prosecution would challenge one or two more, but he didn't think so.

At the press table, the reporters were yawning and sharpening their pencils. A lone woman sat among the half dozen men. She was a mere slip of a girl. Her hair was golden and bobbed in a manner that gave to her face the expression of a whimsical kid. She wore a simple dress of black with thin white stripes, and her only ornament was a broad white collar falling over her shoulders. She seemed the only one among the reporters to whom the outcome of the trial had any interest. Now and again she would look over at Larry with gray, deep eyes set widely apart as if to evaluate what kind of person he might be. She also seemed to know his attorney as now and then she passed him a slip of paper and received from him in reply a negative shake or an affirmative nod.

A paunchy bailiff in horn-rimmed spectacles and with a mug that looked as if it had been painted with permanganate of potassium, stood up and droned, "Hear ye, Hear ye!—." A door leading to the judge's chambers opened and a white-haired, withered mummy in black robes scuttled across the floor and seated himself in the high-backed oaken chair. A moment later, the clerk of the court came trailing in with an armful of ledgers and documents. He boomed at the attorneys and the court room in general that the case of the United States vs. Larry Holman was now called. The prosecuting attorney thereupon got on his feet and let it be known that, may it please the court, the jury was acceptable to the prosecution. Hizzoner looked boredly at Larry's attorney. Yes, he, too, accepted the twelve good men and true.

And after the prosecutor had stood up and in a lugubrious and solemn voice had told the court and the jury what a culprit the United States intended to prove Larry Holman, he proceeded to march forth his army of witnesses. The Brains from the Sherman Dam came. Yes, a strike had been called on the project prior to the day—four weeks or thereabout—when our Mr. Bullock met his untimely death. Yes, the strike had been caused by the unreasonable agitation of the defendant, Larry Holman, and other agitators. Yes, on several previous occasions, the pickets, as they called themselves, had prevented willing and eager workmen from entering the job. Thanks, sir, that's all. The defense may take the witness.

And the defense took the witnesses and succeeded after much hemming and hawing on the part of the Brains to bring forth spluttering admissions that **all** the men had voted to strike when their demands were rejected—that **all** the men had walked off the job when the strike was called—that the demands—"Do you recognize this copy?—were for better wages, better food and the improvement of the vermin-infested sleeping quarters. And was it not also a fact that all these demands had now been granted? Yes, they were —the job simply had to be finished at a certain time.

The Brains further, and with equal reluctance admitted that Larry Holman knew his onions when it came to the work he had been called upon to perform on the dam—further, that he had always been a peaceful and unassuming person.—That's all.

And forward swaggered or slunk the company gorillas and stool pigeons. They stood up, one by one, raised their right mitts and swore to tell the whole truth and nothing but, so help me. Yes, they knew the defendant. Yes, they saw him in the court room—that's the guy sitting over at that there table. What happened on or about such and such a date, at or about 7:30 o'clock A. M. on the road just where it enters the United States' reclamation projects, commonly known as the Sherman Dam? Would the witness please turn to the jury and in his own way tell the gentlemen of the jury just exactly what took place on said morning? The witnesses would and they did tell the story in their own way. Now and again there came from the defense attorney an objection as to the statements being immaterial, irrelevant or mere hearsay. "Objection overruled—Proceed."

Yes, the witnesses told how they had been sent to town with the company's trucks to bring out a group of workmen shipped from the east to go to work on the dam. How the pickets had prevented them from getting to the job by blocking the road, how they had refused to move on, and how finally, after calling the men in the trucks foul names, Larry Holman had wrenched a shotgun from the hands of Mr. Bullock and struck him over the head with it, then and thereby causing his death.

And the defense took the gorillas and finks in hand and after much squirming on their parts forced them to admit that Bullock had first fired into the ranks of the pickets and wounded three persons before Larry Holman had twisted the gun from him and struck him down—and that had it not been for the other pickets' coming to Larry's rescue, the gunmen would in all likelihood have killed him. And was it not a fact that Larry Holman had been confined in the medical ward of the Las Palmas county jail for several days, due to the beating he had received at the hands of the gunmen? And was it not also a fact that the company had the preliminary hearing and the trial postponed until the effects of said beating had disappeared? Here the prosecutor objected to the defense's "leading" questions. "Objection sustained—Proceed."

Recess came and Larry was permitted to walk in the corridor after he had come back from lunch with the watchdogs. Two deputies were stationed at the end of the corridor to prevent escape. Larry stretched his legs and wondered how much longer the show would last and what the jolt might be, when the girl from the press table came up and offered him her hand. She said:

"My name is Ella Brant—I'm reporting the trial for the Workers' Voice."

Larry said: "It's a pleasure to know you—I was wondering who you could be—but you shouldn't have come all the way from Chicago for this affair."

He looked into her face and decided that her gray, wide-apart eyes were as clear and beautiful as the lakes of his native north. They walked together and talked about many things under the watchful eyes of the deputies. She said, she hoped for an acquittal, but one could never tell when it was the case of a worker. Larry thought one could nearly always tell—It generally resulted in the stiff getting a jolt. "But," he said, "this is the class war, and until John Workox learns to organize—and to organize right—that is all we may expect." Then the deputies yelled that it was time to get back into the court room.

Larry walked to the witness chair and in his low and calm voice answered his attorney's questions as to what lead up to the killing of the gunman. The prosecutor then took him in hand and among many other things wanted to know if he wasn't a red, eh? Larry answered:

"If you mean, 'Am I a union man?', I say, Yes. If yoh mean, 'Am I radical—that is, a person who wants the workers to receive the full product of their labor, by their owning and operating the machinery of production and distribution?'—if that is what you mean, then again, from the bottom of my heart, I say, Yes."

The prosecutor looked at the twelve figures in the jury box with a smirk: "I thought so—That's all."

*

The prosecutor had just gotten through fanning the air. His voice had taken all the hurdles of the oral racetrack. It had soared to a hoarse, shrieking crescendo as he painted to the drowsy after-dinner-belching twelve good men and true a lurid picture of all Larry Holman's nefarious tendencies and murderous activities. It had nose-dived into a string of low, fear- quavering gulps as he unraveled for the bilious gentlemen the horrors that would overtake the sacred American home and their own law-abiding bailiwick should they fail to heed his plea for the infliction of the death penalty upon that self-declared red culprit—the murderer of that respectable and peace-loving citizen, Jess Bullock—"Gentlemen, your duty is clear!"

Larry' attorney stood up. He begged the jury to disregard the good prosecutor's attempts at taking impassioned flight. He drew an outline of the underlying cause of the strike and what lead up to the killing of the gunman. He told of the low wages, the poor food and the filthy bunkhouses that the men had to indure. He depicted the life of the migratory workers—the misery they had to put up with. He reviewed in details what had happened on the road the morning when the gunman had fired into the ranks of the unarmed pickets, and concluded with a plea for acquittal.

One of the prosecutor's apprentices had the final say—a bumptious paraphrasing of what the big shot had already spouted.

The mummy in the high-backed chair fumbled with his notes. He wheezed his instructions to the jury as to what was the law and what wasn't. He summed up, more or less, what the prosecution had contended took place. And, on the other hand, what counsel for the defense had maintained was the case. They, the jury, could find the defendant guilty either of murder in the first degree or of manslaughter.

Larry Holman's twelve peers came back six hours later. They filed into the jury box and slumped into their seats with all the solemn bovinity and bucolic dignity that they could muster. Larry was rushed from the county hoosegow. Once more, King Tut's second cousin emerged from the tomb in his funereal garb. He seated himself in his oaken chair and mumbled:

"Have you reached a verdict, gentlemen?"

The gents had. The foreman of the gang stood up and stated that they found the defendant, Larry Holman, guilty of manslaughter.

The jury was thanked by the Court. The prosecutor looked glum. Larry grinned at his attorney and said, "Well, that's that." Ella Brant's hands clenched and opened spasmodically. She looked at Larry and said it was a damn outrage. The stiffs in the court room tried to get to Larry, but the deputies said it was simply against the rules. Larry's attorney stood up and moved for a new trial. Larry pulled his coat tail and said nix on all this boloney—let's have it over with—and don't waste any more dough on an appeal, either.

Three days later, Larry stood gazing at the flyspecked Justice. Had the defendant anything to say why sentence should not be pronounced upon him? Larry said that he didn't have a syllable to say—wouldn't do him any good, anyway—Just let's know what the score is. Ten years in the Federal Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas.

III.

The sun also shines over prison yards. It rises out there in the world over mountains and plains. It lifts itself into the heavens and its rays are reflected in the blue gun barrels of the guards as they, puppet-like, walk around the towers that like old world newspaper kiosks perch on the corners of the prison wall. Yes, the sun shines over prisons, too. It comes, bright and carressing and its warm light explodes against the high, barred windows of the cell houses and ricochets into the clear air in minute crystal threads. Yes, it comes and brings greetings from the world that is no more. And because it asks: "Do you remember—?" the days become long, they become long, dreary years.

It was Larry's first Sunday in the yard. He had been mugged and finger-printed. He had been taken by a runner to the bath house and shaved while stripped naked. He was now turned loose, a new fish, among thousands of other sons, who for one reason or another, or for not much of any reason, trod the fool's parade. He looked down at his monstrous Sunday garb—blue pants of a thick, undeterminable kind of cloth, coat of similar vagueness—where it touched the flesh, it felt scratchy—an ill-fitting cap. It all stunk of mothballs. Across his back, and across his pants legs there stood forth in jet back figures his convict number.

And so a new world began. A life of being counted. A life of being questioned and ordered around by officials and guards with mentalities that would make Hottentots appears college graduates. Long silent lines, long whispering lines, waiting for the signal of a club to move forward. Food that must have been made uneatable by design. Yes, Larry learned a few additional facts about the shady side of life. He came to discover that questions which were of no consequence in the outside world in here often became mountains of importance—Little pin pricks turned into deathly hatred—Drops of gall that made men kill. He learned of vile degeneracies bred in the dankness of prison nights, in the mouldy shadows of deadening prison days—whispered from cell to cell. Yes, Larry learned that it is not good for man to be alone. But of all this, the kind ladies and gents being shown the prison as if it was a zoological garden—of this they were not told at all.

He learned of prison finks and rats—guards and warden's pets. But Larry also learned that deep friendship may bloom behind prison walls. He learned of men who had stood pat, men who had gone to the hole rather than to snitch on a pal or fellow con.

And now and again, the prison's wildcat siren splits the air. All hands are herded to their cells. Guards excitedly count and recount the galleries. Finally the missing number is located—One short on five! At regular intervals, the siren shrieks its warning blasts out over the Kansas hills. Out in a ditch, or in a lone barn, the escaped prisoner lies hiding, his heart pounding in wild fear—"The bastards have found that I beat it!" Out on the Kansas hills, Kansas hoosiers are getting their shooting irons ready, slavering at the mouth in greedy expectancy of the hundred dollars allowed for the capture of an escaped convict.

Perhaps next morning it is whispered that he was brought back. A few weeks later, he emerges from isolation, palid and shaky. He blinks against the strong light of day. A large red 3 has been placed above his convict number. He has now to make himself accustomed to the fact that all his good time is gone—that it will be a long time before the 3 will be removed so that he may again have his petty, but all important privileges restored. Larry kept his promise to Ella. His first weekly letter went to her. It was short and laconic—he had not yet become used to having a prison censor peer into his privacy. He told her he had arrived—how to send her letters, should she want to drop him a line—am getting along as well as could be expected—Take good care of yourself.

But Ella had already found out a few things. From the authorities, she had learned what a prisoner could and could not receive. And to Larry, she sent the limit. Every other week a package of fruit. Now and then a money order for tobacco—but best of all—books. And for weeks, Larry's weekly letter became indignant protests. He returned her money. A few days later he finds in his cell a slip from the record clerk to the effect that such and such an amount has been placed to his credit. In the evening, a letter, properly opened by the censor, is thrown through the bars by the guard. It is from Ella, requesting him not to make things harder for himself. She is working—May she not, please, do little things for him to make his life a little more bearable? And long letters come from her regularly. They become the bright points in his life.

And Larry settles down to prison life. From the record clerk's office he receives the information that with the prescribed time off for good behavior, he will see the outside world in six years and eight months. In the day time, he works in the stone shop with a number of others—post office bandits, counterfeiters, mail defrauders—some intelligent and keen witted, others as stupid as Paddy's pig. He trains himself to forget the outside. He bends all his efforts to keep himself in trim. His spare hours, he spends reading and digesting what he reads. With all his might, he must forget that he has to spend six years here—perhaps ten, all depending upon future fickle circumstances.

Yes, Larry learns all the ropes, all the ins and outs of the Big House. The days go. Summer comes to an end and one fine morning the prison yard is covered with a glimmering carpet of beautiful snow. For a day it lies there white and lovely. Then it becomes specked and foul with soot from the power house smokestack. And then Christmas comes. A tender letter from Ella and the little presents he may receive. There are a few extra things on the tables in the mess hall. The prison band blares forth tunes appropriate for the season. On the visitors' gallery, two girls appear and sing Heilige Nacht. The convicts stare at them greedily. Then life settles back into prison routine again and winter creeps forward on leaden feet toward another spring.

And the years became pages in the tome of time. Larry tried to make of the outside world a mere haze of faint memories. He tried not to think of what lay outside the red brick wall. But Ella's letters came as constant reminders that the world was there as much as ever. Larry tried not to think of her. But at night when taps had been blown and the light went out, and he lay gazing through the barred windows at the stars in the black sky, she came to him. She came vividly. He could recall little things about her that he thought he had never noticed in the court room. He saw again the dark dress she had worn and the soft white collar on her shoulders. He saw her as she walked with him in the corridor. He looked again into her gray, wide-apart eyes, clear and beautiful as the lakes of his native north. Yes, she came to him in the sleepless prison nights.

And as his time came near the end, she wrote to him that she was going to Seattle—"You will come there to me, won't you?"

*

Larry was walking down the long corridor leading through the administration building to the outer gates. He had been dressed out. A runner was leading the way. In his hand he held a white slip. As they came to the double barred outer gates, he handed it to the guard. The gates swung open and Larry Holman stood on the outside again.

There comes to a man now and then a day in his life he will never forget. Over the Kansas hills lay the warm light of a late Summer's day. Here and there, the leaves of the oaks were turning yellow—harbingers of autumn. Larry stood still and looked up into the blue ether. His gaze followed the horizon.—How immense the world was! He had been given a ticket for the street car going to town. But Larry wanted to walk—to feel the earth under his feet again. A dog came toward him. It wagged its tail, as if to say, "You're a pretty good Joe, aren't you?" Larry stooped to pet it. It lifted its head and licked his hands—thus he received his first greeting in the outside world.

*

The train was speading westward through the night. Its wheels sang their staccato clickety-clack—clickety-clack. Larry could not sleep. He sat gazing into the black, wooly night. Now and again, he would take from his pocket Ella's last letter and re-read it. He tried to figure in what part of Seattle the address she had given could be. And morning crept over the plains and in the west loomed the sawtoothed pinnacles of the Rockies. Now and then a stiff with a bundle on his back would stand off on the right-of-way while the train speeded by. He stood there so alone as if he were the last human in the world. And the groaning train began to climb the grade through the mountains. Larry saw again turbulent streams roar through ravines. He felt in his nostrils the warm fragrance of sun-heated pines.

Another night with stars glittering in the dark sky like islets of fire in a black sea, and the outlines of Seattle came through the morning's haze.

Larry sprang from the train and walked through the station. His eyes sought Ella.—Well, it was early and maybe she had misunderstood his last letter as to the time of his arrival. Or perhaps she had changed in those six years to the extent that he didn't know her. He walked to the street and there by the side of a taxi cab, she stood.

Laughing and with outstretched hands, she came to him. Free and unashamed, she kissed him. Larry looked into her gray, wideapart eyes.—Yes, they were lovely eyes, clear and beautiful as the lakes up north.

She gave an order to the driver. He swung the cab and speeded across the lower part of the city toward West Seattle. Before a small house perched high on a hill, he came to a stop. Ella said:

"Come, this is where I have been waiting for you."

They walked through the rooms together. Ella asked questions. Now and again she would stop and look at Larry intensely as if to make sure that her senses were not playing her false. Then she said:

"And now, we shall have breakfast—You and I, Larry—the first meal we ever had together."

And with deft hands, she prepared the food and the fragrance of coffee filled the rooms. They sat eating together and chatted over the thousand and one things that came into their minds. They talked of the future—of their future together. Larry had to tell of the prison. In a few simple words, he told her of what she had meant to him in those years. He told her what the books she had sent him had meant—of what they had taught him. He said:

"Soon I shall go out and hunt myself a job. I shall try to take up life where I left off—only now we are two. I have learned in the years that have passed where I fit in. Through practical experiences and reading, I have learned what this class struggle means. I feel no compunction over the fink that I had to bump off—it was either him or my fellow workers. They took six of the best years of my life, and that is okay with me. I shall enter the ranks of the workers again, just as another worker, and I shall do what I can to help enlighten those who still believe that there is a pot of gold awaiting them at the next turn of the road. I shall help to make them see that the only solution, their only way out, is through organization, through the power of class solidarity."

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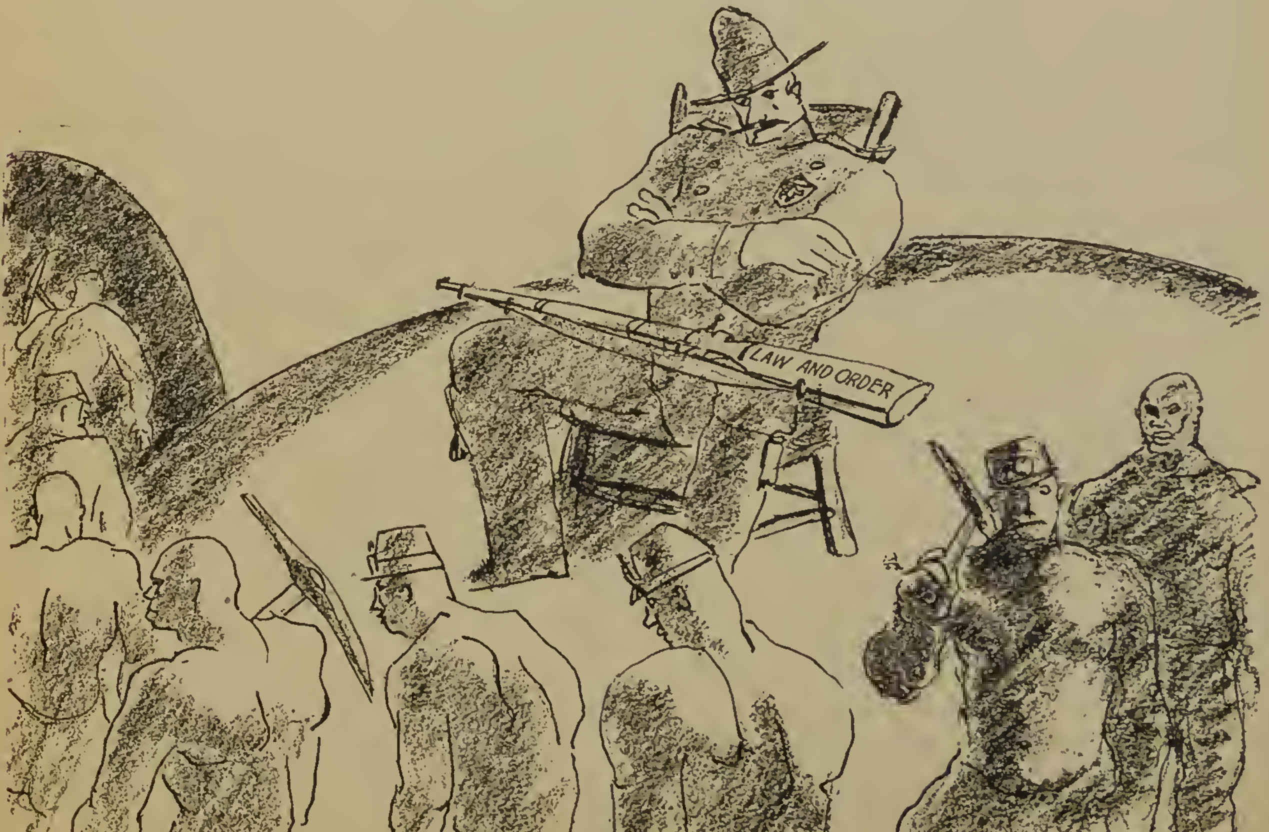
In the night, they sat together under a tree on the hillside. Below them lay the bay with the light of the city gamboling in its rolling waves. A ferry was crossing from Seattle. A hoarse blast from a steamer gave warning that it was on its way. And on the hills of Seattle, the lights shone in the mansions of those with limousines, in the shacks of those with only weary feet to carry them over the roads of life. They sat together. Ella said:

"It is lovely to have you here.—It is good to know that you are free."

But Larry sat silent. He drank in the night. He let the presence, the fragrance and loveliness of the woman by his side sink into his hungry being. Then he said: "Yes, it is good to be here."

The End.



"Speak No Ill of the Dead"

By **RALPH VERLAINE**

X229442 I. U. 620

A platitude is challenged. A militant working class silently rejoices. The master class mourns the loss of a labor lieutenant.

He is dead. A career of smooth, slick, and unconscionable betrayal of working class aims is finished amidst drippingly tearful and maudlin obituaries splashed lavishly across the pages of the kept press throughout the world. King and capitalist wear long elegiac faces at his passing. Militant working class hearts thump with freshly revived hopes.

Born in Scotland in 1866, a son of an agricultural worker, he yearned in early life for the lucrative limelight of unchallenged leadership and proceeded in his maturing youth to bend his efforts in the direction of his dreamy goal. With a scanty academic education completed, he migrated to the City of London to acquire employment as an addresser of envelopes; next, as an invoice clerk. His leisure moments he dedicated to study that prepared him for a brief and spasmodic journalistic career. At eighteen he joined the Socialist Democratic Federation, a radical organization reflecting the revolutionary ideologies of Karl Marx with a dash of Bakunin. At twenty-two he became a secretarial attache of an aspiring statesman from whom he learned the tortuous, zig-zag trails and by-paths that form the course of a politician's life. Through close association with his liberal employer he became saturated with the sweet intellectual poisons of liberalistic opinion, absorbing bourgeois psychologies with the facility of a damp mop picking up dust. With one foot in the bailiwick of the radicals and the other in the camp of the Liberals, he began to fashion a super-opportunistic philosophy of his own.

The advocacy of "dynamite against the capitalists" by the Marxist Socialist Federation proved too harsh a dish for his palate and he withdrew to enter the polite Fabian Society, comprised of such personalities as Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw, H. G. Wells, and other notables in the realm of letters. It was here he divested himself of his last shreds of class-struggle influence, and polished his vocabulary of idealistic gradualness and peaceful evolution that permeated all his writings and speeches. In his book "Socialism" he wrote, "The foreign outlook, phrases and criticism of the Socialist Democratic Federation never quite fitted themselves into British conditions; whilst the Fabian Society, much more successful in adapting socialism to British evolution, never succeeded in applying it to the movements of contemporary politics, and never faced the problem of how to organize the masses so they might be available for the advancement of socialist legislation."

When the Independent Labor Party of England was formed in 1893 by Kier Hardie, a colorful Scottish miner, John Burns and Tom Mann, and supported by Friedrich Engels, he did not join, but waited patiently for a year while it grew in membership and exploitability.

He, with twenty-eight other candidates ran for office in the general elections of the House of Commons in 1895. "Nationalization of land and public control of the means of production, distribution and exchange" were among the platform planks. Wage-workers showed an apathy for the new politics, and the support of the petit-bourgeois shopkeepers was nil.

A rash of long and momentous strikes broke out among the coal miners and metal and machinery workers in 1896 and 1897. Picketing was legally forbidden, and the State declared the union responsible for the illegal actions of union men. The House of Lords in 1900, acting as the highest tribunal, decided against a union, forcing it to remit damages in the case of the Taff-Vale Railway versus its angry organized employes. The workers were champing to take direct action against the masters and their "slugging committee," the State, to break the law en masse, and force the government into static docility. But the trade union officials, aided and abetted by the leading lights of the Labor Party, quelled the incipient wave of revolt with the oil of political oratory; in brief, they convinced large sections of the wage-earning class to substitute the useless use of the ballot for the guaranteed efficacy of job-action. The Labor Party grew and elected two candidates in 1900.

So What?

The iniquitous Taff-Vale decision was reversed in 1906. The Labor Party claimed a victory. But the truth of the reversal is that union strong boxes had been looted by the government's habitually handing down decisions favorable to the prosecuting corporations, and the workers began ominously to murmur and grumble against this too obvious collusion between "their democratic parliamentary government" and autocratic organized capital. The change in the law was motivated by the desire on the part of the government to avert serious industrial conflicts, the inevitable crystallization of working class moodiness. It was clearly a victory for direct action—not for the Labor Party.

From 1911 to 1914, the English toilers, weary of the promises of labor politicians and leaders, were forced by the sheer economic pressure of decreased wages and increased prices to resort to the syndicalist tactics of direct action. Strikes flared in one industry after another, and frequently in several industries at the same time, to the horror of the bourgeoisie who feared a revolution at hand. Workers decided it was better to starve in idleness than add to hunger and privation the added pain of labor. The flames of unrest leaped to new heights in the history of the British Labor movement, only to be smothered by the smashing thunderclaps of war over Europe.

Conservative labor leaders collaborated with the masters to convince the workers via press and public speech that German competition was the root of English working class poverty, and enlisted the lives and services of the wage-slaves to fight again another war for the benefit of the master class.

The embalmed villian of our piece, floridly called for peace amidst ubiquitous cries for war, a voice in the wilderness. His attitude made him internationally conspicuous. Despite all his labor treacheries, some radicals of today try to mitigate his crimes against the working class by exaggerating the courage of his stand against the mass murder of war; but upon a more studious inspection of his life, it can be discovered he succumbed to the philosophy of the bitter-enders.

In a letter to the mayor of Liechester he wrote, "Victory, therefore, must be ours. England is not played out. Her mission is to be accomplished. She can, if she would, take the place of esteemed honor among the democracies of the world, and if peace is to come with healing on her wings the democracies of the world must be her guardians. There should be no doubt about this. We cannot go back now, nor can we turn to the right or left. We must go straight through." And in parliament he tersely proclaimed, "This country, if it retains any shred of honor at all, cannot accept a peace which means the sacrifice of Belgium's sovereignty to any extent."

The foregoing paragraph is hardly evidence of unbending pacifistic bravery. It leaves one with the conviction he was opportunistic even in his objection to war; that, while trying to create an enduring reputation as a pacifist, he capitulated to the greed of the war-mongers.

After the war the dole and unemployment insurance were granted, in order to forestall an imminent revolutionary clash of the classes, according to the testimony of Lloyd George and Lord Derby.

The rotting corpse, the ghost of our story, was alive to the issues then, writing pamphlets, tracts and treatises against syndicalist activity in a country where the peaceful ballot was available to the workers. He proved himself a capable defender of the status quo and won the undying admiration of a frightened capitalist society, without estranging himself from the working class.

Miners

In 1921, miners faced coal operators who demanded an increasing pillage of profits from the black wealth wrung from the toil of those who sweat in the murky bowels of the earth. To assure the success of their impending strike the support of the transport and railway workers was solicited, creating the "Triple Alliance" of British labor. However, the leaders of the railway workers decided against the will of the rank and file, and cancelled participation in the proposed strike. The betrayal has become famous as the "Black Friday" of the English labor movement, and is connected always with the name of J. H. Thomas, official of the railway workers' union, and later member of three cabinets in the country's "Labor Government."

The miners suffered the cruellest defeat in the annals of British labor, accepting humiliating wage cuts totaling $2,500,000,000 yearly. The labor leaders and pink political charlatans injected through the hypodermic needle of class-collaborationist propaganda the virus of working class defeatism from which the British wage-slaves have not completely recovered to this day. The only sop for the bitter tears of misery the outstanding labor champion could throw to the beaten workers was: "The defeat of the miners in the coal lock-out turned the tide toward political action. The effect has been to emphasize the political aspect, the importance of public opinion and parliamentary control. The British labor movement is at heart more political than industrial in its emphasis and is consciós of this." Thus the workers were asked to cease fighting for higher wages and shorter hours and to bend their energies toward putting new faces in high places of government.

In 1923 the King estimated him the only man capable of restoring a modicum of England's parliamentary glory, the only man who could dress the windows of decadent capitalism and give them the effect of scintillating brilliance. He was royally asked to form a cabinet.

Three years later the miners, facing a deeper wage-cut were ready to resist the masters' greed for increased profits once more. Direct action again was showing its effective fist among the workers. **Economic pressure, not a lofty intellectual appreciation of the logic of direct action, forced its use in this instance, even as it determines, in the last analysis, all human conduct and shapes the course of history.**

The King's Cabinet Former again attempted to channelize the wrath of the miners with . . . "There is talk about the miners, railwaymen and engineers coming to an agreement. No greater calamity could come over the country than that there should be raised a great block of unions on the one side and capital on the other engaged in a great suicidal fight in industry. What I want to see is a real combination of workmen demanding their rights and doing their duty to society while they are making that demand, and so appealing to the moral and intelligent sense of society that public opinion would stand by them and see them through their difficulties. The biggest union that can support the miners is the union of public opinion and reason. I want to see every right-thinking man and woman, whether railwayman, engineer, or in any other trade, stand by the miners in their claim for a living wage and decent human conditions; I want to see all organs of public opinion, the churches and the chapels, the House of Commons itself, stand by and see the miner gets his due and is not sacrificed to profit-making capitalism."

In brief, this messiah of England's working class, endeavored to assure the wage-slaves their hopes lay in the sickly altruism of the very institutions and side-shows of capitalism!

The Big Strike

Three million workers abandoned their jobs on May 3, 1926 in sympathy with the miners. Day by day the strike grew in numbers and momentum, until it acquired the earmarks of a General Strike. The King's union, representing the Labor Party, and J. H. Thomas of "Black Friday" fame were on the General Council in charge of the strike. Both declared themselves opposed to the whole demonstration. Both did much to officially break it. The strike was called off ten days after it began. The cause of the miners was again defeated.

Claiming to be a socialist, he served the propertied interests with scrupulous conscientiousness; as a leader of labor, he strained every energy to deprive the workers of their power to strike; as a man of broad internationalist feelings, he deprived exiled radicals of the right of asylum on British shores; as a nemesis of fascism, he violated every capitalist-democratic precept by withholding information from his "peers and his people." While appealing to the working class, he spoke and wrote in the terms of "the people," "the whole people," "the nation," "the community," never in the terms of "the workers," "the working class," or "labor."

This is not so much a condemnation of a man as it is the condemnation of an economic system that creates the type of human being he exemplified. In the battle for more of the good things of life, too frequently talented men of working class origin will attempt to acquire them at the expense of others. The gullibility of an improperly educated working class is their opportunity. **The life of any labor leader, honestly delineated, should be a warning to the wage-slaving class that until it turns to itself, spurning all offers of assistance from governments and powerful personalities, every day is lost!**

J. Ramsey MacDonald is dead! Long live faith in direct action methods!

QUOTATIONS:

Maybe a rich man doesn't go to haven, but he doesn't go to jail, either.

Oscar Ameringer.

●

It's a funny world where we pay men less in order that we may have more, John D. Rust, inventor of mechanical cotton picker.

●

It is an observation of one of the profoundest inquirers into human affairs that a revolution of government successfully conducted and completed is the strongest proof that can be given by a people of their virtue and good sense. John Adams, second President of the United States.

To learn what is true in order to do what is right seems to be the whole duty of man. Huxley.

●

The history of the world is one of revolts herisies, idol-smashing and the consignment of precedents to the everlasting junkpile. — I would swap a whole cartload of precedents any time for one brand new idea. — Luther Burbank.

●

Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Way of Knowledge lies in UNlearning all they taught you in schools of State and Churches, my Girl and Boy.—**Covami.**

FACTFUL FABLES

By Covington Hall

All About Civilizing The Uncivilized

Once upon a time the Coming ruling class of a great empire called Samsland decided the time had come, to Expand some more. Looking around for a place to dump their Surplus Products, ere long they fixed their eyes on the Land of Dixie as the best Undeveloped Market in sight. The more they gazed on it, the Juicier the Plum Looked and the Easier the Pickings.

Soon, therefore, their Patriotism and Indignation was stirred to the Nth Degree. "This Land," they said, "is indeed a fair and plenteous Prospect. It is a Shame to allow it to remain Undeveloped. The trouble with its inhabitants is that they are Too Lazy and Unprogressive. They have too much to Eat and too little Progress. We must do something about it!" And they Did.

After talking it over, and all Compromise failing, the usual happened. The Coming Class decided to declare a war "to make the Continent safe for Human Liberty and the Union." This was done, only the war lasted Four Years instead of the Ninety Days the Military Experts set for convincing the Dixieans of the error of their ways.

Anyhow, the Coming Class won the war, as usual. Having won it, they, of course, proceeded to carry out their Good Intention, which was to Civilize the Uncivilized. It was a long and painful process, but, finally, it succeeded. The Slaves were Freed. They were thereafter no longer attachd to their Jobs, nor their Jobs to Them. They were now, like their White Competitors, perfectly free to hunt a Master and, if they could find none, it was Just Too Bad for them, and that was all there was to it. Furthermore, their "Ol' Marseters" were also freed. Planters could now become Plutocrats, that is they could provided they had the Wherewithal. If they didn't, well, they, too, had to Work for a Living, just like Everybody Else; for all were now, under the New Dispensation, Free and Equal. Besides the Right to Work, if not the Opportunity, was generously guaranteed to all Able-bodied Citizens, regardless of Race, Creed, Color, or Previous Condition of Servitude. Better Still, Everybody, except Women, Imbeciles and Convicts, were given the Ballot and allowed to Vote as to whether the Republicans or Democrats should do the Talking and Skinning. Conquered and Conquerers were all Equal Before the Law. Nothing that bayonets could do to promote Progress was left undone.

It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the Land of Dixie was soon on its way to a Highly Civilized State and destined to be one of the most Profitable Enterprises ever initiated. Its mines, forests, fields, water-power and petroleum ponds were seized on and so rapidly and Efficiently Developed that, today, one making a Survey of the Situation is compelled to admire if not approve of the Devastation accomplished in so brief a space of time. It is Perfectly Wonderful what the Coming Class did to their First Conquered Province. Schools, not only for the Supreme Whites, but for the "Niggers" even, rose on every hand. Churches and Factories and Slums blossomed side by side everywhere. All the Blessings of their Old Home Town, the Coming Class brought with them to the Land of their Desire. There, Down in Dixie as alsewhere, Progress and Poverty marched hand in hand, both, according to the Coming Class, being "God ordained" and "unescapable." "As it was in the Beginning," they said," so it will be in the End. Some men come into the World ready Bridled and Saddled and some Booted and Spurred ready to Ride them, by the Grace of God, Thomas Jefferson to the contrary notwithstanding." And did they ride? They Did, and No Maybe about it, for everywhere the Coming Class was triumphant.

Not a Superman or Slave is left in Dixie. Only Princes and Paupers dwell therein today. Where once Bumper Crops were regarded as Blessings showered by the Almighty on His People, they are now looked on as Calamities visited on them by a Malevolent Diety bent on taking away their Constitutional Right to a Fair Profit.

The Situation is, indeed, terrible to contemplate; for no sooner had Henry ben Wallace, the Greatest Secretary of Agriculture since Joseph ben Jacob, finished plowing under Ten Million Acres of Blooming Cotton in a Laudable Attempt to put more Rags on Naked Backs than here comes Father God and Mother Nature undoing all his Good Work by producing a Perfect Season which, in turn, enabled the Inefficient Sharecroppers to flood the Market again! This time with 18,243,000 Bales, the Biggest Crop of Cotton ever produced by the Backbones of the Republic.

As a consequence of this act of God, Nature and the Backbones in Sabotaging F. D. R.'s Plan to Produce Less in order to Have More, a dire peril threatens the Land of Dixie. This becomes clear, or should, when it is Known that Too Much Cotton down there means Less Clothes on their Backs, Less Food on their Tables, and More Bankruptcy, Want and Misery everywhere for Everybody. Yea! it means Even Worse—it means No Money to send North and East for Radios, Autos, Frigidaires and, and, **Everything.** Worse still, it means Unbalancing the Budget again, And that means, as you know, or Should know, the End of Everything in Sight.

Cvilizing the Uncivilized is Alright, but what's the use of Producing So Much of Too Much and being Forced thereby to go Naked and Hungry for our Pains?

It's a funny World in which we Pay Men to Produce Less in order that we may Have More," says John D. Rust. It sure is, it sure is!

* * *

For a Virtuous Working Class

By T-BONE SLIM

Always too late!

Yesterday they made a raid on subway spitters. A good way to win a home for the winter. Just splash out a mouthful of Copenhagen in the subway and another mouthful of Billingsgate in court and you're all set—90 days on the Island.

Cost of living coming down all the time—but you must live in jail.

Industrial Giants

An industry that can't support its workers should be junked. No use fooling around with it. Hang up our teeth properly on a nail and dedicate them to posterity. Let the politicians master the ceremonies, workingmen's friend preferably—you know it wouldn't do to have workingmen's enemies in there all the time.

Ten thousand dollars per annum they get for being labor's busom pal. Gawd! Heart and soul, and I don't believe they'd do it for a cent less.

An employer that can't so manipulate his slaves that they have plenty of salt herring and burlaps should be sent to an elementary school, and a child be put in charge of his works, to begin with. If then he doesn't learn, we can always use him peeling spuds or walking the dog. Industrial Giant! Put the glass on him or polish your specs.

All that blundering can't be ignorance.

Helpless

A country that can't nurture its workers or suckle its young may as well declare itself bankrupt and cease being a country, and sub-divide itself into cemetary lots (we've got to find use for it somehow).

A working class that can't pry a living from **too mush of everything** is pretty helpless—pretty helpless . . . well, not pretty, but helpless. **They even have to be told to join the I. W. W.**

Politicians can't give you anything, they can only take away from you—a one way street. You pay their wages. They tax you and then give you some of it back when you get pale around the gills. Don't get pale, that's bad . . . Here, have a plate of veal fricassee, I hate to throw it to the hounds.

Virtue

"Capital and Labor are just a big happy family," says the press. I suppose that means Capital is master and Labor is mistress, am I right? And the squaw does all the work? Right again? And never goes on squat-down strike?

Lena and Axel had busted a chair trying to sit on it both together. There was much racket and the missus upstairs hollers, "What are you doing, Lena, are you fighting?"

"No, missus, just loving."

"That's nice, Lena, don't fight."

Collaborate? So, Mr. Labor, if you're going to collaborate you may as well join the bosses' union where he can get at you better. If you already collaborate you are already in a bosses' union—a girl that listens is already seduced; a citizen that stops is already bummed.

Join Labor's One Big Union, put the bosses on the bum; learn to worship, honor, and obey your class and we'll hold a big communion, for to us all things are come.

Loyalty of Slaves vs Solidarity of Workers

By A. B. COBBS

The dictionary tells that the word "loyalty" means allegiance or obligation to government, a superior or to a principle. But from A to Z you will find no complementary word to express "allegiance or obligation" of governments or superiors toward inferiors. This is no oversight but results from the fact that the institutions that run the world take no heed of the welfare of those who toil. Whether a man comes from the farm, logging camp, mine or factory; regardless of his previous value as a producer; regardless of his docility to church, government or party, the day his needs prompt him to ask some show of appreciation, a mite more of what he has produced, every organ, every group that he has been loyal to, turns against him. He is a pariah, an agitator, a red, "He stirreth up the people, crucify him." Loyalty on our part is returned with contempt plus hatred.

A good place to see this one-sided loyalty in its simplest form is in a new country like the great plains of the West. Many years back Wyoming was seen to be a fine grazing place for all kinds of stock. The cattle-man came first with large herds to fatten on the rich grasses. Wyoming is a high plateau, not adapted to farming, and much of it is still government owned. It has had winters requiring much hay for winter feeding. Many men are needed in the summer to put up the hay, and to care for the cattle. In the fall the cattle are gathered; some are shipped to market, the rest pastured close to the hay-yards. The men who did the summer work are turned out to get through the winter as best they can.

An Age-Old Struggle

Into this paradise, slowly but surely the big sheep men drove their flocks. They, like the cattle kings, had use for many men during the warm months, to put up hay, take care of the lambs and shear the sheep. Like the others, they turned out the workers in the fall, to eat sage-brush and snowballs until spring.

Now cattle and sheep do not get on well together. Sheep eat the grass close to the ground and tramp down much more than they eat. So the cattle men decided to fight. The land, being government-owned, legal methods could not stop the sheep. So the cattle-men decided to use force. At first the "loyalty" of the men was relied on to maintain the rights of the owners: cow-punchers murdered herders and herders killed cow-boys. Later, both sides were reported to have hired professional bad men and killers from the cities. A small war developed, troops were called in and a sort of compromise effected. But to the present time, jealousy and ill feeling smoulder in all the plains cauntry; sometimes it breaks out in a small way.

After the World War and the tractor had made horses scarce, some big companies were formed to buy western horses. Some were used for work purposes, some were butchered and canned for the European trade where horses meat is eaten. As soon as the horse outfits began to buy hay-land and to run in the wild horses, sheep-men and cattle-men almost forgot their old enmity to combine and make it hard on the horse runners.

But as the years go by a new feeling has developed and is further developing among those who do the work. Men who drive horses from the desert one year may work sheep or cattle the next. Towns are closer together and the auto makes travel and communication easier. Men who once fought each other, now eat at the same table and drink at the same bar. Experience has tamed the wild unreasoning loyalty of the early days.

Class Consciousness

Nowhere is manhood and loyalty held in higher regard, but time and hardships have mellowed and broadened the outlook of those who do the work in summer and have to ride the breadline in winter. The feeling of brotherhood and solidarity has taken root and in time will bear fruit.

That time will come sooner if we who see the need, will do what we can to cultivate and irrigate that feeling: we must fertilize it with the knowledge that loyalty to property and its owners breeds poverty and injustice: while solidarity with our fellow worker will bring a better world order.

The struggles between the cattle, sheep and horse ranchers were small compared to the events that transpired after the discovery of precious metals, the war with Mexico, and the freeing of the slaves in the South. People swarmed from every country on the Globe in an endeavor to obtain some of the new-found wealth. In this mad stampede all other fecings were crushed by greed for gain.

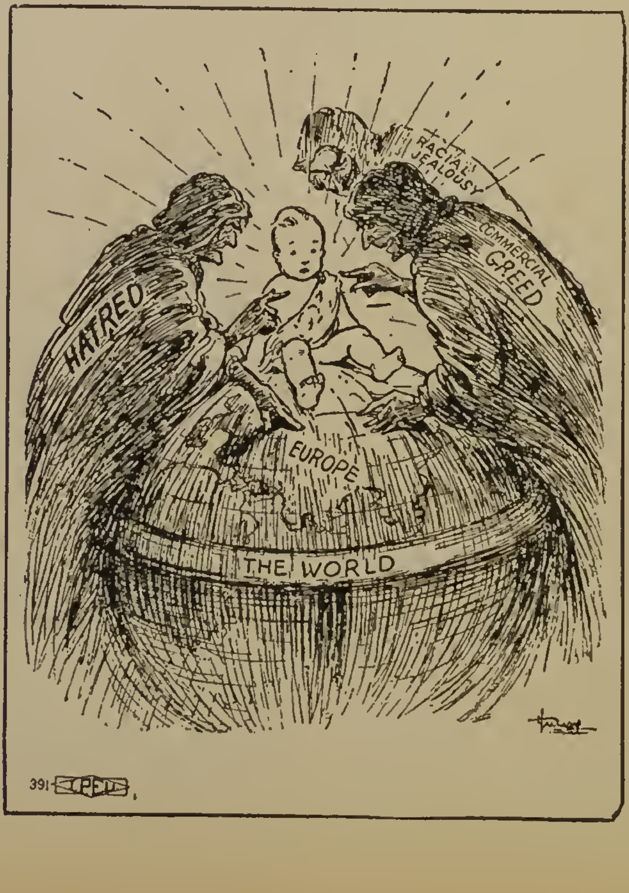
In a few years, however, the resources of this vast empire passed under the control of a few large corporations. Exploitation of the producers became as direct and raw as it had been under chattel slavery. The new conditions brought out a new form of loyalty, class solidarity, which found expression in the Western Federation of Miners and later in the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World. Under the banner of the latter organization the word "Solidarity," synonymous with the "One Big Union of Labor," had more meaning and was carried farther than ever before in the history of the world.

Ideas, no matter how valuable, must have an organization to back them up if they are to materialize. So when the World War came it found the new idea of Solidarity unable to withstand the attacks of age-old prejudices fostered by the phony institutions that support the owning class. State, Church, Press, and even the theater were used as advertising agencies to deceive the people. We were told that we were to fight for Freedom, Liberty, and "To Make the World Safe for Democracy." As soon as the war was over they told us brazenly that it had been a war for markets and to safeguard some loans Wall Street bankers had made to certain European nations.

The spirit of Solidarity was not dead: even in the midst of war it broke out in strikes, insurrections and finally in the Great Russian Revolution. Hope was entertained that a new and better world was to be born; but this dream turned into a night-mare. Labor unions were spied upon and disrupted; insurrections of workers and peasants were suppressed by fire and sword and Russia, with armed intervention from without and internal dissension within was turned into a land of desolation.

The effects of the Great Revolution were almost as disastrous in other countries as in the homeland. In all the world there was enthusiasm and hope for the new experiment. Yet there were thousands of cheap characters who used this feeling of Solidarity for their own advantage. The number or rats, finks, and shysters was so large in some of the radical groups that honest workers were crowded out. One organization was so foul that a judge stated from the bench that it appeared as though it had been promoted by the U. S. Department of Justice. The mental and moral equipment of the leaders of other-Pro-Soviet groups is so low that today the remark of Judge Anderson seems quite appropriate, when applied to them. Their conduct even more than events in Russia has turned the sympathy of the American people into suspicion and contempt.

But in spite of these back-sets the spirit of Solidarity moves forward. The English worker knows that the conquest of colonies lowers his own standard of living to that of the conquered races. The Italian worker will receive no benefit from the rape of Ethiopia; the German will get no good thing from the Nazi intervention in Spain. If Japan should conquer all of China, the Japanese workers and peasants will not receive one little grain of rice more than they do now. Loyalty to capitalist institutions has brought disaster to the workers: Solidarity among those who produce wealth will bring a better world.



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

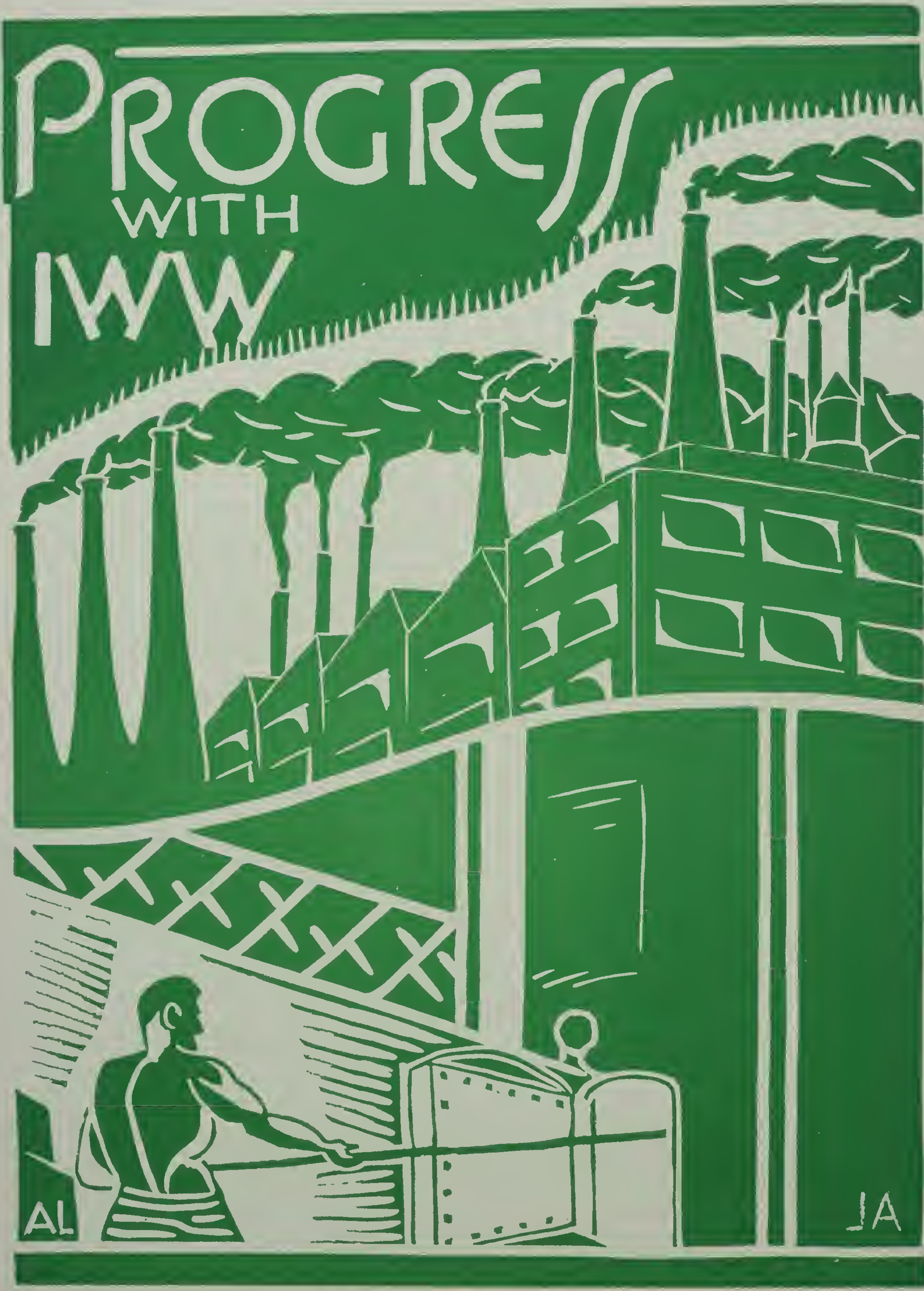
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.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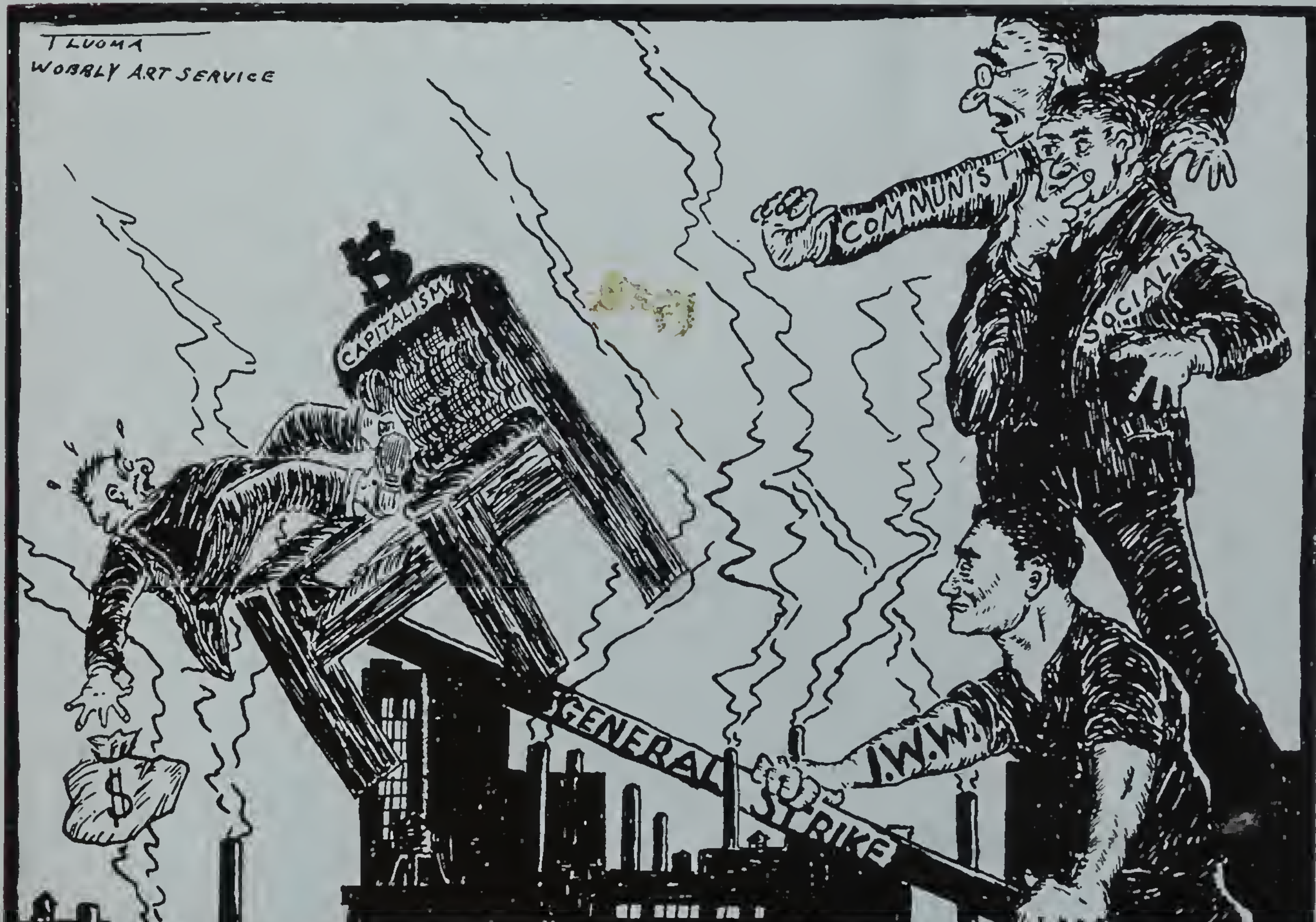
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THE FOUR-HOUR DAY

Business people who live directly, or politicians who live indirectly, from profits, should not be consulted on any grave economic problem such as that presented by the poverty of millions of Americans at a time when all could be enjoying life with abundance. These people may know the answer but if they do they are going to keep it quiet.

The way to end poverty is to put more people to work. Wealth, the opposite of poverty, comes from work, and from no other source. Now if all those who swill in idleness as well as those who hunger in unemployment were put to useful work along with those already working, it would help. If those who now work at useless occupations —contributing nothing to human knowledge, wealth, or pleasure— were added, the army of labor would grow to such proportions that wealth would roll out in such profusion that poverty would fade away, never to return.

Naturally, the work would have to be divided among the workers and that means the leisure would be divided up too. There would be no more over-work with poverty, unemployment with starvation, or parasitic idleness with stolen wealth.

That's a workers' program for the solution of economic problems. and in spite of the fact that employers don't like it the workers can put it over.

Yes, it's a big job but modern labor is equal to handling many big jobs as it has often shown. The way to start on this one is to organize in the I. W. W. and take the four-hour day.

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Unionism at the Crossroads

By

A FORMER COAL MINER

An industrial union without rank and file rule, instead of being a powerful instrument in the hands of the workers, is an industrial stockade wherein workers are herded and regimented like sheep or cattle in a stockyard corral.

The maritime unions of the Pacific are in the grip of a serious crisis. In fact American labor, as a whole, is at the crossroads. The sinister forces that prepared the stage settings for the triumphant entry of the black hordes of fascist reaction in Europe are busily engaged today on the American labor stage, (the trade unions), in the same nefarious intrigue which brought complete enslavement to the workers of Italy, Germany and other fascist countries of Europe.

In Pacific Maritime Federation we find that the splendid spirit of solidarity borne out of the struggles since '34, the invincible power generated through the closer cohesion of the component parts of the Federation and the comradely relationship that has sprung into being because of the shoulder to shoulder fight against the common foe—all of this is now threatened because of the intrigue and machinations of an unscrupulous coterie of peanut politicians, who believe in unity only if they are in the saddle with absolute power to direct the destiny of the union.

Lewisism

Working hand-in-hand with these admittedly disruptive political elements is the arch-betrayer John L. Lewis with his self-appointed "Committee for Industrial Organization." The keystone in the shaky arch of the C. I. O. is the United Mine Workers of America, of which Lewis is president.

Lewis' record in the United Mine Workers of America is the blackest page in the annals of American labor. The sell-outs and betrayals during his stewardship had almost completely wrecked the United Mine Workers of America when the resurgence of labor unionism swept over the country in 1933.

With a membership of 500,000 in 1921, through the disastrous leadership of Lewis, the U. M. W. of A. membership dropped to less than 100,000 in 1933. During his dictatorship the U. M. W. of A. had not won a strike until 1933 when Lewis began to pile up fishy "victories" with the help of Administrative forces and operator cooperation. Before 1933 Lewis was contemptuously referred to by the miners as "the swivel chair hero of a thousand lost battles." In the disastrous national bituminous strike of 1922 Lewis sold-out to the coal operators of the central competitive fields, (Ohio, Indiana, etc.) and left the miners of West Va. and Kentucky striking while the miners of the central competitive fields filled the orders and supplied the coal for industry. His entire tenure of office has been characterized by treachery, tyranical domination and open betrayal of the mine workers.

In 1933 the union Lewis had almost strangled to death was resuscitated by the spirit of unionism which was aroused in the rank and file of American labor by the lowering of their standard of living through the rapidly rising high cost of necessities. And Lewis, the shrewd and unscrupulous labor politician, held on to the dictatorship of the U. M. W. of A. with the connivance of coal operators and the intimidation of his army of pluguglies and under-world gunmen.

However, despite operator support and the assassination of over 100 union coal miners of Illinois by gunmen, the Illinois mine workers (District No. 12) refused to bow down under the chafing yoke of Lewis dictatorship. The Illinois district had always been the backbone of the U. M. W. of A., but today, under the Progressive Mine Workers of America, it has escaped the Lewis dictatorship, though only to fall back into the reactionary A. F. of L.

Lewis, Self-appointed Dictator

John L. Lewis who now raises the hue and cry against the machine-rule of the A. F. of L. Executive Council was never elected to his position in a fair and square election. Paradoxical as it may seem, Lewis actually appointed himself as president of the U. M. W. of A. When John P. White resigned as president of the U. M. W. of A. in order to devote his time to the operation of a silver mine in Colorado, Frank J. Hayes, as Vice-president, was automatically induced into the presidency. John L. Lewis, who was employed in the International office as a statistician, got himself appointed by the International Executive Board to fill out the unexpired term of Vice-president, made vacant by Hayes' induction into the presidency. Lewis then hatched a scheme for Hayes to make an extended tour of Europe to gather data about mines and the miners' unions. Frank J. Hayes being a drunk, Lewis then proceeded to grease the skids for Hayes upon his return and to prime the Executive Board for his own appointment to the presidency. Hayes played the sucker and swallowed the bait, hook, line, and sinker; and Lewis succeeded to the presidency of what was then the most powerful and militant labor organization in America, without even the formality of an election.

Elections that have been held since that time have been tragic farces. In fact Hitler's Nazi elections have been far more democratic. And the danger of being killed because of opposition is less in a Nazi election than in one conducted by the well-paid tools of John L. Lewis.

Miners Still Under Dictatorship

"He has changed, now," retort his Moscow stooges when rank and filers confront them with his record. But the facts concerning the present situation in the U. M. W. of A. will convince anyone that John L. Lewis hasn't changed any more than a leopard can change its spots. Of all the army of high-paid office holders in the U. M. W. of A. today, not one man has been elected to his office by the rank and file. Every one of them is an appointee of Lewis and holds his job by virtue of his blind obedience to the dictator. Any sympathy manifested by an appointee to the rank and file is sufficient cause for summary dismissal. Many of the district representatives were formerly employed by the coal operators as gunmen. In fact, to be a buffer between the operators and Lewis, on the one hand, and the rank and file on the other hand, the representative must be qualified as a gunman, as well as a yes-man.

Underground Rank and File Movement

But Lewisism has failed to crush the spirit of rank and file revolt in the miners' union. There is, today, a strong underground movement to get autonomy for the districts; that is, the right to elect their own district officials. In the 1936 convention, held in Washington, D. C., it required all the subtle maneuvering of Lewis, the intrigue of his Moscow stooges and much bloody work of his beef squads to defeat the resolution for rank and file elections in the districts. And, it will take more than all of those forces to stem the rapidly-gaining tide of rank and file revolt. The exact extent of the revolt cannot be accurately measured by Lewis' henchmen, even with the help of the Moscow G. P. U. Because of the danger of losing their jobs or their lives. the miners carry on the movement in the same secretive ways they so cleverly employed in the day of the Baldwin-Feltz gunmen regime. Only today they must be more careful, because the penalty for opposing Lewis is more severe than it was for "talking unionism" in the black days of the Baldwin-Feltz reign. An honest analysis of the present situation in the Miners' Union would reveal that more democratic rights are enjoyed by members of Nazi labor unions in Germany than are enjoyed by members of the U. M. W. of A.

C. I. O. A Self-appointed Committee

The Committee for Industrial Organization is the creature of Lewis and other labor skates of Lewis' stripe, with the help of some of the biggest exploiters in the country. Sidney Hillman, one of the committee, is the master stategist of class-collaboration. His success as a labor leader (?) is due, not to his popularity with the makers of men's clothes, but the his ability as an organizer of the bosses into associations for the maintenance of higher prices for men's clothes. Major Berry, czar of the Pressmen's Union, another member of the Committee is a multi-millionaire in addition to having the record of being a more effective strike-breaker than Bergoff or any other strike-breaking agency in America. One of his greatest strike-breaking feats was the crushing of the Allied Printers' Strike in New York City in 1923. This strike was so effective that there was only one four-page news sheet issued at the beginning of the strike. Each of the New York newspapers divided the space and put their paper's mast head at the head of their allotted columns, until Berry could get his strike-breaking machine functioning. He used the treasury of his organization to ship scabs from every spot in America and borrowed money from banks which was paid back from special assessments when the printers were later forced back to work. A good man for the Committee for Industrial Organization, eh, what! David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union has, perhaps, the most progressive front of all the Committee, but rank and file rule in his organization is a mockery with the possible exception of Local No. 22. Antonini rules the Italian Local No. 89 with an iron hand, and a more crooked labor faker was never spawned in the slimy bog of labor politics than this character. He is one of Dubinsky's right-hand men.

John Brophy, the C. I. O. "Director" once headed the communist controlled "Save the Union Committee" in the Miners' Union and was the "white hope" of the communists when he ran against John L. Lewis for president of the U. M. W. of A. The Lewis steam-roller made mince meat of his candidacy. He than started to make his living peddling scab shirts. Later he begged forgiveness from czar Lewis and today serves his master as "Valet De Chambre." The others on the Committee are of about the same ilk as those described, and it would be a waste of space to elaborate in greater detail on these labor-betrayers.

Success of C. I. O. Smells Fishy

No intelligent working man can view the phenomenal "success" of the C. I. O. in the plants of the U. S. Steel Company, the General Motors Corporations and Chrysler Company without entertaining the thought that class- collaboration played a hand in these "victories."

When the C. I. O. made its appearance on the stage, the workers in U. S. Steel and the auto industry had already begun the organization of independent rank and file unions. The rapidly rising cost of the necessities of life was lowering their standard of living and driving them to organize for self-preservation. The labor advisers of the steel and auto bosses, knowing something about the history of labor struggles, expected the workers to organize and initiate sporadic "irritation" strikes. The Roosevelt Administration also expected such to be a natural reaction of the workers to the devaluation of the dollar. The Brain Trusters fully understood that reducing the gold-content of the dollar would result in a general decrease in the **real wages** of the whole American working class, and consequently strike trouble.

Upon the basis of this knowledge, what better arrangement could be made than to have the workers organized in a controlled organization? Remember how General Johnson, W. P. A. Administrator, used to rave against the A. F. of L. and how he propagated "Vertical Union" with a level-headed leadership? Now, we can understand what was meant when John Lewis' Pacific stooge, Harry Bridges, reported to the District Committee of the National Maritime Union. Lewis stated that "the main job of the National Maritime Union was to eliminate the unnecessary job actions now prevalent on the vessels of the Atlantic and Gulf."

Quit Organizing the Unorganized to Disrupt the Organized

When the C. I. O. appointed themselves as the saviors of the American working class—they announced it as their avowed purpose to confine their activities exclusively to the task of organizing the unorganized in the mass production industries. To this the rank and file of the trade unions gave their blessing as well as material support. Little did they dream that they were arming an enemy that was biding its time for a treacherous attack on their own union. But, that is just exactly what has happened. Today, the C. I. O. has drifted far afield from its original policy of "organizing the unorganized" and is now engaged in a slimy game of political intrigue that has for its objective rule or ruin of the independent unions that already have 100% organization in their respective fields. In fact, the task of organizing the unorganized has been almost completely abandoned in favor of the policy of capturing existing unions to be used for political purposes.

Strange Bed Fellows

The C. I. O. has attracted to its organization staff the most disreputable aggregation of blood suckers that ever stuck their beaks in the bowed backs of the oppressed workers. Disqualified professors, unemployed scissor-sharpeners, Delancy street shoe-string peddlers, free-lance soap boxers, wagon-men, tinkers, back-sliding sky pilots, and a motley assortment of variegated peanut politicians, all vie, one with another, to shout from the housetops, praises for the name of him who is their common benefactor: "The greatest labor leader of all time," and this is echoed backward and forth frem every rostrum of the C. I. O.

In addition to the parrots mentioned above, the C. I. O. has a propaganda machine, seemingly of limitless financial resources, which turns out tons of leaflets, pamphlets and press releases written by highly-paid intellectual prostitutes. And every word is designed to dope the brain of the American worker while casting a halo about the head that has hatched more schemes for betraying the workers and regimenting them in straight-jacket "unions" than any other labor faker who ever appeared on the American scene. The communist propaganda machinery also functions as an auxiliary in making a tin Jesus out of this arch-betrayer of American labor.

The coalition of communists and other faker elements with Lewis to straight-jacket labor in regimented unions constitutes one of the most unholy alliances ever consummated by enemies of the working class. Yet, there is nothing accidental about this conspiracy. "Birds of a feather flock together." The fundamental tenet of both their creeds is unquestioned obedience to the whimsical orders of an absolute dictator. Just as surely as the finer particles of sand filter through the larger pebbles and finally find their level at the bottom, so individuals of like natures through the logic of events, ultimately find a common stomping ground. In the case of the communists and Lewis, the stomping ground would seem to be the lives and destiny of the American workers.

Lewis and the communists have a tacit understanding to the effect that they "use each other" in furthering their own avowed separate ends but the intelligent element of the workers know full well the ends sought by each is a common goal—the regimentation of labor in straight-jacket unions and the harnessing of the unions to the bandwagon of a Labor Party.

Of course Lewis needs disciplined-briefcase organizers who will take orders without questioning the results of their action on the workers. And the commies considered themselves fortunate to get the opportunity to place their 13th St. (New York) "leader graduates" in a position to do a little "mass work." "Mass work," or more accurately speaking, organized disruption, is a requirement imposed on every party member.

In addition to the commies, "ham and egg" political careerists of all stripes have boarded the Lewis band wagon. Union halls will cease to be the council rooms where workers gather to discuss their present plight and formulate plans for economic salvation. Under the Lewis-Commie setup the union halls will become the arena where megalomaniac peanut politicians will bravely fight it out in lengthly word battles to the utter disgust and ultimate disaster of the workers. The union hall under the C. I. O. has already become the plaything of men who play the game of labor politics as a business.

The union hall must be kept free of these business politicians if labor is to make gains on the economic front. And that is why unions are organized in the first place. A labor union is an instrument of combat on the economic battlefront, the sector where the real fight is carried on. We organize unions to wring concessions from the bosses in the every-day struggle and through our experience we perfect the organizations to carry on the production of needed things when the economic collapse of the present system of exploitation makes possible the building of a new civilization. Furthermore, during the reign of dominant economic classes in previously existing systems of exploitation, the submerged class developed weapons of struggle peculiar to, and fitted only for itself. The instrument developed and successfully used against the feudal barons by our present masters was the parliamentary system. The tremendous sums of money necessary to carry on a political campaign precludes the possibility of the workers using this instrument in their struggle. The only instrument of combat the workers have used to advantage has been the economic union. It is something they grab on to instinctively in time of struggle, the same as a man will grab a club to fight off a wild beast.

Labor Party

But, despite the fact that all attempts of labor to organize a Labor Party have proven to be labor's undoing, all "wings" and "splinter groups" of the communist party, together with C. I. O. fakers, have been assiduously brewing this diabolical concoction for the past seven years in order to drug the minds of the workers to accept the dictatorial decrees of the political messiahs.

In the first place so-called "Labor" parties are never controlled by labor. And the record of "labor parties" in other countries is nothing but the sad story of sellouts and betrayals of the workers on the economic field for temporary advantage, or, pelf and place for the political leaders on the political stage. We only have to look to England and Ramsay McDonald for confirmation of that fact. Yet, every country in Europe has had its McDonalds and Hendersons. Men who sold the heritage of their class for a stinky mess of political pottage.

The workers have never controlled a so-called "labor party" because the composition of such a party is such that the workers can become nothing more than pawns in the game. Petty business men, ambitious lawyers, abortion doctors, ministers of the gospel phony liberals and homely widows suffering from unrequited love—all madly dickering for leadership over labor. And worst of all the farmer who works his "hay hands" from the rosy fingered dawn till the dismal setting of the summer's sun, too, would embrace labor, and for the same reason as the others—economic advantages. John Farmer like every other employer, seeks the services of working men for as small a wage as he can get them to work for; while on the other hand, the worker naturally tries to get as high wages as he can command. To talk about the unity of these two diametrically opposed groups is ridiculous.

But the "labor party" brew will be dished out soon by Lewis and his coming allies as indicated by the remarks of Lewis in a recent radio speach. This is score No. 1 for the communists, because Lewis has really "bent over" from his former position on the subject of a labor party. The perfection of the C. I. O. labor party political machine, however, will be the dawn of Lewis' day.

When the initial danger period is past, Lewis will use the commies to help eradicate the misguided organizers who have gone down the line sincerely believing that democratic procedure would be introduced after the initial organizational drive had been completed. Then will come the axe for the "splinter groups," Trotskyites, etc. And after the C. I. O. has put the new house in order, we can expect Lewis and the commies to get down to the work at hand—mass betrayal that will make pale into insignificance the wholesale betrayal of the German Workers by the commies. However, we are not so pessimistic as to believe that American workers have not profited by the disastrous mistakes of the German workers.

The history of the working class struggles, and especially those of Germany, proves that the workers lose faith in their union in proportion to the hope they place in political messiahs. The workers initiative is strangled, energy is dissipated and hope of economic salvation is killed in vain search for a mystical utopia in the boggy swamps of political opportunism.

Conditions Workers' Minds To Accept Fascism

And the greatest danger of all from a so-called labor party is this—it systematically conditions the working-class mind to succumb to fascist reaction without a struggle. Experimentations by Pavlof, the Russian scientist, and verified observations by Watson, American psychologist, prove conclusively that human and animal behavior on the whole is the result of conditioned reflexes. Constant repetition of a given function or, numerous reiterations of a statement tends to promote an automatic response. Men, for instance, who have served in the regular army, will stiffen up and assume a military bearing upon the approach of an army officer, even though they have been out of the army for years. In fact some have been seen to click their heels together and come to attention when suddenly confronted by a uniformed officer.

It is upon this scientific principle that all communist propaganda is based—the leaders of the communist party are infallible, and Lewis is a great labor leader going down the line with the communists! The principle is again used when they decide to assassinate the character of a rank and file leader who will not do their bidding. "If," correctly reason the communists, "we repeat often enough that Bill Smith is a counter-revolutionary and an enemy of the working class, the lie will take root and with constant repetition, become firmly embedded in the workers' minds." The communist propaganda machine in Germany had so doped the brain of the workers that they looked upon Thaelman as a demigod who could never lead them to defeat. Instead of placing their reliance in the economic unions, they centered their hopes in Thaelman. The disastrous result is now a matter of history. Just another communist mass betrayal added to that of Russia.

Spanish Workers Show The Way

Compare the capitulation of the German workers to the heroic struggle now being waged by the Spanish working class. The Spanish working class had not been exposed to as much of the "leadership opium" as their German comrades. On the contrary, they had a traditional rank and file, direct-action movement under the C. N. T. And when the motley assortment of political messiahs had thrown up their hands in despair and were ready to capitulate before the first onslaught of fascist reaction, it was the workers of the C. N. T. and the rank and file of U. G. T. who, with clubs, stones and improvised weapons climbed the barricades and showed the world what heroism really is. But their minds had not been conditioned to blindly accept the dictates of "infallible" leaders. They had learned that the emancipation of the workers can be achieved only through the action of the workers themselves.

C. I. O. Emasculates Industrial Unionism

Not only has the C. I. O. changed its policy of "organizing the unorganized" to one of disruption in existing unions, but it has distorted the very idea of industrial unonism. Industrial unionism means that all workers in a given industry be organized to **act** together. Certainly the C. I. O. Steel union, with over 200 separate contracts expiring at different times, is not an industrial union. Nor, is the U. M. W. of A., with over 30 separate district agreements, and industrial union in fact. An industrial union, if it is to be the genuine article, must be something more than merely, "industrial in form."

Industrial unionism in Lewis' hands has been "stretched" and "extended" as well as emasculated. His commie henchmen in their mad jurisdictional greed have gone so far toward mass organization as to organize workers of a cracker factory into the Auto Workers Union (Toledo). While in Passaic the C. I. O. commissars saw fit to decide that the proper industrial union for biscuit and cracker factory employees was in the Textile Workers Union. Of course conditions have changed considerably since the time when the commies were whooping it up back in New York for their own "little baby," "The Bath Towel Makers Industrial Union"! What the C. I. O. is really doing is giving the badge, "industrial union," to everything they can get into to mask the craft form of the setup and to conceal their reactionary intent.

C. I. O. Strike Breaker

The C. I. O., while still in its swaddling clothes, has a strike-breaking record, that must excite the envy of Bergoff and other scab-herding agencies. In Detroit the workers of the Gordon Baking Company pulled an effective sit-down strike and were about to win the fight when the C. I. O. entered the fray on the side of the boss. The strikers were members of the Bakery and Confectionary Workers International, a union that has fought for industrial unionism on the floor of every A. F. of L. convention since the idea was born. But this fact didn't deter Double Cross Lewis from breaking their strike. The strikers were tricked into vacating the plant and a crew of scabs already recruited moved in and took the places of the strikers.

Then Lewis' Detroit stooges proceed to organize the scabs with the blessings of the boss. The scabs, now members of United Bakery Workers of America No. 30 (C. I. O.) have been whitewashed while the union men who struck are walking the streets looking for a job. A strike at the Freihofer Baking Company plant at Philadelphia was broken by the C. I. O. with the help of police and private gunmen. The C. I. O. shipped their scabs through the picket lines under police protection in much the same fashion as Bergoff does his work. In Rochester, N. Y., they signed an agreement with a bakery concern providing for lower wages and proceeded forthwith to corral the workers into the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. How is that for scabbery and distortion of the idea of industrial unionism!

A Frankenstein

Ironical as it may seem, industrial unionism, which has been the hope of millions as signalizing the dawn of Industrial Democracy, is now being distorted by the protagonists of political dictatorship into a Frankenstein monster. An industrial union without rank and file rule, instead of being a powerful instrument in the hands of the workers, is an industrial stockade wherein workers herded and regimented like sheep or cattle in a stock-yard corral. The American working class must be aroused to the imminent danger that lurks behind these fake "industrial unions." We must defeat these would-be Hitlers and Stalins and establish the genuine article on the firm foundation of rank and file control.

Incipient Fascism

Upon the basis of the evidence we can come to no conclusion other than that the C. I. O. has all the earmarks of incipient fascism. If we blindly accept the orders, or, meekly acquiesce to these power-crazed dictators our minds will be conditioned to accept with enthusiasm the totalitarian state with all its accompanying misery, privation and abject slavery.

The Sun Goes Down

By COVINGTON HALL

I.

The Sun goes down, and over all
The blue-black curtains of nighttime fall;
The lights burst out along the street,
Adown which thud the workworn feet
Of regiments who day by day
The hand of Want and Famine stay,
Upon whose patient shoulders rest
The empires of the East and West.

II.

The sun goes down: the silent mill
Is lying dark and dumb and still,
A broading monster on the hill;
Its muscle, brain and hands are gone,—
The sullen Thing awaits the dawn,
The coming of creative mind,
By which alone the Thing may find
Itself alive, no longer dead;
For, come the morn, will sound the tread
Of those who serve it for their bread.
The great machine again will live,
Again their dole its servants give;
And they shall strike, rise, anger-rife,
Demanding of it peace and life;
And they who govern it will then
Throw larger crumbs unto its men;
And for awhile of joy and pain,
The mill will grind and grind again.
Then will the Leaders cry, "Well done!
A glorious vict'ry has been won!"

III.

The sun goes down; the world goes 'round,
And once again I hear the sound,
The muffled roar of workworn feet
As burst the lights along the street
Where seldom songs the farer greet;
And once again the soulless mill
Is lying dark and dumb and still,
A brooding monster on the hill;
A sphinx that has not answered once
The question asked by sage and dunce:
"What hold you in your womb, O Mill!
What, for the Massmen, do you will?
A wider world? A freer Race?
Or cringing Serviles begging "grace"
From those who scorn the calloused hand
And hunt the Thinkers from the land?"

The sun goes down, and over all
The blue-black curtains of nighttime fall.

Maritime Merry-Go-Round

By C. WEED

The year 1937 saw many happenings of major importance in the Marine Industry. The long drawn out Maritime strike terminated on the Eastern and Gulf coasts on January 24th. But, another vitally important issue arose . . . The Copeland-Bland Fink Book.

For several months prior to the strike the leadership of the Rank and File of the International Seamen's Union, had bitterly condemned this piece of anti-labor legislation. With the termination of the strike, the Communist element which was in the saddle in the Rank and File movement made a sudden about face and told the seamen to accept the book. "On May 1st we will take these books and make a huge bonfire with them in Washington," cried the leaders.

On the West Coast the Sailors Union of the Pacific took a determined and militant stand against the issuance of the Fink Books. "If you persist in forcing the men to take these books, we will tie every ship up against the docks," was the edict of the West Coast Sailors. Further in Frisco and other West Coast ports the S.U.P. secured injunctions restraining the Steamboat Inspectors offices from issuing the book.

On the East Coast the only organization that took the same militant, uncompromising stand was the Marine Transport Workers of the I.W.W. Numerically small, they picketed several of the steamboat inspectors' offices, and in the port of Philadelphia secured an injunction against the issuance of the book.

In the face of this militant opposition the government realized its impotence, and gave up the idea of being able to foist the book on the seamen without a bitter struggle; and compromised by making it optional for the men to take either a certificate of identification or the Fink Book.

Quick to jump on the bandwagen were the Commissars. They now told the men, "Turn in your Fink Books and take the certificate of identification." (We are still waiting for the May 1st bonfire on the capitol steps.)

For the three months immediately after the strike the old line I.S.U. continued to do most of the shipping. And although the Rank and File used every known method to capture the I.S.U., lock, stock, and barrel they were unsuccessful. Overnight, they formed a new union, and christened it . . . The National Maritime Union. At this time the C.I.O. was at its zenith, it was waging the big automobile strike and was receiving reams of publicity.

"Hi, Presto, we are C.I.O.," shouted the Stalinists, and thus was born the N.M.U. (To date January 1st, 1938, the N.M.U. has no C.I.O. or any other national charter.)

Immediately the disciples of Moscow were sent forth throughout the land to tell all and sundry, "At last we have democracy on the waterfronts. A Real Rank and File union, of seamen, by seamen, for seamen." And to prove it they absolved all FINKS from their past "errors," issued them books in the new union, and stamped therein: Strike Record Clear . . . C.I.O. . . . Henceforth the brothers shall not be known as FINKS but as misguided and misinformed brothers.

For the next four or five months the N.M.U. used the proven weapon of job action to batter reluctant shipowners into line. How successful they were is proven by the fact that at the end of the year 1937, 75 per cent of the shipping was being done by them. The baby had grown up, and was now a lusty man 52,000 strong. In fact he was beginning to show signs of thinking for himself. (Something the Commissars did not want him to do.) "This is a Wobbly plot," thundered the brain batteries of 11th Avenue.

"We must nip it in the bud at once. Why, the next thing we know the seamen will really be running this union. And then what would happen to our nice shiny pie cards? The PARTY would also feel the pinch, we would not be able to divert any of the seamen's monies towards it. This must stop!"

And so in the final weeks of 1937 we see the astounding parallel of a union which was built by Job Action, condemning Job Action. And threatening expulsion to any member who advocated or used it. To further their plans they dug down in their bag of tricks and pulled out the old reliable anasthetic—Relief. (Shades of the M. W. I. U.)

Thus we enter the year 1938 and briefly appraise the existing conditions in the maritime situation. On one hand we have a numerically powerful union—The N.M.U. Under the dictatorship of the Stalinists, a union whose policy is commited by the present officials to follow the party line. Where direct action is forbidden; the threat of expulsion being held over the head of any who dare to use it. A union which is making relief the paramount issue. A union with great economic strength, wasting it. And insiduously spreading the doctrine of a political party as the cure for the present chaotic conditions throughout the land.

A new entry into the picture is the newly formed A. F. of L. Seamen's Union. (The second in less than a year.) With a membership of possibly 5,000 mostly young, untrained seamen. A "union" with plenty of financial backing, a potential strike breaking agency. A nonentity.

And last but not least the Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union of the I.W.W. Numerically small, handicaped by lack of good speakers and finances. Its members are tried and proven, in the crucible of waterfront wars. By far the most enlightened of the maritime workers, they are spreading their message slowly but surely along the waterfronts. Hastening the day when all crafts, all coasts will be organized in the ONE BIG UNION.

A RADICAL IS MADE

By Beetee

"What makes a radical anyhow?"

We were lying around the fireplace, he on the davenport, I scattered over one chair and part of another. The room was dark but for the flaming glow of the fire. It was warm. We had eaten well and hoisted one or two. We had temporarily settled our differences of opinion in a rush of words, interruptions, raised voices—as though each feared he would not get a chance to get in his views before time ended. Pages from life were opening and closing, reminiscences, people, and ding philosophy.

My companion soloed a while and then, getting no answer, he kept right on, telling the story of how one rebel was made.

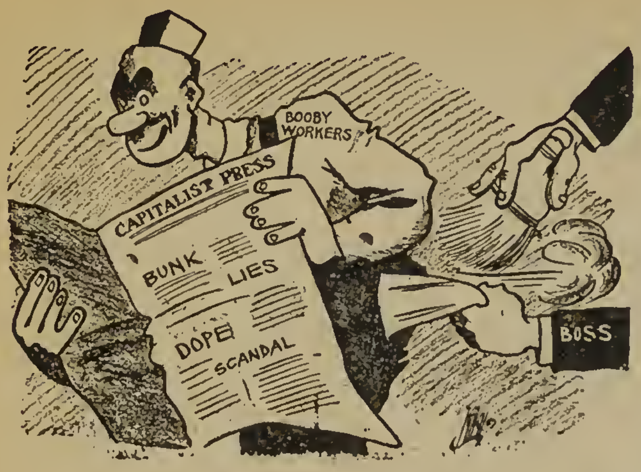
*

They are queer animals, radicals are. No one seems to know what makes them, or what makes them run when made. Some say that they are sensitive to the suffering around them, that they can't stand to see suffering and they become radical on that account. But I've seen some of them that wouldn't turn a hair at the most bloodcurdling affair. Others say it's because they are intelligent and know what it is all about and are motivated by the understanding that in a certain direction and in a manner of acting and talking to others, there lies a better way of living.

Well, I've met some that seemed to know nothing when you pinned them down to it and yet were as steadfast and as hard-fighting as those that thought they knew it all, or those who are forever bewailing the fate of some poor innocent brat thrown out to live on his own in this cruel world, and all that sob stuff. For instance, look at that fellow we were talking about a while ago.

I first ran into him in a can up in Fort William at the head of the Lakes. The government had banned freight train riding and had the mounties, those riders of the plain people, as the stiff calls them, who "get their man" by riding freight trains. He had just got out of doing thirty days for freight train riding in Sudbury and was picked up again at Nipigon and got thirty days more at the farm.

He was a big kid, about twenty years of age. Rather quiet. I didn't pay any attention to him until some fellow workers who got into a mixup at the Sioux Lookout government camp were transferred to Fort William. Their coming had been heralded and was looked forward to with interest as their activities had been getting quite a lot of publicity. The papers said they had run amok in riot and that one of them had tried to kill a "provie" with an axe. That was all lies, of course, but still they had the reputation.



It was an industrial farm we were in, run dormitory style which gave us a good chance to get together and talk. Well, those fellow workers got more questioning and advice on how they should have acted by the rest of the fish than they did from the bulls and judge. What was the I. W. W.? What did they want to bother about things like that for, worrying about the poor saps that didn't know how to make it? They could speak, they were wise guys that should get into some racket that paid. What did the wobs want anyhow? Weren't they just like communists and athiests? They sound like Christ-killers one moment and Christ himself the next. How would the I. W. W. work? Would there be any police? This was an important question. How about money? And women? Hah, it wouldn't work. The I. W. W. is crazy.

Lesson's in Jail

Every time a bunch got together it started all over again. And the fellow workers would bat it out with them over and over until "Tamarack Slim," the Oxford graduate screw, would annouce that they must foregather somewhere else.

The big kid would ask questions and listen and ask some more. He had a brother, a garment worker in Toronto who, he said, talked like the fellow workers at times.

There was a long-haired kid, in for riding freights too, who smart-cracked and capered around like I don't know what. He was skinny and sickly looking but seemed a pretty solid rascal. He was always playing sick and wouldn't work.

The big fellow kept looking up the fellow workers when they were by themselves and ask more questions. Some of the scissorbillest did that too. Someone radioed in the new General Strike pamphlet and we gave it to him to read. He came back and wanted to know if a libertarian was the same as a libertine which he had been reading about in "The Hush," a scandal sheet from Toronto.

When he was going out we gave him some letters to get out for us. Bill, one of the swampers who always boasted that he never worked for a living but made it boosting (he didn't count the years he put in jails as working) came to me with a look in his eyes as though he had seen the second coming and said:

"You never can tell about these guys. The last one I ever expected would leave his weed, passed it to me as he left. The big shoniker kid gave me a deck and a half."

Well, I thought, he has done a good turn for the reputation of his race and then just forgot about him. Just leaving tobacco in the jail when you leave doesn't make a radical.

About a year later I ran into him again. He came into the hall at Port Arthur just as the pulp workers' strike was due to break that fall. It appears that when he came out he went right over to the hall and lined up. He stayed on the picket line all through that strike and was one of those that took that 18-hour hike in below zero weather to catch the scabs in the camp before they were out of bed and to drive them out of the camp.

That winter he worked in the slave camps and he must have made every one of them that one winter. He was no sooner in one than he would get into an argument with the push and out he would be sent. Or he would get to talking about what should be done with the slave camps and they would give him his time. Several times, because he got quite hot when saying good bye to the push, they sent for the provincials but he made it out in time.

Finally they caught up with him at the air port camp at Nakina. They gave them clothes in the airport camps, old army issue; but as he lasted only a few days before the inevitable argument. They wanted to take the clothes off him. He wouldn't give them up and a provie was rushed in to arrest him. They took him to the town lockup but the camp workers pulled a strike and wouldn't go back to work until they were assured that he would be released and allowed to keep the clothes. But in the meantime the provie piled him on a speeder and took him down to Long Lac and from there to Port Arthur on the train. They gave him another thirty days although no one knew where he was until he was let out. I remember reading an article of his in the Industrial Worker where he related that they took not only the government issue of clothes from him but also some of his others.

In 1935 I ran into him again in Toronto. He hadn't had much schooling but he had been reading a lot and had ideas by this time. The trouble was that he had read something of everything and hadn't got it all straightened out in exact order. He was het up about Swedenborg. He wasn't religious but he figured that Swedenborg gave him an idea how to talk to the fellows that were religious. He got wised up to the commies by now too. He had always been of the opinion that our talk about the commies was a little biased but now he had changed his mind. I don't remember just what it was about. He talked of money, and Tim Buck's wife, and that commie woman who got a rap out of Estevan with Sam Scarlett that time. Whether there were any grounds for his story or not they were in his bad books.

Making the Harvest

He was working at a warehouse and the A. F. of L. and the A. C. C. L. were trying to organize the drivers. The A. C. C. L. seemed to be winning out by their patriotic talk so we thought we would attend the next meeting. We didn't get very far after the speaker made it plain in answer to our question that the truck drivers would have to go through picket lines if they had a contract. I was asked out at this point and he soon after. He lost his job a couple of days later.

We knocked around together for a few weeks when we could but he didn't care for dancing or girls. He wanted to read and argue about the commies and the I. W. W. I got him some anarchist pamphlets from the libertarian group there and soon he was using this as ammunition against his opponents. He seemed totally wrapped up in clearing up this mess of capitalism. If he had stayed there a few weeks longer he was going to act as chairman for soap boxers coming through.

Heading for the harvest later that summer I ran into him again in Winnipeg with a speaker that had been running some sort of summer school in Sault Ste. Marie. He was going out to help some 110 dings do some soapboxing. As we were all going the same way we threw in together. The mounties were riding the freights again and we got put off somewhere between Portage and the 'Peg and the next day they ran us up the North Canadian National line. It took us about a week to get to Saskatoon and in the meantime we learned a good deal of one another. He was getting more bull headed and argumentive all the time. But he was backing up his arguments with more facts. The only time he could keep out of arguments was when he was singing songs out of the little red song book. Quite a few things happened, and in our discussion of them we learned how they fit in the makeup of things in general.

We missed the freight out of Saskatoon to Rosetown on the Goose Lake line and so hit the highway. A fellow in a car picked us up and before long the driver and I were in an argument on economics. The driver was sympathetic to Bible Bill's Social Credit outfit in Alberta, but as he said, "with reservations." I might have known from that last crack what he was but didn't wise up until later.

I kept hedging him on Marxian economics without mentioning Marx because this fellow had said that he had a farm and, in spite of what commies say, old Charlie Marx and farmers don't mix. After driving about an hour he made a turn off our road so he let us out. Before driving off he gave us quite a spiel on how he would like to carry on the conversation and wondering what a fellow like me was doing bumming rides. He then introduced himself as the ex-premier of the province of Saskatchewan. Anderson, I think his name was.

The next fellow that picked us up was a farm implement salesman and in good spirits. He started talking about the good times coming for him and what was wrong with the working man was that he wanted too much wages. High wages were harmful to the working man he claimed and went on to tell us of an incident to prove his point.

He hadn't done any selling worth anything until recently. And then it appears that some I. W. W. agitators started organizing the harvest hands around Rosetown and were going to demand $6.00 per day for a six-hour day. They were doing a lot of talking and arguing with the farmers that were wanting men for ten hours for $2.00. The farmers got so excited at the propsect of having to pay such high wages or having trouble with the I. W. W. that they had been placing orders for combines so they could do their own threshing without hiring any help. More combines were sold in that district in those few weeks than had ever been known to sell there before. When he told the story I recalled the statement of the capitalist economist, Andrew Ure, of a century ago, that inventions are a "creation destined to restore order among the industrious class" and he added, that "when capital enlists science in her service the refractory hand of labor will be taught docility."

The petty-capitalist-farmer was going to teach the harvesters docility with the combine. The salesman owed the I. W. W. delegates a cut on the commission.

When we got to Rosetown we found, sure enough, the 110 delegates had been there, and did plenty of talking and sticking up stickers. But then he had moved on. So we caught the local heading towards Druid. As it was getting dark it started to blow and then hail. We were set out at some station but as it was still blowing we decided to hold it down until morning.

Next morning we found we were at Plenty and we also found that someone else besides the harvest hand had been taught a little meakness. Here the delegates had been busy too and the farmers had been buying combines. Grain that otherwise would have been cut and stooked had been left to ripen fit for the combine. What the hail hadn't laid low, it had shelled. The harvest hands started heading away from this section right now. The delegates we were looking for had been here and plastered the town with stickers and had moved on but that same day doubled back to Dodsland only to have some townspeople sic the police on them and they got three months in Prince Albert for "defacing property" with stickers.

A Fighting Radical

The big fellow and I broke up here. Each thought he knew a good spot to harvest. He wrote me that winter from a slave camp in British Columbia and wanted to get something started but as the other fellow workers thought it useless, I let it go by the board. Someone told me he was back in Toronto and then the next thing I hear of him is a head in the Industrial Worker this summer reading **"Lou Walsh, Killed in Anti-Fascist Fight."**

He went to Spain and got bumped off. And you know who was there too? That long-haired kid that was in the Fort William jail farm where I met Lou. He had an article in the One Big Union Monthly later last summer, telling about it. I guess he has grown up by now and cut his hair.

"I'll tell you no one knows what makes a radical but the memory of those two kids always stops me blowing my top about the youth of today. You never can tell when you are talking to the radical of tomorrow."

He stopped. It was quiet. The fire was dying out. I peered sharply to see his face for his voice was strange when he said:

"Hell, I feel like I sent Lou to Spain and his death."

MODERN MURDER

By GUSSIE PERLMAN

(Dedicated to Sacco and Vanzetti)

They kill no men as they used to do,
It was too gruesome a sight
To send a being to his doom
From nature's loftiest height;
Or to let him cry and groan
Under a torch and flame;
It is an eternal horror
An everlasting shame.

Then came this age of science
With wisdom most sublime
This era of defiance
The pet child of all time.
They tactfully have modified
The implements of war
Nor would they stone,
Nor break a bone
As in the days of yore.

No mocking cries of children
No shrieks, nor women's tears—
A ticking clock,
An electric shock—
Allayed are all the fears.
The gods now well may envy
The efficiency of men
Who hush a life within an hour
Create and crush again.

Here is a gift to mankind,
A brother in the nude;
Dissect his heart, dissect his brain,
Pray, tell us was he good?
O! Great men, you pure fine souls,
You find he was misfit,
To spend a life in men-made goals,
Or eat some beggar's bit?

Here us, you, we're all misfit
We, who cannot sing of bigots' gains
Nor send our blessings to the skies,
Our songs of praise for tears and pains!
We who cannot sink
Into the greedy sphere
Of ego's might
We who seek to live as men,
We who wish to stand upright.

Now we misfits shall strike a blow
At the robbers of our bread,
Of every slave a man shall grow,
Every despot shall be dead!

FOR HIS MASTERS' SAKE

By

BOB TROCHET

Dedicated to Fellow Worker Harry Owens and other members of the I. W. W. who fought and fell in the Spanish Civil War

You, just a witless Nazi soldier, are cringing against the wall of a trench. It is afternoon. The sun is bronze through the smoke.

Six nights ago, after you refused to accept the invitation to freedom that fell from the Spanish skies in myriad leaflets that eclipsed the sun, those strange, untrained but courageous fighters of the C. N. T.-F. A. I. took up the challenge of your stubborn mercenary generals, and laid down a barrage. It rubbed out all the front line—all but the short stretch of trench that shelters you. It rubbed out the front line as neatly as Generalissimo Francisco Franco has, no doubt, rubbed it out on his battle map back in his safe headquarters by now. Apparently he has also rubbed out your trench, along with the rest of the line. He thinks you were shattered and buried. You are forgotten! Lost! In six days no communication has reached you, not even fire from the anti-fascist forces. They do not know you're there.

A stray bullet has nipped the top from your ear. It is festering, and the pain spreads throbbing through your head.

Your stomach aches with emptiness. Sunday morning, at about the time you might be listening to your new Nazi religion were you at home in Berlin, you sucked your last gritty crumb of hard-tack, and scooped up some of the oily slime from the trench-bottom to wash it down.

You are not alone. There are about a hundred others in the trench. Some of them are unhurt; some are badly wounded. All the antiseptic and bandages were needed for the wounded. You could get none for your clipped ear. That is why it is festering.

You are cringing against the wall. Karl is standing next to you. He is too dumb to cringe. Back home he worked pouring steel for Krupp. That swastica ring on his little finger is his reward for piling up more surplus value for the Munition Kings in twelve hours than any other worker in the industry. He almost lost his precious little ring when a piece of shrapnel splattered the end of his finger into the mud. But it hardly bothered him. He just sucked the stub for awhile, and then let it hang down at his side. A drop of blood comes from the raw end every minute or so and drops into the water at his feet. You watch it drop while the afternoon passes. The sun begins to set. Still the blood oozes and falls. The water was brown this afternoon; now it's reddish. But that does not matter. Karl has lots of blood. He is as big as a horse, and his hand, even without the little finger, is the size of a fat ham like your Mutter used to serve for Sunday dinner . . . And you hated ham more than you hated Jews who hate ham, too. You fool!

Soon it will be night. Then you will lie down in the bottom of the trench and try to sleep. Karl can sleep standing up, like a horse. You envy him.

There is a commotion a few yards down the trench. It is an epauletted officer elbowing his way through. He uses the face of a corpse as a stepping stone to keep his feet dry. "I need more men to run a wire back to the next trench," you hear him growl lowly.

You strain your ears to catch his words, and that hurts. You wish to your new Aryan gods he would talk louder.

"Those murderous anarchists don't know we're here," he explains, "but if we run for it they'll see us and wipe us out. They'll place us before a firing squad if we surrender.

Those leaflets about freedom for all are lies. Vicious lies! A trick!"

He is fearful lest you fascist soldiers desert. You did talk about dropping your guns after you read that C. N. T.-F. A. I. leaflet, remember? But this same officer talked you out of it, even as he is doing now. "If I send a runner, he'll have to risk coming back again. The only thing to do is lay a wire to regimental headquarters, and get instructions . . . Who'll volunteer?"

All this, you think, is going to take time. You want to get out quick. "Let's make the rush!" you say.

"Shut your loud mouth!" says the officer, shoving you against the wall. You hit your ear. You want to kill him.

But before you can do anything, Karl says, "I'll go."

The officer nods, looks at the sky. "In two hours." He goes back down the trench.

Soon it is dark. You have almost forgotten about the wire. Then somebody nudges Karl, and he walks away, down the trench. You do not see them go over the top with the wire, though you are watching. You think you are tired enough now to go to sleep, and lay down in the trench. The water is as cold as ice tonight . . .

Someone wakes you up. "They've stopped dragging the line," he says.

You sit up. "Did they make it?" The mud and water drips from your back.

"Don't think so. Only about a hundred yards of wire came off the reel."

He crawls away.

It begins to rain. You roll over on your side, and go back to sleep. The sky is grey all around when you wake up. The rain keeps you from drying. You are stiff and yet shivering with the cold. You squat in the trench, thinking of nothing. You wish. You wish you had gone out with Karl last night.

Comes evening, and you get your chance. The officer, slopping in the rain, asks for volunteers to pick up the end of the wire and carry it on through. Will you stay in this hole and rot consciously, or will you go as Karl did and rot as Karl is rotting, unconsciously? Possibly, you will get through. Anything is better than this.

"I'll go," you mumble.

"In two hours," hisses the officer.

You wait nervously. You are anxious to be gone. With tormenting reluctance night hedges in. Hasn't two hours passed yet? At last somebody nudges you. You follow him down the trench.

Someone else climbs over with you. A shadow. You don't notice who. You don't care.

You snake your way along on your belly, letting the wire slide through your hands to make sure there are no breaks. Every few yards it is held out of the muck by a forked stick, a tangle of wire, a little pile of rocks, anything that came handy when Karl was pulling it thru last night. Somewhere ahead is food, water, bedding, comparative safety. You wriggle faster.

You lose the wire. You search to find it. A break, clean cut, as though by shears. This must be the end of the wire. This is as far as Karl went with it. Not far. You grip the end and worm ahead.

It is time to locate a support. You reach out your arm and feel around. You touch something sticking up, but you can't tell what it is because the gumbo is thick on your hands, like heavy gloves. You sidle nearer to it. But it is dark. You wish there were more light to see. There is. A star-shell flashes overhead. You look quickly at the thing you have found. It is a dead fore-arm reaching straight out of the mud. A huge forearm . . . with a hand like a fat ham . . . on the end of it. Most of the little finger is gone, but a swastica ring hugs faithfully to the stub. "Karl said he would take it through," you say to yourself. You hook the wire over the bent thumb, and crawl on . . . to give your life to the class that stays at home and waits for you to win their wars. Even if you fight and win . . . **you** lose! You still have a master. You still are a wage-slave. Perhaps, an unemployed and hungry one.

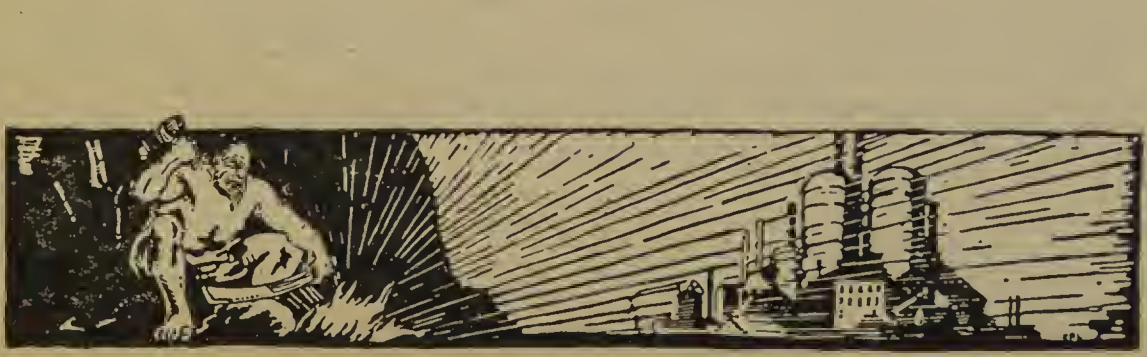
If you only knew the officer lied. Those anarcho-syndicalists told truths. They invited you to fight for yourself and your class . . . for freedom from the ravages of the wage system. You do think it was strange an anti-fascist aviator should fly over your trench and drop upon you nothing more lethal than a leaflet. He might have blown you to bits. Too late to consider the C. N. T.-F. A. I. message now. The earth is drinking your blood as it spurts from your neck . . .

Epitaph to Dead Fascist Soldiers

Greater Stupidity No Worker Hath That He Lay Down His Life For His Economic Masters.

FINIS

Fascism cannot quell the cry
Of worker shouting "Viva! C. N. T.-F. A. I."
"Avajo Capitilissimo." "Avajo Franco!"
Our victory must come. Wage Slavery must go.
Viva Uno Gran Union De Los Trabajadores Industriales Del Mundo!



FACTFUL FABLES

By Covington Hall

All About Sitting in The Game

Once upon a time there was a Great Labor Statesman named Grand Chief Prenter. He rose to his Exalted Position by Seniority, that is to say, by his ability to hang on to his job until the guy next above him croaked. Then he stept into his shoes. The empties Prenter stept into were those of a still greater Wizard. His name was Grand Chief Stone, the originator of Business Unionism, which, to hear the Labor Statesmen tell it, was destined to give Socialism the Knockout Drops and make their version of Capitalism what it ought to be, a still greater blessing to all its beneficiaries.

The main idea seems to have been that the Unions would own the Banks and that the Brothers, being the Unions, would all get rich drawing Interest from Each Others' pockets, not to mention the Rents, Profits and Bonuses that would flow into the Altrurians' treasuries from coal fields, Florida swamps and Equitable Buildings, etc.

Hearing of the Plan to perfect the American Plan, the Saturday Evening Pest, official organ of the Best Babbitry, could not believe its ears. I don't blame them. Besides, the news sounded Too Good to be True, and Was. Anyhow, the Great Pest decided to Interview the Great Guy. It Did, the Interview running something like this:

"What, Mr. Prenter, is meant by Labor Capitalism?"

"Labor Capitalism means," replied Mr. Prenter, "that we of the Brotherhood are tired of sitting on the Sidelines and seeing all the Cream go to Capital. We have, therefore, decided to sit in on the Game and get our Fair Share of the products of Labor's toil."

"But how can you do that," inquired the astonished Pestman, "and at the same time Save our Country from Socialism?"

"Our operations," haughtily and confidently replied Mr. Prenter, "have proven that Marx and Lenin knew less about Economics than Gene Debs and Bill Haywood knew about Unionism. Beside Myself and my lamented Predecessor, all four were Pikers. We **know** what we are Talking About and they Didn't. They refused to Sit in On the Game. We welcomed the Opportunity to do so. And, what are the Consequences? Look at our Magnificent Business Enterprises. Look at our Chain of Banks stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Look at our fellow Labor Statesmen rushing to Get In On the Game before we get all the Gravy. Everywhere our Praise is being sung. Wall Street rings with Approval. All eyes are on Us because we have **Proven** that Labor **can** Sit In the Game with Capital and come out, not only with its Shirttails Intact, but with the Winnings. By so doing we have proved Marx and Lenin economic ignoramuses, Socialism false, and Saved our Country. It, our Country I mean, not Labor, owes us a debt of Gratitude it can never repay. However, the idea of Pay Day never entered our minds. Our motto always has been and still is **'Service'.**"

"Marvellous! Marvellous!! Marvellous!!!" cried the Pestman. "Wall Street cannot allow the Brotherhood to get it where the Gobbler got the Axe! What a Remarkable thing Business Unionism is!" And he rushed off and wrote a Great Story all about it in the Pest.

But, sad to relate, hardly were the Bonuses on the Equitable equitably distributed than the Good Thing Blew up. Banks busted everywhere and so fast that Uncle Sam had to finally declare a Moratorium in favor of the Financiers and, not only did Florida and California "land values" Not reach the Sky Blue and Beyond limit predicted by the Great Economic Astrologer Arthur Brisbane, but they shot nadirwards with sickening rapidity, whole shoals of Gudgeons and Suckers dropping off the Shoestring on their way to the Bottomless Pit. It was horrible! In fact it was worse, for there were the Facts affirmed by Marx and Lenin, Debs and Haywood staring the Union Businessmen in the face and coldly asking: "Well, what are You going to do about it—Sell the Workers another Share in the Shell Game, or tell them the Truth: **that The System is Finished and that their only hope of salvation from wholesale starvation is through One Great Revolutionary Union that will forever end the Game of Grab and Gimme?"**

Moral

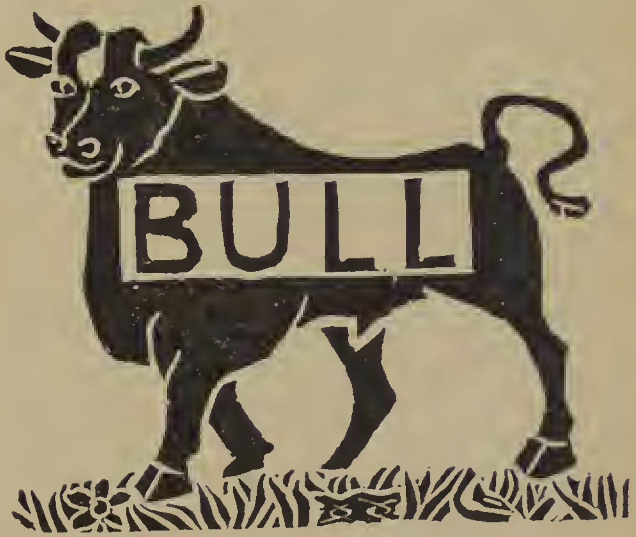
The Interests of Capitalist and Laborer may be Mutual, but, as the Sainted Redbeard hath said: "When the Lion and the Goat lie down together the Goat is usually inside the Lion." Yea, verily!

P. S.—Who ever heard of a Union of Goats binding themselves by Contract to help keep Lionism a Going Concern? Nobody. Unless they are two-legged, Goats ain't that dumb.

Everybody's Candidate

By Card No. X22063

We take great pleasure in introducing the Honorable Mr. Cureall, "Everybody's Candidate" for the office of President, Vice-President, Senator, Representative, and what have you. His colossal program for attending to everything at once in a manner guaranteeing to please everybody is, on this memorable occasion first given to the public.



Ladies and Gentlemen: The problems confronting us are many. It is my humble intention, as your servant, to solve them all. I shall solve the taxation problem by putting an end to all taxes. At the same time it is my intention to balance the national budget and to give each state and community from the surplus revenue of the government sufficient funds to balance their own budgets and to undertake any expenses that they deem necessary. I am prepared to guarantee honest, efficient, economical, businesslike government—and for the first time that such government has ever been offered to any people. I intend to drive the wolf from the door of every American home—put five cars in every garage if you want that many and seven chickens in every pot if you want that too—and thereby end this buyers' strike that is causing such grave concern to the business class of America.

Some may say that such objects, though worthy, are mere political promises, incapable of fulfillment, and mutually contradictory. Bear with me, ladies and gentlemen, and I shall show you that this is not so. This is a practical program—to cope with the many serious problems confronting us today, sweeping over us like a great tidal wave, and gnawing at the very roots of our civilization like a rat!

First of all—to balance our budget—to solve the problem of taxation by abolishing taxes—and at the same time provide honest, efficient, businesslike, and economical government. The only way to do any of these things is to do them all. If elected I shall do them all by the simple expedient of abolishing the government.

In the place of our filibustering Senate and our House of Representatives, in the place of our coon-hunting vicepresident and our fishing president, in the place of all this complicated mechanism that has been built up by our forefathers to give us bigger and better headaches, I propose to substitute just one public officer. And to insure the preservation of that great democracy born on Bunker Hill and preserved at Gettysburg, he shall be elected by popular acclamation—and I shall run for the office. His title will alike manifest his outstanding position and his businesslike character, for he shall be called the Lord High Auctioneer, the only public official in American life.

It shall be his great duty to conduct an auction in the privilege of writing the laws of America. This auction shall be carried on in the presence of the public, and be broadcast over every network of the nation, thus assuring responsible honest operation of this greatly simplified government of ours. The question of a tariff on cane sugar is before us, let us say. Under this new dispensation the right to set that tariff will go to the highest bidder. Any economist will tell you that the cane and beet sugar corporations will pay for this right under open competition, just what it is worth to them, no less and no more. Consequently they will have no kick coming. And since the price they pay will go into the public treasury, instead of as heretofore, into the pockets of the legislative bodies, the public that they gouge through such legislation will have no justified complaint either.

In short, instead of paying congressmen for the laws they want, they will pay the public treasury for the laws. Instead of the crooked, dark, and devious ways of the lobbyist and the politician, honest, public auctioneering will determine the result. Please, ladies and gentlemen, do not misunderstand me as considering that our politicians have been dishonest. They have been among the most exploited men in this country, giving the corporations laws worth far more than these corporations ever paid for them.

That is my program for honest, efficient, business-like economical government. It will save us the great overhead of having a government, by doing away with the government. It will provide unexampled revenues for the public treasury—so much revenue that no taxes will be needed, and thus there will be no tax problem, and there will be an abundance of funds to carry on great works for the public good.

* * *

We are in the midst of a great business recession. Our economic life is far more upset by the great Buyers' Strike than it has ever been upset by any strike of industrial labor. There is a simple remedy for this—a remedy that is nothing more than justice. We live in a great credit system, with the banks as the great agencies for administering this credit. All that I ask is that they administer it equitably.

I do not ask that they become unbusinesslike and give us money without proper evidence of credit —I merely ask that they treat all evidence of credit alike. With one great exception they already do this—but it is the great exception that causes this Buyers' Strike, this present Recession, and the recent Depression. This one great exception is this —while every other evidence of credit is honored at the banks, the most common evidence of credit —these little bills that we receive the first of each month in envelopes with windows in them—like this one from my butcher, and this one from my dentist, and this one from my grocer, and all the rest of these bills that have perplexed me sorely just as they perplex every other person receiving them—these are evidences of credit not respected by the banks. All that I ask is this: that a law be passed requiring the banks upon presentation of these bills, to cash them.

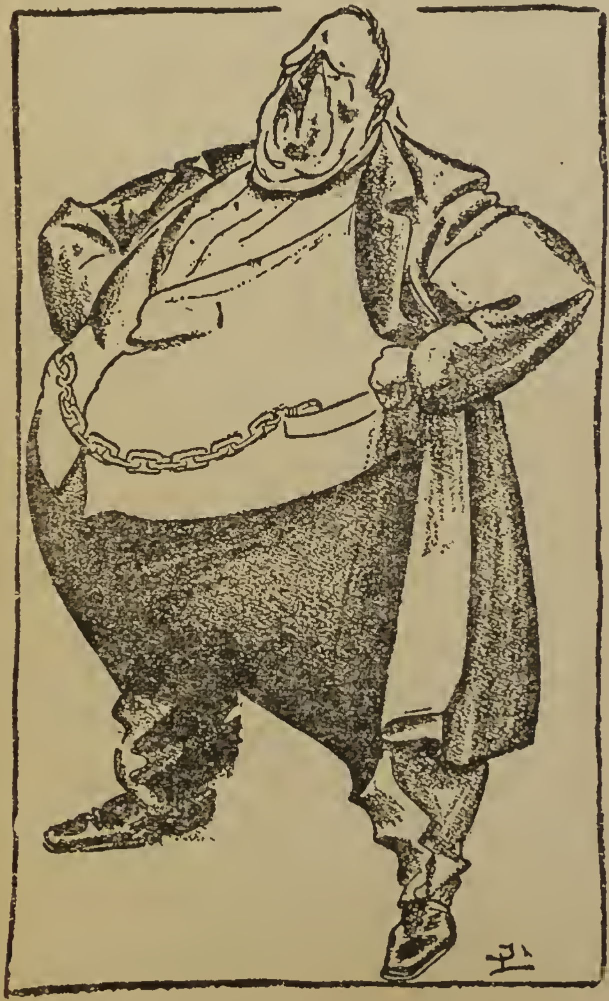
Think of the simple beauty of this arrangement! What objection would you have to getting these bills, if you could take them down to the bank and cash them? What hesitation would you have to buy a car, and thus keep our auto industries running, if you knew that when the bill came, you could take it down to the bank to cash it, instead of having to pay it? And of course the banker would extend credit to the store for the amount of the bill, and the storekeeper accordingly benefit. The banker would send it in to a Federal Reserve bank, and so on, and so on, according to our practice with other evidences of credit. It is all so perfect, so complete, and withal, so simple. It is nothing more than justice to all, and special privileges to none. And it will solve the great economic problems confronting America today.

* * *

Now as to war. Since the Kellogg pact of 1928 we have been saved the great horror of seeing one nation declare war upon another. No war has been declared since that time—instead governments just send armies out to kill people elsewhere instead. Many are duly horrified at the daily reports we have heard from Abyssinia, Spain and China of the terrible suffering of the wounded, the agonies of the dying, the destruction of homes and whole cities. We all share this joint horror of war, and it is only partly mitigated by the assurance we receive from each one of the so-called aggressor nations, that their purpose and ideals in these military expeditions are among the noblest and most worthy that mankind could entertain. We are assured by many of the great leading minds that war is necessary to the full life of man, that pacifism would make us a pack of moral weaklings. This weighty consideration must be borne in mind in any attempt to cope with the problem of war or to determine our foreign relations as a great civilized nation in a community of nations. We are perpetually reminded that we cannot maintain the prestige of our country in a world of warriors if we too are not a warlike nation armed to the hilt. And that too is something to remember. Again our great industrialists and our great labor organizations like the great and glorious American Federation of Labor are mindful of the amount of industrial activity brought about by big-navy programs and by war in general. The great advantages of war in this respect beyond all other industrial activity, is beyond dispute—for no building of warships ever gluts the markets, and no war ever results in an overproduction of anything. Even this new labor organization that has appeared on our horizon, though not like its parent federation, as yet openly pledged to a greater navy program, has entered upon the field of our foreign relations, and urged a boycott upon Japan—the Chinese some years ago adopted the same policy with the present invigorating results that have so stimulated our scrap-iron and other industries. All these factors, I say, must be borne in mind, and with them the horrible spectacle of the wounded and the dying, suffering the supreme agonies for the prestige of the governments that have thrown them at each other's throats.

I have a solution that meets all these considerations and warrants the hearty approval of us all —the man who objects to being shot, the man who objects to shooting others, the wife who objects to becoming a widow, the industrialist who seeks a market in war, the great labor organizations that also seek the stimulus of militarism to increase industrial activity, and the great minds and philosophers who appreciate the moral grandeur of men giving up their lives in war, and the necessity of belligerence to our integrity as a nation in a community of equally civilized and warlike nations.

I say, let America take the lead in this moral grandeur by starting a great Crusade in which all the nations can be allies fighting side by side, instead of against each other. In that way no one will be killed, which is a distinct advantage over any other type of war. To have an object to such a crusade, worthy of the great sacrifice of means and materials, I propose that we rally the nations of the world for the Conquest of Atlantis, that great lost continent between the old world and the new! What could be a nobler vision! By what other enterprise could the glory of the stars and stripes be more enhanced! By what other means could American hegemony in the politics of the world at large be more readily achieved?



It would be a great Crusade in which not a single life need be lost. Sending our battle ships and tanks and great cannon to the bottom of the ocean is precisely what every pacifist has dreamed of as a "consumation devoutly to be wished"—and there would be no end to the market for war materials. The glory and grandeur of war would be there—the romance of the Crusade—and if perchance a general or two were left behind, what monuments and memorials we could raise to the great men who gave all in the Conquest of Atlantis! Lest any carping critic complain that there is nothing there for us, let me answer him in advance: What is there for us anywhere that we can get by war that we can't get much, much cheaper by buying it in the good old American way, instead of fighting for it, and then paying both the war debt and the previous owner for it afterwards?

* * *

These are the great problems confronting us, and my simple and fool-proof and eminently practical solutions for them. There are other problems, and I have solutions equally simple, and equally satisfactory to everybody, for all of them—for I am Everybody's Candidate for Everything. I cannot touch upon them all, and must content myself with this fundamental program of no taxes, balanced budget, abundance for all, cheap, honest, economical government, and a foreign policy for America that would be the glory of all time.

But as I was coming here this evening, I was approached by an old lady—a dear friend of mine —who besought me, with tears in her eyes to do something about the crime problem. She was not afraid that anyone would attack her, or rob her, or kidnap her, for she is old and has nothing of which she could be robbed. She is afraid that her son will become a criminal, for, as she tells me, her son "hangs around street-corners, and that is where gangsters and criminals are bred." So again I approach this problem of the crime wave in the same simple way with which I have coped with these other great problems. Since crime is born on the street corners, we will do away with the street corners, by making all the streets round like circles.

Remember, when election day comes around, that I am yours for a square deal. Thank you!

On Boring From Within

By
BERT RUSSELL

In which it is clearly shown that we cannot Build a new union by working inside an old one.

The advent of the C. I. O. on the American labor scene has been the grounds for the rebirth of scholastic arguments long thought crucified on the cross of experience and fittingly buried with the rest of the superstitions and myths of the primitive strivings of the wage workers. Aside from the possible immaculate conception of the Saviour, John L. Lewis—of his being born again after being bathed in the blood of refractory miners—the ghost which the Faithful are most ardently trying to blow life into, is the historically discredited doctrine of "Boring From Within."

Though at the danger of being burned at the stake as a materialistic heretic and non-believer in the revelations of St. Marx and his desciples, Lenin and Stalin, Hayes and Berger, Foster and Browder, a review of labor history in relation to this doctrine is in order. Experimental science of the twentieth century has more to offer us than has the jesuitical logic and dialectics of the dark ages.

As soon as the A. F. L. became the foremost labor organization of America, numerically if in no other way, the socialists set out to capture control of it to further party aims.

In 1893, they were successful in putting over in the A. F. L. convention a program including "the collective ownership by the people of all the means of production." But the following year, 1894, Gompers, opposed to the socialists, maneuvered successfully in having this rescinded. Apparently as compensation for this setback, the socialists were able to elect their candidate for president of the Federation. Gompers, however, resumed this position the following year.

This frustration, on the eve of success as it seemed, spurred the Socialist Labor Party to officially forsake the salvation of the A. F. L. and to promote the dual paper organization, the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. A faction, however, tantalized by their near-success retained faith in changing the A. F. L. and the difference between the factions culminated in the formation of the Socialist Party, 1900, which adopted officially the policy of boring from within the A. F. L.

Socialists in the A. F. of L.

Despite their exorcism of dual unionism and wailing allegiance to the Federation, Gompers scorned the socialists and never missed a chance to give them a raking over the coals. But he was canny enough to use their support to counter-balance the growing sentiment favoring the progressive groups which formed the I. W. W. in 1905.

The socialists' influence in the A. F. L. grew. In 1911, their candidate for president of the Federation, Hayes, received 5073 votes, against Gomper's 11,974. In 1912, the socialists lead the industrial union advocates in polling 5929 votes against the 10,934 craft union votes in the convention. Their party membership grew to 110,000 and votes polled in the presidential eleection, 1912, were 1,000,000.

The socialist leaders became impatient. The realization of a party similar to the German Social Democrat with its party funds, its officials and well paid jobs, its power to demand some of the politicial patronage-dispensing authority of the regular parties, was just around the proverbial corner. There seemed to be just one fly in the ointment to their quick ascendency with A. F. L. support. Though the political parties were asked out of the I. W. W. in 1908, many members of the I. W. W. still placed some confidence in independent workers' political action and the means such a party offered in putting across working class propaganda. These members and their sympathizers maintained membership in the S. P. or supported it in other ways. Bill Haywood was a member of the S. P. executive board. This was a touchy problem in the party's relationship with the A. F. L. and as absolute proof of their loyalty to the principles of the A. F. L. the party convention, 1912, virtually ruled out the I. W. W. members. The I. W. W. members and their sympathizers left.

With this positive evidence of their good intentions, the socialist leaders turned hat in hand to the A. F. L. officials for praise and reward. They got none. The craft union officials figured it out this way: "If the socialists don't believe in interfering with our racket by running around with those I. W. W., and they promise to be faithful to us, what is the use of giving them anything? Any gifts we have to spare we had better give to those we are not so sure of."

From this time on the Socialist Party lost influence not only in the A. F. L. but as a political party.

Another Party Tries

The communists who after the war took up the boring from within methods had an even more dismal experience. Without the understanding bred from experience of the old socialists, steeped in the rule or ruin policy of the Moscow Messiahs, controlled entirely by intellectuals out of touch with the working class, the communists did little but confuse and disrupt. Where they did gain success in taking over the officialdom of a union they milked the treasury for party funds; or the ones elected as officials promptly forgot their former radical views, if they ever had any, and used the powers in their hands for their individual good.

Aside from the political parties, boring from within had other advocates who had less influence. Foster's Syndicalist League seems to have exhausted itself by publishing the pamphlet "SYNDICALISM." Moreover, there is little evidence that even Foster himself was affected deeply with revolutionary syndicalism in his organizing activities in the lumber, steel and packing industries. He gained a seat in the officialdom and retained it at the price of endorsing and playing ball as official ball is played.

The anarchists followed the policy of each to his own individual conception, helping, obstructing, nullifying, and duplicating the work of others. As officials of unions their actions vary greatly from their ideals. We see anarchists on the executive board of the International Ladies Garment Workers fraternizing with politicians and working hand in hand with the state drawing up codes for the government to enforce.

It was not the labels of socialist, communist, anarchist, or syndicalist, with all their hysterically imagined implications, that accounted for the disappointing showing of the borers. Even those innocent of radical beliefs, those popularly referred to as liberals or progressives, failed equally as brilliantly to reform the conservative unions even the slightest. Those quaint persons, ex-wobs, ex-socialists, the ordinary run of scissorbills, who tell us that they are working for the same things as the I. W. W. but are doing it in a "different and better way" have nothing to show for all their efforts of pushing "good men" into the office of union leadership. After seeing their heroes one by one go the way of all flesh afflicted with piecarditis and exercise of authority, it must be plain to them that they are kidding no one but themselves and might just as well wave the red flag over their march to defeat.

Why Boring Fails

Why have all these groups and individuals failed to achieve the metamorphosis of the conservative unions into revolutionary industrial unions?

Primarily because a collective bargaining agency is an institution of capitalism and can function only in this way if it is to exist. Woven of and into the fabric of the "the catch as catch can, no holds barred" competitive system it functions as do all other capitalist institutions. Likened to a capitalist bank it may be more clearly shown. The function of a bank is to arrange debts in such a way that the investors are assured a profit on their investment. Now it is possible that a philanthropist could be appointed as the official of the bank, but to carry into his every day banking operations his philanthropic ideas by loaning money without interest, or charitably cancelling debts, would inevitably lead to the destruction of the banking institution and not, as the borers from within assume, to a reform of the bank to a philanthropic institution. Aside from all doubt as to the bankers' sincerity and philanthropic integrity, the outcome is seen to be inevitable if the bank is to continue to operate.

So with the A. F. L., C. I. O., and other conservative unions. Allow for the sake of argument, radicals could be officials of the conservative unions. They could not put their radical policies into practice without destroying these capitalist collective bargaining agencies. Those who have attempted to do so with these outfits, at the expense of their functioning as collective bargaining agencies, have just sowed disruption and dissension and only by their removal or the changing of their ideas, have the organizations managed to survive. Look at the C. I. O.—A. F. L. rumpus and the weakness it has caused in the ranks of labor's collective bargaining agencies. The whole cause is, not as some would have us imagine, a fight between craft and industrial unionism, the attempt of political aspirant to make a collective bargaining agency function as something foreign to its nature, as a political vote catching machine.

Political parties are not interested in building revolutionary industrial unionism but are motivated in their boring from within relations to the conservative union by one thing; namely, the necessity of obtaining a secure mooring among the working population upon which to anchor their party.

Political Party Roots

Political parties must needs have their roots in an economic group, whether that party be republican, democrat, progressive or socialist. The two old line parties are rooted in the economic groups of the vested interests. Where so-called labor political parties have attained any degree of stableness, as the Independent Labor Party in England and the Social Democrat parties in many countries of Europe, it has been only by sinking suckers into the necks of labor unions. The labor unions supply the blood and substance of these parties and only at the expense of their own health.

The labor union's role, in political party plans, is a source of campaign funds and as substantial evidence of their control of votes by which the labor politicos can bribe the old line parties for favors and some share in the political patronage of job dispensing for party lights. To gain this evidence of strength does not require building rank and file revolutionary industrial unionism. It merely sequires the control of the officialdom of the labor unions. This is adequate for their political purposes. The training and education of the union members to the benefits of rank and file control and the development of their abilities to control industry for their own use, as revolutionary industrial unionists propose, is not only superfluous to the needs of a political party but is an actual menace to its aims.

The exercise of rank and file control would nullify all the benefits of gaining control of the official machine. Even where the political partisans have appeared progressive by supporting the industrial form as a substitute for the craft form of unionism it has been merely as a political slogan or to facilitate better control of the members for the party when it should arise to official ascendency. Their cries for the industrial form of unionism can be likened to the cuckoo advocating to other birds the building of good nests so that later on the cuckoo can lay its eggs in them.

For the run down at the heels intellectuals and aspiring ex-workers, the control of the finances and votes of the labor unions would make for the realization of their dream of a third party with well-paid jobs and authority to dispense patronage to the hangers on. Revolutionary industrial unionism would only blast the hopes of this political borer from within. If there was chance of this kind of success with this tactic they would not want it.

Speech Making Leaders

Foster depended for success on the methods that the syndicalists adopted in France, of gaining control of the official positions and passing resolutions and making speeches about revolutionary syndicalism. But syndicalists prove no different from the socialists and communists after being in office for any length of time; and in the land of Foster's inspiration, France, the C. G. T. officials were equal to Gompers and the Social Democrats of Germany in following the masters' wishes in regards the World War. A resolutionary-speech-making leadership does not make a revolutionary-feat-making rank and file, nor leadership either.

The pitfall to even temporary success of the borers from within appears to be the contaminating effects of the spoils of office, the exercise of authority and high salaries. Even their venerated prophet, St. Karl, did not reveal a revolutionary nostrum for the poisonous effect of officialdom, and it remains the dragon on guard against the Knights of the Bore. Man will protect a woman from everyone but himself, it is said. The opportunist will protect the interests of the rank and file likewise.

Any influence that the political borers have attained in their activities has been while they were tacitly supporting dual unionism. The hight of the socialist influence was in the '90s when the ghost of the Knights of Labor was not entirely laid to rest and up to 1912 while they were still friendly to the I. W. W. The communists have time and again tried to bolster their prestige by forming dual unions and then running them back into the A. F. L. both before and with the T. U. U. L. splurge. And even their present prestige, such as it is, is only because of the dualism of the C. I. O. Immediately the S. P. cut itself off from the I. W. W. officially its influence waned. And without doubt, on the consummation of the C. I. O.—A. F. L. peace the communists will go as flat as a pricked balloon. And they know it and will stand in the way of such a peace.

But without organization not even situations favorable to getting to first base with their political ball can be taken advantage of as has been shown conclusively in the development of the C. I. O. Even though the progressive elements and those who know what the score is, far outnumbered them; the politicians control by dint of their organization.

Whoever would influence the conservative union member must, as history shows, have organization, avoid all contact with the germs of officialdom and promote dual unionism. But even then, it still remains that a capitalist institution, whether bank or labor union, cannot become a revolutionary institution or even part of the new society. Such an attempt would destroy the institution, as the politicians are doing with the A. F. L.—C. I. O. without building anything to take over whatever functions are necessary to the working people.

The Job on Hand

Neither the banks nor collective bargaining agencies need be the objects of destructive intentions. As capitalism is destroying itself, so it is destroying the institutions that make it up. The job on hand is to build the structure of the institutions that will carry on when capitalism sinks to its doom. Therefore, it could not be a dual organization, as the C. I. O. is dual to the A. F. L., but would be of entirely different structure and aims, not attempting to duplicate the capitalist functions of conservative unions. In short, it would be the Industrial Workers of the World. The material for this purpose is at hand, the resources, the working men and women.

To destroy any of the institutions of capitalism, whether they be the A. F. L.—C. I. O. financial institutions or industrial administrative agencies, without having first built an organization structure to carry on whatever necessary functions these institutions were caring for, as well as to carry on the new responsibilities of the new conditions, is to court disaster as surely as it would be to tear down an old house before a new structure has been built in which to move. To bore from within the old structure in an attempt to build a new one is fruitless. But while in the old structure, we can build the new one by its side and the necessary arrangements can be quickly completed when the old capitalist system and its institutions, the banks, the industrial administrative agencies, and collective bargaining agencies collapse in decay.

"By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."

The "Uncontrollables" in Spain

By SOPHIA FAGIN

These last few days you have been reading—with a great deal of interest, I am sure, the newspaper accounts of the fighting going on in Teruel. You have been cheered by every victory, especially in the light of the long period of military failures from which the loyalists are now emerging.

But regardless how concerned you may have been about news from the front, if you were dependent upon the ordinary sources of information, I am almost positive that you are not familiar with the nature of the military leader whose division is responsible for the decisive loyalist victory. His name is Vivencos. Before the revolt of Franco, he was a transport worker in Barcelona, and an active member in the anarcho-syndicalist movement—the CNT. When Franco revolted, Vivencos joined the other thousands of CNT men in their march to wrest Aragon from fascist clutches, after they had crushed fascism in Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia.

It was not long before his courage and innate ability as a fighter were recognized, and he became the commander of a column of 200 men. As the war went on, the prestige of his column rose to its present status which is second to none in the military ranks of the loyalist forces. Certainly, you will agree, others who have done less have gotten greater commendation; but the nature in which the news is repressed and the sources from which it is gotten have so worked that the knowledge of this man and many more like him are kept from the reading public.

The extent of this conspiracy of silence can be estimated if we recognized that the majority of the military leaders on the Aragon front are anarcho-syndicalists. Yet, if your only source of information about syndicalism in Spain is the capitalist, or the Communist (Stalinist) press, or even often the liberal journals, you are likely to associate the term anarcho-syndicalist with the word "uncontrollable."

At the beginning of the struggle, when reporters got their information from more direct sources, or through direct observation, the tone of the articles of liberal writers about anarcho-syndicalists in Spain was somewhat different. Now when "information" is merely the interpretation of some intermediate agency, it has often little relation to the facts

One of the reasons I want to discuss the Spanish labor organization, the CNT, is that it is so completely misunderstood, and the cooperative weakness of the corresponding organization in this country does not successfully counteract the misinformation by other partisans. It has thus come to pass that the militants of the CNT-FAI, the most realistic and fervent anti-fascist fighters—those who recognize that only through a revolution in the rear can the war be carried out successfully in the front and its victories gather significance—it is they against whom the slogan "uncontrollable" has been often directed.

The origin of the slogan is not clear; its natural habitat seems to be in the communist, liberal, and capitalist press. It is a dirty and dangerous word because it has no limits and is so ill-defined that you can use it against anyone whom you cannot control, regardless of the nature of your control or how it is opposed. It is like the slogan, "slacker" used against conscientious objectors during the World War—it means nothing special, but generates a great deal of heat and no light.

Another reason for which I wish to discuss the anarcho-syndicalists in Spain, is that they were among the first to oppose fascism on the battlefront of Spain and they did so with such a complete fearlessness that Ralph Bates, the English novelist and their political critic has had to say, the proverb for impossible bravery in the future must be "as brave as a Spanish anarchist."

Moreover, their influence was probably the greatest single force in the Spanish labor movement, and their teaching determined the tone of all Spanish radicalism.

And finally I want to talk about them because their efforts at social reconstruction have met with much material and moral success among the masses of the Spanish people, and they have begun a trend toward the liberation of all Spain. They are creating a new revolutionary pattern which does not make oppression a sina qua non of liberation, and dictatorship a first step to social and economic democracy. . .

* * *

On July 19, 1936, as we all know, one of the very popular undeclared wars of modern history, broke out in Spain. It took the form of a military uprising of the army generals, who compensated for their lack of home talent with Italian brigades, German war machinery and the paid donations of the Moorish Mohammedans—all generously offered to save Christianity from the infidel and politics from the radical.

But for many previous centuries, another undeclared war has constantly been fought, now overtly, now covertly, on Spanish soil—a war less publicized, it is true, but none the less serious; a war with as bloody battles, as significant international complications, as complete an allignment of forces. And this other undeclared war, this basic undeclared war—is the CLASS WAR!

In Spain the war of the classes was particularly acute. The peasants lived as peons, or oriental farm hands, on the vast properties of the feudal lords. It was no unusual thing for them to hunt weeds and dry grasses as their only nourishment in the frequent times of famine. The industrial workers likewise suffered under extremely low living standards and the numbers of unemployed were high. Reliable authorities of every political complexion assert that Spain's middle class was so small as to be almost negligible.

On the opposite side in the class struggle there were the three parasitical classes of the church, the army and the aristocracy. The Spanish catholic church has a long history of wealth and reaction. In Spain there was one priest to every 900 in the population, a figure to be compared with Italy's one to every 20,000. The Church has been the chief capitalist, landlord and banker of Spain. As the greatest landowner, it naturally has opposed all land reform. As an investor in industrial enterprises, and the leading banker, it fought the organization of labor. Down to 1931, it controlled at least half of Spain's meagre school system, and with 45 per cent of the people illiterate (compared with about 4 per cent in France) the church opposed every educational improvement. The moral disgrace of the church is testified to by the selling of papal indulgences at a few pesetas each; (and when signed by an arch-bishop they could be had at bargain prices in stores announcing, "Bulas are cheap today"); their unpopularity is further evidenced by the fact that the typical dirty joke in Spain, corresponding to our "travelling salesman" number here, is about a priest. (Small wonder that every uprising for the last 100 years has involved the burning of churches and the killing of clericals!)

The army was equally degenerate. Its only function since the 16th and 17th centuries when Spain was *the* great colonial power has been to suppress internal disorders and to provide an officers' caste as a catch-all for the idle sons of the rich. Its ratio of officers to men is about three times as high as in the French army. Completing the line-up on the side of reaction is the aristocracy—the absentee landowners, the few industrialists, the remains of a nobility—all entirely dissociated from the Spanish masses.

Anytime the workers or peasants tried to improve their miserable conditions (and their uprisings were frequent) landlord, clergy and army ganged-up together to preserve law and order and wage slavery. When the republican government came to power for the second time in 1936 through legitimate electoral channels, and mildly and vaguely threatened their hegemony, the army officers decided that things had gone too far; this despite the fact that the first republican government of 1931-3 had done little more than write a very pretty constitution of which even a mild democrat has admitted:

> "The proclamation of a republic and the adoption of a constiution again settled nothing. The old feudalism remained. The village bosses—the caciques—still held their power, the Church still controlled wealth and education, the monarchists still dominated the army, the wealthy few still owned the land."*

It is true that this government and the popular front government had made some effort to gradually relieve the army of its topheavy useless officialdom, but the half-hearted nature of this rejection is amply described in that realistic novel by Elliott Paul called *Life and Death in a Spanish Town:*

> "When the government that succeded Alfonso's was organized, Azana, who as president in the tragic days of 1936 was made Minister of War. He knew that the Spanish army had been built up by the monarchists to take care of sons and relatives and that of the inordinate number of officers there were few who were not hostile to republican ideas. Instead of disbanding the army, which was of no use except as a threat to free government, Azana proceeded more cautiously. He retired the officers who were most flagrantly hostile to his regime, but in order not to stir them up too much he consented to pay them their full wages as long as they lived. They had done practically nothing when they were on active service, but that did not satisfy their ideal. The prospect of full pay, and no work whatsoever, was alluring. It bolstered up their disrespect of a government of the people and made them feel that their enemies, the people, were afraid of them." (p. 37-8)

So we find one of their number, General Sanjurjo going to Berlin in 1936 to discuss ways and means with Mr. Hitler, and returning a few weeks before the uprising. We find workers organizations constantly warning the government of the militaristic plot but the government knew these men personally, and felt "They couldn't—they wouldn't—do this to us," and therefore ordering neither arrest nor dismissal of any of the militarists who were conspiring; the government thereby permitted the barracks, the churches, the palace and some of the

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*Hubert C. Herring, *Spain, Battleground of Democ.* Social Action.

offices of the State to be converted into centres of conspiracy and they prevented the arming of the proletariat. Many provinces in Spain fell into the hands of the rebels because the civic governors did not have orders from the government to give arms to the people.

Thus we return to our starting point in the morning of July 19, 1936, with fascist troops marching into Barcelona, the nerve center of the industrial capital of Spain. The militarists reckoned on having a two-or-three day job, involving the wiping out of the most vital region of Spanish territory and the habitat of the most revolutionary workers in Spain. But they reckoned without their host. When the military emerged early that Sabbath morning from their barracks and the churches in which they were the guests, the workers rose from their slumbers, rose to the occasion and militantly and successfully defeated the trained armies with their miraculous enthusiasm, their crude weapons, their bare hands. And on the morrow, when the professional soldiers have been routed, and their civilian accomplices—especially the factory owners—have escaped, the workers must continue production on their own initiative. They must supply and strengthen Spain so that the struggle against fascism may continue. And the only avenue left open to them is to socialize industries. Thus the revolution comes to Catalonia, and in varying degree to the rest of Spain—in the form of a war measure.

The workers, who for many years had dreamed of being their own masters, and learned and planned and fought for that dream, realized it in the first week of the fascist revolt; but socialization, freedom, equality are to them not merely war measures—they are life measures—the only way a people can survive and progress. The military uprising they saw as but a single item in the class war; victory in the battles of one meant success in the battles of the other. And so their slogan became, "War in the front; revolution in the rear."

The democratic republic had given them neither bread nor land nor security; it had not dared to antagonize the wealthy nor to crush the fascist plotters. It offered only the classic phrases of unity and liberty... and then procrastinated its way into complete debility. It did absolutely nothing during the first days of the revolt but change ministers three times, try to keep the arms from the masses of the people whom they neither knew nor trusted. Could it be this the workers defend with their lives against such odds? Could they fight so spontaneously, so fiercely merely to return to the conditions before the rebellion?

No they couldn't. Even Companys, head of the Catalonian Generality, recognized in which direction the wind was blowing:

> "Some republicans still believe, still dream of the possibility of establishing a political and social panorama similar to that which existed before July 19. This only demonstrates their blindness or their lack of loyalty. I have said it before, and I repeat it, that the moment has come for the workers to take over political power . . ." (Info. bul. 1-5-37)

The policy of social reconstruction was advanced by that organization which contained approximately 90 per cent of the organized workers in the area first attacked. It had provided the leadership for the military offense and sacrificed its great comrades on the battlefront. It guided the syndicates in their conduct of the industries and agriculture after the revolt was quelled. It *was* the united revolutionary working class of Catalonia, Aragon, the Levante. It was the anarcho-syndicalist CNT.

Background

Let us pause for a moment to review the history and the ideals of the labor organization of the National Confederation of Labor (CNT) and its ideological leadership in the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI). Spain has traditionally been the home of anarchism, from the time when the seeds of non-authoritarian communism were planted in Spanish soil by Bakunin, way back in the middle of last century. From then until 1910 when the CNT was formally organized from the various anarchistic sections of the Spanish labor movement, its active partisans have gained expert inside information about the jails of Spain and lived much of their public life "sub rosa."

Both the terror of the state and the teaching of the anarchists made a pure and simple trade unionism impossible in Spain. Thus the CNT's aim was two-fold: 1. Under capitalism, to raise the material and cultural level of workers and peasants by direct action and the education of the masses; 2. the establishment of a new society based on libertarian communism, stressing not the conquest of political power but the conquest of the land, factories, means of production and the natural resources. It has constantly taught the workers that to turn to the state—be it autocratic or democratic—to establish advantages for the worker, is to misorient their struggles and to dissipate their energies; for the purpose and the *raison d'etre* of the state is to protect the interests of the class which is economically dominant, and therefore to suppress the workers. Rather has it counselled its members that through direct action alone is social betterment to be sought and social revolution to be accomplished. By direct action of the workers themselves—in their syndicates and communities—rather than by the dictatorship of a political party, however revolutionary, is society to be organized after the revolution.

Federalism rather than bureaucracy is not only the theory for the post-revolutionary society, but the pattern for the organiaztion of the CNT in practice; thus the CNT is constructed from the bottom up, and much stress is laid on the autonomy of the separate syndicates. Paid officials there are, but only in the large unions were the work requires more than volunteer labor. Officers are elected for only one year, and their remuneration is strictly the same as that of the workers in the respective trades.

Recognizing that the Spanish social transformation is impossible without the peasantry and the intellectual worker, the CNT unifies peasants, agriculture workers and white collar workers also —to the total tune of about 1½ million workers in pre-July 19th Spain. There were approximately 7,000,000 workers in Spain then and about 1 million of them were organized in the other strong labor organization—the UGT, which is led by the social democrats. (If space permitted we would present a more complete picture of the Spanish situation—and perhaps a fairer one—by describing the UGT and other organizations—however small and uninfluential—in the labor movement there.)

Before the present events the CNT and FAI published not only their daily papers in Madrid and Barcelona but about 40 weeklies and 5 monthly reviews. To say the anarcho-syndicalists were completely dominant in Catalonia means that they organizationally controlled the region which contained ¾ of Spanish industry, one half of its wealth, and a large per cent of the Spanish populace.

The slightest aquaintance with the role of the anarcho-syndicalists in their destruction of attacking fascism and their construction of a new society should serve to destroy any superstition of them as wild-eyed visionaries, adrift on a cloud of idealism. A superficial knowledge of their tolerance, their most sincere efforts at unity with other anti-fascist forces should serve to dispel any of the stereotypes of them as irresponsible bomb-throwing maniacs.

They Take Over

We have already seen how the revolutionary change in economic relations in certain parts of Spain was a *sina-qua-non* of continuing the war, and recognized as such even by the traditional opponents of socialization. But the people of Spain and the CNT were not content to wait for government requests that people continue Spanish industry and agriculture. (In fact, many of these so-called requests did not come until the people themselves had already made the required changes in ownership and production.)

Work on the social front was carried on with that same spontaneity, enthusiasm, and success as that on the military front. During the first months of the war we can recall reading one after the other inspired and astonished accounts of how industry, agriculture, and transportation, under the aegis of largely autonomous workers groups, flourished and progressed.

Let us take as an example of these accounts an article which appeared in the New Republic about one year ago, written by the international journalist, Mr. Ravage. He tells us that the CNT took over the railroads in Catalonia directly after the rebellion, and that for the first time in his long acquaintance with Spanish travelling conditions, trains were running on time. The CNT management in the railroads immediately increased the rolling stock 25 per cent, doubled wages, reduced hours—and on top of all, were able to reduce fares. With all these, they were breaking even by February 2, 1937, and preparing to save for an amortization reserve. The workers' control committees, he continues, enjoy evident autonomy; in every plant, shop or office—especially in the numerous enterprises where there are both CNT and UGT workers, debates go on constantly. Of these Mr. Ravage says, "Their educative value to speak of no other, can hardly be overestimated. They removed the threat of discord." They had their final fruit in the pact between the two labor-union federations signed on October 22, 1936.

Unfortunately, time does not permit our indulging in many descriptive accounts of socialization in production, though the stories of the new life—in fishermen's villages and textile mills, in orange orchards and amunition factories are all inspiring. Everywhere there has been possible a reduction of hours of labor required, and an increase in wages; everywhere volunteer labor works cheerfully far beyond the number of hours settled for.

Some notion of the extent of this accomplishment comes from the recent Daily News press dispatch that the Catalonian factories, running 24 hours a day, provide more than one half the war materials made in Spain for the loyalists; moreover, the CNT declares that ¾ of the land in Catalonia, Levante and Aragon is collectivized; no more than this amount because the CNT does not want to force the workers.

Libertarian in Practice

Here we get a clue of the libertarian nature of the entire social revolution. The stories of forced collectivization that have been circulated around by certain of the press seem to have no foundation in fact. In every proclamation of collectivization one can read there is a special clause noting that small producers are privileged to work outside of the collective, if they wish; that members who have joined the collective may leave after the harvest if they so desire. This is no war communism that will have to be corrected and completely contradicted several years hence by a "new economic policy." This is no nationalization, with some distant central government sending the local syndicate an order stipulating the number of hours to be worked or how the crop is to be raised.

The autonomous but federated communites go about the humble task of eliminating insects in the orange orchards with the same earnestness and skill with which they met the task of destroying the fascist invaders in their territories. Local councils regulate money content of wages in relation to prevailing prices, but try to get uniformity throughout in the "real" wage. Wages are increased for those having family dependents at set rates. About the problem of having a uniform policy on this matter throughout the country, or at least the province, hc CNT spokesman talk in their typical manner:

> "Although the anarcho-syndicalist unions are in the majority in the province of Levante, they still recognize the need of coming to an understanding with the socialist unions on this plan. For this purpose, the convention recommends an intensive campaign of agitation and propaganda so as to persuade the backward workers who are still swayed by Marxist ideas."

So much for the theory and practice of the syndicalists on problems of economic adjustment. Another of the great sources of misunderstanding about the attidues and actions of the Spanish unions is that of their stand on the problem of militarism, defense, the single command. There is a widespread notion that anarcho-syndicalists are by principle opposed to the unified command, which is related to the general feeling that they oppose organization of all kind and admit no sort of discipline.

The actual fact of the matter is that the syndicalists were the first to clamor for the unified command. In the first few months of the war we find them declaring:

> "All the weakness in the organization of the anti-fascist troops are due to:
>
> 1. Shortage of armament and ammunition;
> 2. Lack of a common plan of war operations at all fronts;
> 3. Lack of unified command." (Info. Bul. 11-2-36).

What they definitely do not want, however, is a command which is dissociated from the workers or not responsible to them. They want no chance for a new military dictator to be nursed in the ranks of the anti-fascists. They want the general military headquarters to be composed of all the anti-fascist sections, and matters of policy to be referred to this headquarters.

To learn the syndicalist position regarding discipline in the ranks of the anti-fascists we can turn to no more authoritative source than Benventuro Durruti, whose soldiers were admittedly among the bravest, whose slogan was "We never retreat," and on whom rests much of the credit for the defense of Madrid in the first months of the war. He was a leader in the moments of peace between the fighting just as he was at the front, for Durruti's batallion is known for success it had in socializing every town it passed through on the way to the front. The column would help the local organizations to establish economic councils and coordinate the work of the syndicates or communities. Of the problem of discipline, Durrit said,

> "Much is said about, but little is understood. In my opinion, discipline is respect for one's own responsibility. I oppose the barrack-discipline, leading to brutality, hate and automatism. But I also deny this false 'liberty' which does not correspond to the necessities of the war, and usually is the excuse of the coward. In our organization of the CNT the best discipline reigns, because our members have confidence in the comrades represented in their Committee, whom they have entrusted with the right of leadership. In war time one must submit to the chosen leader. Otherwise war operations are impossible." (Info. Bul. 10-15-36.

That he was successful in carrying out this sort of discipline is testified to by this statement of one of his militamen, made at Durruti's funeral:

> "Durruti was no general, he was our comrade. Not a very decorative position, but in this proletarian column popularity is not exploited. There is only one idea: Victory and Revolution!
>
> . . . Durruti's greatness was due to the fact that he hardly evry commanded but always educated. The comrades used to go to his tent—after his return to the front line. He explained and discussed the reason for his operations to them. Durruti did not command, he convinced. Only by conviction, a clear and precise action is guaranteed. Everyone of us knows the reason for his action and is convinced of its necessity. Thus everyone wants to obtain the best results of his action, at any price. Comrade Durruti gave the example . . ."

Then the same militiaman explains how everywhere the column of Durruti advanced, they collectivized, and

> "When resting in villages, the column forms a community with the inhabitants. In former times one used to say army and people, or even the army against the people. Today there are only a fighting and working proletariat. They both form an inseparable unity. The militia is a proletarian factor, its character and its organization are proletarian and must remain so. The militas are exponents of the class struggle."

On the Battlefields

Another long-nourished misunderstanding, springing this time from slander, and entirely unbased in fact, is the claim that the anarchists, especially in Catalonia, were reluctant to go to the front, and preferred to stay at the rear, and as it has sometimes been put, "toy with the revolution." Moreover, this libel continues, the syndicalists kept the arms from the front and saved them for the fight behind the lines with other anti-fascist elements. This is not, at least at its primary sources, a mere misunderstanding—it's a downright

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*) Memorial booklet for Durruti, pp. 24-26.

sources, a mere misunderstanding—it's a downright lie.

Perhaps the first, and one of the most well known and heroic marches of the syndicalists into other parts of Spain was Durruti's leadership, which we have just described, of a column of 9000 through the Aragon front into Madrid—with not a defeat to their record. Vivencos (whom we talked about at the opening of this discussion), Jover, Ortiz and many other anarcho-syndicalist leaders and their batallions have from the first days of the revolt fought on fronts near and far from their homes. The Libertarian Youth Organization of Catalonia has repeatedly urged the Government to send them into battle. "We are tired of waiting for a command to go to the front," they have insisted. Yet the conspiracy of silence permits the old delusion about "anarchist" slackers to go on. Whatever delusions there may remain on the anrcho-syndicalist attitude on the subject of mobilization must be dissipated by the reading of the program put out in February of last year by the Peninsular Committee of the FAI on mobilization:

> "1. Mobilization of all men and women capable of war activities. For this purpose and with this aim in view, should be suppressed all activities which do not assist in the prosecution of war, especally de luxe entertainments and mere frivolities, in view of the fact that men in the trenches are often short of bare necessities.
>
> 2. All arms to be sent to the front, and all armed to be employed only on war jobs.
>
> 3. All idle gold or other metals should be delivered up to the War department, or should even be confiscated if the necessities of war require it.
>
> 4. All organizations of workers and anti-fascists should pool their funds in a common stock to be used for means of the war.
>
> 5. A unified command of all fronts, and all ministries under the control of the syndical organizations." (Info. Bul. 2-25-37).

I would prefer not to go into the details of the May uprising which has been so inadequately and incorrectly presented as a revolt in the rear on the part of the "uncontrollables." I will omit also the stealing—on a forged order—of tanks by the communists and the placing of these behind the lines—and not for use at the front!—in the Voroshilov barracks: all of which occured before the so-called uprising of the uncontrollables and the mythical fifth column.

It should be abundantly clear now that what the syndicalists opposed was the building of an army that was divorced from the people; the placing of the control in the rear in the hands of the old police, rather than in the workers' guard, and the use of the slogan "unified command" to build a bureaucracy which would crush all that opposed it.

Humanitarian Principles

If we pass from the anarchist position on defense and militarism to the attitude on repression of their enemies and "justice," we again are heartened by the humaneness of their approach. The theory of it is well expressed by Santillan, a longtime spokesman for the FAI-CNT and although later a member of the Catalonian cabinet and minister of economy, always an open critic of the practices and policies of the workers' organizations in control:

> "Society has a right to protect itself against those who attack its interests. But what benefit does society get from a delinquent shut up in a cell for months and years? In the prison cells and in the prison yards I used to think about the stupid penal system of the bourgeoisie and the State. In what way have we modified or revolutionized this system . . .?
>
> "I have been present, since July 19th, at the execution of military traitors. I have even commanded firing squads. I do not repent having done so. But today, when our comrades seem to have become accustomed to the idea that the only solution for a prisoner is to shoot him, I wish to revindicate my independence to tell you that it is time for us to think what we are doing . . . As a disciplined militant as long as the organization does not dispose otherwise, I shall approve all the sentences dictated by the popular courts, but I want to have the right to exclaim at any time that the jails do not convince me, the executions do not convince me, and that I am not convinced by the perpetuation of the old penal system. I want a new form of punishment and I don't find anything more adequate for those who have never worked than their reeducation for useful labor. Instead of sentencing an enemy to 30 years of prison I would sentence him to build 10 km. of public highways, or plant 100,000 or 200,000 trees."*)

Despite Santillan's criticism the comparatively humane and scientific penal practice in Spain has won the appreciation of non-partisan observers of all sorts.

The syndicalist attitude toward government and its adjustment to the revolutionary situation has brought vituperations of every sort and from all kinds of critics—some from its own ranks. Before discussing the concrete problems of Spanish syndicalism within the last year and a half, it is perhaps wise to state clearly what form of organization of society is planned for in syndicalist theory.

There is an erroneous and widespread prejudice that anarchists reject organization completely. This is true to a very limited extent only among a very limited number of individualist anarchists. Syndicalist-anarchists especially, recognize the need for organization, as the very existence of the CNT testifies.

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*) Santillan, **After the Revolution**, p. 118-9.

Union Control

The anarcho-syndicalist plan for the organization of the new society is, as we noted before, pre-visioned in the present organization of the CNT. The ideal is one of a society of federated, autonomous syndicates in the towns and cities and communities in the villages. Every member of society is to be organized into some syndicate, even the public service workers and the military. This prevents any alienation from the workers and the workers' organizations of the army, the police force, etc.

Now, all syndicates are represented in the central committee of the labor organization, whose function is to take care of those problems which cannot be locally determined. Every effort is made to avoid bureaucracy in this organ, and preventative measures include: short terms, no higher wages than the workers in the corresponding industry, direct responsibility, and federalism rather than centralism.

The extent of autonomy in the local organ is very important in distinguishing libertarian communism from authoritarian communism. Wherever possible the individual syndicate is the authority in its area. When a problem is the concern of all, it must be referred to the national committee. Policy is determined not by the national committee but when a decision is made, the disciplined militant is expected to follow it, as you have seen from the quotations from Durruti and Santillan. There is no more guarantee that he will follow it than there is that there will be no split in the various and sundry Marxian parties.

One of the differences between libertarian notions of discipline and the so-called "revlutionary discipline" of the Marxists is that the syndicalists retain always the right of criticism, regardless how the vote goes. Santillan's quote abundantly illustrated this.

The anracho-syndicalist, does not have a "repressive state" as such. Repression of a sort, must and does exist in the transition to libertarian communism. But it is largely a matter of degree and point of emphasis that distinguishes it from the repression of an authoritarian state, be it bourgeois or "proletarian." Probably the fact that the anarchistic person is a humanist, that he emphasizes the individual—his integrity, the development of himself, as being all-important, the end toward which every effort is directed; the fact that he never loses sight of the proposition that to sacrifice an individual for the sake of the masses is to burtalize the individuals in the mass—at least to some extent, accounts for the anarchists' peculiar reluctance to repress.

There is always thorough representation to those of different opinions who have a common aim; thus, when anarcho-syndicalists were dominant in Gijon (to the score of a 90 per cent majority of the people) they turned over representation on the Gijon economic council to every organization on the basis of its existence, rather than in terms of the number of its following. You will recall also, the selection quoted on the decision regarding uniform wages in the Levante, where the minority group is consulted despite its small numbers.

Now if the revolutionary syndicalist organization is not able to gain the support of the workers it cannot accomplish a revolution over their heads by consituting itself a repressive state. One must have the potential support of the widest masses of people before any revolution can be successful. This does not mean that one sits around and waits for unanimous vote of approval on the social revolution; it means that one does not—largely because one cannot—accomplish a revolution of the society thereafter, unless the support of the masses is behind one. That is why, although one strives to get all the workers into the anarcho-syndicalist organization, one must—if different factions do exist—give representation to all of them.

If on the basis of this discussion you wish to regard your national committee of all syndicates as a political power, there is nothing to prevent you from doing so. The syndicalists generally prefer to think of it as an administration of things rather than a government of the people. (This; of course, can only be approximated at the present time).

Position on the State

The bourgeois state to the syndicalist is merely, as it is to the Marxist, an executive committee of the dominant class, and can therefore not be used to bring about the destruction of this class. In the pre-revolutionary situation you are to ignore the state and its machinery; for to use it is to divide your efforts that might better be expended in building a strong labor union movement, and to misdirect the attentions of the workers.

Now let us review what the anarcho-syidicalists actually have done in Spain and how their actions square, or fail to square, with their theories. And regardless what are our personal attitudes, on concrete situations, we must agree that if the fact does not coincide with the theory, one or both must be modified; and if they both continue unmodified, along side of each other, confusion results.

Before the revolt, and during the February elections which ushered in the popular front regime, the CNT and FAI did not carry on their usual anti-election campaign. They permitted, for the first time in their history, the question of voting to be a matter of individual conscience. While we can see how the tenseness of the situation and the cospicuous differences between a fascist government and one where some modicum of freedom is permitted might be a strong temptation to make a choice, we do not see how voting, on the part of an anrcho-syndicalist can be reconciled with his convictions regarding the nature of the bourgeois state and the political process.

Actually the elections made little difference in the struggle for power, for if the workers did not disregard them, the fascists did; and regardless which side would have been elected. the dominance of the fascists could only be checked in a military struggle. The popular front government did not even offer (as its protagonists claim) a breathing spell or a preparation for better resisting the fascists.

It is true that the prisons were opened and 30,000 political prisoners released, and that much land was decreed to the land-starved peasants. But there were both spontaneous unofficial moves on the part of the workers themselves. After they had been accomplished, the government, seeing that the workers meant business, came in tardily and passed decrees OK'ing these steps.

At the outbreak of the revolt, as we have noted before, the Popular Front government was completely bankrupt. It did not predict the uprising, it did not prepare for it, and what is more culpable, it sabotaged those who were prepared to fight by refusing them arms. What was true of the central government was also true of the local governments. And so, after the first days of the rebellion, economic councils of workers and Committees of Public Safety and Defence arose and took care of all the new business and all the old business of the localities. The actual governments were only theoretical; they were a sort of a rubber stamp to be added automatically after things had been decided on in other bodies. No one came to the governments for advice or permission.

Labor unions increased in membership, because the only way to have a say in what was going on was to be a member of one of the unions. The labor organization stamped your passport and distributed your food and contributed to your militias Non-workers accepted steps like socialization because there was no alternative way to keep them fed and clothed, and protected from fascism.

The justification of the entrance of the anarcho-syndicalists in these economic and defense councils seems to me to be contingent entirely upon the composition of these councils. When these were representative of the workers and soldiers—that is, a replacement of the parliamentary-geographical state—their participation seems to me to be an honest fulfillment of their aims—for they would thereby be joining with other workers to assure the victory of the revolution. As soon as these organizations gained, however, the membership of parties with no bond in any syndicate or agriculturel organization—and from that step became adjuncts to the state, participation by anarcho-syndicalists seems to me to be a violation of theory.

In all their propaganda the anarcho-sydicalists were clamoring for an all-Spanish Defence Council or Eeconomic Council which would coordinate the local organizations of that sort already in existence and make possible a unified command. But while this was being publicized, the Madrid government gradually sputtered its way back into existence. It found ready loyalty among the small numbers of the bourgeois and the communists, who though almost insignificant in number were extremely bold and articulate and seemed to hold in the palm of their hand the key to Russian aid of Spain.

They traded on the vestiges of a revolutionary reputation to achieve prominence and bourgeois support on the slogans of unity and a democratic program. The CNT recognized that to antagonize these anti-fascist parties might have meant to incur harm in the war and sabotage at the rear. The CNT-FAI apparently took the war against fascism more seriously than other organizations and individuals who devote much of their time to mouthing slogans and discovering plots, fifth columns, and nests of uncontrollables.

Their desire for anti-fascist unity determined the position of the anarchists. Susequent events make it clear however, that the structure of this organization, rendered possible (though not inevitable) the hegemony of political groups, non-representative of the masses of the people. When that became abundantly clear to the anarchists, they moved out; and have since refused to collaborate with the Negrin government.

The anarcho-syndicalists refuse to stuff anything down the necks of the workers, even if that thing be revolutionary unionism. Yet their propaganda against the Negrin government must go on, along with their fight against fascism. That they are not slighting the latter is testified to by their constant activity at the front. That they must not slight their work of exposure of the Negrin government, not only to save Spain for after the war, but to have her win the war, should be clear to all.

No civil war can be carried on for so long a time without some definite hope and proof of social ameliorization for the volunteer fighters. But Negrin declares:

> "Economic reforms, which have been carried out in Spain since the beginning of the civil war, have been accomplished according to the law, and once the smoke has blown away it will be seen that they have gone no further than reforms already carried out in other countries which pass for being conservative strongholds. (Edgar Ansel Mower's article in The News, 9-22-37).

But this cannot be an expression of the sentiment of the people who so many times have risen in revolt and sacrificed the lives of their dearest so that Spain would be more than a "stronghold

(Continued on page 33)

WET BULB — DRY BULB

By
JAY EFFIE

What do new inventions add to the comfort and wellbeing of the working class? Not much, as this article on air conditioning shows.

Air-conditioning is being hailed as the latest advancement for the comfort and health of human beings. It is presented as further evidence that capitalism does provide the working class with the better things of life.

A small fan or cheap filter is now added to the familiar items which usually include the old jollopy and the ceramic toilet bowl. A little reflection will show that these, as well as other benefits, are secondary or co-incidental and, in many instances no benefit at all.

Artificial Weather

The prime motive in creating artificial weather is to make profits. Most all worth-while installations are made for production or sales promotion purposes. Air-conditioning for industrial process has been employed for more than 30 years. The conditions to be maintained are governed by the requirements of the product. The science has been applied to more than 200 different products:—Textiles, rubber, films, paper, clay products, etc. Some require warm and moist conditions, others cold and dry. It may be for drying, fermentation, baking, or storage. Maximum production, not health or comfort is the object here. Only in rare instances where the efficiency of the occupants can be increased, do the workers get a break.

The biggest strides were made during the World War when increased capacity and out-put was a paramount concern. Much of the data gathered and facilities acquired during that slaughter is now incorporated in the equipment that supplies ocean breezes and mountain air in the homes of the upper crust.

Complete air-conditioning systems for guests and patrons of swanky hotels, stores, and restaurants are also being installed. Here the elite satisfy their desires in regal atmosphere. Haile Sallasie with attendants waving palm leaves on a broom handle is poor by comparison.

Banks and loan offices are also being equipped. One of the first portable cooling units this writer knows of went into a bookie joint. The suckers are given soothing comfort such as comes from the wings of a vampire fanning its victim. A warm show in the winter or a cool matinee in the summer at one of the higher priced theatres is more justifiable. Here the total comfort of a large audience is more equal to the profits of the owners.

A Boost to Prosperity?

To many people air-conditioning has become a magic expression. Back in 1930 or '31, Hoover looked to air-conditioning as an avenue leading back to the prosperity to which we had been accustomed—thereby prolonging the profit system, as the automobile industry had done.

His forecast started a mild rush to the new industrial frontier—the capitalists looking for markets and the workers looking for jobs.

A well-known home appliance company came out with a small gadget selling for $13.50 that would do everything—even to adding ozone. Others would revitalize the air with a wad of metallic wool in the stove pipe. Haberdashers' windows displayed air-conditioned hats and underwear. "To protect the public" the real weather makers took measures to inform that air-conditioning embodies the control of temperature, humidity, purity, and movement of the air.

"Comfort cooling" is a more recent term that takes in less territory. Real comfort cooling is an expensive proposition.

To meet more purses, attic fans that cool with night air, have been introduced. Electric companies have enclosed literature with the meter bill to household customers. Tests show these fans are comparatively satisfactory where climate conditions and room arrangements are suitable. Pulling down the shades on hot sunny days, remains the proletarian system.

A system called the "By-Pass" is patented. It is a system whereby a fee is paid for using the same air over again. It may make Selden, who years ago got a rake-off on every "self-propelled vehicle," look like a chump.

More Work But Not More Jobs

The best that workers can expect from air-conditioning is more work. Trade schools and technical institutes have enrolled thousands of young men for training in this field which combines heating and ventilating with refrigeration.

More work, however, does not necessarily call for more workers. Many are doomed to disappointment and the heart-breaks that go with failure to attain the coveted jobs. What is needed is more effort to get "the works" not work. Reconditioning our social order is of greater importance than air-conditioning. Line up.

THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The I.W.W. is a labor union, its work lies in the industries. When its members are not on the job they are trying to get there, primarily, of course, becaus they like other workers have to work to live; but also because they are bent on introducing unionism—the right kind—to all the workers of the world.

Unionism that doesn't aim at organizing all the workers is a puny sort. It may, for a time, by cooperating with employers achieve success, but in the end pressure from the army of workers it excludes will break down the barriers it has erected for the protection of a comparative few. The unionism of the future—and it is needed today—will be broad and big enough to include the workers of all the industries; and that means that it will eventually spread over the world, in complete disregard of the political boundaries that divide the people of the world into mutually hostile nations. That's the scope of labor **organization in industry** as the I.W.W. sees it.

What Real Unionism Demands

There is a type of unionism which, while agreeing theoretically at least to the proposition that all workers must be organized, would limit the scope of its demands on industry to what it calls a fair wage and security for workers. Aside from the fact that this dream of security under capitalism is utterly impossible of realization, it is plainly nothing but a slave's conception of an ideal slavery. A condition in which the workers, like cattle, machinery, and materials will be taken care of by a master class that clothes the practical business of exploiting slaves with humanitarian frills.

The I.W.W. is not deceived by the hazy promises of a servile security under capitalism. Its members know that capitalism has not made good as a provider for humanity and that now and in the future, as long as it lasts, it will prove less capable than ever before to protect the right to live and to enjoy life.

Whether capitalism breaks down of its own weight or not, the I.W.W. knows that it is the task of the workers, acting in their own interests individually and collectively, to take charge of the machinery of production and distribution. That means the workers must be organized, not just to demand more wages from an employer but also to operate industry on their own. It goes almost without saying that this process of organizing must take place on the job, any job and every job. In other words, the transition from private ownership and control of industry to public ownership and worker control is the work of a labor union organization and not for any other.

It is reasonably clear too, that unless a large part of the working class is prepared to take over its new duty of management or, at any rate, has some considerable preparation for the task, no matter what happens to the present economic structure they will not be able to profit for themselves. Willing or unwilling to be subject to a master class, if they are unprepared to take over when a great crisis causes the closing down of industry because no profits are to be made for the owners, the workers will still be slaves; masterless slaves begging for a master. If the workers don't want to, or are unable to rule themselves it is certain there will be some one to take over the job.

At this point it may be necessary to remind that whoever, or whatever class takes over the industries, will be the ruling power. Will it be the state? Will it be a few super-trusts? Or is it possible to turn time back a century and re-establish the small scale ownership of an earlier capitalism? Or, finally, will it be the working class, the industrial workers of the world, organized in one big union, that will take command?

The last question is already partly answered in the preceding paragraph. It won't be the workers who take over unless they are prepared.

The Preparation

Now, no amount of theoretical education will enable the workers to get this preparation. What is needed is education on the job and, especially in the job branch meeting where job questions are discussed and decisions made by the workers themselves. Workers who have learned how to handle sensibly the immediate problems that confront them in the every day struggle are far advanced in the kind of schooling most needed in the big job of taking over the world for the workers.

When the functioning job branch is part of an industrial union, and the industrial union is part of the one big union, the Industrial Workers of the World, then we have the set-up that is required to meet any situation that can ever arise in the struggle of class against class. What the workers of modern industry can't do through such an organization is not worth doing at all.

Well, the structure of that organization is here. It has many functioning branches where members are learning daily how to fight effectively to gain the things now within reach, from the employers while at the same time they are preparing themselves, though not always consciously, for the time when the working class will get along without employers.

What is needed now is more members in this organization, more functioning job branches, more workers learning through practical experience that when organized properly they have a power their employers are bound to respect; a power that will one day grow to such proportions that it will sweep wage slavery off the earth.

Help speed that day!

The "Uncontrollables" in Spain

(Continued from page 30)

of conservation." It is the expression of Negrin and his government. That government is a menace to the fighting people of Spain.

The Negrin government, representing the most backward and bourgeois elements in the country consistently fights the gains of socialization, tries to chain the army to its control, and flirts with the exiled industrialists to induce them to return to their old position of dominance. At the same time it betrays its non-democratic nature by its suppression of those who question its correctness and its motives.

Those who teach against it, and yet fight valiantly at the front, those who may be ranked among the uncontrollables, represent the hope of Spain. Just as the war in Spain is not a private matter, but an international one, so is the revolution. Libertarian communism in Spain would mean impetus to social progress the world over! It would be a real threat to fascism, and an inspiration to those whose government is an insipid democracy.

HEAVE HO!

Come lend a hand, ye workers!
Quit begging them for doles,
Quit asking them for justice
Who've neither brains nor souls—
Heave ho, heave ho, ye workers!

Come lend a hand, yea workers!
Come help us end the cause
Of joblessness and hunger,
Of poverty and wars—
Heave ho, heave ho, ye workers!

Covami.

Book Reviews

Assignment in Utopia — Wobblies One Meets There

By JUSTUS EBERT

Eugene Lyon's autobiography dealing mainly with Russia, entitled "Assignment in Utopia" (Harcourt, Brace and Co., New York), is just what William Allen White calls it, "a beautiful book." This is due, not only to its literary quality, but, despite the author's painful disillusionment, also to its ideal re-dedication.

Lyons was a United Press correspondent who was assigned to the land of Stalin from 1928 to 1934. He relates how, while there, he was, at first, a fanatical communist, protecting the alleged proletarian dictatorship and its supposedly great basic achievements, only, in the end, to be disillusionized, and to proclaim himself, not only a deceiver of self, but also of his American readers, all for the cause!

Following his spiritual revolt from a socialism, to paraphrase his own language, that professes to fill bellies only to slit them in behalf of tyranny that degrades a great idealism and a great people, Lyons re-dedicates himself to those human values and ideals of justice and liberty which had been his prior to his assignment in Russia.

It's a terrible picture Lyons paints of so-called Russian communism, one difficult of belief. In this respect his book is not beautiful, but as repulsive and as vile as the dictatorship which it depicts; a dictatorship at once inept and incompetent in all the arts, except those of intolerance and oppression in both of which it attains an unsurpassed excellence, according to Lyons. It makes gruesome reading.

What actually caused Lyons to write "Assignment In Utopia" Was it a journalistic flair for the sensational? Was it really a moral revulsion? Or was it, as some of his critics contend, a lack of guts peculiar to Utopians in critical periods requiring, to use the ruthless Bismarckian phrase, men of "Blood and Iron?" Possibly. But we hazard another guess, viz., his own pre-Russian psychology, due, in great part, to his early contacts with the I. W. W. in this country.

As he relates, before going to Russia to fill the United Press assignment, Lyons was a publicity man for a workers' defense league. As such he took part in the Krieger I. W. W. trial at Tulsa, Oklahoma and in the Sacco-Vanzetti trials, of which he wrote a book. In these trials, Lyons developed the humanitarian and libertarian ideals which he had previously acquired in East Side New York socialist Sunday schools. Apparently he could never divest himself of the deep sense of injustice thus inbibed in his formative years.

It is this aspect of his autobiography that makes Lyon's book interesting to old time wobblies. It contains well-drawn word pictures of Carlo Tresca, Vincent St. John, Fred Moore, Charles Krieger, John Beffel, all of whom he knew in the U. S. A.; and William D. Haywood, Bill Shatoff, George Andreytchine and Belinkes, whom he met in Russia.

Poor Bill Haywood! According to Lyons, "Out of one prison he had escaped into another prison. He was a pathetic ruin."

"Assignment in Utopia" is not pleasant reading for idealistis. However, it is instructive reading for all who are not wedded to dictatorship, whether so-called proletarian, party or personal dictatorships. To us it proves that though revolution has a tremendously transforming effect, its defects in an undevelopd people cannot be so repaired by five or ten year plans dictatorially imposed upon them, as to make specialists of them. The psychology for such revolution must be inherent in conditions covering more extensive periods of development and growth. All else is appalling tragedy, as this book makes evident.

However, Lyons shows that "adventures in idealism" have a way of repeating themselves, as in his re-dedication, despite all self-disillusionment and tyranny to the contrary. This is the most beautiful thing in an otherwise sordid human history. Without it life would be hopeless.

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

ONE BIG UNION MONT

2422 No. Halsted Street Ch

The ONE BIG UNION Monthly

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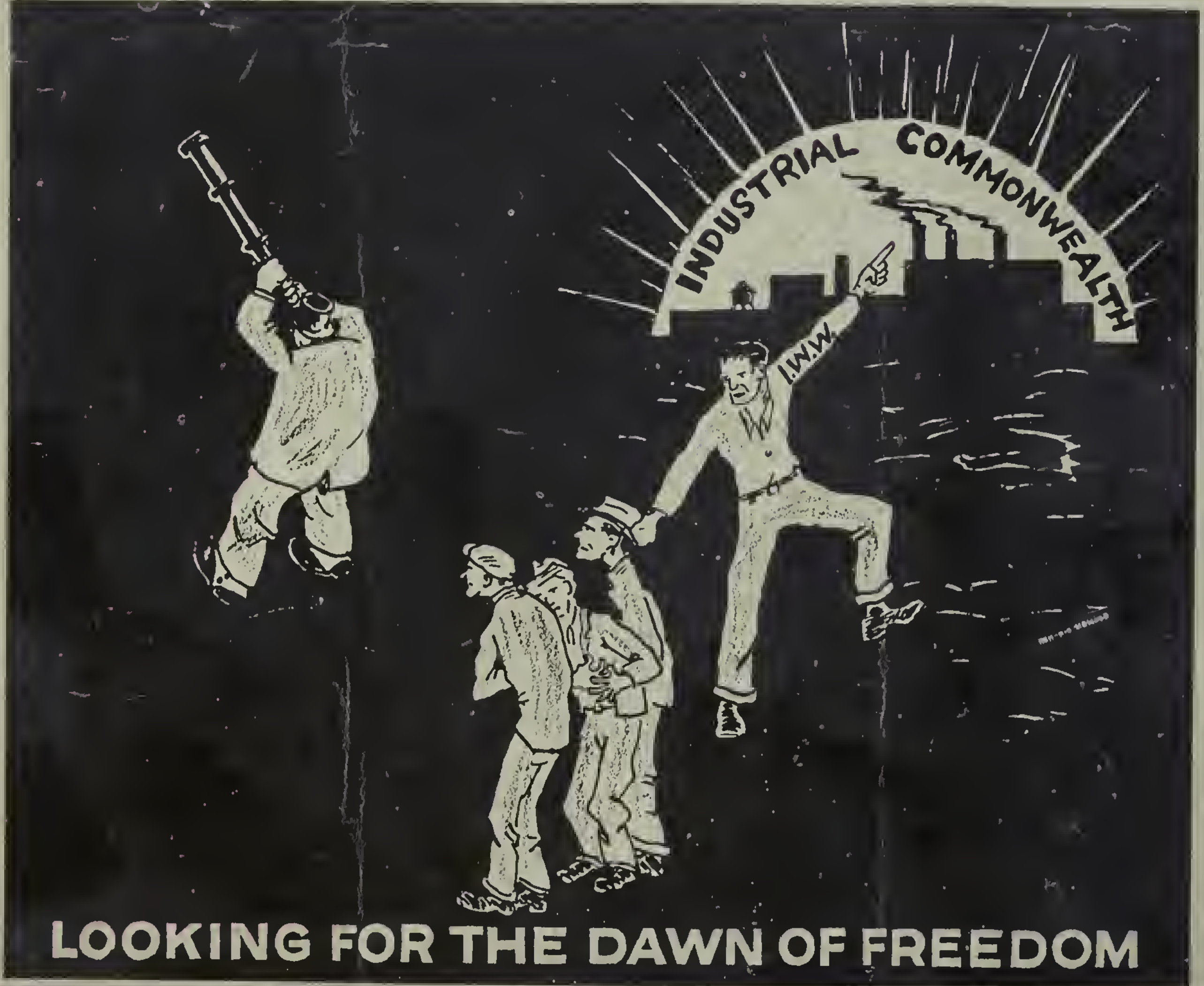
THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD


INDUSTRIAL COMMONWEALTH
I.W.W.

LOOKING FOR THE DAWN OF FREEDOM

MARCH, 1938

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Meat for the Wolves

When the prolonged cold of a hard winter results in a scarcity of game, the wolves on the icy steppes of Siberia hunt in packs and often (so we are told) they are driven by hunger to the point where the stronger turn on the weaker ones and devour them.

Whether this is true of the Siberian wolves or not, it certainly is true of the wolves of capitalism. These, in their pursuit of the profits gouged from labor, think it nothing at all to gorge themselves on the flesh of their own kind. Small capitalists are swallowed down by the thousands every year; but the slaughter reaches its heights when "times are bad"—meaning when there is great unemployment of labor and there are correspondingly fewer workers to exploit.

Then it is that there is a great howling in the arena of politics. The big capitalists try to cover up their raids for meat (profits) with a mighty yelping, while the little fellows snarl their protest at being chewed up.

It's all very interesting to read about in the papers but workers sometimes are misled into believing that they should take sides with the little disputants against the big ones. That's a fatal mistake. Little capitalists, like the big ones, live by exploiting labor, and as long as they live their ambition is to become big capitalists by exploiting more labor.

Labor's task is to organize itself to rid the world of the whole tribe of wolves. Labor should know that any meat the exploiters get in the form of rent, interest, profits, or subsidies comes from wealth produced by workers and that what the exploiters eat puts no fat on the slaves.

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FIGHTING FOR SPANISH FREEDOM

By

Fellow Worker Raymond Galstad

It was June 1937, I sailed with a group of seventeen workers for Spain via the port of Le Havre, aboard the S. S. President Harding, to join the Loyalist forces. Of these seventeen toilers some came from the logging camps of Idaho, Michigan, and Minnesota, some from the coal mines of Pennsylvania; some from the textile mills of New Jersey; a few were maritime workers from the Great Lakes.

Searching the ruins of a house in Barcelona after a fleet of rebel planes had completed another brutal assault on the residential section, killing hundreds of women and children.

Upon arrival in Le Havre we boarded the boat train to Paris. There we contacted several labor organizations in order to have our itinerary arranged before leaving for the French frontier. We left our excess baggage behind, each of us taking only a shaving kit, a bar of soap, a towel, and a change of socks. The wisdom of this arrangement made itself apparent when we started our trek across the mountains.

The Climb

Our destination was Montpelier located in southeastern France near the Mediterranean Sea. We motored from Montpelier to Cerebes, a French border village. By fording a stream we eluded the French frontier gendarmerie. (It was rumored the evening before three men were killed while attempting to cross the dubiously "open" French border.)

Footsore, weary and rain-soaked we climbed the narrow passes and jagged rocks of the Pyrennees. This, in a dark and starless night was a most difficult and arduous task. Some of our group, completely exhausted, could proceed no farther without rest. We left them to wait for the next contingent and pushed on. Sixteen hours seemed like sixteen years at the shoe-dragging pace at which our weariness allowed us to move. Yet we smiled when we recalled that it took the mighty Hannibal several months to accomplish the same trail with his retinue of slaves and soldiers and giant elephants when he set out to conquer the Roman Empire nearly two hundred years before the alleged birth of Christ.

The Old Fort

At the foot of the mountain a motor lorry awaited us. We were carried to an old fortress located near the city of Figueres. Here we prepared for military service, attaching ourselves to the French syndicalist section of the International Brigade, and spent four days drilling and unloading munitions from the motor transports.

The old fort was built in the sixteenth century. It is said the labor power of five thousand captured slaves was required for over a period of twelve years to complete the structure. The refined instruments of torture used upon the unfortunates were still to be found in the underground chambers catacombing the courtyards. The chambers were now put to use by Loyalist militiamen as a place of safety against the splattering shells dropped from fascist bombers that roared in a streak of silver across the skies.

Albacete

Then to Albacete we traveled through the historic cities of Barcelona and Valencia. Railway service in Spain was rather irregular. Frequent bombings of bridges and tracks were responsible for interruptions in transportation service, necessitating continuous repair by railroad workers of the Confederation of Labor to maintain even a semblance of service. The generosity and goodfellowship of the Spanish people was touching. At every stop workers would board the train bearing huge baskets of truits, sandwiches and jugs of wine. Little boys and girl would be waiting on the station platforms singing the "Internationale" and "No Pasaran."

The city of Alabacete was the training center for the recruits of the International Brigade. We spent two weeks here learning the technique of modern warfare under the guidance of competent officers. Almost all of us had previous military experience so we were able to execute the most intricate maneuvers flawlessly with only a few day's drilling.

To the Front

While at mess one morning we recieved our order to report at the parade grounds with full equipment including blankets and extra bandoliers of ammunition. We entered barracks and strapped on our military regalia, struggled with our blanket rolls and marched to the parade grounds. Here we stood at ease while our officer-of-the-day delivered a stirring talk, explaining our leaving for the Saragossa front. We were told of the splendid victories of the International Brigade in previous encounters with the Fascist armies, and were advised to fight unflinchingly to uphold the marvelous reputation established by these working class soldiers who fought in the interests of their class.

A caravan of motor lorries that seemed endless approached us, and we clambered aboard and drove off amidst cheers dying away and giving precedence to the hum of chugging engines as we rode along. Mile after mile we traveled over a maze of dusty highways. The hot glaring sun beat mercilessly down upon us, but we thankfully drew in cool draughts of air with the coming of evening.

Our chauffeurs had a strenuous task, sometimes driving continually for forty-eight hours. The difference of defeat and victory often hinged upon the ability and endurance of these men. We were dependent upon the chauffeurs and their trucks for the bringing of foodstuffs, water, arms, and reinforcements. Fascist scouting planes ripping through the skies were always searching for them as a target for their deadly projectiles. Many of the trucks had been completely demolished and their occupants killed. Six miles from the front we dismounted from the trucks and with metallic equipment clanking and clattering in rhythm with our step we began our march to the tranches.

Facing Fire

Soon after we entered our trenches we faced a barrage of artillery fire that continued without abatement for two days. Shells burst around us as we dug ourselves in. Our artillery had been shifted to another sector previous to our arrival so we retalliated with machine guns. In the afternoon of the first day a squadron of planes flew over us. We thought they were ours, but we soon discovered they were not. Bombs came whirling groundward with a screeching, whistling sound that played havoc with the ears. They hit the earth with a terrific thud causing shrapnel and dirt to leap and fly in all directions. The planes swooped to the ground and raked the trenches with machine gun fire. Our casualties were heavy, and the cries of the wounded could be heard above the roar of battle. First aid was quickly applied to alleviate their pains. The disabled could not be removed to safety until nightfall. Messengers were dispatched to headquarters with urgent requests for artillery to reinforce us.

The barrage ceased early the second day and the Fascist hordes went over the top. We greeted them with withering rifle and machine gun fire. Their advance was halted abruptly and they retreated hastily in confusion leaving a tremendous number of dead and wounded in the fields. That night water, cool and fresh, arrived and also cigarettes to ease tense nerves. The next two days were comparatively quiet. Snipers exchanged shots now and then but no serious damage was effected in our numbers. Hot meals and laughter were our diet for a space while some of our men were collecting fallen fascists and administering medical aid to them, trying the while to jolly them along and to reassure them they were not going to face firing squads.

Our clothes were stiff with dirt and dried perspiration. Sweat sores harassed many of us, causing a great many discomforts, and we itched for action to make us forget them. On the fifth day our artillery went into the field and we advanced. Over we went with fixed bayonets and bags of grenades. Stretcher bearers followed close behind the militiamen plodding steadily forward. When we were within throwing distance of the enemy trenches our hands crept into the bags. The grenades did their work. The fascists fled leaving us in possession of their trenches and quatities of military supplies.

The victory took its toll in lives, however, and volunteers were asked to bury our dead. We went through their pockets relieving them of their identifications and personal effects. These were delivered to headquarters. It was the regular procedure to ascertain the numbers and names of the dead.

Wounded

On the sixth day I was wounded by an exploding shell. I was sent to the base hospital where I remained for five days. In order to make room for the daily stream of incoming wounded, arrangements were made for those of us who were declared incapacitated for further military service to be removed to Barcelona. In the hospital there I put in fifteen days of solid comfort while the doctors and nurses went about their routines with an element of kindness totally out of perspective with my notions of professional severility their careers normally demand of them. Each one of us felt like a petted hero.

Moscow Wrecking Crew

After leaving the hospital, I wandered through the city, satisfying my curiosity about many things. In Barcelona camps marionettes were elevated to the exalted rank of political commissars. The manipulation of the marionettes was pretty securely in the hands of the Stalinists. They monopolized the avenues of propaganda and indulged in the less arduous tasks of class struggle, or "civil war" as they conveniently disguised it. Skimpingly distributing cigarettes, chocolate candies, and the like, seemed to be the only practical assistance they gave, and even in doing that they did no better than the Salvation Army or the Y. M. C. A. in the 1914-1918 "war to end wars."

A shortage of tobacco was noticeable throughout Loyalist Spain. Most of the tobacco producing districts were held by the Fascist forces. It was nearly an impossibility to beg or borrow the weed in any form. The Stalinists had a monopoly and they used it to entice adherents!

They preached political propaganda day and night. Their lectures invariably ended up with the idea: *"We're right behind you."* I heartily agreed with them on that score. The first time I ever agreed with the Communists, if my memory serves me rightly. They generally were to be found in the security of an office miles "BEHIND" the front line trenches drawing a stipend of two thousand pesetas a month and arguing for a stabilized price system so that they would be the only ones with purchasing power. Of course the anarcho-syndicalists thwarted the Communists frequently in their capitalistic schemes by abolishing the price system completely in some of the industries which they controlled.

Need for Honest Perspective

To one who has seen the war in Spain closely and wishes to report it honestly, it is more than a civil war among Spaniards; it is more than a capitalist-fascist test for larger wars in the future. It is a CLASS STRUGGLE. It is Revolution. It is a fight for a progressive and sane way of living, against a retrogressive and insane way of existing.

On the insurgent side, Generalissimo Francisco

Civilian victim of Fascist air raid

Franco recieved aid from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. These two powers have aided the insurgents immensely with large numbers of troops, modern artillery, planes, small arms, ammunition, foodstuffs, and money. In payment for services rendered, Germany and Italy were to recieve valuable concessions in the coal and iron mines of the Asturias.

Soviet Russia, on the other hand, with its tempting offers of arms and men, succeeded in attracting a large number of the Spanish people to its cause, chiefly recruiting sympathy among the dispossessed petty bourgeoisie. The Stalinist adherents have managed to instate a number of their followers in the present form of government, and through devious ways to change the complexion of Revolution to Counter Revolution.

Stalinist Cops

The venomous fangs of the Stalinist Okranja has struck on numerous occasions. Many of the most militant members of the C. N. T.—F. A. I., labor organizations, have "disappeared," some have been found dead, others are in prison. In their insatiable greed for power, no less inimical to working class hopes than capitalist greed, they have deliberately sent the militant Catalonians to the front with inferior arms, witholding proper support from the artillery and airforce. This "tactic" resulted in gruesome casualties and heavy loss of life to these militants.

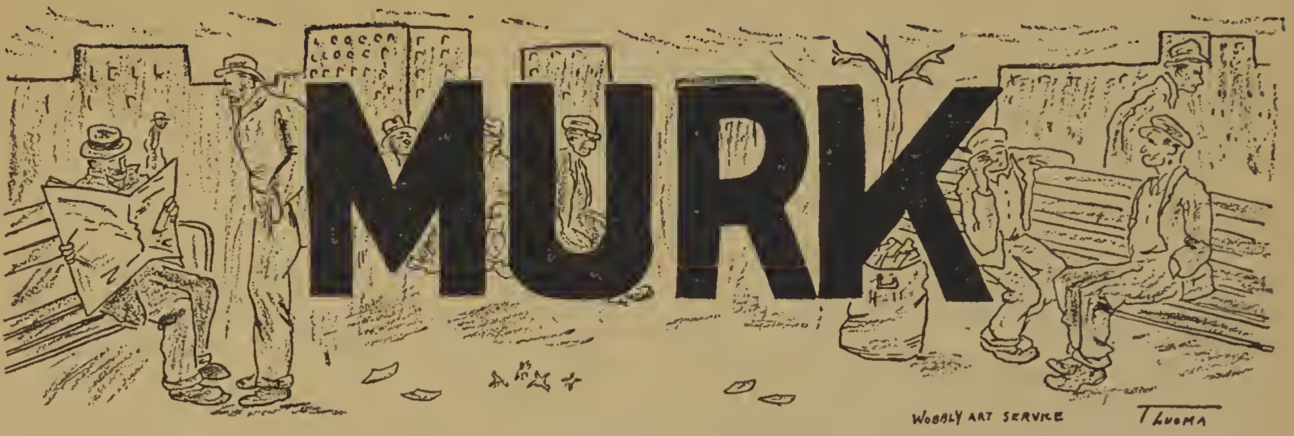
Last May the Catalonian workers' militia prepared plans for an offensive on the Aragon front. Had it been launched at that time it no doubt would have been a decisive factor in bringing the war to a victorious end. The Stalinist Okranja, through politics, succeeded in removing the leadership of the army and supplanted it with a command of their own. The scheme behind that gesture was to prolong the war and weaken the determination of the Spanish workers in the hope that they would finally submit to the will of the Stalinist regime. Despite all the agonizing betrayals they were subject to, the Spanish working class displayed fine courage an unflinching solidarity. At the outset of the war the workers' militia possessed no trained troops and had only obsolete arms, yet they defended themselves, not only against Fascist and Communist Spain, but against two of the greatest military powers in Europe.

The Neutrality Act of the United States' Government has been a factor of detriment to the cause of Loyalist Spain and has proved an advantage to the Fascist forces of Franco, who through his alliance with Germany and Italy has not been hampered by a lack of war materials. But, nevertheless, the Spanish workers have adapted themselves admirably to the situation, proving to themselves and to the rest of the world that the working class can take over the industries and manage them efficiently. Factories that have been expropriated are operated at full capacity, manufacturing amunition, rifles and field artillery, trucks, clothing and other supplies of war so that the Loyalists will not be dependent upon other nations for these equipments in the future. Engineers and technicians have wrought changes in industries that are nothing short of startling, even to converting old plants into airplane factories.

The suzerains have been driven from their vast estates over the protest of the Stalinists, and the tilling of the soil is accomplished by the workers and the crops managed by them. Although their agricultural machinery is not of the best, they have through cooperation increased the yield per acre in some crops nearly fifty per cent. Artesian wells and irrigation innovations have for the most part contributed to this end.

Complete Freedom

Young workers went regularly from the fields and shops to training camps to recieve instruction in military tactics. The victory won at Teruel recently was, no doubt, due to these youthful and enthusiastic troops. The determination of these fighting workers proves conclusively that the revolutionary Spaniards know what they want. They will never bow to a Stalinist regime. They know if they do accept, even temporarily, the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat the penalty of death or imprisonment will await their militancy. The emancipation of the workingclass and the establishment of a new social order of, by and for the workers are their objectives.



MURK

By
THE GADFLY

In which the author goes deep into the "Lazarus layer of the proletariat" and comes up with a story showing the effect intensive mis-education and exploitation, alternating with hungry joblessness, has had on at least one brother worker.

TRASH——Old paper bags, cigarette butts, a ripped shoe, fouled candy-bar wrappers, last week's funny-papers. Filth——gobs of phlegmy spit, dog dirt, pigeon dirt, a decaying banana skin. Yesterday, an eccentric twelve-hour rain. Now, a hot, late August noon-hour. Writhing grey cement walks, thru the outer muck. Relative humidity, 90. Murk. The East Wing of Grand Circus Park, downtown in Detroit.

Men, dirty, bleary, out of work, sit on coarse green benches——greenest things in the park. Too hot to move——just sit. Only Eli moves, shuffling thru the trash and filth on the walks. Murk——he is used to murk, likes it, almost. This way half the time on the farm back in Georgia. Eli is murk, mostly.

This weather——it recalls to his feeble mind that farm, where he lived before he came north to work at Ford's. Five dollars a day, they told him. No one thought of how many days.

He is thinking vaguely of the crisis of his life on the farm, the occasion when he heard his wife was carrying on with Ezra Cobb. He remembers how her lips thinned out into that mocking leer she had with her when he accused her. Only when he choked her some would she talk. Then he kicked her clear off the farm with his boots. She was limping by the time he got her to the road.

It was raining then. Cold, too. She didn't have her coat or hat on. Her hair streaked over her face. She turned to him and leered again. Then her lumpy body collapsed. He left her lying in the mud of the road. He grunted, looked at the black sky, spat, and went back into the shack. She was gone an hour later. Next day he sold her coat and hat and her other dress for two dollars.

He wondered, then, what he ever saw in her. It took him two months of living without his woman to make him understand. She never came back.

Gradually, the fact that the West Wing of the Park is not as it was yesterday oozes into his consciousness. It is a labyrinth of brown canvas walls, like a sideshow of tents without roofs, and people are sauntering around between the walls, apparently looking for something, not knowing what—commercial people spewed out by the skyscrapers all around to eat lunch. Now they have eaten their lunches, most of them, and, having to pass thru the Park anyhow on their way back to work, they pause in the labyrinth to stare patronisingly at the artists and their art. This is the Art Fair.

Eli observes the change in the West Wing. He does not know what is going on. He never reads the papers. He only reads the Bible. Yet Eli does not speculate on the change; he merely sees it. By and by, with less thought than a dog smelling at a strange post, he slouches across the vacancy of Woodward Avenue and meshes with the crowd.

The canvas walls are heavy-hung with pictures, most of them unframed. Other pictures, on the ground, lean against the walls, against the benches, against anything. Wherever there might be a picture, a picture is. They are like brilliant butterflies clinging to the form of the city, laying their eggs——eggs which may hatch into worms of thought and gnaw the city's thick-leaved pretense down to the hollow skeletons which support them.

Five of the six men, out of work dwellers like Eli in the East Wing, are grouped about a large oil nude. They grimace, squirm, pass low remarks, display their vulgarity in general. They spot Eli approaching——holy Eli, the Bible reader. Expectantly, they watch him, cough when he comes abreast to attract his attention. He looks at the picture. No expression shows on his face. The bums are disappointed. They troop back to their proper place in the East Wing.

Eli goes on. He hesitates for a few minutes to squint at a man on a camp-stool sketching a charcoal portrait of a stenographer, she gazing at him the while with maudlin worship and the thrill of being arty. Eli goes on.

"——from real life," says a voice beside him. The dialect is strange to Eli. As a matter of fact, it is the off-spring of affected British and affected Boston, at one time mated in the speaker's mouth, the off-spring thereof being influenced by Detroit environment. However, Eli does not know that. Eli knows very little of anything.

He looks at the source of the peculiar lingo. It is a tall, bony man with a beret and excessively black eyes. The beret is not his normal headgear; it is an ad, his trademark. The eyes are unnatural. The pictures on the canvas behind him are of his doing. He pauses in his conversation, momentarily neglecting the Prospective Buyer to return Eli's stare.

Under the excessively black eyes of the Artist, Eli feels shifty. He looks down at his hands. The nails are filthy, long and rough because he has not lately been hired to labor and break them off.

The Artist resumes his sales talk. Eli dares to gaze at him again.

"Painted from life."

"Yes?" encourages the Prospective Buyer, a prosperously loggy individual, out to buy a corner on culture.

"Yes. I was coming home from a party with the grandest brandy drunk singing thru me, you know. It seems it was raining, but I didn't notice it. Too intent on working out a means of painting the fourth dimension, I suppose. I generally plan the fourth dimension on brandy. Anyhow, something tugged at my sleeve over near the front of a red brick building. I was almost at the curb before I could stop and turn around—trifle unsteady, you know. And—well, there was this girl, no hat or coat on, soaked with rain, standing in the doorway. Probably said something about coming in out of the rain, though I can't remember that part very clearly.

"Well, it looked like good material, so I rushed her right up to my study and——er——made this picture. Took me all the rest of the night."

"Hm," says the Prospective Buyer, feeling very Bohemian for listening to this kind of talk. "And what are you asking for it?"

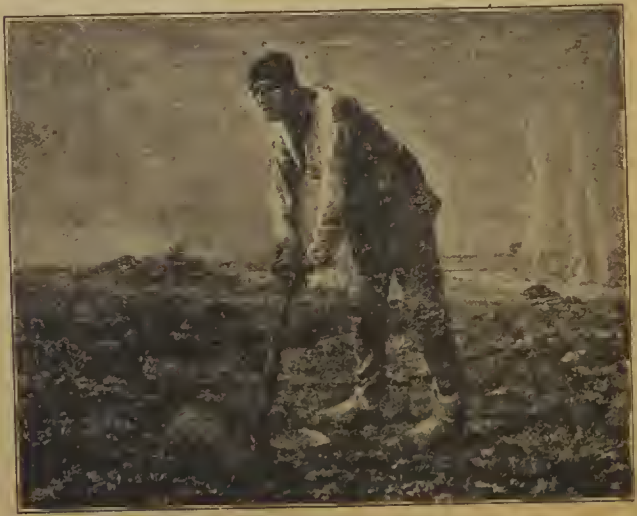
The Artist sizes up the Prospective Buyer rapidly, finds him good, and says in the most casual tone, "Oh, about a thousand."

Till this point, Eli has been dully regarding the Artist. But the mention of so much money stirs him at least partially out of his life-long coma. He looks at the picture.

As the Artist has described the reality, so is the picture. The woman, bedraggled, in the rococco doorway, tinted with the jaundiced light of a street-lamp, the varnish-like glare of the pavement and the wet wall behind her——all that. But Eli sees more.

He sees on the woman's head straight, coarse, black hair, and her smile is a long, thin segment of a circle intersected by quizzical shorter segments at each end. Her wet dress displays the outline of her figure with geometrical clarity. Her emaciated shoulders and arms, dangling hands that might, for their massive grossness, be a day-laborer's. Her breasts—two drooping parabolas slung to the front of her under the rigidly plane chest. Her protruding hips—two conversing hyperbolas. Her calves and ankles, almost regular cylinders, such is the diameter of the latter. Her long, broad, flat feet.

He sees her again leering at him. He forgets he is in Detroit. He forgets everything that has happened since she looked at him just so in the rain on the road outside the shack and fell. His emotions are the emotions of that moment—wolf-



Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow? Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?—Edwin Markham.

ish hate. Showing his broken yellow teeth he rushes at the picture, rips it to cracking shreds with his dirty long nails . . . .

It is the following morning. A weary judge is trying to pry from Eli's scanty vocabulary words which will explain his behavior. The Artist is present. He has not slept. He has consumed the night in cursing Eli. Yet he does not appear exhausted; he seems to be still cursing Eli under his breath.

After some fifteen minutes of the Judge's disinterested questioning, Eli's purpose begins to clarify. Then the Artist jumps at Eli, grabs him by the tattered lapels of his third-hand coat. Eli is limp. Yesterday's emotional crack-up has decimated his insignificant vitality.

"Do you mean you ruined my painting because you thought the prostitute was your wife?" demands the Artist, viciously. "Is that it? You think the woman looked like her?"

Eli nods stupidly. The excessively black eyes are cutting sheer thru his innate murk.

The Artist suddenly does a strange thing. He starts to chuckle. He laughs. He releases Eli and becomes downright hysterical. He falls into a chair. "His wife! His wife! His wife!" And he laughs some more. As tho turned off by a switch, he stops as spontaneously as he began. He grabs Eli again.

"Ass!" he cries, a trifle too dramatically. "There never lived a woman like that. She was the product of my own brain—my own brain! Do you understand?" He shakes Eli frantically, beating vainly against the dolt's animal immobility. "Smoke! I made her up. A dream! Why, you damned holy boob, a creature that shape could not exist! . . . . Five hundred dollars—at the very least—gone, because you—you, rotten swine—you can't appreciate the exaggerations of modernism!" THE END.

The Historic Mission of the I.W.W.

By MORTINER DOWNING

Production—Distribution—Acquisition and Consumption, all these four words equal and relative, spell the story of human life. At no point may the balance be disturbed. Production is the basis; neither distribution, appropriation nor consumption can be had except of goods in being. If the production lags so do the other three. If the production increases, under a sane knowledge every human being is benefitted. Under the present competition of capitalism a contradiction appears. Instead of human benefit the whole social system is shaken. Prices fall, wages shrink and all in proportion to the growth of production. This latter system, the I. W. W. was born to destroy.

So in 1905 appeared a new scheme of life known as World Industrial Unionism. Every producer should be organized in his special capacity. All private concerns are ignored. In the social world and in political relations the individual is free—his obligation is one only. Every human being must contribute to the general welfare, and this should be balanced by the need of all to respond to the duty that, "An Injury to One Is an Injury to All." Self and selfishness fade away, and an interdependent human race stands erect and proud. Misery vanishes. Happiness reigns.

To gain these ends the I.W.W. was born and still lives. It has faced its responsibility along a blood stained trail beset by terror and brutality, but it still lives. It shall triumph.

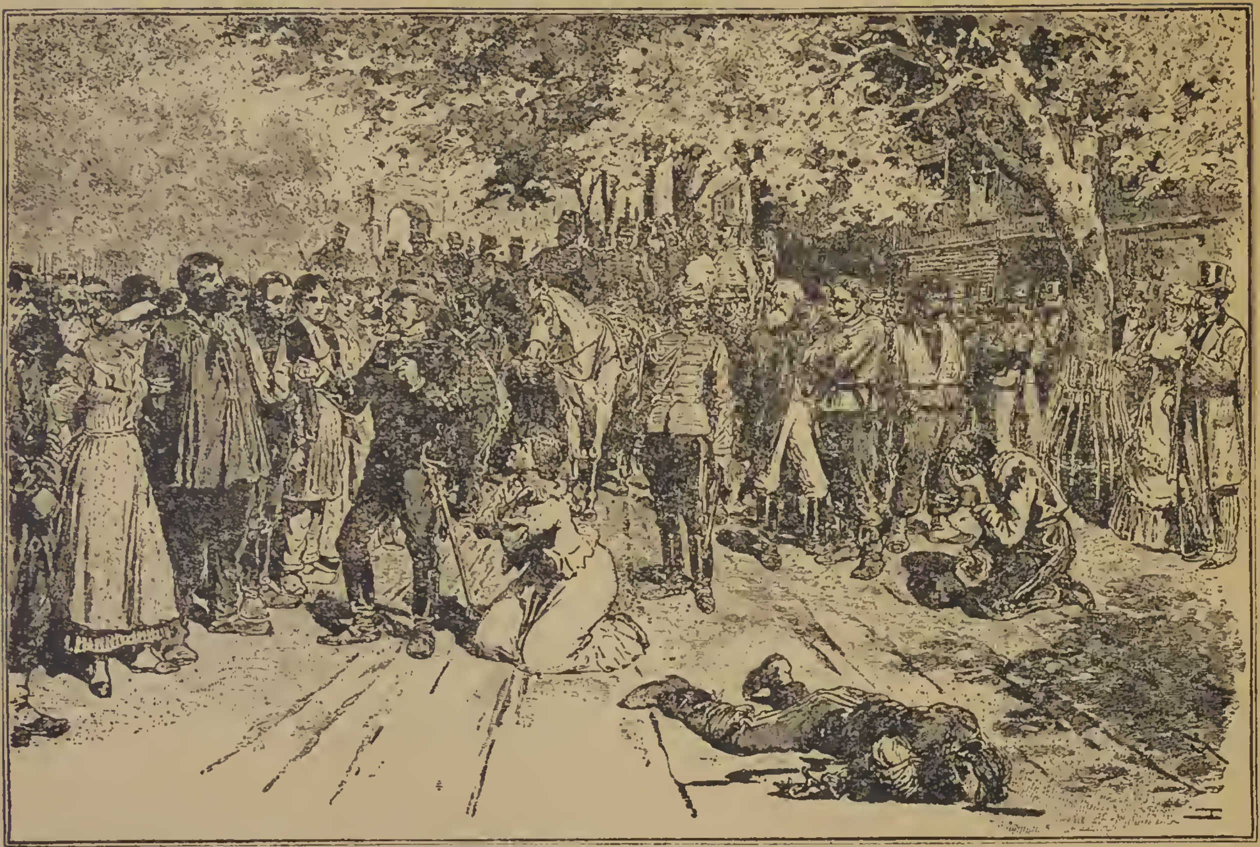
Mistakes of individuals, groups and factions have hindered, halted and sometimes confused. Short cuts have been heralded as revelations. But there is only one path toward a new life and that is the wide understanding that Production equals Distribution, that Distribution equals Acquisition and Acquisition equals Consumption.

To weld these into a purpose is the mission of the I.W.W. It is no greater, no less. Freedom from the wage system must be the act of the wage workers themselves. Politics, however enlightened, will not build up this new system. In all assemblies of talkers the orators will look out for themselves. So the wage workers, if they would be free, must meet at the point of production, where the only discussion is to save human labor power, to promote leisure and health. Scrap all mere talkers.

Wage workers must realize that the only good is security, or rather assurance that every baby born starts with the protection of all society. That everyone is a child in a world-wide human Commonwealth. Whether this can be done peacefully is a mere debate. It must be done at any and all costs. Either that or repression and suppression will be multiplied. On one horizon shines the sunrise on all the sky and land but on the outside is murk of murder, stealth and tyranny.

Workers of the World Unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a World to gain. Forget the past and face the dawn.

All Honor to the Communards!



GALLIFET SELECTS HIS VICTIMS

On March 18, 1871, in the midst of the war against the invading Prussians, the proletariat of Paris took charge of the city and commenced the establishment of workers' control in industry—the first such attempt in modern times.

How the capitalists took revenge after peace was made with the Germans is described in the following accounts from "The Civil War in France," by Karl Marx:

"The column of prisoners halted in the Avenue Uhrich, and was drawn up, four or five deep, on the footway facing to the road. General Marquis de Gallifet and his staff dismounted and commenced an inspection from the left of the line. Walking slowly and eyeing the ranks, the general stopped here and there, tapping a man on the shoulder or beckoning him out of the rear ranks. In most cases, without further parley, the individual thus selected was marched out into the center of the road, where a small supplementary column was thus soon formed . . . It was evident that there was considerable room for error. A mounted officer pointed out to General Gallifet a man and woman for some particular offence. This woman, rushing out of the ranks, protested her innocence in passionate terms. The general waited for a pause, and then with most impassable face and unmoved demeanor, said, 'Madame, I have visited every theatre in Paris, your acting will have no effect on me' (ce n'est pas la peine de jouer la comedie') . . . It was not a good thing on that day to be noticeably taller, dirtier, cleaner, older, or uglier than one's neighbors. One individual in particular struck me as probably owing his speedy release from the ills of this world to his having a broken nose . . . Over a hundred being thus chosen, a firing party was told off, and the column resumed its march, leaving them behind. A few minutes afterwards a dropping fire in our rear commenced, and continued for over a quarter of an hour. It was the execution of these summarily-convicted wretches."—**Paris Correspondent "Daily News," June 8, 1871.**

"The Temps, which is a careful journal, and not given to sensation, tells a dreadful story of people imperfectly shot and buried before life was extinct. A great number were buried in the Square round St. Jacques-la-Bouchiere; some of them very superficially. In the daytime the roar of the busy streets prevented any notice being taken; but in the stillness of the night the inhabitants of the houses in the neighborhood were roused by distant moans, and in the morning a clenched hand was seen protruding through the soil."—**Paris Correspondent, "Evening Standard," June 8, 1871.**

SYNDICALISM WILL TRIUMPH IN FRANCE

By

JOSEPH WAGNER

Curbed and almost crushed by the War, and diluted by infiltration of conservative elements, French Syndicalism re-asserts itself in recent crises and again shows the only way out for the workers.

Sometime ago, in an article published in the "Nation," entitled "Will France Go Syndicalist," Robert Dell, its author, who seems to me well acquainted with the French situation, expressed his opinion (which the present writer fully shares, that in all probability France will never tolerate a dictatorial regime of any kind, whether **fascist** or **bolshivik**, but, that when the present regime will give up its ghost in France, it will be followed by a **Syndicalist** commonwealth. He presented an array of facts in support of his thesis and the article was not only encouraging to the revolutionist but instructive to those of his readers **who are fairly well informed** about the objective, subjective and historical conditions peculiar to France and the French people in general and the French working class in particular.

However, I am afraid that most of the readers of the article missed the most important points raised therein. For, few people realize how hard it is to convey exact information to the American reader on social and political events taking place outside of the borders of the U. S. A. or at any rate, outside of the English speaking world, And, to be sure, it is just as difficult to convey precise information concerning American events to people of non-English speaking countries.

In either case, the average reader of newspapers or magazines is apt to get a more or less distorted picture of the situation, due to the fact that the meaning and expressions, though correctly translated have different values in different parts of the world, according to the different social, political and historical development of the various sections of the world. Thus, the term "republican," for instance, designates in many European and Asiatic countries some sort of a revolutionist, one who fights for, or at least desires a radical political transformation in his country, whereas in the U. S. A., which has been a republic ever since it formed itself into an independent state some sixteen decades ago, the term "republician" may—and generally does—designate a conservative, or even a rank reactionary. Yet, when reading foreign events even the well informed is liable to lose sight of such distinctions.

The above simple example could be multiplied indefinitely, but what particularly concerns us here is the misunderstandings concerning international labor situations. Even in labor and radical publications of all countries references are made to the "trade unions" movement in France, England, pre-Hitler Germany, etc., just as if the labor movements of those countries were the same, or mere parts of the same general body, and not as they really are—labor organizations belonging to at least three different and distinct systems of unionism. Failing to distinguish between them, and confusing them with each other, the stories read about them, often make no sense.

Trade Unionism

Up to the World War, the world's labor union movement, roughly speaking could be classified into three systems: (1) Trade Unionism; (2) "Free" or "Socialist" labor unionism; and (3) Syndicalism. (For the present we leave out of consideration the socalled unions "organized" by employers—company unions—the yellow unions organized by the Catholic and other Churches and those called into being and controlled by the various governments). Let us briefly examine these union schools in order to be able to make the contrasts.

Trade Unionism.—Although composed of workers, strictly speaking, trade unions are not **working class** organizations. They are not based on working class solidarity and on the recognition of the class struggle, but rather on capitalist **business principles and practices.** Trade unions do not even claim to promote or defend the interests of the working class as a whole; they do not even claim to represent the interests of **all** the workers in a given industry, nor even those of **all** the workers of a given craft or trade. Originally a trade union is formed by a restricted number of mechanics in a given trade, to benefit the members of the union thus formed by striving for a monoply over the jobs in the craft and by preventing by any and all means other skilled mechanics from working at the trade, and even preventing them from joining the union of their craft by prohibitively high initiation fees, by rigid technical examination, by the closing of the books of the union, etc. Thus trade unionism not only fails to develop class consciousness, it does not engender even craft consciousness.

In the industrially developed English-speaking world—the home of trade unionism—the craft union structure having become obsolete a long time ago, it has been subject to some modification in spots, from time to time, the latest being the C.I.O. movement. But the principle remains the same: repudiation of the class struggle, job monopoly on capitalist business principle. But this principle is even more obselete. Before the advent of big business there may have been some justification for the belief that a craft monopoly could be created by allowing into the union only as many workers as there are jobs; but in modern times with the great fluctuation in employment, with entire crafts being wiped out overnight, it is utterly ridiculous to think that a ratio can be maintained between the number of jobs in a given calling and the number of the members in the respective craft union. In order to man the jobs in a busy season, a large number of new members have to be admitted into the union and when times become "normal" (slack season) the members are thrown out of work in large numbers and are forced to compete (isn't competition the life of trade?) with each other for the few remaining jobs, in spite of union-established wage-scales, just as if they had no craft union at all.

One need not be fooled by the many inter-trade-union formations we happen to see on all hands: City, District, State Federations of Labor and the A. F. L.—into the belief that these indicate some sort of class solidarity, for they do not. These combinations are but the counterpart of the political machines and parliaments (city, state, national), where representatives of different and opposing interests gather to devise ways and means to keep peace between clashing interests and prevent open warfare between them.

For an example of the mentality engendered by trade unionism we may examine briefly one typical group of trade unionism in action, the building trades. Although all affiliated with the Building Trades Council, none of the crafts in the industry has any love or friendly feeling for the other crafts in the industry. Each of them feels in closer sympathy with the interests of the contractors than with that of the other building craftsmen. They reason: "Only when prosperous, can the contractor afford to pay us more wages." Consequently, the carpenters, for instance, hate to see the bricklayer, laborer, electrician, etc. get a wage increase for they figure that since the contractor can afford only so much for wages, the more he pays the other crafts the less chance remains for the carpenters to get their raise. Of course the other trades figure the same way.

As a rule there never is concerted action by the different building trades unions in the matter of negotiation of wage scales and working agreements. Even when the contracts of all the building trades expire at the same time, each craft negotiates separately and separate contracts are signed. As a rule most of the trades come to amicable settlement with the contractors, but at times one or more trades cannot do so and strikes result. The crafts at peace are displeased with such strikes because they interfere with **business**, with the regular and continuous work of the other craftsmen who consider themselves as "innocent bystanders." As the work of nearly all the building trades has to go on simultaneously, when one of the "basic" crafts is on strike the rest of the trades have soon to stop working unless some "scabbing" is done. If it is the carpenters who are striking, the bricklayers can work only a few hours when they have to quit unless certain carpenter work is done, such as setting door and window frames, floor joists, erecting bearing partitions, etc. This work in turn is tied up with the work of plumbers, electricians, etc. In some cases non-union carpenters are put to work, but more often, the bricklayers, laborers, plumbers, etc., do enough carpenter work to keep the job going. This is not done with the intention of scabbing on the striking carpenters, for they are all "good union men" and realize that it is unethical; they do it only in order to enable them to carry on their "legitimate" business, that of continuing to work at their trade as per agreement with the contractors.

And yet, practically the only reason for existence of the Building Trades Council is to maintain the closed shop in building construction, by preventing non-union men working on the building jobs. The Council is practically and exclusively a **solemn pact** between rival, and at times warring bodies, guaranteeing that the members of none of the affiliated groups will work on the same job with non-union craftsmen. Yet, in the commonly accepted interpretation of these unions, a union bricklayer becomes a "scab" the moment he picks up a plank and sets it up on the wall as a floor joist, or the moment he sets a window frame on top of the stone sill he has laid on the brick wall, whether the carpenters are on strike or not.

But the Building Trades' solemn pact works no more automatically than did the solemn pact signed by some three scores of nations, who agreed to apply sanctions to Italy in order to prevent her invasion of Ethiopia. Collectively these big hearted nations agreed to common action, but separately each of them got busy carying on her particular "business" in opposition to what she agreed on in the pact. It was not love for Mussolini, nor the desire to see Abbissynia exterminated that prompted the bolshevik rulers of Russia to furnish the gas and oil necessary for Italy to subjugate Ethiopia, but the necessity and the desire to do "business." And the same holds true of the Building Trades craft unions. For it takes some time before the carpenters' business agent is formally informed of the scabbing going on. He goes over and investigates, but as he has no power to order the other trades to desist from scabbing on the carpenters, he has to hunt up the business agents of the unions whose members were guilty of scabbing and induce them to come with him to "clean up" the job. But, by the time all this is gone through, enough scabbing has been accomplished to allow the job to go up another story. After which, other tricks can and will be used to get on with the job in spite of the carpenters' strike and the solemn pact of the Council.

"Socialist" Unionism

The operation of trades unionism in other industries varies in details from that of the building trades, but the underlying principles are the same. And whatever temporary and occasional benefits the members of these would be job trusts derive at the expense of the rest of the working class, it is certain that the interests of the working class are not advanced by trade unionism. Not because the workers composing it are anti-social, but because trade unionism in its pure and unadulterated sense is not a working class, but a capitalist "business" institution.

In many trade unions, socialists and other radicals are permitted to make fine speeches, and this may lead many to think that some of them are more "progressive" than others and that the entire trade union movement will eventually transform itself into instruments of working class emancipation. But this seeming "liberalism" means exactly nothing. It matters not whether you are a revolutionary socialist, anarchist or what not, once you get aboard the vessel of trade unionism—even if it is labeled C.I.O.—you travel not to some Utopia of your fancy, but where the vessel is headed for regardless of your political or philosophical conceptions.

"Free" or "Socialist" Labor unionism.—Up to the outbreak of the World War, the "Free" labor unions formed by far the largest, best organized and disciplined section of the world's labor union movement, embracing not only the numerically powerful labor unions of pre-Hitler Germany, but of the entire continental Europe, with the exception of France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and some other small sections where its influence was entirely or partly limited by that of the Syndicalists. These "Free" unions were organized, educated and led by the social-democratic parties of their respective countries, and in fact they were an integral part of those parties. Being largely the creations of the socialist parties, members of the "Free" unions, as a general rule recognize the class struggle and believe in the eventual passing away of capitalism and in the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

But in the social-democratic scheme the role of the unions was entirely limited to the day by day struggles in the shops and factories, regulating wages, hours and shop conditions, leaving the broader aspects of the class struggle in the care of the political party, whose leaders were alone considered fit to work out theories, tactics and strategies for the unions as well as for the party. Even in the strictly shop struggles more reliance was placed on legislation than in the direct action of the workers through their unions. As a rule, especially before the World War, party and union were but two departments of the same organization. A worker joining the union of his calling would automatically become a party member. In this partnership, the union was very much a junior partner and was kept in that minor role. The most active, talented and militant of the union members would be drawn away from union activity and used for the political section. Instead of developing union fighters, good parliamentarians were produced in abundance.

This arrangement reduced the unions to "pure and simpledom," to a mere appendage of the political party and prevented them from ever developing into independent organs of the working class, capable of carrying on their mission as **working class organizations** at such times that the political party would fail them as it certainly did when the World War broke out and the party machinery aligned itself with the war machine of their masters dragging their "Free" unions with them; and later when fascism came to power in Germany. The powerful unions of Germany having been formerly "integrated" into the social-democratic party, were taken over by the Nazis without a struggle and "reintegrated" into the totalitarian Nazi state.

With the majority of the European countries gone fascist or semi-fascist, with the socialist parties reduced to impotence, the importance of the "Free" unions in the class struggle diminished to near zero point. Even though they still have a large number of adherents, "Free" or "Socialist" unionism is turning into traditional "trade unionism," and politically they are reduced to supporters of a waning bourgeois democracy.

Syndicalism

Syndicalism.—In the romance languages, the term **syndicalism** means simply **unionism,** but in the course of time the term came to be internationally adopted as the name of a certain type of labor unionism. There is very little difference if any between syndicalism, anarcho-syndicalism and revolutionary syndicalism. The last term very well covers them all. Syndicalist labor unionism is based on the class struggle and the solidarity of the working class locally, nationally and internationally. Its main tenents are: (1) labor unions, by the use of direct action, are all sufficient for the everyday struggles of the workers against the employers: (2) labor unions by the use of direct action are the only agency for the overthrow of the present system of exploitation of the working class and the inauguration of a new, classless society; and (3) labor unions are the only organs capable of carrying on production and distribution after the present capitalist system is abolished.

In both theory and practice, syndicalism leaves no function for the political parties and politicians, and mighty little for the "labor leader." Rank and file initiative and rule is considered as the mainspring of progress; dictatorship of any kind is detested. According to the foregoing the I.W.W. belongs to this system of unionism although it has never so designated itself.

The most conspicuous representative of revolutionary syndicalism at the present time is the Spanish C.N.T. but as readers of this magazine are well acquainted with the C.N.T. in action, on account of its magnificent role in the Spanish war and revolution, there is no need to discuss it here.

Syndicalism in France

For nearly two decades preceding the outbreak of the World War, the French syndicalist C.G.T. (General Confederation of Labor) held the international stage center. The question asked by Dell, "Will France Go Syndicalist" was a very actual and pertinent question, often asked at the time by people, including politicians and statesmen of France and abroad. Dr. Louis Levine of Columbia University, in his book "Syndicalism in France," published in 1914 but covering the subject to the end of 1910 says: "What is the future that may be predicted for the General Confederation of Labor? Will the synthesis of revolutionism and of unionism that has been achieved in it continue more or less stable until the 'final' triumph of the revolutionary syndicalists? Or will the latter be overpowered by the 'reformist' elements who will impress their ideas on the Confederation and who will change the character of French syndicalism?" These questions cannot at present be answered . . ."

And Dr. Levine ends his book with this paragraph: "The struggle has already begun. The government of the Republic is determined to put an end to the revolutionary activities of the syndicalists. It is urged on by all those who believe that only the weakness of the government has been the cause of the strength of the Syndicalists. On the other hand, the Syndicalists are determined to fight their battle to the bitter end. What the outcome may be is hidden in he mystery of the future. **Qui vivera-verra** (who will live will see)."

Yes, the C.G.T. was a great power then in France. The government's determination to stamp it out, as Levine mentions, did not succeed, and the C.G.T. continued to grow in importance for another four years. Then the war broke out, and with it patriotic fever. But even so, on the eve of the war the C.G.T. felt that organized labor should prevent its outbreak. It proposed to the German Trade Unions that a general strike be called in France and Germany to prevent mobilization and war. The offer was coldly turned down. "When the Fatherland is at war, the German worker is a German first of all," was the answer.

As a reaction to this many influential leaders of the C.G.T. became favorable to defend the country against invasion. The tide had turned, war hysteria with foreign troops invading their country ruined for the time being the work of years. War opponents were either sent to the first line trenches to get killed there, or were thrown in jails. War industry drew new, peasant elements into the factories in large numbers. By agreement between the union and the war government these new proletarians were forced into the unions. The entire mentality of the French working class changed by this infusion of the traditionally conservative peasant element into the proletariat.

The bolshevik revoluton and the subsequent efforts of bolshevization of the labor organizations of all countries demoralized the French working class. The old guard of the syndicalists was scattered and the unions now lacking experience, could not resist the simultaneous attacks on its two fronts: on one side the bolsheviks and on the other the socialists who wished for "Free' unionism in France as a good hunting ground for socialist politicians. It seemed that the question asked by Dr. Levine: ". . . or will the C.G.T. be overpowered by the 'reformist' elements who will impress their ideas on the Confederation and change the character of French syndicalism?" woud have to be answered in the affirmative.

One of the 1936 sit-down strikes in Paris

Disruption and Revival

After the war the 'reformist" element was dominating the C.G.T. which was being transformed into "Free" or "Socialist" unions. In 1920 the revolutionary and the communist elements in the C.G.T. revolted and split from the C.G.T. taking more than half the membership. There were now two Confederations warring against each other, one affiliated with the Red International and the other with the Amsterdam International. Trouble soon developed in the seceding federation. The communists got into control excluding the syndicalists and using the unions as an auxiliary for the zig-zagging Comunist Party of France.

The excluded unionists formed autonomous industrial unions. For sixteen years a scandalous policy of disruption of the labor movement followed. Membership fell down especially in the communist controlled outfit and unionism became a by-word. The great mass of workers, who always take keen interest in the doings of the unions got disgusted and kept away from them. The conditions of the workers became unbearable. The fascists were parading the streets in military formation fully armed, making no secret of their intention to take power by force.

Then something that will seem strange to an American happened: The unorganized workers, filled with revolutionary syndicalist tradition, suddenly and spontaneously became active. They flocked to the meetings of socialists and communists, to meetings of communist and socialist unions and by heckling and other demonstrations forced all meetings into unity meetings, preventing speakers to talk unless they favored unity. In spite of their past grudges the socialist and communist parties formed united fronts and the two confederations and the autonomous unions made organic unity.

The fascist forces were routed, the Popular Front parties won the election and the workers started a series of strikes in 1936, that amazed everybody. The outside workers not only forced unity on the warring factions, but now flocked in uninvited (and most of the time unwelcome) and increased the union membership from less than one million to five millions. Sitdown strikes were inaugurated with unexpected success, thus demonstrating to all concerned that the old syndicalist tradition was still alive with the French workers.

Communist Instrusion

The masses were able to give a powerful push to the mired union machine and get it out of the rut in 1936, but, of course, they were not trained to officer it. So the communists, who are past masters in demagogy, succeeded to capture the offices of the most important unions but instead of carrying on the work of unionism so well started in 1936, they, as usual began to maneuvre for positions, to get rid of non-bolshevik officials in order to gain control for the communist party of the entire labor union movement. The net result was that not only no more gains were made by the workers since 1936, but they even lost some of the previous gains. However, the latter part of 1937, another push was started from below and the communists seem to be heeding the signs and are acting accordingly, or if not that, then they must have gotten orders from the incomparable Stalin, to tend to business and cut out all foolishness. But, I had better let **M. Chambelland**, the French syndicalist, talk to you through the "**Revolution Proletarienne**" for a few minutes:

End of the Year Fights

"As in 1936, the end of 1937 has been marked by some important social conflicts. Hardly has the successful struggle of the large department stores employees for the renewal of their collective contract been won, thanks to the occupation of the stores by the employees, than the strike of the Commercial Truck drivers, and that of the employees of the Food Stuffs depots has broken out. At the same time the Goodrich plant at Colombes has been occupied by the strikers on orders from the Chemical Products' Union. An attempt to vacate them with the aid of armed force caused several sympathy strikes in the neighboring metal shops, and for several hours there was talk even of a general strike in the entire metal industry. Then on Wednesday, Dec. 29, a general strike of the Public Service of Paris broke out.

"One cannot help laughing when one remembers the correspondence between the president of the Council (Chautemps) and the Executive Board of the C. G. T. last September. Mr. Camille Chautemps, in answer to some complaints from the National Committee of the C. G. T. promises but he also notes with great satisfaction that the C. G. T. renounces henceforth the methods of "occupation." With a C. G. T. that is determined from now on to respect property and the law, they will live in an idyllic social peace.

"Proudly the Board of the C. G. T. declared—unanimously, and that includes the Communists—that the Board accepts and approves the answer of the President of the Council. Yet in less than three months, we are assisting at a whole series of fights, which shows the foolishness of such fine promises. Less than three months later, under the control of the C. G. T., the employees of the large department stores are occupying, the workers of the Goodrich plant are occupying, those of the commercial transportation are occupying, those of the foodstuffs are occupying. Even the auto-bus barns were occupyed by the employees of the Bus transportation company. What would it have been if the tactics of occupying of the shops would not have been given up!

"The rank and file militants will get some good points out of these first lessons of the great year-end fights. Too bad for the big shots if they don't want to see them.

"In the first place the employees of the large department stores have demonstrated that the occupation of the shops offers an efficacy that no other tactics offer any longer.

"But it becomes immediately evident that here as in the old style strikes, the occupation is a method that should be employed only at the proper time, when the employers can be hit in a live spot, not at a moment when they can afford to meet the fight without much loss to themselves. I have no precise knowledge on commercial transportation or on foodstuffs, but at the time I am writing this it seems to me that the "occupants" are tiring out, that the bosses' truculence seems to indicate that they have a studied plan aiming at the destruction of the unions and that their plan has chances of success. I think that it could be said that if the strength of occupation like that of the strike, is in its suddeness, then its weakness is in its prolongation.

"Another thing: Increasing number of our militants, who were mixed up in fights, find that arbitration yields the workers nothing but deception. It is already a fact that in spite of the law, strikes break out before arbitration processes are gone through. And it is also a fact that even when it is invoked, arbitration awards are slow in coming, they are inconclusive and full of loopholes for the employers to crawl through. We see that enforcing of the awards are impeded and sabotaged by the Employers' Union. Does that mean that the union should hereafter reject arbitration and rely on its own efforts exclusively for obtaining results?

"Such a revival of direct action would dispel the mistrust, that is growing daily between the rank and file and the officials of the union. In support of this contention I will mention only the spontaneous rebellion of the metal workers in the Colombes district, who took action against the attempt to vacate the Goodrich shops with the aid of the Mobile Guard. At Colombes, it seems that it was the rank and file that forced the leaders to action, and to speak to the higher ups in a language we have not been accustomed to hear lately.

"Our leaders are sometimes forced to apply the famous saying: 'I am their leader, therefore I have to follow them." This is not very good. It would be preferable that the militants should maintain the initiative in the fights, we might then have some strategy. Never was our union so strong as at present and yet never were the efforts of the membership less organized. To take action only when the pressure from below is too strong, results in haphazard, untimely strikes, lacking connections, as it happened lately.

"Finally, we should note the evolution of the second Popular Front government towards the classical methods of representing the labor movement. First is the case of Colombes and the Goodrich plant. Then the intervention of the army in the transport strikes. And above all the threats against the Public Service workers of Paris, on general strike. It is false to say it was provoked by leaders. The leaders were in fact literally pushed to the strike by the masses, exasperated by the meager results their petitions to the government had. If Mr. Chautemps wanted to strike at those responsible for the strike, he should have fired Mr. Villey the Prefect, and called down Marx Dormoy, Secretary of the Interior who passed the buck to his Prefect. But, Mr. Chautemps preferred to rely on force: refusing to discuss with the strikers, sending them aggressive communication; bringing in the army to run the electric, gas plants, the subway and the buses. This entire beautiful program was to be put in application Thursday morning, unless the strikers during the previous night would vote to return to work.

"And do you know on what assurance they voted to return to work?

"The return to work was voted on the assurance given by the socialist members of the government that if they (the strikers) do not get entire satisfaction of their demands, they will resign their posts in the government.

"On that evening of strike, one could already feel the Noske air in Paris, and this answer of Paul Faure settled things. But, doesn't this affair show what the Popular Front is virtually dead, and that from now on the C. G. T. cannot remain in it if it really wants to defend the interests of the workers?

"The leaders may say and do what they will, but the workers will find their salvation only in the revival of full independence of syndicalism from political and governmental interference and in direct action. The great fights of the end of 1937 incontestably prove it."

Get a Better Boat, Boys

By T-BONE SLIM

I cannot understand why politicians persists in hatching their eggs in labor's nest; nor can I understand why labor permits it. Why do they not hatch their eggs in their own nest? Is their nest so foul they have to use labor's?

Rank and file tells me the Communist party is trying to hatch out some doorknobs in the N. M. U. No harm in that except that it keeps the nest occupied so that the seamen cannot hatch any real eggs. Since when has a politician turned into a highsea mariner?

Seamen maintain halls, pay the rent so that politicians can strut their stuff and take up seamen's time from important matters. Politics has absolutely no remedy for seamen's ills. Once politics gets into a labor union it cannot be bailed out, deeper and deeper sinks the yawl.

Seamen, you have a Jonah in your boat. Better change boats.

All th gains seamen have made have been without political action, and will be lost with it. Politicians follow labor action like a tern follows ships—but they do not go far to sea.

They have no action of their own so they appear suddenly in the midst of labor action. WHY? I wonder—why do the "leaders" appear after the action is started? Think it over.

Don't Know Their Own Stuff

My contention is: politicians understand neither political action or labor action. The best they can do is set one body of workers against the other. Workers themselves have no quarrel.

Political action is by its nature—slow. Were we to get our eggs through political action they would be over-ripe before they arrive—we'd be glad to get rid of 'em. So it is with everything political—relief comes to you thirty days after you are in jail for stealing bread.

You aren't supposed to be in jail, you are supposed to be dead—starved to death. Why couldn't you wait and let nature take its course? But why wait for jail or death just to please political muddlers? Why not join the I. W. W.?

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Compromise is a loss to the workers.

When there is no mush in the cupboard, and none likely to be, it's a poor time to talk compromise; it, the mush, is or isn't present; and compromise spells isn't.

We do not need generals to get us "isn't," the boss hands us that without help from the labor generals of this work-a-day world.

We do not need labor generals to get us relief rations; the economic power of begging gets us the scrawny relief tickets automatically—begging adventures are followed by souplines, for uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.

Economic power will feed, clothe, shelter, and free the workers—generals never did, never will.

Join the I. W. W.

Economic power is the only power the workers have—only the workers have it. Parasites are using borrowed power—our power, our lawnmower, and our hired man tu push it. Let's make them return it. The world needs a haircut.

Revolutionary Syndicalism In Britain

By ETHEL McDONALD

Actually the organized labor movement in Britain is dead. This is due to the fact that parliamentary socialism is no longer trusted by the worker owing to the record of the two Labor governments. The workers have come to realize that parliamentary socialism supports Imperialism and Empire and is not the road to their emancipation, and parliamentarians feel that this has justified their criticisms and prophecies of the past thirty years.

This result however is barren or purely negative, because the workers do not appreciate the relation betweent parliament and trades unionism. It stands to reason that the workers could not be betrayed on the political field unless they were also betrayed on the industrial field. Reformism is the essence of trades unionism and it is reformism that reconciles the worker to the Capitalist system. The joint nature of the betrayal of the working-class was demonstrated in the mis-called General Strike of 1926 when the very persons who had previously betrayed the workers through parliamentary action also betrayed them at the time of industrial action through the medium of the General Council of the Trades Unions.

The classic example of the parliamentary and capitalist nature of trades unionism was found in the case of the late John Turner who was an Anarchist and also General Secretary of the Shop Assistants' Union First as organizer, and later as secretary, John Turner's duties compelled him to support parliamentarism, whilst his approach towards Revolutionary Syndicalism was purely academic.

The history of trades unionism in Britain proves beyond doubt that the Labor Party is the child of the craft union. Kier Hardie for example, only obtained standing as a labor leader when he identified the Independent Labor Party with the trade union. During the war the bloc vote of the trades unions robbed Ramsay MacDonald of his leadership of the Labor Party. Under James Maxton the influence of the I.L.P. has dwindled to nothing because the trades unions are behind the Labor Party. Every vote in parliament of the Labor Party, and of its different elements, can be traced to this or that union represented by the particular member speaking or voting. Today therefore, the task of anti-parliamentarism as such is to pass from its excellent criticism of parliamentarism as such to make war on trades unionism on the industrial field. The time has come to unfold the banner of revolutionary syndicalism and so give practical expression to the ideas of libertarianism or true revolutionary socialism.

It is only necessary to relate the details of trades union history in relation to the more important workers struggles to understand the reactionary role played by the British trades union leader.

Trades Union Activity

Let us begin with the demarcation disputes. These prove that the purpose of trade or craft unionism in Britain has been not to pursue the class struggle or to inaugurate socialism but to better the lot of one section of the workers at the expense of another section in a perfect cycle of futility. Here is the record of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers from 1865 to 1904 inclusive.

1865—Dispute with boilermakers over A.S.E. men working as angle iron-smiths.

1881—Fight with shipwrights.

1889—Blackleged fellow Trade Unionists during the strike at Silver's Works, Silvertown.

1890-2—Persistent demarcation disputes with Tyne plumbers and boilermakers.

1894—Demarcation disputes with scientific makers at Weymouth.

1895—Similar quarrel with steam-engine makers at Burton-on-Tyne.

1896—With milling machine hands and brass finishers at Earl's of Hull, and Thornycroft's of Chiswick.

1897—Historic struggle with master-class; supported by machine workers and steam-engine makers. Blacklegged by moulders, smiths and boilermakers. Last mentioned blacklegged because their funds were invested in Armstrong, Whitworth and Co.

1899—Demarcation fight with smiths on the Tyne.

1904—Same with Electrical Trades Union in Harland and Wolff's Yard at Belfast.

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* The author is a member of the United Socialists, a British Anarcho-Syndicalist movement. She was in Barcelona for some time after the commencement of the civil war and edited the English radio broadcasts. After the events of last May she was deported, it is presumed on the initiative of the Communist party.

Time remedied none of these grievances. These demarcation disputes continued down to the very outbreak of the war. There are records of disputes over the studding of armour plates between boilermakers and engineers in which the employers were called upon to settle the dispute. Similar disputes arose over the making of bulwark stanchions and rudder quadrants.

Then there were disputes between the engineers and the plumbers over pipe fitting. In every case the employer settled the differences between the unions. In some cases strikes preceeded the settlement; not strikes by the workers against the employers but strikes by the workers against each other. There is the classic statement of the secretary of the Portsmouth Branch of the Coppersmiths and Metalworkers who complained "of the activity of the boilermakers, plumbers, etc., in claiming work that had been done hitherto by coppersmiths." This report declared that the purpose of the organization was **"to prevent coppersmiths walking the streets whilst men of other trades are employed on work done previously by us."**

No comment is necessary to show how thoroughly reactionary has been the role of trades unionism in Great Britain. From 1912-1914, the **Herald of Revolt**, the anti-parliamentary **"Organ of the Coming Social Revolution,"** described in detail this phase of Trades Unionism.

Organized for Defeat

That trades unionism is unable to organize the workers' struggle has been demonstrated by the history of the great dock strike. Ben Tillet whose political and parliamentary record is that of a war jingo has retained his hold on the Labor movement purely and simply through ignorance and illiteracy of ordinary British Trades Unionists. In July, 1912, he published a manifesto on behalf of the dock workers giving the history of Trades Unionism since 1893. In that manifesto he showed that in 1911, the dock workers' struck without holding a trade union card, paralyzed shipping and won their strike. The following year they were organized into a trade union, struck again and were completely defeated. Further, in the second strike the trade union dockers of one port handled the goods sent by blacklegs from another port with the result that the workers were thoroughly demoralized.

The thing that brought about the defeat on that occasion has operated several times since, particularly among the railway workers; the accumulation of funds and the investment in the very industry in which the strikers were employed. As Dominion Secretary, Mr. J. H. Thomas persuaded the National Union of Railwaymen to invest its funds in a vast network of British Imperial finance that identified trades unionism with the ruling-class interests of the British Empire. In 1923, the peculiar organization for work and wages outlook of British trades unionism was demonstrated when the Clyde workers rejoiced at the promises made by Stanley Baldwin that the Government was placing more ship orders on the Clyde. At Tyneside the trades unionists protested that the warship orders should go to the Tyne. This is an index to the mentality and outlook of trades unionism.

We can pass over the General Strike. Supported by the Communist Party, the General Council of the Trades Union finally betrayed the workers' struggle and turned what was actually a revolutionary situation into a triumph for reaction.

The 1926 strike was the last word in the betrayal of the British miner that began with the Datum line struggle in 1921. From that date to 1926, the Miners' Federation steadily retreated. The miners threw up one leader after another and each leader betrayed them in turn.

In 1925, the mine bosses were in despair and the Government granted a nine months subsidy. Instead of rejecting this concession the parliamentarians and the trade union leaders rejoiced at a bogus victory, at a peace that was a capitalist preparation for war.

In 1926 came the strike and the debacle. This should have ended the history of trades unionism in Britain. It has not done so because the mind of the British worker is still reformist. He is afraid. Fear is the explanation of parliamentarism and trades unionism. It is our business to awaken courage and develop syndicalist activity.

Syndicalist Revival

There is some promise of such awakening in the Omnibus Workers' Strike in the spring of this year. The Transport industry, so far as the road traffic is concerned was completely paralyzed and it was admitted that the strike was directed not only against the company but also against the Transport General Workers Union. The trade union officials repudiated the Strike Committee and made agreements behind the backs of the workers with the 'bus chiefs and government traffic commissioners. The unofficial action was 100 per cent and the trade union leaders had a rough passage. Although the strike was finally broken there is not the least doubt the transport workers will rally again. The United Socialist Movement intends to develop powerful syndicalist activity among these workers. It should be pointed out that there are four opposing unions canvasing for the Transport Workers. Just consider what a chaos of organization, or rather disorganization this implies.

The condition of the Transport Workers in Scotland brings us to a complete indictment of current Labor Parliamentarism. In Glascow there is a Labor majority in the Town Council, a Labor Lord Provost and a Labor City Treasurer. This Labor majority has decided to have an Empire Trading Exhibition in Glascow during the coming year. The parasites of the world are being invited to visit Glascow. This creates a tremendous transport problem. It was necessary to keep the workers quiet. Accordingly, with their Marxist understanding of economics the Labor majority met the Transport Workers Trade Union leaders and came to an agreement. The question of hours, which owing to its tax on the nervous energy of the worker, is a scandal never dealt with. The agreement conceded to the Transport Workers from the age of 14 to 19 an increase of one shilling per week; and to those over 19 an increase of two shillings. This agreement is binding for two years. It covers the period of the Empire Exhibition and the union pledges the workers not to strike. This is trades union treachery up to date.

The United Socialist Movement, which is an anti-parliamentary body and continues the tradition of the old anti-parliamentary movement founded in 1906, is entering the field of industrial action with a view to forming an Industrial Union of Direct Action (I.U.D.A.). The purpose of this activity and method of organization is not industrial unionism in the sense of a vast centralized body outside the workship, although it is opposed to the craft form of trade unionism. Its theory and method is syndicalist and it intends to organize along the lines of solidarity, spontaneous action and no agreements with employers. In other words its activity is preliminary to revolution and its conception to what has become to be known historically as Bakunist and not Marxist.

The Industrial Union of Direct Action was first mooted in 1906 but was discarded for intensified anti-parliamentary agitation on the political field. The workers did not seem to be ripe for syndicalism. This organization, the I.U.D.A., is being revived to meet the situation. Glascow which is a highly industrialized center and a port and is a center of the important Lanaskshire coal-fields is the very place in which to build syndicalism. The coming Empire Exhibition, and its support by the labor parliamentarians and trade union leaders is our opportunity.

It may be that in the development of our activities here, the workers on the Continent may be able to give us great support. We should endeavor by economic action to throw up forces that will challenge and paralyze the Empire Exhibition. If we are successful in organizing the strike at which we aim we shall need the support of the Continental workers in proclaiming a boycott. Declarations to this effect by the French workers would assist our organization here. Not only is there an opportunity of evincing the power of syndicalism in Britain but the intention to re-open the Paris Exhibition would also afford a splendid opportunity to the French workers to strike. In this way a united syndicalist movement of action pioneering an entirely new era of struggle could be built in France and Britain. By this action, French and British workers are brought into line.

FACTFUL FABLES

By COVINGTON HALL

All About Saving Uncle Sam

Once upon a time there was a grand old man named Uncle Sam. He ran away from his Mamma Brittania when he was a youngster, or rather, he thought he did. But Mamma always kept an eye on him, hunching that some day he would grow rich, powerful and prosperous. He did.

After his imaginary escape from Mamma he landed on a big and exceedingly fertile island. Being even then a man of big ideas, he promptly homesteaded all the middle and most salubrious part of it as his private property. This he did to the violent protests of the Amerinds who, being there first, had acquired the hallucination that they had some rights newcomers were bound to respect. This hallucination, however, proved fatal to the Amerinds, for bows and arrows aint in with cannon and muskets when it comes to deciding who are the Chosen People, or who is to go back where they came from.

Well, however that may be, Sam and his crowd in time made themselves masters of a goodly slice of the island, and the more they saw of it the more they wanted. They were never satisfied. But before they cleaned up on the Amerinds, Sam and his Mamma, who still insisted on holding on to his apron strings, had a falling out. In the scrimmage, he licked Mamma, or rather, he thought he did. Humans are given to thinking many things that aint so.

Mamma let go of his apron strings, alright. but she took good care to see to it that the Right People were there to see to it that the Boy was well taken care of. He was. Somebody was always saving him. Everywhere he went, a whole slew of Doctors, Doctors of Law, Doctors of Divinity, Doctors of Philosophy, Doctors of Economics, Doctors of Doctors followed him day and night trying to swap him Panaceas for Property. Always they swore he'd die of heartfailure or belliake if he didn't take their dope. Even when he was young, strong and husky they'd scare him into swallowing some concoction that only made matters worse. They never let up on him, and are still at it. All thru middle-age and on they doped him. He got to be the Champion Patent Medicine taker of all time, an then some. And so it went, goes, and is going.

First Dr. Ima Donk cupped and calomeled him and next Dr. Elephunt sweated and casteroiled him, both insisting that if they cured the Symptons the Disease would disappear. About the only thing to disappear, however, was Sam's Property and the Patrimony of his children; for, as the old saying has it, Brains Come High, and it is a well-known fact that Experts are not in Business for their Health. So, as you can hunch, our good old Uncle all but took the count more than once. This thing of being Saved aint all it's cracked-up to be. Ask Uncle Sam. "He knows! He knows! He knows!" as the wise Omar saith.

But that aint the worst of it. This Saving has gone on now for over 150 years, and still they are doping him, this despite the fact that the old boy is just about shot. He is now really and truly sick. The Angel Azrael is knocking at his door. His recuperative powers are not what they were in the days before Doctors Big Bizz and High Finance were called into consultation by Doctors Repdem and Demrep. Nonetheless, they one and all still insist that "Dope, Dope and More Dope is what he needs to make him sit up and take notice once more." "Faith and Confidence," they swear, "is all he needs to feel as Prosperous as of yore." One and all they become indignant when old Dr. Commonsense butts in and says, "What he needs is a Major Operation. Cut the Graft out of his Guts and he'll live hale and hearty for at least another thousand years, happy in the midst of happy and admiring children."

Sensible as that sounds, however, and surprising as it seems to some people, his children will have none of it. Instead they order Dr. Commonsense out of the hospital and call in Doctors Bunk, Blah, Blatherskite and Buncombe, who immediately proceed by incantation to Exorcise the Hoodoo and bring Prosperity around the Corner, hoping that the sight of her will make the old boy forget the cancers that are eating at his vitals, as she often does.

These failing, and Dr. Commonsense being shut up in an asylum, some one suggests sending for old Dr. Hoss Sense, who lives at the Forksotheroad. "What!" cry his children, "send for that old idiot? He's been insisting for years that all Uncle Sam needs is to get rid of the Parasites that are sucking the lifeblood out of him. 'Get rid of the Parasites,' says he, 'and Sam will soon be strong and healthy again.' No, he won't do. He's worse than Dr. Commonsense."

So they called in Doctors Dumb, Dodge & Doolittle, who said: "Pooh! There isn't a thing the matter with him. He's all right. All he needs is a few days rest in bed and, maybe, a few drops of lemon oil and, possibly, a psychiatrist to get the delusion out of his mind that he is broke with one-third of his children illfed, illclothed and illhoused and more going on the rocks every day. That's all. He's okay except in his imagination."

"Wonderful! Wonderful!" cry all the Hoi Poilloi, and Everybody who is Anybody shouts: "Hurrah! WE told you so! Nothing is Wrong with Our Country! Nothing can stop US!" And it was even so as they had said, even More So. And one and all they departed to the Ballotbox and there voted another change of Doctors, provided none ever prescribed the Remedies suggested by Doctors Commonsense & Hoss Sense. After which Labor and Capital signed a Contract agreeing to Recognize each other, provided Brother Capital took no responsibility for furnishing jobs to the jobless and was, further, guaranteed the Profit guaranteed him by the Constitution, work or no work, crops or no crops, all Surpluses to the contrary notwithstanding.

This remarkable contract was supposed to act as THE KNOCKOUT DROPS to Uncle Sam's depressed state, but what I can't get into my nutt is howinhel Doping the Symptoms can Remedy the Situation or cure the Disease, or how you can get milk out of a Dry Cow. I may be crazy and I'm no Great Shakes as an Expert, but I'm all for calling in old Docs Hoss Sense and Commonsense and having them get busy on our good old Uncle before he kicks the bucket. And, you believe me, there is no time to lase!

Moral

Saving Uncle Sam is all right. He's worth it. But for God's sake, if not for our own and our Country's, let's hurry up and call in Surgeons before the Butchers harp and crown him. Therefore, Can the Bull and Get Busy doing something, for, as the Great Prophet Simple Simon saith: "The making of Much Palaver may be good Politics, and again it may not, but its Extension in The Record is the Limit; and he who talketh too often from the Fireside is liable to wake up finding himself wishing on his Sucessor what Buchanan the Benevolent bequeathed to Abraham the Emancipator—a Gordian Knot that only the Sword can Unite."

"O Lord of Love, look from above
On po' ol' Uncle Sam;
An' give him meat dat's fit to eat,
'Cause dis aint worf a dam."

MEAT FOR SUPPER

By
GEFION

Morning

The alarm clock of the Andy Bromberger family shack reverberated through the dark and chilly bedroom. Its arm beat a buzzing reveille against the brass bell, finally to die in a metallic rattle. Andy had lain awake long. He stretched himself and yawned. For him there was no need of an alarm clock—Nay, nay! It merely saved him the trouble of striking a match to tell the time. In his toilsome ups and downs through life, the stern duty of being on the job promptly and in ample time to ascertain the score for the day, and to exchange possible morning's pleasantries with his boss, had petrified itself in Andy's innermost brain cells to the extent that he would rise automatically, no matter what hour of morning the benefactors of humankind decreed the toil of day should commence. And Andy Bromberger, honest worker par excellence, was not a little proud of the fact that no alarm clock was needed to get him out of the hay—that such galvanization was at all unnecessary in order to send him scurrying through a murky and chilly winter's morning to the fountainhead of family bread and butter. Of course, in summer it was mere kid's play to roll out. And then the alarm clock ticked its calm seconds through the brightness of morning.

Minnie Bromberger stirred at the side of her wakeful spouse. She stretched and turned over. Andy never could get it through his head why his old lady couldn't get out of the nutty habit of what she called an extra forty winks. It was nothing but namby-pamby. When it was time to roll out, it was time. But Minnie simply had to stretch and tuck herself in for her silly extra snooze. And it had ever been so.

He could dimly see the whiteness of her neck against her dark hair. He knew it to be a full and handsome neck. But the mornings were long gone and past since he last had pressed a kiss upon that neck and whispered words for Minnie's ears only. He felt silly when he thought of it. He stuck his legs from under the covers and groped for his ancient bathrobe. It smelt of stale sweat. He shook his better half and told her it was high time to get up. From the adjoining room came the variant breathing of sleeping children.

Andy got the fire going in the kitchen stove and went into the back yard to see what kind of weather the day might bring. He gazed up into the gray morning. A strong wind was swaying the slender vertical branches of a Eucalyptus tree in the back of the yard. Its plumes whirled gracefully through the morning's half-light and became a dark bouquet. Then the wind relented and they floated out into gyrating clusters. Out toward the San Francisco Bay, the beacon on the airport punched its rotating red light beams through the soupy morning as if it were a giant doing arm exercises. Down on the flats, the town sprawled toward the winding shores of the bay. Indolently, the fog came drifting up toward the highlands and laid the plumes of the Eucalyptus upon a cushion of dripping grayness. But toward the north, the hills still stood etched in sharp relief. Their outline rose and fell like the sharp-drawn curve on a graph. On the crest of one grew a single row of cypresses. They stood there in the gray dawning day, stiff and black like the cropped mane on a horse's neck. Then the fog wrapped hills and trees in its dank gauze.

But in the nerve centers of Andy Bromberger's stout and honest body, the early manifestations of Nature's varying moods stirred no other response than that the fog likely would keep rain away. And, Christ, it had rained plenty! Three days in last period to make up—it was about time for a little decent weather. Well, anyway, today the ghost would walk, today was payday, mused Andy as he turned his steps to the kitchen for his morning's flapjacks and coffee.

Minnie was beating the batter under the watchful and hungry eyes of the four Bromberger biological distillations. They were all girls—Betty Marie, Patricia, Jane and Lou. If placed in a row, according to age, they would have appeared like figures in a chart purporting to show the steady increase in the country's population. For they had come into the Bromberger household with the clock-like regularity of one year intervals. Their faces bore the pallid imprint of too little milk, fruit and vegetables. They were watching Ma making hot cakes—and hot cakes tasted good—with syrup—could they please have some with Daddy? Minnie said to shut up and not to bother—Daddy had to get to work.

Andy scraped his feet on the back stoop. He came in, bringing with him the dampness of the morning's fog. It mingled with the smell of unwashed bodies, steaming hot cakes and the faint recollections of last night's supper. He said it wasn't going to rain and for Betty Marie to get herself and her sisters dressed.

Minnie poured him a cup of muddy soffee and placed four hot cakes before him. She stretched her arms above her head and yawned—she wouldn't have minded another forty winks. Her four offsprings had left her a still buxom woman. Unpaid grocery bills, worries over gas and light turned off at intervals when Andy's fifty-five per month simply refused to be stretched any further, four kids to keep in grub, shoes and dresses—these little side excursions from Prosperity's main line had dug a network of wrinkles around her eyes. But her mouth still looked as if it could readily smile if given a little inducement. Her throat was still full and handsome.

Andy chewed hurriedly—his mind on boss and job. Unpaid rent and grocery bills, gas and light turned off now and again, four kids to send through life, had long ago made Andy oblivious to the white throat he had once kissed, to the mouth that no longer smiled.

He got up from the table and told Minn that if his check came today, to bring it down on the project so he could get it cashed. Betty Marie said could they please have meat for supper, Daddy? Yes, dammit, he would plunge for once and bring home some round steak.

* * *

Day

W. P. A. Project No. 9342 C stretched its yawning maw toward the harbor. Brakish water gurgled and churned in its depth as a pump made heroic but vain attempts at keeping it dry. Planks holding its gelatinous walls reared in a broken line above the ground. In some dim future this embryonic canyon would change its present hydrous status into that of a full-fledged and respectable storm sewer, and thus become a civic improvement of no mean importance.

Andy Bromberger stuck his feet into icy boots and laughed his best-natured chuckle at his boss' perennial inquiry as to the old lady's aphrodisical treatment of him this morning—ha, ha! He selected a shovel with care. He hefted it in his horny grip with the connoiseur's knowing judgment. If a guy was to do a decent day's work, he needed a number two that'd handle right—and no mistake. The whimsical push blew his cop's whistle with all the authority that such an instrument implies and the gang began slowly to drift across the sand flat to the shores and chasm of the ditch whence lay the day's labor. But in Andy Bromberger's rubber-shod steps, there lodged no reluctance.

Hank Mullins, top-mucker for Andy, was in no special hurry to start his duties toward society. He lighted his pipe and smoked reflectively as he went his measured steps across the sand. Eight hours were a long stretch when one had to keep his nose to the grindstone, and Hank had a desire to live to be a healthy old man. As he neared the ditch, he judged that his partner must have gone into action already. For up into the air there flew with automatic regularity shovelfuls of dirt, the size and speed of which Hank knew could belong to no other muck-stick than the one swung by Andy. As he came up, a miniature mountain awaited him. He yelled a greeting of, "Take it easy, Steamshovel!" down at Andy in the nether world and then set to work at a calm and steady stiff's pace to clear the muck away from the bank. Now and again there rose to his ears the sound of gummy suction, and he knew that Andy was moving his rubber-encased shanks. Down the line, muck was heaved from the ditch as if a legion of invisible dachshunds were rutting for badgers. As the ditch sunk deeper and deeper into the rotten subsoil, the water-logged shoring groaned under the increased pressure of moving earth. On the bank, the boss strode with a stride eloquently bespeaking that he full well realized the importance of his weighty responsibilities.

Noon came. The push cast a last reassuring glance at his Hamilton and blew his whistle. All production activity came to a standstill. Andy hoisted himself out of the ditch and slushed across to a pile of lumber where Hank was chewing his sandwiches in calm solitude.

Hank looked at his partner in pitying disgust and asked him if he could eat an extra sandwich. Then he wanted to know when t' hell Andy intended to slow down a bit—if not, he'd better get himself another mucker—Hank wasn't gonna put a hump on his back for him nor anybody else—not by a damsite. Andy mumbled something about a decent day's work and told Hank that they ortta be thankful for this relief work and not to shirk. Hank blew up:

"There ye go again—yuh and yer relief! I'd like to know, once and for all, how in t' hell a working stiff can receive relief?" And he swept a hand in a wide gesture toward the city's smoking factory and warehouse districts. "Relief! you poor empty-headed sap! D' ye see them factories and warehouses, eh? D' ye see them houses and buildings up town there? Throw yer lamps on that old S. P. drag coughing along over there. Well, it was thick-skulled baboons like yuh and me that put it there—that threw down the damn track it's running on. Take a gape at the bridge—it was the likes of yuh and me that heaved that across the Bay—Yeah, we even made the crummy rubber boots ye got on yer stinking feet!—Relief my eye! We made everything. And now that they are throwing us a few lousy pennies so that we won't croak in the gutters and stink 'em out of house and home, now we orta go down on our prayer bones and hang a halo around the bald domes of the politicians, eh? Relief—yuh and mugs like ya make me puke."

Well, Hank could agitate all he wanted to—Andy wasn't gonna take no chances on getting a 403.

A lone figure was struggling across the sandy waste. Andy looked up and recognized his old lady. Minnie came up and said Hello to the two men. Hank said Hello and how was the kids? Oh, pretty well, thanks, they were all in school today. She handed Andy his check and said not to forget the meat for supper. Andy said okay and put the check in his shirt pocket and pinned it shut with a sweat-rusty safety pin. Then the gaffer blew his whistle, so it was time to hit the ball again.

* * *

How it happened, no one knew. It was three o'clock and the safety guy had just had a look at the shoring and thought it okay. He was on his way to the office when suddenly earth, water and planks churned in a deafening racket and made a stretch of the ditch into a mass of splintered planks and heaving mud. For a moment all became still as death. Then wild orders rent the air up and down the caved section and men began to dig frantically.

Hank had yelled at Andy that for Christ's sake to jump. But his feet were too deep in muck and slime to make a quick move. Earth and timbers crushed down upon him and bones splintered through his flesh.

Four o'clock, they found him. With ropes they dragged him up onto dry ground. The reporters were told that it was a most remarkable incident that only one man was caught—the two others working with Bromberger had been sent to unload lumber. The accident was most regretable, but in no way due to negligence on the part of those in charge. Yes, Andy Bromberger had at all times proven himself a mose reliable and willing workman. His record was clear.

* * *

Night

The town sprawled toward the winding shores of the Bay. Here and there lights began to puncture the early darkness of winter. On a marble slab in the morgue, the remains of Andy Bromberger lay stiff and cold. The corpse had been slushed off with a hose to remove mud and blood. In a file in the office lay neatly labeled the pipe Andy had once smoked, an empty pocket book and two pulpy pieces of paper—one appearing to have been his W. P. A. identification card, the other a check drawn upon the Treasury of the United States.

In the family shack, Minnie Bromberger sat dry-eyed, fever and sorrow splitting her brain. Four kids were incomprehensively asking questions. Fear was written on their hunger-marred faces.

In Woo Sang's market, round steak, that night, was quoted at twenty-six cents.

THE END.

WE ---

By
GEFION

It is not single you nor I,
Nor feeble he nor she.
It is You and I and He and She—
The mighty legion: WE.

But single chips are you and I
On Cosmos' whirling sea;
But little grains of sand are they,
The midget he and she.

Alone we are but specks of clay
In Life's endless march.
United we are Destiny—
The hewing, moulding WE.

Think not in terms of Ego I,
Nor yet as he nor she.
Think in the terms of Unity—
In terms of MIGHTY WE!

World War to Create Markets

BY

I.W.W. DELEGATE 46-S-8

Will Capitalism Take the Chance? Can It Afford Not to Take It?

For thirty years the capitalists down in Brazil have been getting rid of their surplus coffee by dumping it into the sea or using it for fuel in railroad engines instead of coal. In later years as much as 75 per cent of the total crop has been disposed of in this manner. This was a simple method of cutting down the supply when shrinking foreign markets failed to absorb the wealth in coffee annually produced by labor. The system has worked with fair satisfaction to the capitalists of Brazil and other South American countries for years.

The workers have been kept busy for long hours at starvation wages. Expression of discontent among them is chilled by the fact that three-fourths of their labor was plain waste, because, as anti-labor propaganda never fails to point out, there is no market anywhere for the greater portion of the product of their labor. They are told that the absentee land owners would be justified in letting the whole coffee business go by the board and that it is only consideration for the workers that impells them to stay in business in spite of the yearly "losses."

Of course the politicians and other agencies of capitalism do their part explaining to the workers the necessity of government subsidies to the large land owners to prevent the country from going entirely to the dogs.

It is a comparatively simple matter to get rid of surplus agricultural produce, in Brazil or elsewhere. Most of these products are perishable and the destruction takes care of itself from year to year.

Industrial Surplus

In a highly industrialized country the problem of getting rid of the "surplus" is somewhat more complicated. It is well and good for the politicians to play around with the so-called farm problem and order a few pigs and cows to be slaughtered; but to attempt to get rid of millions of tons of already mined and refined minerals, such as iron, copper, or coal; and manufactured products such as automobiles and other heavy machinery in the same manner as they do with coffee in Brazil, is out of the question.

As expedient as the wholesale distribution of manufactured goods might seem, the capitalists with all their institutions to protect them, would hardly dare to lay themselves as open to censure as that. The Boston Tea Party was successful all right but, after all, that was only tea—and foreign tea at that. So better schemes to get rid of he surplus that clogs up the profit system have to be devised.

The inevitable depressions ease the pressure and furnish temporary relief to the system. The accumulated surplus is worn down while factories are partially idle and workers go hungry. But depressions do not **solve the problem** of what to do with the surplus goods produced even when industry runs on a restricted schedule, as now and for some years part; neither do foreign markets or the development of new industries solve it. It is estimated that the productive capacity of modern workers is 100 times that of the workers of 100 years ago. Given an opportunity to exercise this ability to produce without restriction for even a few weeks and the channels of commerce are clogged up with goods that cannot be disposed of at a profit.

Although an army of unemployed workers is an integral part of the capitalist mode of production, that army tends to become so large in our time that it presents a danger to the system. It may get out of control and what would happen if it did is hard to tell. At any rate the capitalists sense the possibility and fear it.

Looking at the problem in one way, there is no surplus and never has been. The workers could consume the wealth they have produced; they could make use of the machinery and factories their labor has created to turn out products of which millions are in need. That wouldn't suit the capitalists at all for the very foundation of capitalist rule depends on the workers being kept on a "hand to mouth" existence. If the workers were allowed to get more than what their daily needs demand they might get the notion to keep everything they produce and that, of course, would be very unpleasant for the parasite capitalists.

So the capitalists turn to other methods of flushing the channels of commerce.

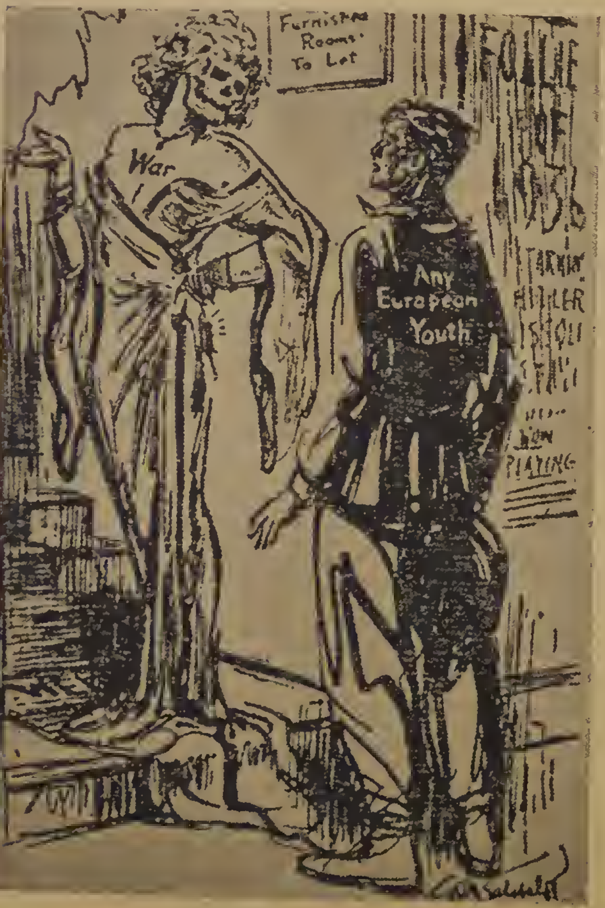
Dictators are being financed and from the brass check press and radio we learn that armament races are underway among the major nations throughout the world. Millions for defense.

So far so good. The rearming or defense program takes care of a lot of surplus labor and its products and it may usher in another period of semi-prosperity. But once again there is the problem of too much production, and battleships and cannon do not rot away like onions and potatoes. There is no alternative—war must be declared.

Danger in War

But wars are getting dangerous to the ruling class. It used to be that "generals died in bed" but during the last World War things got out of control in Russia and the old ruling class there was unceremoniously ejected. To the capitalists that was exceedingly bad business. So wars must be promoted on a smaller scale and further away from home to serve the purpose of destruction as long as they can.

One of the ruling class lackeys got the signal to conquer Ethiopia. Not much to start with, but a sort of trial balloon; and it went over satisfactorily. A counter-revolution was started in Spain where the radicals are far too aggressive to please the capitalist powers. Both sides are getting arms but from different countries. For the sake of capitalist business that war must be prolonged as much as possible.



She promised his dad a good time too

Another war between Japan and China. China for years has been the world's largest importer of war materials. Forty per cent of it was manufactured in, and bought from Japan.

During the last World War the cost per soldier killed was $25,000 in materials. Now it costs more. In other words, for every surplus worker gotten rid of, they also get rid of more than $25,000 woth of surplus commodities.

Yet even the World War, as long and as destructive as it was, did not for long hold off the need for dumping grounds for surplus products. Neither will the present "little" wars, nor will the new re-armament programs make more than a dent in the immense pile of wealth already produced, nor will they cause the factories to operate at anything like their capacity.

The Next Step

Our "60 families" are conferring with their counterparts in other countries over the question: **"Can we risk another World War?"** Slyly the propaganda is beginning to spread. Our ships are being sunk in the Far East; our sailors are being sniped at on the coast of Spain; and our dear Ambassador has been slapped in the face by the Japs. And we are asked not to wear any more silk stockings because they come from Japan.

This all serves as preliminary for the more flagrant war propaganda to follow. We will be told how one country is unjustly invading another and we will be told of atrocities. Of course some of "our" foreign investments will be in the danger zone—and we will be expected to defend them.

But the war mongers realize that starting a world war might not be quite safe. The capitalist system is between the devil and the deep blue sea. It must have a world war (nothing less will do) to destroy surplus slaves as well as surplus goods. Will they **risk** another war?

It does not matter what they do. The end of the capitalist system, as forecast by Karl Marx, is not in the remote future. The seeds of destruction are developed in capitalism to an extent that the old plant is forever doomed.

Labor must be on the alert as never before to what is going on throughout the world. Labor must organize to speed the day when the last remnants of capitalism shall have been stamped out forever. An orderly society will not spring up by itself with the downfall of capitalist society. The workers must organize to run industry for themselves.

The time is short. The message of industrial unionism must be carried to every worker everywhere. Every class conscious worker must be enlisted in this final struggle.

Only labor organized in the Industrial Workers of the World will be able to prevent another World War.

"Streamlined Justice" . . .

By JOHN LIND

(St. Paul, Jan. 22.—A speedy removal to Chicago, a quick trial, and death in the electric chair for the kidnap-slayer of Charles S. Ross was the program marked out, Saturday, for Peter Anders, the one-time lumberjack who hoped to execute the perfect crime.—A News Item.)

According to J. Edgar Hoover, the chief of the F. B. I. (G-men), this case was number 112 to be solved out of a total of 114 kidnap cases. At least it is the latest and one of the most sensational, in that Anders not only murdered the kidnaped, but also his partner in crime, James Atwood Gray.

The murderer is John Henry Seadlund, of Ironton, Minn., a mining town on the Cuyuna iron range. Seadlung, alias Peter-Anders, is the son of Swedish working class parents. He grew up and went to school in Ironton. Upon finishing school, he tried to get work. Failing in this he spent two years at home "hopelessly" out of funds.

A young man, equipped with an average American education, in the richest country in the world, but hopelessly out of funds and unable to get work. Healthy and willing to try, but not given an opportunity. There we have the setting for a fling at crime.

One of the Lost Generation

J. Edgar Hoover is said to be responsible for the statement that Seadlund met with and carried food to the hideout of, at least one member of John Dillinger's gang. There he must have been told "how crime pays." Habitually out of work and funds, robbed of the honest enjoyment of life he had been led to expect was his heritage, this young man saw criminals, seemingly secure from the law, living and enjoying life, plentifully supplied with funds, and seeing that, he followed their example.

J. Edgar Hoover called Seadlund "stolid and nonchalant," a man who showed no remorse, a "killer with a brutal nature," "a man of many moods," whose criminal activities extended over wide sections of the nation. "Anger and peace charge through him intermittently," said Hoover.

By the time you read this, Seadlund, alias Anders, will have been tried and maybe electrocuted for his many crimes, which range from auto theft to bank hold-ups and murder. This one man, who individually rebelled against the system, must suffer the same kind of defeat as so many others before him. One is as naught against the many.

Seadlund was "shy and unassuming" as a schoolboy, but turned into a "brutal killer." Why? Was it because of his nature? Not insofar as his early life would prove. But, just the same, many would-be reformers of criminals will try to explain that he had a "criminal trait" hidden away within him. Where? Why, somewhere within his brain.

Yes, of course. Somewhere within the brain warped by his earlier training that fixed the idea that he was living "in the richest and best country in the world," that all he had to do was to work diligently and save all he earned. But, when the time had come for him to go to work, he found that there was no work to do. Truly, Seadlund is a good example of the "lost generation" which matured into men and women during the depression, the generation that so many reformers have liked to write and talk about.

Cause and Cost

Recently J. Edgar Hoover wrote a series of articles on crime for our edification. In one article especially, entitled "The Costs of Crime" he tells us that "crime costs the average citizen more each year than he pays in taxes to the municipal, county, state and federal governments." "It has been estimated that the annual monetary cost of crime in the United States is fifteen billions of dollars."

The crime army of the country, he tells us, "includes more than 700,000 boys and girls of less than voting age, who, at the very threshold of life, were cut off from worthy careers."

What of the 700,000 mothers who risked their lives to bring these 700,000 boys and girls into the world?" asks Hoover.

As usual in such cases, the big worry seems to be the cost of crime, not the cause of it. The second big worry is the punishment of crime, not the prevention of it.

Class conscious workers worry about neither the cost nor the punishment. They know the cause and by getting rid of it they expect to prevent crime.

Therefore the case of John Henry Seadlund, alias Peter Anders, the son of a Swedish father, most likely originally named Sjödlund, serves but as one more addition to the thousands of illustrations we can use to prove our contention that the capitalistic system, based upon production for profit, is the cause of crimes such as John Henry Seadlund is charged with, a series of crimes in which the motivation was the acquisition of the means or the wherewithal by which he, John Henry Seadlund, could live well.

The Winnipeg Free Press captioned one of its news items about this case "Streamlined Justice." We hope to be forgiven the "crime" committed in using that headline for this article. It fits the times and so it also suits our purpose.

The Free Press, of course, by using that headline sought to convey to us that Seadlund will be getting his just desserts, a quick trial, and death in the electric chair, and that that will be "Streamlined Justice."

Our claim is different.

Not that we can sympathize with Seadlund. With the proper atmosphere and upbringing by class conscious parents he may have become a good social rebel. He may have properly learned that no individual can ever become so strong that he can singly buck the system and get by with it. He may have learned that only through co-operation with others also dissatisfied with the system could he have been able to do something to better his lot individually and at the same time better the lot of others collectively. He did not learn this, so, foolishly he tried to fight back individually and for his failure must now pay the price the system demands. Maybe the realization of this made him "stolid and nonchalant." No, we cannot sympathize with Seadlund—nor with his parents—and, anyway, sympathy wouldn't help them one little bit.

It is our contention that Hoover cannot, nor can anyone else, nor can the system in its entirety, stop such crimes as Seadlund's by arresting the criminal after the crime is committed. We contend that there is only one sure way of stopping 700,000 boys and girls from engaging in a life of "crime." That way is to take away the reason for crime and guarantee them a worry-free future.

We claim that the incentive to crime is a desire to better one's lot individually, to seek to secure and live a better life, with more luxuries at one's command than the average person is capable of securing through "honest" labor. We claim that this "desire" is fostered and abetted by the pulpit, the movies, the press, and school and the politicans who so stoutly defend each individual's right to "individual initiative" even at the expense of, and at high cost to, the "public."

We claim that crime is usually resorted to only after the person has exhausted "honest" means, or after he has, by a system of elimination, proven to himself that under the circumstances over which he has no control, he is doomed to a life of poverty "in the richest land in the world." As he is taught to expect something better and knows that that something better is not unattainable, is it any wonder he prefers to go after it the only way left open?

A Criminal System

We contend that there is plenty of work in this world, and in this country especially. We contend further, that there are ways of arranging the work to assure each and everyone a just share of it as well as the product. We also contend that, under the present private ownership of the natural sources of wealth as well as the means of production and transportation, it is impossible to make this just division of labor and its products.

We therefore warn you supporters of this system, you believers in the inherent and inherited "brutishness" of all "criminals," that we are preparing real justice for the whole human race; that we are preparing—by educating otherwise future criminals—the way for a united effort on the part of all of us to mete "streamlined justice" to a system that has outlived its usefulness because it cannot guarantee a majority of its most useful members an honest living without recourse on the part of many of them to "crime."

Our "streamlined justice" will not be meted out to the individual victim of an unjust system; it will not even be meted out to the supporters of that unjust system (unless we call sentencing them to their share of labor for the rest of their "able" lives "streamlined justice").

But, it will be meted out to the system itself, which will be sentenced to a timely death—in glaring contrast to the untimely death of 27-year-old John Henry Seadlund and the sentencing of 700,000 boys and girls to unworthy careers.

Yes, you hypocritical hounders and persecutors of those who are outlawed by your own rotten and decadent system, our day of "streamlined justice" is near. Prepare to help us build it from the raw material left from the old—or perish in a useless effort to stop the wheels of progress.

Birth of a Song Hit

A Bit of History Dug up at Work Peoples College

There has been some doubt whether the radio favorite of recent years that may become the national anthem of our depression period, "Hellelujah! I'm a bum!" is the product of the I.W.W. A report of developments in Spokane early in 1908, before the I.W.W. little red song book was first issued, by J. H. Walsh, in the Industrial Union Buletin of April 4, 1908, gives the story. Since the entire report conveys an interesting story, we reproduce it in full:

"Spokane, Wash.—The membership of the Mixed Local in this city have pushed the agitational work, and hung on with that tenacity that is necessary to accomplish the desired result of industrial organization. They are now located in a new head-

(Continued on page 31)

Rank-and-File Rule

WHAT IT IS, AND WHAT IT ISN'T

By FRED THOMPSON

We working people want to raise our wages, cut our hours, make our jobs safer and less injurious to our health and less unpleasant places in which to earn our living. If we realize what an injury the capitalist system does to us, we want also to get rid of it. We can not do these things by ourselves. We can do them together. That's why we form unions. Our unions are labor unions only when they do what we want them to do. A body of workers is not a union unless it is controlled by its members. That is reason No. 1 why the I.W.W. insists upon "rank-and-file" organization.

This phrase "rank-and-file" has come to be used in such strange ways of late that it has picked up some strange meanings. For that reason it is time that the I.W.W., as the foremost exponent and practioner of rank-and-file unionism, explained just what rank-and-file means, and what it doesn't mean.

The strange uses of the expression "rank-and-file" to which we refer are made most often by the communists and other addicts of the "leadership principle." Now the "leadership principle"—the idea that we should pick and follow leaders, and seek a cure for our troubles by changing leaders—is the direct opposite of the rank-and-file idea. It is indeed curious that those who advocate this "der Fuehrer" plan of organization should ever demand "rank-and-file control." How does it happen?

The object of these various political cults of "follow-the-leader" is to obtain more followers for their various leaders. (And since every time there is a new leader there are new cults, this results in a rather bewildering situation. Since their purpose is not to organize a working class to do something for itself, but to make sure that the leaders of one cult are followed rather than the leaders of another, they seek their following chiefly in already organized groups of workers. Sometimes they try to secure such a following by currying favor with the officials of these unions. That was and is the pet policy of the Socialists. The Communist sects vary this policy with that of "boring from within" to grab the official positions.

When a group of self-appointed saviours try to grab the official positions in a union, they must resort to the favorite tricks of the unsuccessful politician—the one who is out of office. They must charge the elected officials with "betraying their mandates," "not living up to their promises," "ignoring the wishes of the rank and file." They must promise that if they are elected, the "rank-and-file" will rule through them. As a result we have the strange spectacle of "rank-and-file" committees waiting instructions from some leader before they can decide upon their next step!

To get into the saddle, these would-be leaders must convince their potential victims that they are now being ridden, but that with them in the saddle, hey will no longer be ridden. It will not serve their purpose to urge that those who are being ridden should get rid of rider, saddle and all. They must urge that only the riders be changed. Their consequent political manipulations in the unions leave the impression that "rank-and-file" means disruption, misrepresentation, henpecking of the officialdom—anything and everything except the use of a union by its own members to give effect to their own wishes.

In the I. W. W.

In the I.W.W. control by the rank-and-file is implicit in our constitution, our structure, our financial arrangements, and our traditional procedure. Yet we have no rank-and-file committees, and rarely de we see any member in our ranks appealing to, or even mentioning, the rank-and-file. Just as the best evidence of a good liver is the lack of any occasion to take note of it, so is the best evidence of rank-and-file control the absence of any mention of it. We find use for the term chiefly in describing the inadequacies of other unions.

How is such complete rank-and-file control accomplished?

In the first place, there is no division of our ranks into officialdom and rank-and-file. There is no officialdom. We have officers, some voluntary, and some on the payroll, some devoting full time to the work of the I.W.W., some devoting only their spare time after regular working hours. None of them are officers for many years. The various terms of office vary from three months to a year, and in no case can a member serve more than three successive terms. Thus our members are elected into and out of office. If they stayed in office for life, as they do in many unions, they would no doubt be "sobered by the responsibilities of office, an dsubordinate their revolutionary urge to the necessity of balancing the budget." But they don't stay, and during this term of office, they look at the problems of organization in much the same way that the rest of the members do. Conversely, so many of our members who are not holding an official position at any one time, have held such positions, that the viewpoint of these members is based largely upon a realization of the problems that confront the officers of a union. Thus there is a natural harmony and uniformity of views throughout the I.W.W.

The powers of these I.W.W. officers are very limited. They can not call strikes, nor can they stop them. Consequently they can not "sell out." If they are on pay, they have no votes in any membership meeting; and no official, whether on pay or not, has a vote in the Industrial Union or General Conventions. This is in marked contrast to the practice of most other unions. Their work is set out for them by the various conventions or other deliberative bodies of the membership; and should any unforeseen circumstance develop requiring any abrupt change of plan or policy, a referendum must be taken on it. At any time they can be recalled by referendum.

Not a Federation

The structure of the I..WW. provides for the utmost cohesiveness with the utmost freedom or autonomy of its component parts to attend to local or specific problems as the definite circumstances may require. It is not a federation of industrial unions, but a One Big Union of the working class. All its members are directly members of the I.W.W. They meet as members of industrial unions, according to the sort of work they do; and there is a free automatic transfer from one industrial union to another. A good portion of the work of the I.W.W. is accomplished by general membership meetings, District Conferences of all members in a district, Industrial District Councils, and other structures that bring members of various industrial unions together. All this results in cohesiveness and solidarity without the imposition of a powerful central authority.

Consequently there is no sacrifice of cohesiveness in preserving a usual degree of autonomy for the component parts of the I.W.W. Job branches decide their own policies for organizing the job or for keeping it organized, or for improving it. Industrial Union branches decide their local organization policies, elect their own officers, decide upon their own ways and means. Industrial Unions do likewise. These bodies are limited only by this: all must act in conformity with the General Constitution and the by-laws of their industrial Unions, and the decisions of their conventions.

The financial arrangements of the I.W.W. are a further guarantee of rank-and-file control. Control over a union's treasury often means control over the union. Industrial Union branches have their treasuries; Industrial Unions have theirs; the General Organization has its own. Of the dues collected from the members a portion set by by-laws of each industrial union stays in the local Industrial Union branch, another portion goes to the Main Office of the Industrial Union. From this a certain portion set by the constitution goes to the General Office, and the rest remains as an organizing fund to be expended by the General Organization Committee of that Industrial Union. If strikes or organizing campaigns break a union treasury, the General Office may be called upon for assistance, or the other Industrial Unions may be asked—but they can not be compelled to contribute their funds. In such emergencies the I.W.W. finds that its treasury is still "in the workers' pockets." And the closer this treasury is to the workers' pockets, the more considerate must union officials will be of the wishes of these custodians of the treasury.

* * *

But the most effective guarantee of rank-and-file rule in the I.W.W. is not in its constitution, structure, or financial arrangements, but in the viewpoints that have become traditional in our ranks. The I.W.W. members look upon rank-and-file not merely as a means for making sure that the union is run according to their wishes, but even more as a means for getting things done. The diffusion of responsibility in a rank-and-file organization begets initiative and releases energy. Even more important in getting results, it has things done by those who know what they want done, what obstacles are in the road of doing them, and consequently how they must be done. It may be possible to steer a boat on the open sea by remote control, but it won't work for riding a log down stream.

It is rank-and-file control that has enabled the I.W.W. with relatively so few members to accomplish such great results as it has in American industry. It is rank-and-file control that has kept it from being steered up blind alleys by the various fads and foibles that have beset the alleged intelligentzia of the labor movement. It is rank-and file control that has so developed organizational capacity throughout the ranks of our organization, that not only have most of our members proven competent organizers, but that somehow our ex-members have furnished a good part of the organizing force for other unions. It is this same development of individual capacity that has made the I.W.W. indestructible in the face of the most ruthless efforts to extirpate it; and it is to this development of individual capacity, and to the organized self-reliance that is back of it, that the I.W.W. looks as assurance that it can fend for itself no matter what suppression of civil liberties, no matter what despotism, and state intervention in unionism may grow out of "der Feurher principle."

It is little wonder that the I.W.W. places great emphasis on this idea of rank-and-file, looks for it in the unions that lack it, completely rejects the leader idea that would leave no room for it, and wishes the genuine article "rank-and-file rule" not to be confused with the ludicrous imitations that have been offered by the much-to-be-watched, self-appointed saviours of the American workingclass.

Birth of a Song Hit

(Continued from page 28)

quarters, and since my arrival here three weeks ago, we have taken in something like 125 members, paid off all the back indebtedness to headquarters, and also organized a branch of the Servians of some 35 members. The boys here are charging 50 cents initiation; but the times are not as strenuous as they are on the coast, and it can be collected much easier than it could at places like Tacoma, Seattle, or Portland.

"There are so many hundred idle men in this country that many around the headquarters have little to do but study the question, compose poetry and word up songs for old tunes. It might be of interest to some to know about the program that has been followed out in this city for a few weeks and which has its effect. Among the I.W.W. membership there are a few good singers as well as jawsmiths, and their genius has been expressed in the following composition, rendered at street meetings as well as in the hall:

HALLELUJAH! I'M A BUM!

(Air: Revive Us Again.)

Oh, why don't you work
As other man do?
How in hell can I work
When there's no work to do?

CHORUS

Hallelujah! I'm a bum!
Hallelujah! Bum again!
Hallelujah! Give us a handout
To revive us again.

Oh, why don't you save
All the money you earn?
If I did not eat
I'd have money to burn.
—Chorus.

Oh, I like my boss;
He's a good friend of mine.
That's why I am freezing
Out in the breadline.
—Chorus.

I can't buy a job
For I ain't got the dough;
So I ride in a box car
And am a hobo.
—Chorus.

Oh, whenever I get
All the money I earn,
The boss will be broke
And to work he must turn.
—Chorus.

"This may not be as scientifically revolutionary as some would like, but it certainly has its psychological effect upon the poor wage slave that inhabits the proletarian part of the city, and has the Starvation Army dope poured into his ears about five times a week. A jawsmith is not in it with this truthful sarcasm handed out by a quartet, when the new words are set to an old familiar tune, and every utterance portrays the actual truth of the living conditions of the proletarians who form the audience."

It was only a few months later that the "Industrial Union Singing Club," more commonly referred to as the "Overalls Brigade," was coming across the country to the Fourth Convention of the I.W.W., singing "Conditions, they are bad," to the tune of "Red Wing," "I'm a Bum," and other songs that by that time had been compiled in the first of the little red song books "to fan the flames of discontent."

FAN THE FLAMES OF DISCONTENT

By
GUSSIE PERLMAN

**Knit!
Knit the wrongs of a thousand years,
Knit!
Knit the hopes and joys and fears,
Knit!
Knit revenge into a square,
Strike the match and leave it there,
And knit, and knit, and knit.**

**Until every heart shall be in flame
And every yarn shall bear a name—
Of broken arms and sightless eyes,
Of limping feet and thumbless hands,
Of horror, misery and pain;
Endless days and tortured nights
And knit, and knit, and knit again.**

**When your pattern of hate is spun
Do not think your day is done
For your work has just begun,
Knit, and knit, and knit again.
Dye the cloth in deepest red,
Blend it with the golden thread
Of the knitter's happy dream!**

Book Reviews

CAPITAL AND LABOR IN ITALY

By **V. I. K.**

UNDER THE AXE OF FASCISM. By Gaetano Salvemini. New York: The Viking Press, 1936. 402 pages.

Rearing its head at the present time more menacingly than ever before is fascism—capitalist dictatorship in its most violent and brutal form. As even the casual newspaper reader knows, fascism originated in Italy, where its advent is identified with the so-called "march on Rome" over fifteen years ago. Since that time it has taken root in other countries as well.

What does fascism hold in store for the working class? What is the life of the worker like under such a dictatorship? What are the economic and social consequences?

These are questions of the utmost importance, more so now than ever before. To seek an answer to these and many other questions of a similar nature requires a study of conditions under a dictatorial rule of this type. Fortunately, there have been published in very recent years works which present in a somewhat detailed manner the story of Fascist rule. One such volume is "Under the Axe of Fascism," written by Gaetano Salvemini, formerly professor of history at the University of Florence and now a lecturer at Harvard.

This study does not aim to describe the whole fabric of economic and social life under fascism; only one phase of it—"the relations between capital and labor." It is an absorbing account based upon facts and figures, practically all from Fascist sources. This is what makes "Under the Axe of Fascism" so much more convincing as an indictment of this twentieth-century prototype of dictatorship.

How It Started

Starting out with a mention of the beginnings of the Fascist movement, Professor Salvemini tells us briefly about some of the methods used by the blackshirts to attain their ends: the violent attacks on the unions in the latter part of 1920; the raiding of labor halls and other meeting places of the workers; the assassination of active unionists, and so forth and so on. The Fascist bands, provided with weapons, could in most cases rely upon police protection; in innumerable instances, the "protectors of the state" actively assisted them. While all this was going on, so-called "economic syndicates"—Fascist unions—were being formed.

Where did these Fascist-controlled organizations receive their finances? Who paid the officials for their nefarious activities? Who supplied the arms and ammunition with which to terrorize the population and thus make it possible for the followers of Mussolini to wrest power? "It is scarcely too much to attribute," says Salvemini, "the larger portion of their income to subsidies from industrialists, large landowners, merchants, bankers and others who welcomed the violent destruction of the unions and co-operative societies." (Page 5.)

End of Unions

The ascendancy of the Fascists was the signal for large-scale concerted attacks upon workers' organizations. Union halls were taken over by the blackshirts, opposition (at least in the open) was gradually stifled, co-operatives were wrecked, and the imprisonment of the most active and fearless anti-Fascists started in earnest. Lampedusa and Lipari were now receiving their first victims of the Fascist regime. Even at that it took some years before the unions were entirely destroyed.

And what has all this meant to the Italian working class?

In a brief book review such as this, it is, of course, impossible to detail even all the interesting material presented in this work, because Salvemini, in indicating the true nature of Fascist rule, marshals, in chapter after chapter, an imposing array of facts. However, it is in order to single out some of the chapters, such as those dealing with the labor court, agreements of labor, labor controversies, and so forth.

The law forbids strikes in any way, shape or manner, the penalty ranging according to the circumstances under which labor conflicts are called. The defenders of the Fascist dictatorship counter this with the statement that lockouts are also forbidden. What are the true facts? The author points this out very clearly: "But since the workers cannot strike, the employers have no need of recourse to the lockout. If an employer declares that he can no longer maintain the existing volume of employment in his concern, the stoppage of work is then not a 'lockout,' but a 'closing down' induced by a 'justified motive'."

The Labor Court

And yet there have been strikes, 8,000 workers being found guilty of such a crime in the second half of 1926 alone. These facts are, it is obvious, not included in the Fascist propaganda for domestic and foreign consumption, for they would not square up with the statements purporting to show how the relations of labor and capital have been finally solved without either party resorting to labor conflict.

What about the Labor Court? Surely the worker has a right to appeal to it! Perhaps there is no occasion to strike when you have "impartial" courts such as this.

Well, the Labor Court, in the first place having no members who are representing the workers, unless the officials of the Fascist unions may be called such, knows that even though the decision is against the worker he has no way of fighting it for the very simple reason that real unions are taboo as well as strikes. Perhaps the record of the court can be no better illustrated than in the following sentence on page 210:

"There does not exist to this date a single case in which the Labor Court has increased workers' wages."

Dr. Salvemini debunks much of the propaganda emanating not only from Italy but also from those individuals who are praising the rule of Il Duce and its "achievements." The standard of living, never high in Italy, has been dropping continually under Fascism; the housing standards are deplorable, to say the least; there is child labor, although it is supposed to be legally forbidden; the working conditions are horrible; the hours of labor are usually much longer than even the Fascist regulations proscribe; the life of the rural populace is anything but enviable; in brief, the general degradation of the Italian people is self-evident.

One may well take issue with some of the conclusions drawn by the author, but certainly there is no disputing the fact that he has presented a true picture of life as it is lived by the workers under the "blessings" of a capitalist dictatorship.

Salvemini ends his well-documented study with this illuminating observation:

"Impartiality"

"For the time being one may gladly admit that Fascism has solved the problem of the relations between capital and labor by suppressing the *laissez-faire* of labor. To forbid strikes, to outlaw autonomous unions and create nation-wide 'company unions'—this is such a brilliant solution of the problem, that one wonders why it is not adopted in every country. It has the powerful logic of that commandment which, according to Anatole France, would forbid both rich and poor to steal bread or to sleep in the open air. But is this really a solution Italian big business men would of course answer in the affirmative. He who would think with his own brain, and not with that of the big business men, has more than one reason for affirming that the Fascist experiment indicates how the problem must *not* be solved, not only out of an elementary respect for human dignity, but because it is no solution at all."

As a historian and scholar, Salvemini offers no program to combat fascism, for his purpose is only to indicate the immediate consequences of capitalist dictatorship in this newer form.

And, in conclusion, this reviewer can only say that this volume should be classified under the heading of "required reading."

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

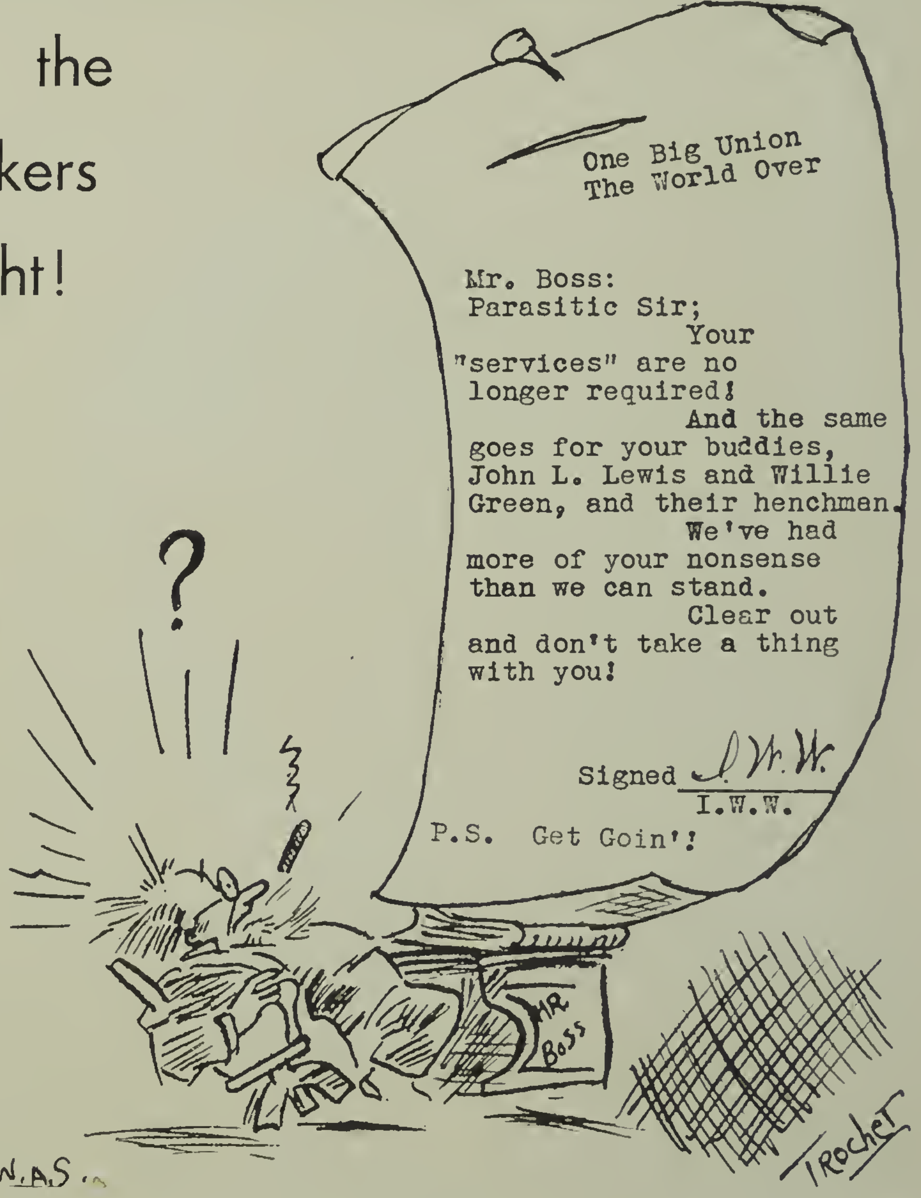
It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Mr. Stockholder Will Be Looking for A Job When the World's Workers Organize Right!

●

There is no question about it, under capitalist management the world has been slipping steadily backward. It's up to the working class to take hold now, before things get worse. Further progress in civilization depends upon that.

Continuation of the present management of industry under the direction and for the benefit of private owners spells the end even of such progress as the human race has made beyond the age of chattel slavery.



One Big Union
The World Over

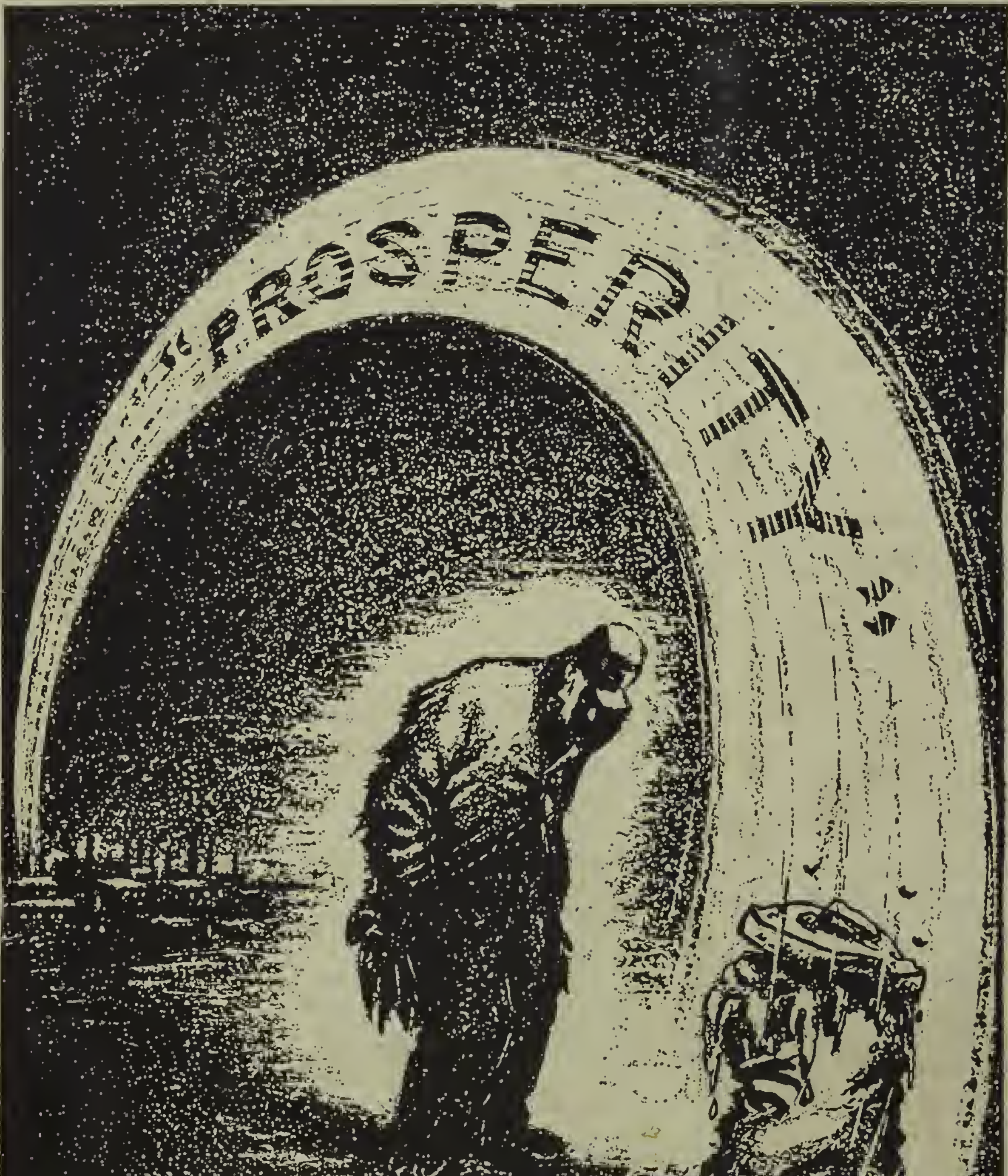
Mr. Boss:
Parasitic Sir;
Your "services" are no longer required!
And the same goes for your buddies, John L. Lewis and Willie Green, and their henchmen.
We've had more of your nonsense than we can stand.
Clear out and don't take a thing with you!

Signed I.W.W.
I.W.W.

P.S. Get Goin'!

It's time to call a halt. Is there any question as to who is going to bring about the change? Surely it will not be the work of those who profit by the present system. Improvement to them means merely a readjustment of the existing order to make it last longer. Even at its best, when they claimed it was in perfect working order, their system has been a terrible burden on the shoulders of the working class. They will never again be able to do so well as they did in the past, so-called normal times. What's the use of letting them tinker some more at the expense of the big majority of the population?

The time is here right now when the working class should take hold of the machinery of production and operate it for the benefit of all. Not until nobody makes a PROFIT from industry will everyone be able to make a LIVING out of it.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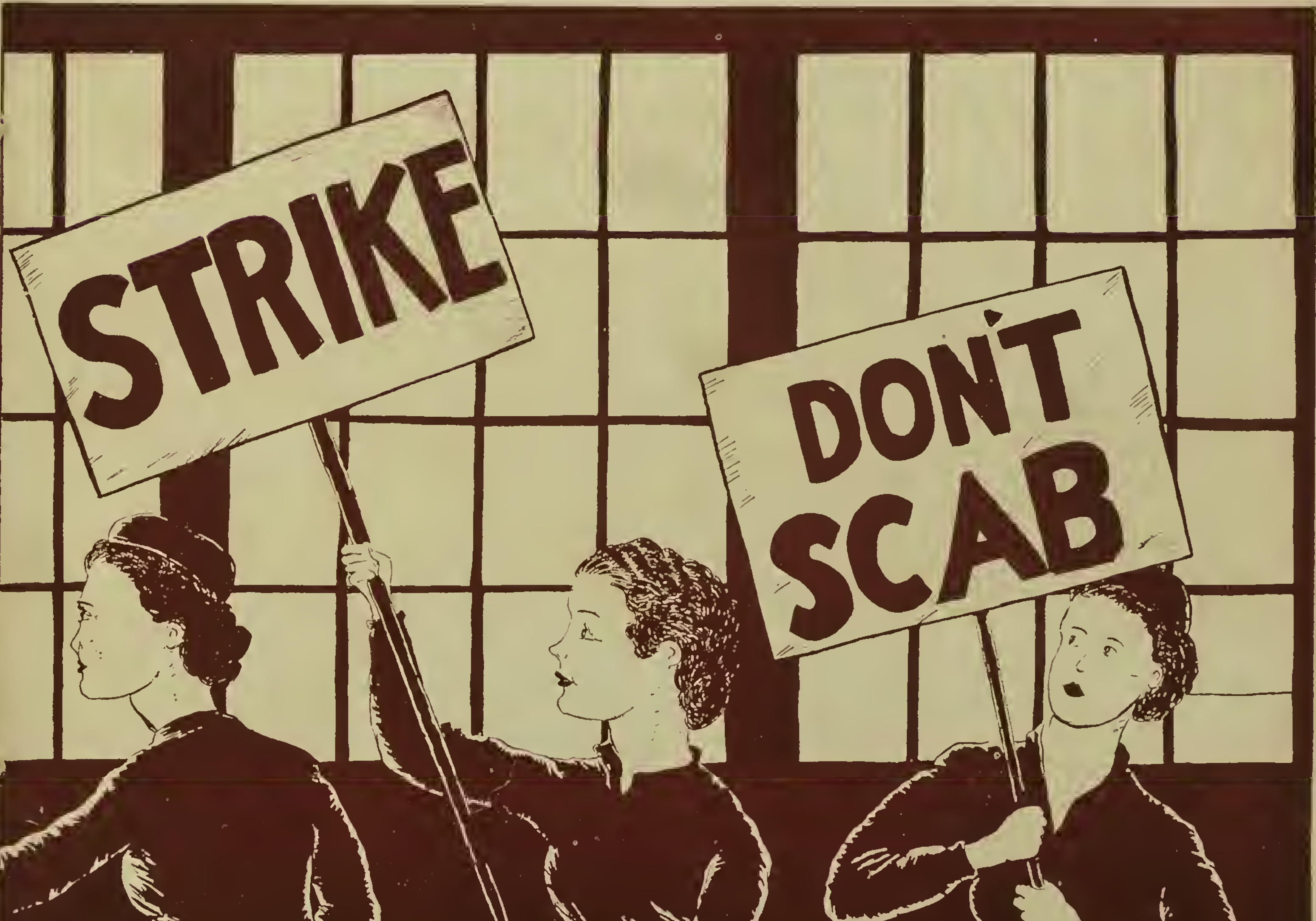
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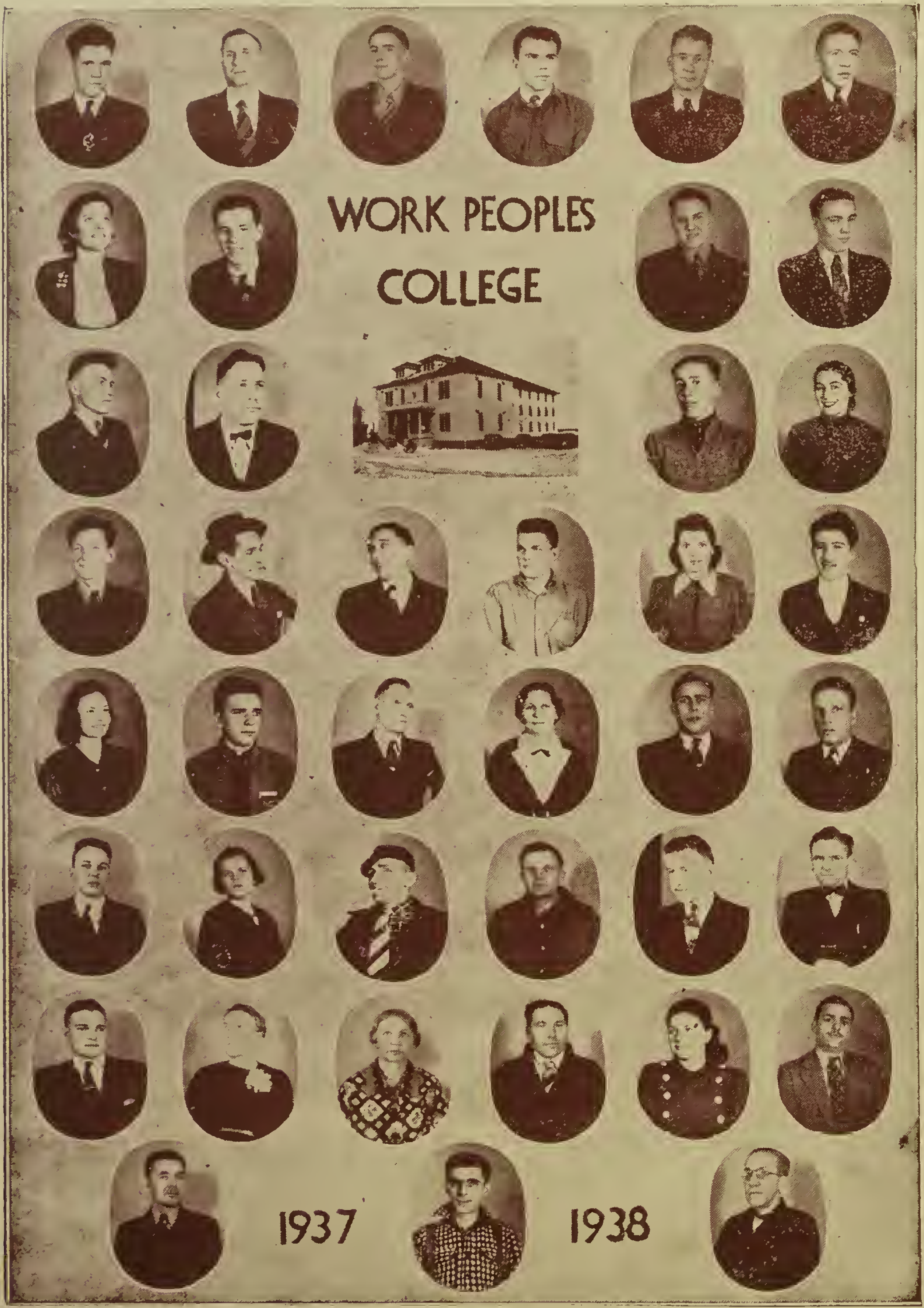
WORK PEOPLES
COLLEGE
1937
1938

The
ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

Special Work Peoples College Number

Vol. 2 April, 1938 No. 4

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page
Editorial 4
Reminiscences of Spain .... Raymond Galstad 5
Attack and Counter Attack .... Eli Hill 9
Class War Strategy 13
Work Peoples College .... Vera Smith 14
"War Is Here .... Erland Hyttinen 16
Revolt of the Brotherhood .... Covington Hall 18
Butte .... Montana Slim 23
The Story of the Sandhog .... Harry Monkkonen 26
Prayer to Lucifer .... Covami 28
Revolution With Music .... Bill Niemi 29
Mary Marcy on the CIO 31
Book Reviews .... Trochet 32
The Gandy Dancers .... Graham Robinson 33

EDUCATION

It's a pity that one generation of workers cannot profit fully from the class struggle experiences of the one that preceded it. If lessons learned in past conflicts with the master class could be passed on to all those workers who now have the will and energy to fight for better things, our decadent capitalist system wouldn't have a ghost of a chance and the industrial commonwealth would blossom out in beautiful reality almost over night.

As it is by the time the seasoned, militant worker on the job is purged of illusions and has learned how to distinguish the genuine from the sham, the real from the phony, his influence over his fellow workers together with his own driving power has gone; and then another generation takes up the task and starts out almost from the beginning. This process of "class forgetfulness" is promoted greatly by occasional periods of prosperity, especially by those brought on by wars in which the militancy of labor is largely burned out by the heat of a frenzied nationalism.

Formal workers' education, such as is given in Work Peoples College and in union classes conducted in various parts of the country, does much to bridge the gap between the past and the present and thus, in a measure, makes available to the worker-student of today the valuable lessons in tactics, organization structure, and union theory learned in the struggles of the past. It does more than that. It brings to the student the living, present-day struggles so that he can compare and criticize, with the object of applying the knowledge gained to the problems on his own job. In addition to all this it enables him to acquire or develop ability to carry the message of effective organization to his fellow workers.

The labor movement of America needs more schools such as Work Peoples College where workers learn how to become better fighters in the class war.

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REMINISCENCES OF SPAIN

By

RAYMOND GALSTAD

Children play at war in Barcelona

It is midafternoon. We are in a huddle reading a bulletin that has just been posted on the wall. It contains a list of the names of men who are to leave for Paris this evening. Discharges and repatriation papers are in the office ready for distribution. Some read the bulletin and dash down the corridor to the office. Those unable to run just shuffle. There's a brightness in their eyes as though they just gulped a bracing drink. Satisfied smiles stretch across their sun-parched faces. Monosylables of joy snag in their throats. They're the lucky ones. They're going home.

I'm new here. Just arrived from the hospital a few minutes ago. My name is not up yet. I might just as well get used to it here for a while. I think a tour of inspection of my new headquarters is in order, so I take a gander at the dormitory. My nose sniffs the smell of freshly laundered sheets strongly bleached. The odors are clean and medicinal like the hospital, or maybe my memory of the hospital is playing tricks with me.

Uniformed men sprawl across the beds taking "siestas' with their eyes wide open and their lips moving in conversation that sends up a hum of French, Spanish and English. Over in a corner a few Frenchmen are making melody with the "Waiting Song," a tune composed by a wounded British veteran of the International Brigade while he waited at Albacete for his discharge papers. The soldiers make up their own words, as soldiers will, when inspiration moves them.

I introduce myself to a group and we start rubbing our memories together, making warm conversation. The Front is still the favorite bone to chew on. We mentally place our bets on the outcome of the next battle. One intelligent face says the best defense is an attack, and nodding heads approve, and that puts the favorite bone back in the cupboard of memory until we become intellectually hungry for the Front again. We just sit and regard each other silently for a while with vacant wool-gathering eyes. It's not an embarrassing silence. It's just as if we intuitively agreed to dream for a few moments. I call them to attention with a question, and they all start talking at once. I gather there are a bunch of Americans and Canadians waiting here, but they're out doing the town right now, from what I'm told. I thank them for the information and take my leave of them.

I meet another American, and we walk into the messroom together. I put the bum on him for some tobacco. He says he ain't got none. Says he's been here four days and the Commissars ain't putting out, though he hears there's a whole warehouse bulking with Luckies. He's been down on the waterfront all day trying to mooch some butts from the English sailors, but he didn't have much luck. Wishes to hell his papers were O.K.'d so he could leave for the French border tonight. Even French smokes would beat nothing.

We bump into a Canuck who's been around a lot, and knows Barcelona to a "T." We learn from him that English smokes can be had from a bootlegger uptown. The stuff is priced, though, at one hundred pesetas a pound, about two dollars in American coin, according to him, and my friend's chin drops like the '29 stock market. That's a lot of money for a buck private, earning seven pesetas a day, to have on him all at one time, we agree. But I was paid off this morning, and I'm still holding forty-seven pesetas, so I suggest we hold a conference on the matter. We decide to ask three others to chip in, and go off to round up the unsuspecting donors.

It isn't hard to persuade the other three to chip in. They want to inhale some smoke as badly as we do, so we collect the necessary money, and detail the Canuck to sally forth to the tobacconist's, and make arrangements to meet him in the park across the road from the barracks.

It doesn't take him long to carry out his mission. We see him coming back with a small tinfoil package with the evening light glinting off it, like sun-starts off a mirror. He's walking a great deal more leisurely than when he left us to go after the weed. A cigarette is dangling listlessly from a corner of his lips. We run up to him and relieve him of the burden, and nervously begin to fashion cigarettes with our fingers.

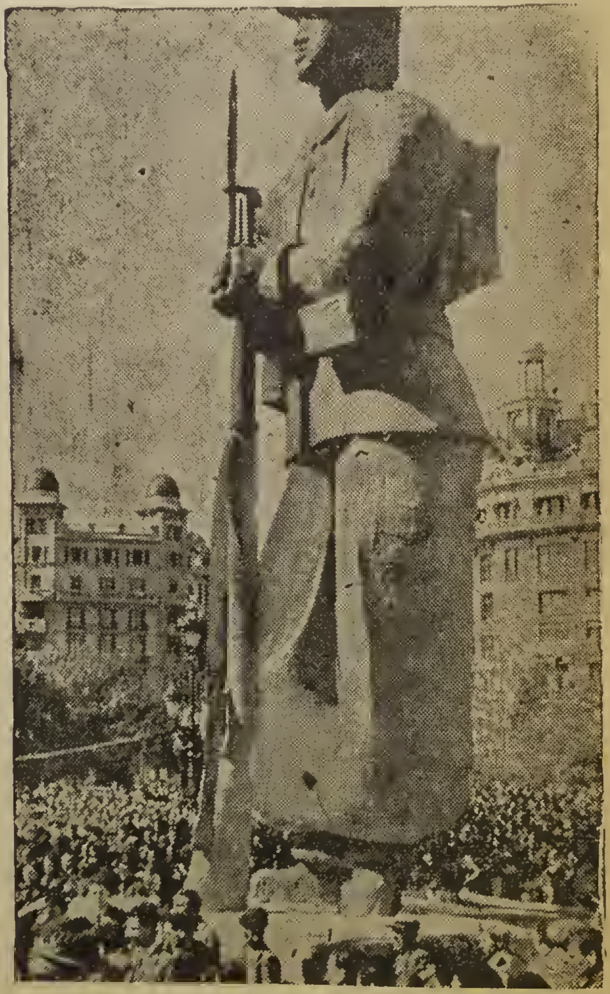
We stroll back across the road to the park, and our group grows to eleven members. They're attracted by the smell of burning tobacco. The park itself comes under discussion. One young soldier remarks that it's the finest and largest park in Spain. He says he likes the zoo and the museum, and the statues, but best of all he likes the palm trees, and the lime trees, and the orange trees. They give good shade in the day-time, and he likes shade, he says. Another soldier interrupts him and says he talks too much; that he should give others a chance. The youthful one makes excuses for his monopolizing the conversation. He says the doctors told him he would lose his voice any time now as a result of a shrapnel wound in his throat, and he's determined to hear his voice as much as he can as long as he can.

The mention of his wound invites the others to start talking of their disabilities, like a bevy of old ladies discussing their operations and their miscarriages. The names of the battlefields, Belchite, Guadlamaga, Bilboa, Saragossa, Cordoba and Madrid seem like a checkerboard of blood, becoming more gloriously gory as they talk about how they lost a leg, an arm, an eye, a hand, or acquired a scar as a precious souvenir of battle. The lad whose voice will go haywire notes pointedly that we didn't get any medals, but he's glad about it, somehow because nobody will mistake him for a Commissar with all medals and no scars. We laugh a little at that.

An American West Coast seaman feels like rehashing the story of the part he filled in the Guadamalga offensive. He says it was a tough scrap. The Loyalists went up against the German troops and they had machine guns 'til hell wouldn't have 'em. How the Loyalists took their objective, Christ only knows! The boys were dropping all around him like ripe apples in a gale. He lost his buddy; saw him fall right in front of him, but he kept going. They got within throwing distance of the fascists and let loose with hand grenades. That's what got 'em. When you get close enough to toss the grenades, the fascists either come out of their trenches and meet you face to face, or they retreat. They hate like hell to be in the dug-outs when the grenades start pouring in. They don't want to be in the trenches when you're ready to jump 'em, either. Not when you got that cold piece of steel, two feet long, sticking on the end of your rifle. That's scary stuff, and plenty hard to take. And when a guy's on top, he's got all the breaks in the world, they know that. Just one good thrust, and you know there's one fascist scab that ain't gonna win the war for Franco . . .

He keeps talking about the strategies of combat in his tangey voice and the rest of us listen to the familiar details as if they were being carried out before our eyes. With his one arm he churns the air with emphatic gestures, his fist opening and closing like the maw of a sea anemone.

Speaking of battle tactics, a Britisher has something to say about the fight at the Cordoba front. His voice is clear and his language faultless, and



Plaster and lath statue of an anti-fascist fighter in a Barcelona square

he isn't selling his H's short like an English Cockney. All his listeners seem enlisted for action as they lean toward him to learn that the front was very quiet for several weeks, with no excitement at all, and no signs of war about. Then the Rebels came over the top with their right arms in salute, and singing the Internationale. It looked like they were surrendering. But they went into action and dished out hell. It was a furious hand to hand battle. But they were driven back to their trenches. Three days later they come over again with women on the lead. They used the girls as shields. The Loyalists held their fire and were nearly wiped out. Only fifty men returned from the skirmish, and everyone of them wounded. The English Brigade lost over four hundred that day.

The listeners agree it was a moral victory, and take some comfort in it, even though they regret the loss of Cordoba.

The Canuck was a chauffeur in the ambulance corps. He says his job wasn't a snap, either, what with administering first aid before loading the wounded into the ambulance, and driving over the rough roads full of shell holes, unloading at the base hospital, and driving back again . . . all the while providing a swell target for fascist bombers. He says it's no fun changing tires out in the battle areas with only a revolver strapped to your belt, and the wounded moaning in the bus, and a plane swooping overhead pouring lead into the ground around your feet. He says that a revolver is about as useful as a bow and arrow against a tank in such situations, and he rolls up his sleeve to display a groove of purple scars running from his wrist to his shoulder, just to prove the point.

An Aragon farmer says farewell as he joins the Loyalist forces

We pass the tobacco around again, and the six of us who have a vested interest in the weed, walk away from the group, each one of us thinking we're paying too high a price for chinning with our fellow veterans. The Canuck lets them know what we're thinking, and they smile. One says he'd swap a story any time for a cigarette.

We walk into a nearby bar and order some drinks, and sit there while the town grows dark, waxing discursive again, but not about ourselves. The Asturian miners and their courageous fight in Santander, with only dynamite and mining tools as weapons, strikes us as an admirable display of guts. We tie up the story with miner's struggles everywhere, and try to prove our theory that miners are a brave lot because they toil under dangerous conditions where death stalks close at hand, and they get used to being brave without knowing how brave they are, and their work develops in them a reckless fatalistic spirit that makes them formidable fighters in battle. We conjured up the battles of the Molly Maguires, Ludlow, Paint Creek, Cripple Creek, Messaba Range, the Rocky Mountain Fuel Company strike in Colorado in the United States; the sit-downs of the French miners, and we feel satisfied that our theory about the miners' militancy is adequately supported by history. Time passes. The yawning hour approaches, and we vote to go back to barracks and to bed.

* * *

Shafts of morning sun pierce the barracks windows, and pry open the eyes of sleepy veterans. Some turn their faces into the pillows or pull the covers over their heads to ignore the rude intrusion of the sunlight. Others sit up; rub their eyes; pucker their lips to prime up saliva for their dry tongues, and make wry faces. A few who piled into the sheets late last night, hold their heads and emit Ohhh!s of brain-ache. Hairy legs, and wrinkled nightgowns change into militarily dressed vertebrates that a woman might look at without horror.

At breakfast the Canuck and I are talking to each other again, formulating our plans for the day. A lazy walking tour of the town seems agreeable to both of us, and we gulp down the food in haste to be off. The steward hollers at us to haul in the dishes, and we're full of blundering apologies, but he doesn't stop scowling at us through his shaggy brows. I can feel his stare itching my back as I stroll with the Canuck out into the street.

We walk awhile in silence, both feeling a sense of shame for forgetting to carry our dishes to the kitchen. We feel like kids caught with jam on their fingers. Disrupting the spirit and practice of cooperation is weighing heavily upon our consciences. With no high command running things at the waiting barracks, everything is left to the soldiers' initiative and rank and file judgment; and in running counter to that judgment, however slightly, we're feeling we betrayed the wishes of our fellow-soldiers. The Canuck looks at me, and we snap out of our conscience-stricken coma. He says we'll carry the dishes back and forth tomorrow just to make it up to the steward, and we laugh, forgeting all about it.

The buzz of industry whirrs in our ears as we pass through the factory district on to Rambla street, the main thoroughfare, where we board a street car. We're used to the idea of riding street cars without paying any fare. Very reasonable people, these transportation workers. The Canuck tells me that before the war there were more people employd counting the money taken in by the street car and bus conductors than there were actually operating the vehicles of transportation. They just decided to put the cashiers to doing useful work by abolishing the price system in the transportation industry. The fare now is to look like a fighter, a worker, or a child. In other industries where the C.N.T.-F.A.I. have control, he is telling me, a modified wage-system is still the economic vogue, and will be for some time if the workers desire greater productive capacity. If they wish to build greater industries, they must necessarily pile up surpluses. The thing that's amazing about all this, in spite of the fact that workers still receive wages, is that they democratically decide what their wages shall be; the profit-seeking owning class is out of the picture; and the aggregation of lands and machinery are socially owned and controlled. And he is saying that if that ain't something to fight for, he'll eat his shirt; and a very unpalatable shirt it is that a soldier wears.

We step off the car and walk down to the quays. French and British gun-boats are tied up to the docks. We start talking to a few British sailors who want to know more about the war, and we invite them to come down to the beach with us for a swim.

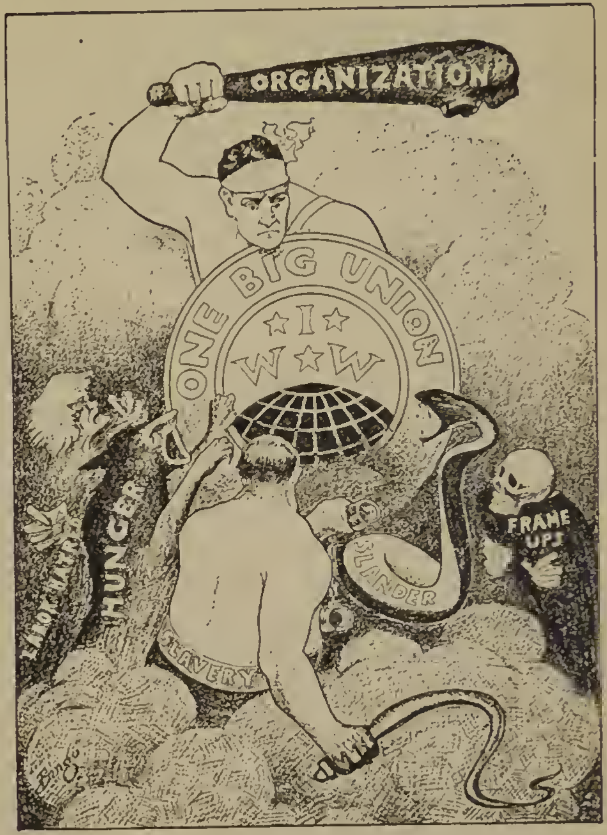
The sand sparkles like Xmas-card snow, and the blue waves lap the shores as gently as a cat stroking its fur with its tongue. Night-time workers in trunks, and children naked, are swimming in the water and playing on the beach. We slip behind a crag and undress, and wade into the water with our shorts. The sailors best us in the swimming. They josh us a bit for our splashing like sidepaddlers, and offer to teach us the crawl and the sidestroke. But we're hopeless amphibians, the Canuck and I. They think we're okeh, for being revolutionists, though.

The Canuck starts indoctrinating the British navy with the C.N.T. philosophy, and they don't find it so bad, this class war "business." One gob confesses he joined the navy to escape the slums. Says he was willing to die for British imperialist capitalism; do anything, just so he didn't have to live out his span of life in London's Lower East End. He sees the sense of the class struggle plainly enough. The workers have got to organize and lose their chains and their slums, too. Says when he's through with his hitch in the navy he'd like to climb into the trenches and help these Loyalists. But he'll be scrubbing decks for six more years, and the Canuck says he hopes the workers own the world by then . . .

ATTACK AND COUNTER-ATTACK

(An epitome of strategies)

By **ELI HILL**



In early nineteenth century America combinations of workers to raise wages or to better working conditions were held to be criminal conspiracies in restraint of trade. Though the conspiracy laws temporarily put a quietus on Labor's action, economic necessity, the imperious need of living, and the prospect of hunger forced the workingclass to fight with the weapons of strikes, picketing, and primary boycotts.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act, passed in 1890, was thought to apply to business monopolies, but soon proved to be a legal effort to curb the aims of organized labor. It became the excuse of the masterclass for the issuance of sweeping injunctions against strikes and boycotts.

The Danbury Hatters case in 1903, and the Buck's Stove and Range case in 1907, are among the most outstanding evidences of capitalistic legal violence toward workers. To be sure, the injunction was used in numerous other instances such as the "Debs Rebellion" in 1894, the Southwest railway strike in 1886, and in the strike of the Engineers against the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad in 1888, but with the passage of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, the writ of injunction took on the proportions of Capital's Big Bertha constantly aiming and firing upon fighting Labor.

The National Association of Manufacturers, organized in 1895, became another organized menace to workers. The N.A.M. was dedicated to a program of recruiting industrial spies, influencing legislation, making corrupt politicians more corrupt, herding scabs in times of industrial warfare, purchasing labor leaders and agent provocateurs.

The National Civic Federation founded in 1901, grew out of the Civic Federation of Chicago that had been active during the Pullman strike of 1894, and provided the American workers with still another menace, not so frank, perhaps, in its wishes to destroy organized labor's militancy, but all the more menacing for that. It was, in short, an attempt to dull the edge of the class struggle, through mediation, and other subtle forms of class-collaboration designed to obstruct strikes. The N.C.F. was the unlegal fore-runner of the legal boards set up under the provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act "to arbitrate labor disputes."

The National Labor Relation Boards created under the Wagner Act does not seem so far to have acted inimically to organized labor. The boards have confined themselves to deciding which union has the majority of members in each plant or on each job, and in giving the majority the dubious N.L.R.B. blessings to go forth and bargain collectively. Too, they have been effective in restoring jobs in some cases to workers fired for union activity. The I.W.W. has routed the C.I.O. and the A.F.L. in such elections in the Wobbly controlled shops in Cleveland.

The danger of the N.L.R.B. lies in the effect it has upon those who look to it, not only to settle elections between unions, but to give them deliverance from economic bondage. (The American Federation of Labor, the Committee for Industrial Organization and the Communist Party are ballyhooing the Wagner Act as "Labor's Magna Charta." Of course the Magna Charta was not so hot, either, but it will take educated Wobblies on the job to explain away these myths, else the workers fall prey to such demagogic nonsense.)

With much court and prison experience behind it, the rebellious workingclass has learned that it is small consolation to win its legal battles and lose its strikes, and has devised many tricks and stunts to smash injunctions, befuddle the bosses, and confound the police.

* * *

The display of spontaneous enthusiasm for striking is contagious. Workers will drop their work, catch the strike spirit, and refuse to return to work. In Justus Ebert's "Trial of A New Society," we read of just such an instance:

"In Lawrence, Massachusetts, on January 12, 1912, something extraordinary happened in the big mills there. About 9 A.M. on that date, the employes of one of the departments of the Everett mill, swept through its long floors, wildly excited, carrying an American flag which they waved amid shouts of 'Strike! Strike!! Strike!! From room to room they rushed, an enraged, indignant mass. Arming themselves with the picker sticks used in the mills, they went from loom to loom, persuading and driving away operatives; and stopping looms; tearing weaves, and smashing machines, where repeated attempts were made to run them despite their entreaties, which seldom failed of instant response. As they swept on, their numbers grew, and with them grew the contagion, the uproar and tumult.

"Out of the Everett mill they rushed, these hundreds of peaceful workers, now aroused, passionate and tense. On the street, outside the mill gates, they were met by excited crowds that were congregated there. All of them coalesced into one big mass, and as such, moved over the Union Street bridge on to the Wood, Washington and Ayer Mill, where the same scenes were enacted once more. Men, women and children—Italians, Poles, Syrians—all races, all creeds, already aroused to action before the coming of the crowd outside (some of whom rushed the gates and entered), ran through the thousands of feet of floor space, shouting 'Strike! Strike!! Strike!!! All out! Strike! Strike!! Strike!!!' sweeping everything before them, and rendering operation in many departments so impossible as to cause a complete shut-down."

* * *

From "Twenty-Five Years of Industrial Unionism," a famous I.W.W. pamphlet, we learn that in Gray's Harbor, Wash., in 1912, a strike broke out for higher wages in the sawmills. The Lytel Mill was surrounded by a stockade twelve feet high surmounted by barbed wire and the guards were doubled at the gate. The wage-slaves who were scabbing on the inside were to be kept immunized from the influence of the strikers from without. But one hundred and fifty Wobblies went over the top, cut the barbed wires, pulled the work-whistle, mingled with the startled sawmill workers, and swept triumphantly out of the gate past the astounded guards.

* * *

The I.W.W. strike at the Brush Clearing Camps at the Lake Cle Elum Dam in Washington in May of 1931, received very little publicity in the brass check, and not a great deal in the official press of the I.W.W. But with the termination of the strike, the active participants of the strike drew up a bulletin outlining the strategies employed and the results obtained.

John Holt writes in the bulletin: "At the first meeting in the strikers' camp a permanent relief committee was elected, the chairman of which had to report daily to the strike committe. By May 8th everything was runing smoothly with about fifty-five men in the strike camp and about twenty families being cared for. By this time (the fourth day of the strike—E. H.) the local business men began to see that this was an organized strike and not a feeble protest to the Mayor or any publicity stunt. Finance became easy to get. Even local organizations asked for interviews that they might be able to help such a worthy cause. Should the strike have continued long into the summer it is very doubtful if any strikers would have gone hungry in this district. The camp steward made out a daily list of the necessities, always in co-operation with the relief committee. One of the strikers had a Dodge delivery truck which was used to good advantage. Streamer banners carrying signs reading "Strikers' Relief Supply Car" were made to line the sides. It was intended to make frequent trips through Yakima Valley with this car but the snappy culmination of the strike made such preparation unnecessary." (The strike ended May 12th. —E. H.)

The regular picket crews worked at a systematic three hour shift through day and night. Pickets were placed on the highway near the job and also in Cle Elum, the main line railroad town. Freight trains and the towns of Roslyn and Ronald were also picketed. The pickets used handbills and especially in town carried big banners. On the highway they used red lanterns at night. In order to make sure that the job remained closed down, they surprised the camps with a well organized, quick and unexpected raid at 6 o'clock in the morning on the fourth day of the strike. Local people had furnished them six autos besides the truck. Much to their satisfaction they found only three scabs. These were loaded into the truck and hauled to the picket camp and through the towns for display before the citizens. This action went over big with the natives. The news passed up and down the valley that they were determined to win and scabs stayed away thereafter.

The significant fact in this strike is that only thirteen members of the I.W.W. arranged the details for the strike, agitated on the job sufficiently to entice a militant minority to take action, and conducted the speaking and publicity. The results of the strike were: "Forty cents an hour (an eighty cent increase in wages per day); five cents reduction of daily board; no discrimination; thirty minutes of company time per day to walk to work. Strikers voted unanimously to join I. U. 310 of the I.W.W. Two hundred lined up."

* * *

In April, 1936, near Pierce, Idaho, the United Artist Pictures came to the Potlatch Forest, Inc. (Weyerhauser) to use the forest scenery for the background of the movie "Come and Get It." The forty-five extras that were to be hired were offered three dollars a day for a ten hour day. The men were I.W.W.'s, so they refused to work for less than four dollars a day, and would work no longer than eight hours. The Potlatch Forests, Inc., refused to comply with the Wobbly demands, and the men bade au revoir to the job. But, because of the pressing need for the forest-working extras felt by the United Artists, the Weyerhauser company had to comply with the demands, and the men returned to take a fling at movie-acting.

* * *

A strike that affected five thousand miles of railroad was called in 1886 by the Knights of Labor. These railroads that were struck were situated in Missouri, Kansas, Arkansas, Indian Territory, and Nebraska. In Commons' "History of Labor in the United States," Selig Perlman says: "The strikers did not content themselves with mere picketing, but actually took possession of the railroad property and by a systematic 'killing' of engines; that is, removing some indispensable part, effectively stopped all freight traffic." Taking souvenirs, indispensable to the operation of the job, has been a favorite trick, and one that has precluded scabbery in many instances, since the scabs could not function without the strikers' souvenirs.

* * *

The problems of handling the scab-police is difficult at times. An admirable solution to this problem in one case at least is given in Coleman's "Life of Debs." During the railway strike of 1894, a bold engineer jumped down an embankment of the Ilinois Central Railroad Yards to land behind a startled constable. Waving a piece of paper (only a laundry bill) he yelled to the constable, "I'm from the office! I have orders to spike all the switches in the yards. We hear the strikers are going to derail the trains. Come on, give me a hand!" He led the constable to the tool box where they took out a maul and a bucket of spikes which the constable had to carry from one end of the yards to the other, spiking every switch under the stern direction of the engineer. It took two days to undo this work of one night.

Scabs of the garden variety are frightened in some instances by good healthy booing. In the Lawrence strike the law prohibited the pickets standing around the mills. The strikers obeyed the letter of the law, and made it look ridiculous by making an endless moving picket line around each mill. They marched with printed bands around their arms with the words "DON'T BE A SCAB!" very much in evidence, and kept up a continuous booing that sent shivers down the spines of any would-be scabs. (This is the first instance in history of a circular moving picket line.—E.H.)

* * *

During the strikes on the construction jobs of the Great Northern and Canadian Northern in British Columbia in 1912, and during similar strikes on the Great Northern in Washington in 1922, it was necessary to picket the employment offices from Los Angeles to Winnipeg and from Seattle to Chicago in order to keep scabs from hiring out. In such strikes scabs were given transportation to work by yielding their baggage to the railroad concerns until their fare was paid for with work. The I.W.W. often adopted the tactic of shipping out its members in these consignments of scabs, often making up most of the shipment. They would quit the train en route and leave the railroad in possession of cheap suitcases packed with gunny sacks and bricks. In the British Columbia strike of 1913, it was sometimes found necessary to send in members to "scab on the job" in order to bring out the rest of the camp with them.

* * *

The sit-down strike, originated by the I.W.W. in the General Electric at Schenectady, New York, in 1906, has proved an effective weapon in the class struggle since. Too much faith in the efficacy of the method has led to working-class disillusionment in many cases, however, notably the Douglas Aircraft strike in Santa Monica, California, in February, 1937, where the strike committee made no preparation for carrying on the strike in the event the strikers were evicted by police force from the plant. Because of lack of organization and perspective, the strike proved to be a dud that cost the workers their jobs, the blacklist, the yellow dog contract, long-drawn court trials and heavy sentences for a few. The Hershey strike, the Yale Towne strike and others are proof that the sit-down method does not guarantee success every time. This is not to detract from the merits of the sit-down as a tactic, rather it is a warning against blind faith in it.

* * *

The I.W.W. in Detroit employed the sit-down tactic to good effect in the Hudson Motor Car Company from 1932 to 1934. "Sit Down and Watch Your Wages Go Up," was the message that rolled down the conveyor lines on stickers attached to pieces of work. It became a byword in conversation among workers, and a thrill in practice. The steady practice of the sit-down philosophy netted wage increases that brought the metal finishers' wages from seventy-five cents an hour to a dollar and a quarter an hour—in depression times.

* * *

Job action reached a fine point in the lumber strike of 1917 when the strike committee, seeing that its strike funds were running low, decided to go back to work with the strikers and continue the strike there. They would work only eight hours a day and then blow their own whistle to stop work. Each crew of workers repeated the stunt until the fuming bosses granted the eight-hour day.

* * *

In the elevator strike of March, 1936, in New York City, scabs had the worst of it. The strikers, with the aid of the tenants in the struck buildings kept up a constant ringing of the elevator bells. When the scab would appear with the elevator, he was promptly jerked off the job. With the elevators delayed in that fashion, the tenants registered their protests with the management, and refused to pay rent. In the face of this the landlords acceded to the strikers' demands.

* * *

At Kelsey Hayes Wheel Corporation in Detroit, according to the reports of an Industrial Worker correspondent, the workers "devised the mass thirst strike for eliminating speed-up, an ingenious device for driving the bosses insane. During the summer hot spells, the workers were found absenting themselves from the fast-moving points of production, motivated by a common impulse to drink at the same time.

"When the bosses, infuriated, were told that nothing could slake the thirst of the slaves so effectively as a slowed down line and an increase in pay, they were forced to capitulate to the logic of this 'mass insanity'.

"During the cold weather the 'headache strike' proved the style. A whole department would apply to First Aid for aspirins, leaving the line racing behind them. 'Skip' strikes and machine breakdowns were engineered with the native efficiency of a wage-slave in rebellion. With each success came the sense of increased power and the desire to employ the power frequently and unexpectadly to the chagrin of the befuddled masters."

* * *

In Germany, where all striking is forbidden under the Nazi rule, the workers in the department stores used an evasive tactic. They painted inscriptions of the strike on balloons and gave them to children. The children went into the deparment stores with the balloons and unwittingly acted as pickets. When the police attempted to take the balloons from the children, the frightened youngsters released their holds on the strings and let the spheres float to the ceiling, out of reach of the police. Following this incident the sale of balloons was forbidden in Germany.

* * *

In the McKee's Rock strike of 1909, the strikers used a very effective counter-attack against the violence of the Pennsylvania Cossacks. The "Unknown Committee," after a striker had been killed, sent a notice to the Cossacks, "For every striker's life that you take, a trooper's life will be taken." A riot was started at O'Donovan bridge by Deputy Sheriff Exler; four strikers were killed so the "Unknown Committee" took the lives of three Cossacks and called it quits, for it was already clear that this amount of discipline had checked the violence of the cowardly police.

* * *

In Upton Sinclair's "Flivver King" there is a passage that yields a provocative suggestion to labor unions.

"If an organizer had failed to report himself to the union office at his regular intervals, the rest of the members would naturally assume that he had been arrested. The first thing that was done was to phone all the relatives and friends of the organizer to keep calling up the police station to find out if they had him locked up. By continuously calling them, the lines were kept so busy that police business was greatly hampered. If a couple of hours of this would not bring about the desired results, they would call the administration building of the Ford River Rouge plant. Someone would call up this office and ask for the missing man. If there was no satisfactory answer, he would tell them that their phone would be out of order until he was released. Following this, the caller would put a piece of match stick under the lever supporting the telephone receiver. This kept the receiver from coming all the way down; and since the calling station controls the one called, the Ford Company's line would be "busy" until the telephone company sent a man to remedy the trouble. Meantime, the caller had moved on to the next pay station to repeat the performance. It cost only five cents a call, and with several men on the job, all the trunk lines into the Ford administration building would soon be reporting "busy." High-salaried executives trying to get some large city to conclude million dollar contracts, would have to hop into their cars and drive somewhere else to place the calls."

* * *

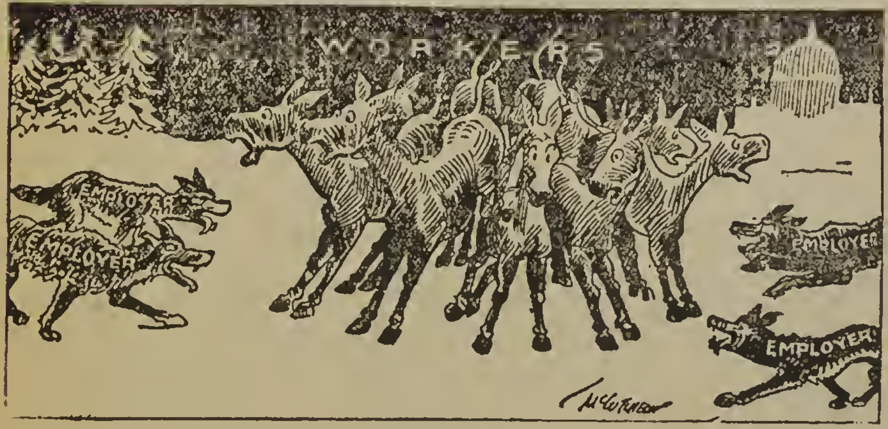
After the Northwest lumber strike of 1917, the employers tried to blacklist those that had been active union men. They set up an employment agency in the Inland Empire (Eastern Washington and Idaho) through which these men would be blacklisted. The lumberjacks found a remedy for this. When hiring out from these employment offices, they gave the names of Murphy or Swanson. If the man was Irish, or resembled Irish, he would give his name as Murphy. If he did not resemble Irish, he gave his name as Swanson. It was not long when the employment agents' records were full of Murphys and Swansons. Their attempt at blacklisting through this route was fruitless.

Finis

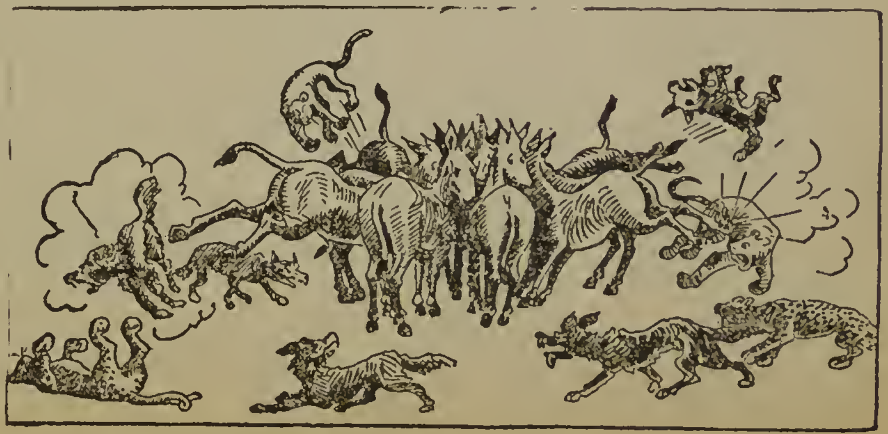
The workers of the world continue to be clever in devising schemes of attack and counter-attack in the class struggle. These evidences of keen intelligence bode well for the workers. Conspicuous for their lack of ingenuity along these lines are "Labor's Leaders." To be sure, they are given to devising means to obstruct the success of Labor's own strategies. The best strategy yet devised for workers who have leadership trouble is to join the I.W.W.

★ ★ ★

CLASS WAR STRATEGY



The Attack and



The Counter-Attack

Work Peoples

By

VERA SMITH

In the school gym—the boys keep in shape with handball, boxing, and other sports.

Many people have asked what Work Peoples College is, and some have been misinformed as to its purpose. In this article I will attempt to explain why this institution was established and to describe the subjects taught at this school for the working class.

Work Peoples College was established by wage workers, for the wage workers, and is managed by wage workers. In this school workers are educated in subjects which concern the working class and which they should know something about. The people who teach these subjects are themselves wage workers who have been in the I.W.W. and the labor movement for a period of years.

First of all we should know what subjects are taught at this school for the working class The three main subjects are: Marxian Economics, Labor History, and Industrial Unionism. Then also, Public Speaking, Sociology, Journalism, Organization Methods, Conduct of Meetings, English, Arithmetic and Finnish are taken by students. And those who are very, very, ambitious, attend the class which is known as the Tutorial Class.

Caught in the act of inhaling porkchops—it took two large tables to accommodate the gang this year. The kitchen staff is 100 per cent organized in I. U. 640.

In the Economics class, students learn just how they are exploited by the Capitalist Class. They learn that the value of a product is really the amount of labor embodied in that product. Also they learn that, although some may say we receive as much wages as is due us, this is not so; we receive only a small portion of what we produce for all that we may claim that all we produce is ours and ours alone. The product which we produce and for which we do not receive payment, goes to the capitalist who exploits us. This production from which the capitalists benefit is known as the surplus, and it is for this surplus that we of the labor movement are fighting. And so, I could go on naming different theories and straight facts which prove that we of the working class are exploited at the point of production and that the Capitalist Class live on the fruits of our labor. All this is learned in the Economics Class.

The Labor History class is the class in which the students learn how and under what conditions the first labor unions were formed and also of the political efforts of labor and their

College

"A place to live and learn"

A corner in the school library—who says that co-education doesn't promote study?

failures. We are informed as to when and where the first strikes were pulled off and why they were or were not successful. Something is learned about those labor unions which were once in existence such as the Molly Maguires, the Knights of Labor, etc.; and something is learned about those labor unions still in existence such as the I.W.W., the A. F. L., the CIO, and others

The class which deals with the I.W.W., its formation, principles, and activities, is the class in Industrial Unionism. Here the students learn what kind of an organization the I.W.W. really is, and the reasons for joining it.

Next we have the Public Speaking Class. Here the students learn the basic principles of public speaking and how to put their thoughts across to other people. The students get up and speak on various subjects, usually dealing with the present day system or the information obtained in the other classes.

The Sociology Class studies the social institutions and the social forces of the present day, such as: the state, religion, language, the moral code, the family, etc. We learn how these institutions originated and how the capitalist class uses them to take advantage of the working class.

In the Journalism Class, just as in the Public Speaking Class, students learn how to convey their thoughts to others. They learn the basic principles of writing articles for labor papers.

The Organization Methods Class and the Conduct of Meetings Class teach the students how to become organizers for the I.W.W. and how to conduct meetings with the proper parliamentary procedure.

Arithmetic, English, and Finnish Classes are held to give the students the necessary information about these subjects, so that they will not be handicapped in their other subjects and will be able to impart the knowledge they do have, to others.

The Tutorial Class is a training class for those who are interested in becoming teachers at such schools as Work Peoples College.

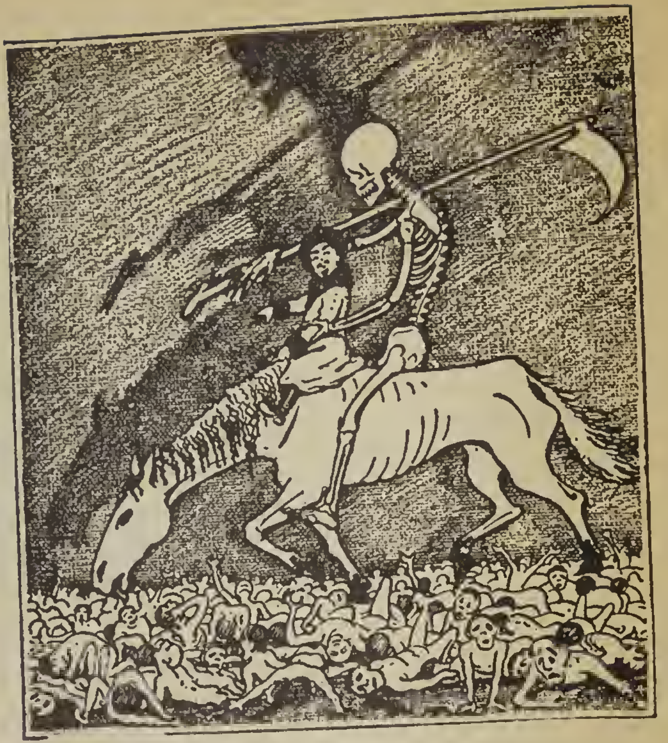
Besides having the classes I have mentioned, the W.P.C. holds Open Forums every Friday afternoon. In these forums the students themselves give the lectures, participate in the debates, the symposiums, and the discussions. Interesting and very educational subjects are discussed. Some of the subjects students have discussed at these forums are: "Is Industrial Democracy a Possibility?"; "Can Women be Revolutionary?"; "Can the Workers Manage Industries?"; and others. These forums are beneficial to the students for two reasons: they learn things they had not known of or thought about before, and they train themselves to speak before audiences.

All in all, Work Peoples College is the place for the workers to become educated, to become class conscious, and to learn about the only organization for them, the I.W.W.

"War Is Here"

By

ERLAND HYTTINEN



ROOSEVELT WANTS $1,300,000,000 FOR NAVY BUILDING PROGRAM — JAPAN SAYS SHE WANTS PEACE—OFFERS TO STAY OUT OF YANGTZE BASIN IN RETURN FOR UNDISPUTED POSSESSION OF FIVE NORTHERN PROVINCES—MUSSOLINI AND HITLER WANT MORE BABIES FOR BIGGER AND BETTER WARS—UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN INDIGNANT OVER REFUSAL OF JAPAN TO DISCLOSE NAVAL PROGRAM.

Such are the headlines that stare us in the face. As Photohistory says: "War is Here!"

To top it off, people accuse the Chinese and Japs and Fascist mercenaries of savagery. Well, that's where they're wrong. There has never been an instance of wholesale killing or war among savage peoples. In a society where everything was shared in common it was impossible to find any reason for going to war. The savages were free to appropriate the gifts of nature without hindrance from anyone. There was no need for navies or armies of policemen. The Eskimos are about the best instance of savages left. Civilization has not yet changed their long established ways. They have no word for war, and they never scold or swear. The women are on an equal footing with the men, social grades are unknown, and all property is held in common. When a seal, a bear, or some other good thing is to be had, the whole tribe helps to consume it. They have no form of organized government, and no armed forces. If a man's wife dies, other men of his tribe raise no objection if their wives console the poor widower, and so a good time is had by all. Now, how in the devil can anyone compare the hordes of our modern mass murder mechanism with these savages?

War is so much here that nobody bothers to declare it. Neither in Spain, nor Ethiopia, nor China did anyone come out with any such open declaration as "Dear Hi Lee Sell Asee, I, Benito Mussolini, special mouthpiece for the ruling class of Italy, now hereby in the name of Christ and civilization declare war upon you, your people, and your country, so help you!" No; they just went over and started fighting and killing people, and left the country in ruins. Right now, should you become the victim of civilization, you would most likely find the dead Ethiopians, Chinamen, Japs, Moors, Italians, Germans and Spaniards holding a conference with St. Peter and all admitting that they got to heaven just as fast, and maybe faster, than they would have, had they been killed in a regularly declared war.

But why all this fighting? Some say it is for new markets; some, that it is for the defense of old ones. But look at the casualties of the world war:

12 million killed in battle.
20 million wounded
10 million homeless
23 million dead from disease and famine.

How can all these dead, wounded and homeless furnish an increased market? Dead people don't buy. So that reason must be dropped. The only market it creates is that of destruction—destruction of the necessaries of life, destruction of the means of destruction, destruction of human cannon-fodder. So today the leaders of mankind advocate the production of more cannon fodder. At a recent conference in Washington, D. C., on "Better Care for Babies and Mothers," James Roosevelt gave the official New Deal slant:

> "The best national defense we can have are proper children growing up under proper care."

New York City's supposedly fiery and progressive Mayor La Guardia said:

> "Take the patriotic approach. The nation has an interest in every expectant mother because her child may be a boy. Even if it isn't, it at least is the potential mother of future boys."

While such policies are being advocated, it might be a good thing to practice a little birth control, eh?

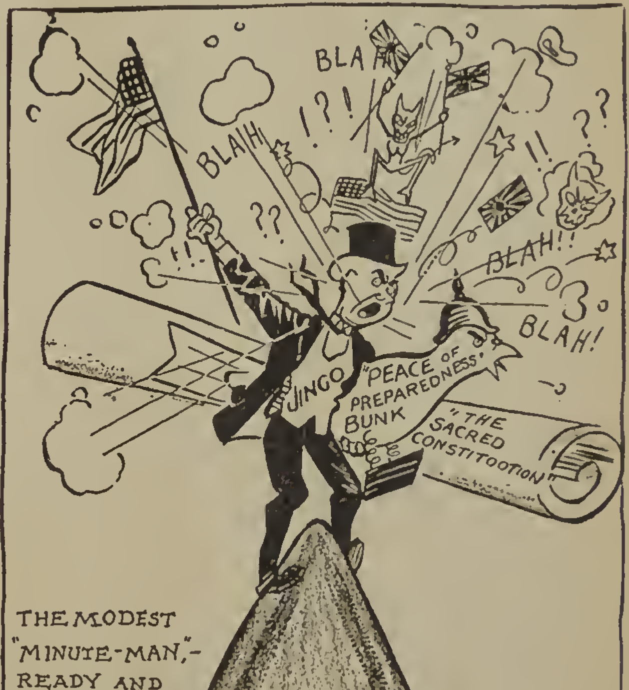
Another reason given for war is to get colonies, to provide room for this forced increase in the population. Italy has subjugated Ethiopia; but as yet Mussolini has not sent his excess population over there, even though he still does advocate more babies. In fact, there are more Italians, it is said, within two miles of Cherry Street, New York City, than in all the Italian colonies combined.

In the last world war the colonies went to such countries as Great Britain, France, the United States and other countries that had no need for colonies. If Japan proceeds to conquer China, we can expect to see these same great powers demand their cut. But it is rather perplexing what they will get out of it, for without war, they already exploit its resources and its labor power. Wars change the boundary lines and put one flag instead of another over the mines and factories; but property rights—especially of corporations—are usually respected. It is cheaper to buy than to take by war.

It's rather perplexing to find a good reason why war is here. The fact is that it is here; and instead of writing more about it, it would be better to do something about it. Toward the end of the last world war, the working class did start doing something about it, and that's probably why the damn thing ended. Revolution swept Russia. In Austria the workers got rid of the Hapsburgs. In Germany they sent the Hohenzollerns flying. In Hungary there was a liberal democracy, then the Bolshevik regime of Bela Kun which lasted four months before the allied armed forces crushed it and re-established the rule of the land-owners. It has all ended in fascism, but still while it lasted it provided many a nightmare for the plunderbund that thrives on war. The threat of revolution remains the most effective deterrent to war, even though the erstwhile revolutionists are resurrecting Woodrow Wilson's battle cry of "Make the World Safe for Democracy."

What are we, the working people who constitute the majority of people the world over, going to do about it? Are we going to furnish the barons of industry with more cannon fodder for the next great war? Are we meekly to become puppets flung at each other's throat? Are we going to travel thousands of miles to kill other working men with whom we have no quarrel? I say we should declare war—but it should be war on the capitalist system—and the slogan should be that of Karl Marx:

"Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to gain."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JINGO
"PEACE OF PREPAREDNESS" BUNK
"THE SACRED CONSTITOOTION"
THE MODEST "MINUTE-MAN,"- READY AND EAGER TO WORK FOR 'A DOLLAR A YEAR,' — AND A GUARANTEE OF 1000% PROFIT ON ALL INVESTMENTS
MUNITIONS TRUST
"HEAR! HEAR!! ATTA BOY!!"
FOREIGN $ INVESTMENTS
JERGER.

REVOLT OF THE BROTHERHOOD

By Covington Hall

In 1907 the lumber workers from one end of the South to the other walked out of the mills and woods, went home and sat down. It was a mass spontaneous movement caused by a steep cut in wages with a lengthening of hours by the lumber companies. The wages were already low and the hours unbearably long, but, as the workers had no organization, the lumber barons expected no resistance to their ruthless action. So, when the workers walked out, the barons were taken by surprise. The mass demonstration was something hitherto unheard of in the South. Fearing, seemingly, to terrorize the workers back onto the jobs, the barons began a campaign of soft-soaping. They told the desperate workers, "The times are so hard we are not making any money at all; but, if you will return to work, we will restore the old wages and hours just as soon as business improves." The barons did neither. They simply lied, as usual. But the uneducated workers, trusting them, went back to work.

Before the walkout ended, however, the A.F. of L. rushed into several large lumber towns and "organized" them into Federal Labor Unions, none of these "unions" having any connection with each other. Further, the usual A.F. of L. policies were applied to the situation, as a result of which nothing was accomplished for the workers and the Federal unions soon disbanded.

In only one town, Lake Charles, La., did the workers put up anything like a real fight. Here there were at the time, about 90 Socialists and IWW's. All took an active part in the resistance to the cuts in wages and lengthening of hours. All knew something about labor organization and revolutionary theories. Being activists, they formed a militant nucleus around which the masses mobilized and fought. As a result, the Lake Charles workers held the 10-hour day but lost about 25 cents a day on their wages, the wages of unskilled labor then being about $2.00 per day. The news of this partial victory spread and, of course, tended to make the outraged workers still more restless.

Uncle Pat

Then in 1908 Pat O'Neal—"Uncle Pat," all of us affectionately called him—a veteran leader of the Arkansas Coal Miners and member of the Western Federation of Miners, came to Leesville, La., which is in the heart of the Louisiana-Texas lumber country, and launched a weekly paper, "The Toilers." In this paper, Uncle Pat supported the Socialist party and called on the lumber workers to organize in the IWW. He also spoke in the surrounding territory. As a result of his agitation two or three IWW Unions were organized. One of these had as a member Arthur Lee Emerson, who afterwards, with Jay Smith and others, organized the Brotherhood of Timber Workers in 1910. But before the Brotherhood was organized the IWW Unions started by Uncle Pat had faded away, seemingly.

The dissatisfaction and the spirit awakened, however, still remained, and when the Brotherhood sprang up, it spread like a prairie fire through Louisiana and parts of Texas. In its first year more than 30,000 members were initiated and again the barons were taken by surprise. But this time they used no soft-soap. A bitter struggle immediately began which lasted for three long years before the Brotherhood, which in 1912 had affiliated with the IWW as the Southern District of the Forest and Lumber Workers I.U., was crushed by the united power of the Lumber Trust, the Santa Fe Railroad and the States of Louisiana and Texas.

In the course of the revolt the workers were, in 1911, locked out for seven months, fifty of the largest mills closing down. This lockout ended in July. During its continuance whole families were reduced to three meals a day of cornbread and molasses. The barons were sure they had taught the workers a "good lesson," but by that time the workers had learned more and more of the IWW, the barons aiding in this by denouncing them from the beginning as "IWW atheists." All this accomplished for the barons, however, was to make the workers want to hear more about the IWW an organization the barons seemed to dread so and the more they learned of it the more determined they were to join. They sent fraternal delegates to the General Convention in 1911 and affiliated in April, 1912.

Barons War Against I.W.W.

I am running a little ahead of my story, though. So, back to the 1911 lockout. Instead of being effectively tamed by the terrible experience, as the barons hoped, the workers came back still fighting, still demanding an increase in wages and shorter hours and, in addition, the cutting out of the many grafts worked on them, plus a demand for control of doctor, hospital and insurance fees.

Gradually wages were advanced and hours shortened until the IWW had forced wages of unskilled up to $2.50 for a 9-hour day, wages to be paid in United States currency instead of in "commissary money."

But in achieving these and other reforms, the Union in the Southern District had to keep up a relentless fight, so that its membership was gradually worn down and lost. Between 5,000 and 7,000 of its most militant members, white and colored, were blacklisted out of the lumber country. In spite of all this the union men fought on, trying to rebuild the Forest and Lumber Workers Industrial Union.

Terror was turned loose on the devoted band of militants still in the field. Civil war practically reigned over all central and western Louisiana and parts of east Texas. Everybody was armed. The barons flooded the country with gunmen recruited by the infamous Burns Detective Agency. The lives of all officers of the union, of its active members and of known sympathizers were daily in peril, not only from Burns gunmen but from vigilante organizations made up of hostile merchants, preachers and other townsmen who styled themselves "Good Citizens' Leagues." These "Leagues" committed many outrages against union men. It was these forces that finally brought on the battle between the Forest and Lumber Workers and Union Farmers on our side and those of the Lumber Trust at the little sawmill town of Grabo, La., on July 7, 1912. This battle is known in Louisiana as the "Grabo Riot."

We Go to Carson

About three weeks before it was fought, I was billed to speak in Carson, La., a lumber town owned by the "Four C's" Coal and Lumber Co. of Missouri. Only 12 men showed up to make the march to Carson, all expecting trouble that day. Emerson was not present on this trip, but Ed Lehman—"Old Brave," we all nicknamed him —his right-hand man in organizing, was with us and in charge. To reach Carson we had to pass through the Long-Bell town of Bon Ami ("Good Friend"!), three miles south of DeRidder, where we had mobolized our platoon.

About halfway to Bon Ami, we were met by Deputy Sheriff Kelly of the Long-Bell Lumber Co. He wanted to know, "Are you all the IWW's?" We informed him that we were. Next he asked, "Who is the speaker?" "I am," I said. Next he wished to know" if you are going to speak in Bon Ami?" We told him, "No." "Oh," he laughed, "so you are going to pass us up." We told him a meeting had not been advertised in Bon Ami, but in Carson, but that if they wished a meeting we would be glad to come and stage one for them. With that he turned his buggy and drove rapidly toward Bon Ami.

When we reached the outskirts of the town, all the company's "commissary soldiers," as the Jacks styled them, were drawn up on the baseball ground awaiting us. They took our pictures and as we proceeded, they fell in behind and around us beating tincans and shields together, beating on small circular saws and yelling at the top of their voices. In a dump cart behind the carryall in which Lehman, myself and other of the boys were leading our parade, they had a tremendous circular saw rigged up that men in the cart were pounding with bolts about two feet long. It was "a regular pandemonium," only worse. This infernal noise kept up until we reached the Grabo road, where we met the strikers from there. We then felt easier, for now our numbers about equalled theirs.

Between Bon Ami and Carson there was then a strip of woods about a mile wide. While passing through it, a sudden silence fell over all. The yelling and beating of saws and tincans ceased. We could not understand. Neither could Deputy Sheriff Kelly and Woods Foreman Martin of the Long-Bell Co., who were leading the opposing parade. Both got out of their autos two or three times and looked back to see what had happened.

We did not know until after the row was over. The famous "Leather Breeches" Smith, who was out in the woods evading a warrant for his arrest on a charge of "intimidating" scabs at Grabo, had suddenly stepped out of the forest, gotten into one of our wagons facing the dump cart carrying the big saw and promptly ordered everybody to shut up and cease the racket. "It makes me nervous," he said," and I don't want to kill any of you scabs today, much as I'd like to." They all shut up, Smith having the reputation of, not only being a "desperate man," but "crazy" to boot.

Smith hopped out of the wagon on the edge of the woods, telling the Lumber Trust crowd: "Don't you tap a saw or let out a yell until you get to Carson. If you do, I'll hear of it and I'll slip up some night and shoot you in your bed." With that he disappeared. They neither tapped nor yelled until we entered Carson, more than a mile away.

"Long Live the Brotherhood"

When we arrived in Carson about 150 farmers were there to back us up and also about 150 more of the barons' men. Our crowds were now about equal in numbers and practically all armed.

When I rose to speak I couldn't hear myself think, much less talk. Lehman and I decided to turn the speaking into a "Hurrah parade," marching with all our crowd in wagons and on foot up one street and down another, all of us yelling as loud as we could: "Long live the Brotherhood! Long live the Brotherhood!" All over Carson and Bon Ami we did this, ripping their crews all to pieces.

I was ashamed of my race that day. Both at Carson and Bon Ami the mill owners had been ordered to remain in their houses with doors closed and blinds drawn, not to come out under penalty of discharge and blacklist and not to sell or to give us so much as a glass of water. This order the "freeborn Anglo-Sexons" obeyed, all except one, who was promptly discharged.

But at Carson, they had to force the Negroes back into their houses at the points of guns and while I was attempting to speak a Mexican woods crew of about 40 men passed back of us through the woods. As soon as we saw them we jerked off our hats and waving them, yelled: "Long live the Brotherhood!" Every Mexican's big Stetson came off and as far as we could hear them, came back the cry: "Vivas la Brudderhoud! Vivas la Brudderhoud!" Then, in Bon Ami, about 30 Italians were gathered on the porch of the last house we passed. As our carryall passed it, all of us waved our hats to them, crying: "Long live the Brotherhood!" And as far as we could hear, came the answering cry: "Vive le Brudderhoud! Vive! Vive le Brudderhoud!" On that battle cry ended our march to Carson.

The "Grabo Riot"

Shortly after our "tin-canning," Wm. D. Haywood came into Louisiana on a lecture tour. He was then in the Socialist party and traveling under the auspices of the famous magazine, **The International Review,"** of which the beloved little rebel Mary E. Marcy was editor. Haywood spoke at several points in the lumber country for the Brotherhood. Big audiences greeted him at DeRidder, Lake Charles and Merryville, all then Union strongholds, especially the last.

Just prior to Haywood's meeting in DeRidder. the Socialist party had arranged a meeting at Carson for George Creel, who was covering the South as a star reporter for **The National Ripsaw**, published at St. Louis and edited by Frank and Kate Richards O'Hare, Phil Wagner and Henry M. Tichenor, the great poet-agnostic. Emerson was asked to announce this meeting. Before Haywood spoke, he did so, calling it in such a manner that, should anything happen and Creel not show up, Emerson would be compelled to take his place.

Well, the "something" happened. A hotel keeper at whose joint Creel was stopping attempted to assassinate him. In his effort to escape (he was fired at twice) Creel fell off a porch and badly injured himself. Emerson had to substitute for him.

The day of the meeting came, but instead of the 12 men who met with Lehman in DeRidder about three weeks before, around 800 men, women and children showed up to take part in the march. (Emerson could always bring out more than any of the rest of us, being then "a natural born" leader of men. There was no trouble along the line of march to Carson and, there, nothing ontoward occurred except that they were also "tincanned" and prevented from being heard.

On the march back to DeRidder, which was one of the union's sub-headquarters, however, runners who had been sent ahead to spy out the land, came back and told Emerson that gunmen were laying in wait in the strip of woods, previously referred to, to "shoot up" his wagon when it appeared. To avoid trouble, Emerson ordered the marchers to swing off and enter DeRidder via the Grabo road. About 400 of the 800 followed him, the rest keeping on straight to DeRidder.

When the parade reached Grabo they halted to rest and eat lunch. After eating they decided to "hold a speaking." "Doc" Havens opened the meeting and was not interrupted, but when Emerson rose and began to talk it was only a few minutes when guns began to glaze from the office, commissary and other points on the grounds. When Emerson saw that the gunmen were going to fire, he raised his hand and cried: "No! No! Don't shoot!" But they did, firing at Emerson, determined to kill him even if they had to kill three young girls standing beside him in the wagon. One of these girls, Doris LeBlue, made one of our star witnesses in the trial. She was only 17, but bore herself so well that she made a tremendous impression on the jury.

Seeing that the fight was at last on, our boys left the wagons. At one time, according to Lehman and others, the Wobblies were being fired on from four different directions by foes much better armed than were our men. The lumber trust rushed its allied gunthugs from all the surrounding towns. But in spite of being outnumbered by better armed foes, the Wobblies held their ground and finally charged the office of the Grabo Lumber Company, driving the gunmen pellmell before them.

That ended the battle and enabled the union men to retreat to DeRidder unmolested. Once there, Emerson made a talk to the workers and advised them to go home and wait developments, refusing to lead a crowd of around 1,000 men who had gathered, demanding that he lead them in an attack on the offending lumber trust towns. This crowd milled around for some time, began a march on Bon Ami, Carson and Longville, but being without a leader, finally disbanded.

Haywood and I had gone to New Orleans. On the night of the evening of the riot he was speaking in the Odd Fellows Hall for the Socialist party. He had gotten about half way through his speech when reporters called me and told me a "terrible riot had taken place at Grabo; 15 or 16 men have been killed and an unknown number wounded."

I walked up to the stage and gave Bill the news. He quietly announced it to the audience and went on with his talk as if nothing but the expected had happened. Later on in the night, in his hotel room, he was, however, very nervous and disturbed.

As for myself, I all but collapsed, for there lay dead at Grabo two of our finest boys, Decatur Hall and Uriah Martin, the last being only 20 years old and one I loved from the jump. Good old Joe Ferro was mortally wounded, taken to Lake Charles, placed in a hospital; then when he showed signs of improvement, taken to the infamous jail to die in agony. So we lost three dead and there were many wounded, among them Louis Brown, who had been shot with a copper-jacketed bullet, a ball which poisons a wound. How many the lumber trust lost, no one ever knew, though it is certain they had more dead men than the Burns gunman Vincent, whose body they left on the battlefield in order to enable their grand jury to charge the unionists with "conspiracy to murder."

Wholesale Arrests

Starting the day following the battle, the sheriffs began rounding up the union men and their sympathizers they had long been " laying to get." As a result of this roundup, 58 lumber workers and allied working farmers were arrested and jailed. Then came the indictment. Sixty-four were indicted, but four escaped arrest, among them the famous "Leather Breeches" Smith, who was murdered later on during the trial by the notorious "deputy sheriff" gunman, Del Charlan at Merryville.

Indicted for "conspiracy to murder," with prohibitive bonds demanded for their release on bail, our boys had to lay in the foul Lake Charles jail date of the battle, July 7th, 1912, to about October 1st, when the trial began.

Their arrest, the heavy bonds demanded, and the all through the broiling Louisiana summer, from the outrageous treatment they received in prison shook the State of Louisiana from center to circumference. For weeks after Grabo the lumber country was on the verge of insurrection. No one know when a match would be thrown in "the powder magazine" and explode it. The union men worked hard to prevent this. Lehman always afterwards swore this was one of our greatest mistakes, saying, "only something like that could civilize the Lumber Barons, and we worked our fool heads off to stop it. Hell!" I'm inclined now to agree with him. So are many others. But it is too late now, for the forests are gone and the barons safe in the cities with their loot.

The Trial

Having no data with me, I must depend solely on memory, hence I cannot give any except a few exact dates. The trial, however, opened about October 1st, 1912, Judge John S. Overton presiding, but with the Burns Detectives practically running the court, directing the prosecution, or "persecution," as the Jacks insisted on calling it.

The first act of the Court was to separate Emerson, Lehman and seven others from the 58 under indictment and send them to trial as "ringleaders" of the revolt. As the 58 had been indicted under one indictment and, as under Louisiana law, only the Defense could ask for a separation, this act of Judge Overton was a flagrant violation of the legal rights of all the indicted men. Our lawyers strenuously protested the violation, but Judge Overton was adamant, saying that with the number of "peremptory challenges of jurors for cause possessed under the law by the Defense and State that a jury could not be impaneled in all Louisiana to try the 58 all in one group."

To this Judge Hunter, our leading lawyer, said: "May it please your honor, we are **not** responsible for the mistakes of the Prosecution." Overton admitted this and that he was violating the law, but, nonetheless ordered the nine to trial, refusing even to grant a delay of two weeks which the Defense asked to take his ruling to the Supreme Court of the State. All our lawyers could then do was to proceed with the case as best they could before a hostile Court.

That Judge Overton was hostile was shown throughout the long trial, which lasted a little over a month. Time after time he came to the assistance of the Prosecution when our lawyers had them beaten to a frazzle. One instance that showed Overton's gross partiality was when the notorious Kinney, local manager of the Burns Agency, entered the Court, took a seat at the Prosecution table with a list of all prospective jurors in Calcasieu parish, then the largest county in the United States, ready to help pick the trial jury.

Kinney was not a lawyer and, so, had no right at the table. Nonetheless, it took three long days of hot arguing before the Defense attorneys were able to force Overton to order Kinney from among the prosecutors. The man, Overton, who did his best to send our boys to the pen or the gallows then is the same Overton who is now United States Senator for Louisiana. Running for this office in 1932, he campaigned the State weeping over "the sufferings of the poor people of Louisiana," sufferings he and his kind are entirely responsible for.

The trial got under way and, throughout the month, sensation after sensation occurred. As the trial went against them the Lumber Trust and the Burns crowd went wild. They threatened the lives of all of us, going so far in this as to threaten even Judge Hunter, our leading counsel, one of the most popular lawyers in the State. They arrested C. L. Filigno, E. F. Doree and Clarence Edwards, then our ablest organizers still in the field and jailed them under a charge of "intimidating witneses," an offense the Burnsmen alone had been guilty of, but no Burnsmen were ever jailed.

They were especially after Edwards who had been greatly instrumental in gathering evidence for the Defense. Edwards' work here was truly remarkable, for, though he had never done any detective work, he put it all over Burns. The discomfited Burns agents, to excuse themselves with the Lumber Barons, got up the story that we had "hired the American Detective Agency and had 100 sleuths in the field." It was a great compliment to Fellow-worker Edwards, and he deserved it fully.

Solidarity Wins

What really won the trial for us was the magnificent solidarity shown by the entire labor movement of Louisiana and the surrounding states. For once we forgot that we were IWW's, AFL's, Railway Brotherhoods and Farmer Unionists. The entire Movement lined up behind the nine endangered men in a solid and unbreakable wall of labor, a wall that the enemy tried time after time to breach, but in vain.

General Organizer George Speed of the IWW commented on this wonderful solidarity time after time.

Repeatedly the barons sent emmissaries among the unionists whispering what the IWW "intended to do to the AFL, the Railway Brotherhoods and Farmers," which was to destroy them. But all they got was this answer: "This is no mere IWW fight. It is Class War and, by God, we know it!"

Then, in the last weeks of the trial, they sent out whisperers to discourage the unionists by urging the futility of hoping to clear the accused. "They (the nine on trial) are going to hang," they said. "We be damned if they do," emphatically answered the workers. "Well, they are sure going to the penitentiary," asserted the Burnsmen. "We be damned if they are," came back the workers. "Well, they are going to be convicted. You can't prevent that." "Maybe so," said the workers. "You can convict them. You can do anything in your rotten courts. But they are not going to hang and they are not going to the penitentiary."

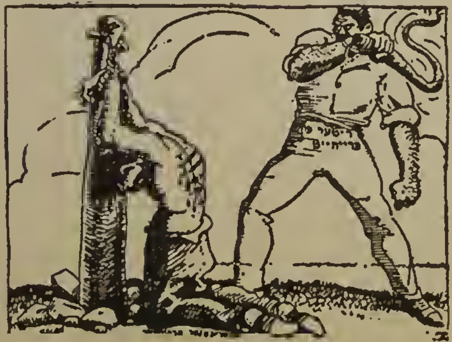
"What do you mean?" asked the buffaloed Burnsmen and Barons. "Well, if you want to know," said the workers, "we mean just this: the minute we get the news of their conviction over the wires we are marching on Lake Charles with our guns and rifles, burning sawmills and lumber yards as we come. And that ain't all. God Almighty will see more Burns Detectives, Gunmen Deputies and Sawmill Managers and Lumber Barons hanging to pine trees an' telegraph poles than he ever saw in one place before in all His life. That's what we mean. Go ahead and convict them."

As this came up from the rank and file of all the unions and not down from their officers; and as the whole State was again facing insurrection, the message from the ranks up had a tremendous effect on the enemy. In the last two or three weeks of the trial they made no visible effort to convict the boys. Militant solidarity freed them, as it will yet free the Working Class.

The jury retired at last to consider its verdict. They left the courtroom about 4 or 5 o'clock in the afternoon. It was about an hour later when their verdict was given out. It was unanimous for acquittal, the jurors telling us that we need not have put a single witness on for the Defense after the Burns detectives had testified for the Prosecution; that their first, or trial ballot, had been unanimous for acquittal. Eight of the twelve jurors fraternized with us at the great meeting called in the Carpenter's Hall that night to celebrate the victory. All the unions were there. All of us had forgotten we ever belonged to anything else than the working class.

All during the trial, good old Charlie Cline was a tower of strength to the Defense and a right bower to me in publicity work.

(To be continued)



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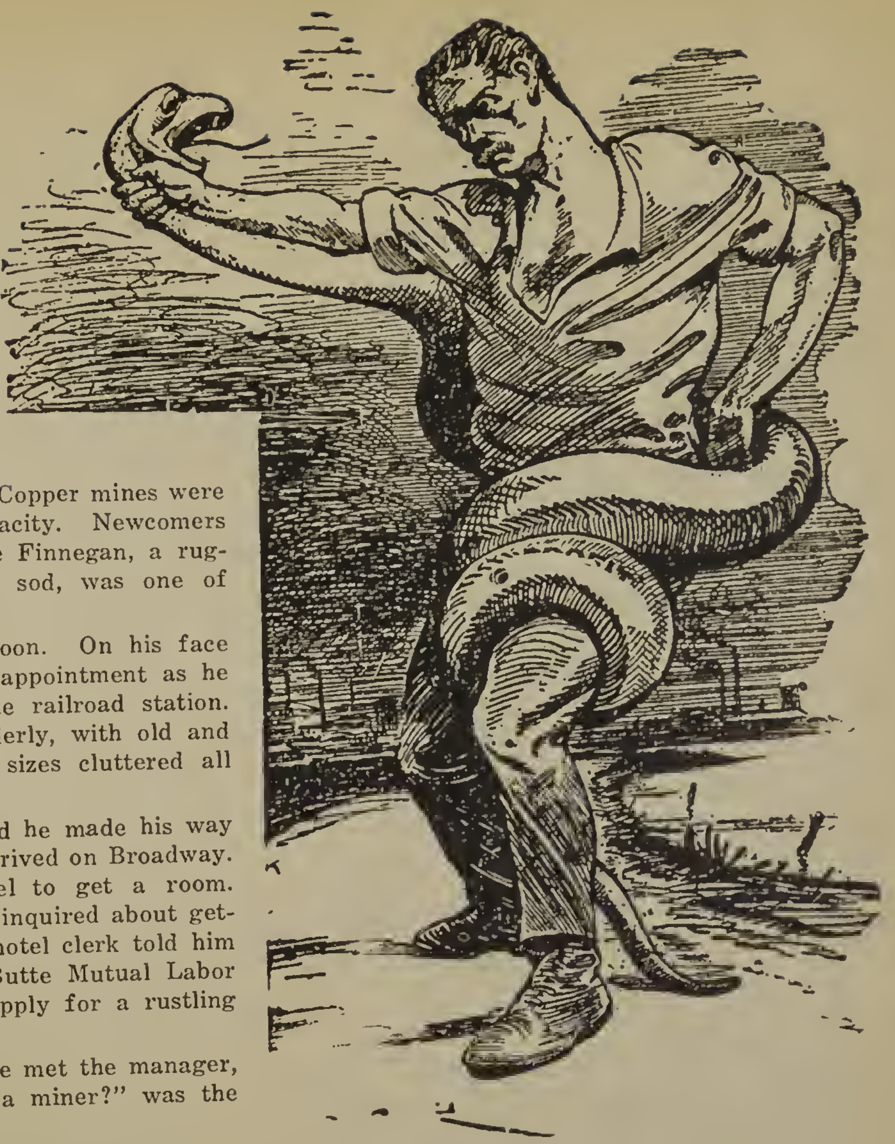


The “Anaconda” crushes a victim

It was in the spring of 1925. Copper mines were operating at their greatest capacity. Newcomers were pouring into Butte. Mike Finnegan, a rugged individualist from the old sod, was one of them.

He arrived in town about noon. On his face was a look of surprise and disappointment as he looked over the town from the railroad station. The town was dirty and disorderly, with old and unpainted shacks of different sizes cluttered all over.

With a suitcase in each hand he made his way up Wyoming Street and soon arrived on Broadway. He walked into a cheap hotel to get a room. There he left his suitcases and inquired about getting work in the mines. The hotel clerk told him he would have to go to the Butte Mutual Labor Bureau on Copper Street to apply for a rustling card.

At the rustling card office he met the manager, George W. Lentz. “Are you a miner?” was the first question.

“Are you an I.W.W., and do you believe in the principles of the I.W.W.?”

Finnegan said: “No, I am not.”

“Give this man a card,” said Lentz to one of his assistants.

After he had answered a few questions about his age, weight, beneficiary, etc., he was given a rustling card which read:

“This is to certify that Mr. Michael Finnegan is hereby recommended for employment by the Butte Mutual Labor Bureau.” Nine o'clock the following morning, with a rustling card in his pocket, he went to the Tramway mine to rustle for a job. About one hundred and forty men were standing in line when he got there.

For three hours he stood in the line before the foreman came to hire the men he wanted. The line moved on slowly with the foreman hiring a man from here and there, mostly picking out the men that he knew. About an hour later Mike was at the front of the line. He asked the foreman, “any show for a miner.”

“Give me your card,” said the foreman. He looked very closely at the card and when he saw that it was a new card he said, “Where have you worked in the mines?”

“In Miami, Arizona,” was the answer.

“Go sign up at the timekeeper's office right away, and come out at six o'clock tonight,” said the foreman.

That afternoon he went to the boarding houses in town and rustled up a place to eat and sleep. Around four-thirty, he ate his supper and started to the mine. There he got a locker for himself and then he went to see the assistant foreman. The assistant foreman was a big and husky two hundred pound man and he looked like a horse when he was leaning against the gallows frame.

On the Job

With a loud voice he said to the Irishman, “Go down to thirty-one hundred into O five stope.”

The Iristman waited at the shaft until the station tender yelled, "Thirty-one hundred." He stepped into the cage and went down over three thousand feet into the "richest hill in the world."

On thirty-one hundred the cage came to a stop. Mike got off the cage and went to fill up his water sack and at the same time inquired about O five stope. The miners told him to ask the "jigger boss" about it. He went over to the jigger boss and said "Where is O five stope?"

The jigger boss said, "Come on I'll take you up there." They started along the main line and Mike began to feel kind of warm. Mike told the jigger boss, "Jesus, but it's not down here."

"This isn't anything yet," said the jigger boss, "but wait till you get your working place and you'll know what heat is."

They walked along the hot drift for about fifteen minutes before they got to their destination. When they finally got there, the first thing Mike did was to pour sweat out of his boots.

"You'll find the powder house and the toilet car along that drift," said the jigger boss, pointing with his hand toward another drift going off at an angle from the one that they were in.

Mike peeled off pretty near all of his clothes except his under shirt and overalls. Then he started the climb of seven floors to the stope. The manway was so hot that Mike almost suffocated before he got into the stope. When he finally got there he sat in front of the fan bag to cool off and get his wind back. (A fan bag is a rubberized tubing used to blow cold air into the stopes).

He sat in the stope for awhile and was pretty well cooled off when his partner came in. Mike went up to the stranger and introduced himself. They talked for a while about themselves and Mike found out that his partner was Slavonian. He was a husky little chap for his size, probably weighed around one hundred forty pounds and he was about five feet six inches tall.

The usual custom in the mines is that one man drills one day and the other man drills the next day, so these two men decided that Mike would drill today and the Slavonian would muck. The Slav gave a few instructions to his new partner: "The 'widow maker' is out there and you can get some oil from the station."

"What is a widow maker?" Mike asked in his surprise.

"I guess you haven't worked on this hill before," said the Slavonian. He explained that the widow maker was a rotator buzzy used to drill holes in the stopes and it made lots of widows.

Mike started the long journey to the station again to get some oil. He was cursing in the heat. "How in the hell can that little runt stand this heat?" He made the trip to the station and his clothes were all soaking wet when he got back to the stope. He was somewhat amazed at the little Slav, because he wouldn't even stop to get his wind but just kept on mucking in that terrible heat.

After considerable swearing and sweating and after breaking a few bits and steel, Mike got a couple holes in the ore. Just as he was trying to pry out steel that had stuck in the hole, the shifter happened to come into the stope.

"What the hell kind of a miner are you when you stick a steel in ground like this?" he bellowed.

"I can't help it if they stick. This machine is that worn out that it won't give enough water."

"Well if you don't get that round in and blast you can go up and drag 'er," said the shift boss as he left the place.

Mike got pretty busy when he heard this and he kept pounding away with his widow maker. The Slav was a little wiser for he didn't work quite so hard. At noon the mucker had the muck all cleaned out even though he wasn't in so much of a hurry as Mike. Mike had twelve holes drilled when the Slav hollered to him, "Lunch time, Mike!"

They climbed down to the sill to eat their lunch. They rustled a few dry laggings and ate their lunch and then they laid down to take their afternoon nap.

The men woke up as they heard the motor crew came to pull the chutes about a half an hour later. Back into the stope they climbed for three more hours of hard work. At the end of the shift they had the holes drilled, loaded, and one set of timber was standing. At four o'clock sharp they spit the holes and started for the station. On their way to the station they met the shifter.

"Did you get that round in?" he asked.

"Yep—we did," answered Mike.

At the station the men were shivering from the cold because their clothes were all wet. They had to wait for about a half an hour before the cage came to hoist them to the surface. Once again on surface after a hard day's work, the men dragged their weary bodies to the dryhouse to take a shower and change into their dry clothes.

After a good hot supper Mike went straight to his room and slept like a log until the alarm clock began its "sweet chimes." He dreaded the idea of going into that hole again but he thought it would be the only thing he could do under the circumstances.

With his appetite pleased with hotcakes he started the one mile walk to the mine. In the dryhouse he began to feel disgusted again as he took his diggers from the locker and they were stiff from the sweat. The other miners gave him some good advice on how to keep them from getting that way. They said, "Wash them good every night and they will be a lot better to put on in the morning."

In the lamp house the shifter said, "Get the muck out and put in two sets of timber and a fourth steel round."

"Blowing In"

For several days the men kept on working this way. On a Tuesday the measure man came to measure the place. He cheated a quite a bit when he measured it but just the same the men had twelve hundred feet for breaking, eleven hundred and fifty for mucking and eight hundred feet for timbering.

That evening the two miners looked at the "Ouija board" to see what they had made on their contract. Contract A 84 showed seven dollars and seventy-four cents. When Mike saw this he said, "By golly it pays to work hard for that much money."

The following Friday was pay day. Mike went to the pay office with his pay slip and got his check. He wandered along Park street wondering where he should cash his check. At the swinging doors of the Crown he stopped and decided that he would cash his check here.

"Care to have a drink," said the bartender.

"Well maybe it wouldn't hurt me," said Mike as he strolled over to the crowded bar. He took a drink and then he noticed his partner at the bar and yelled, "Hey you! Come over and have a drink with me, Pete."

"Sure, said Pete as he came staggering toward Mike.

They stood at the bar until the wee hours of the morning taking a drink every now and then, and then they would try their luck on the tables only to lose a few dollars of their hard earned money at every attempt to win a little.

It was three o'clock when Mike left the saloon for the "Rose Garden" to see the "girls." He finally got to the "garden," and there he started talking kind of loud. After a few minutes of yelling in the "garden" a cop came along and picked up Mike and brought him to the station.

"Ten days," said the judge at the hearing on the following morning.

Mike served his ten days and vowed that he would never again get drunk. On a Monday morning Mike got out of the can and he went straight to the mine office to see if his time was still good. But the timekeeper said, "She's in."

Feeling kind of downhearted as he heard this, Mike began to stroll toward the card office. The big shot at the card office said, "What was wrong with the place when you quit so soon?"

"The place was good but I started drinking and the shifter turned my time in," said Mike bowing his head in shame.

"Well that's O. K. Here is your card, go and rustle yourself another job."

For several weeks Mike kept this up. He worked for about a week or until the next pay day and then he would drink for a while again. Finally one morning when he went after his rustling card, he was called into the "Kangaroo court."

Outside of the courtroom he had to wait while they kangarooed another victim. Mike was sitting close to the door and he happened to hear every word that was said during the trial in the courtroom.

"Why did you quit your last job?" demanded the manager.

"It was too damn hot and the shifter was a helluva guy," said the miner.

"Why did you quit all your other jobs?"

"Because every one of those places was so damn rotten that a man couldn't work in them," was the answer.

"You are a member of the IWW aren't you?" demanded the big shot.

"I have been for the last twelve years," said the Wobbly.

"Well get this straight; you don't have to come here for your card anymore. This company doesn't want any of you damn IWW's around. You're blacklisted! Get out!" yelled the manager.

Mike began to get kind of shaky when they called out his name but just the same he went in the courtroom. "You quit your job four times this month, didn't you?" was the first question he was asked.

"Yes," answered Mike in an unsteady voice.

"Why did you quit so often? Are you one of those IWW's that aren't satisfied with their places, too?" said the manager.

Slave's Reward

"I got drunk every pay day and the shifter would always turn my time in," answered Mike.

"Well you're all right. Here's your card. Next case," yelled the big shot. Mike went out feeling that he was damned lucky not to be a Wobbly.

The years slowly passed and Mike kept on working in the mines and going on his benders every week-end. Once in a while he would hurt himself and that would make him stay sober for a while. He began losing weight pretty fast and his face kept on getting paler as the years went by.

It was eleven years after he had come to Butte that he went to the hospital for a thorough examination. "You have the miner's consumption," said the doctor, "and I would advise you that you take it very easy the rest of your life."

Mike was sitting in an easy chair in his room with his life slowly ebbing away. He was thinking about things, chewing the cud of his memory. The day he went to the Kangaroo Court flashed before him. He remembered how the Wobbly had been blacklisted, and how lucky he had felt that he wasn't one of them. He coughed for all that the doctor had told him not to. "Damn it," he asked himself, "Who was it that was lucky that day—the fellow that got blacklisted or the fellow who didn't?"

THE STORY OF THE SANDHOG

By Harry Monkkonen

A tall, rawboned shift boss stood leaning over the railing around the mouth of the shaft, waiting for the cage to come up. When it was hauled level, the first mud-dripping miner stepped on the ground, inhaled some fresh air, and announced enthusiastically: "Did we ever make the footage!"

"How many feet this shift, Jack?"

"Plenty. Enough to beat every miner from here to the coast," proudly boasted the sandhog, wiping the sweat off his face and coughing violently.

"Wait till my crew gets down there. Watch their smoke!" replied the foreman, and sauntered over to the dryhouse.

This was my first sight of a tunnel job. I looked at the sandhogs and wondered how life was deep underground. Now, I had a chance to see, for tonight was to be my first time down the sewer. I went over to the dryhouse to get my slicker.

"All set? Well, get goin', you sewer-rats!" The gawd-all-mighty foreman was speaking.

Thirty miners came trooping out of the dryhouse, grim smiles on their lips. They wore overalls. Their legs were encased in long hip-boots that made a thudding sound as they walked towards the shaft. Their heads were helmeted with red metal hats gleaming in the spotlight that shone from the roof of the compressor house.

The men were of all races. Most of them were short and squarely built. Their teeth flashed out of the gloom of their faces as they laughed and kidded each other.

I was in the second cage. "I forgot to say good-bye to Ma," laughed one, a stout, powerful man with a merry dark face and little eyes. Another man smiled and proudly stuck out his hairy chest, "Footage—or bust!"

In a few moments the cage stopped; we had reached the bottom of the tunnel. Here the crew separated. Some went towards the east lock and others to the west lock, for the tunnel was being mined in two directions. I was to go to the east lock. The cage creaked up and down like an old oaken bucket until all the men were hauled down. We paused for a short time while the lock tender decompressed the air lock. The air chamber was fifteen feet high, fifteen feet wide, and eighteen feet long. Whew! That lock tender was decompressing the air lock in a hurry—the doctor said twenty seconds flat, when it should have taken from three to five minutes.

"Hi gang!" he greeted us.

We piled into the air lock and closed the door.

"Everyone ready?" The tender's hoarse voice cracked, and with a quick jerk he released the air, his eyes intently watching each sandhog. And too, every sandhog was watching every other, waiting to see if his companion was fortunate enough to get through the lock. Some of the men held their noses and blew to keep their ears open while others stood there calmly and swallowed frequently. I remembered how terrified I was when the air was released.

"Better watch yerself, kid" a man close to me said. "Ef yer ears clog, maka squawk."

"Why?" I asked, blowing my nose several times.

"Vell, ya ain't goin' to get through that vay. Ef dey plug up, dey hurt."

One man next to me seemed to have that trouble. "Fer God's sake, turn the damn thing off!" he yelled.

The lock tender shut off the air valve. All eyes were focused upon the man. He held his nose and blew; he swallowed and gave a few short, violent kicks. No use. He was stuck. He shook his head at the tender who turned his valve to decrease the pressure. Some one yelled: "Git the 'ell out of here, you jelly-fish! Cream puff!" When the tank was completely decompressed again, the man walked out. A doctor was waiting for him outside to take him up to the surface and give him immediate treatment.

The door was closed again. The tender proceeded to release the air. This time all were fortunate in getting through.

On the average it took from two to three minutes to be completely compressed, if no trouble arose among the men. But due to the dampness in the lock when the men are decompressed many catch colds which cause some trouble. If a sandhog had even the slightest headcold the company forbade him to enter the air lock. The air pressure in the tunnel was approximately twelve pounds. When the pressure in the lock equaled the pressure in the tunnel, the door leading into the tunnel automatically opened.

When we reached the heading, the night crews evinced the joy of relief that their shift was at end. They greeted us, laid down their tools, and began hustling back to the lock.

"Let's try like hell to beat the other crew's record," bellowed the shift boss.

It was pitiful to see how those scissorbills reacted to the bosses' propaganda and how they strove for greater footage than that of the crew that preceded them.

Hitting the Highball

The Walter W. Magee Construction Company had the contract, and theirs was a "highball" system. We went on shift for eight hours. There were three shifts in this tunnel. The morning shift started at 8:00 A. M., and came off at 4:00 P. M.; the night at 4:00 and off at 12:00 P. M. The shift I was on, the "graveyard shift," started at 12:00 and knocked off when the morning shift came on at 8:00. Every two weeks we changed shifts and there had to be a re-learning of all our appetites and physiological functions.

My working partner called me to come up to the heading. He was huge and strong, with great tattooed fists and arms. His bull neck supported a hard, weather-beaten face. His mass of hair was white and wild as spray. He said he was a German.

"You'll neffer make the record mit all dat standin' 'round," he told me.

It was all hustle and bustle in the heading. It was a continual round of "highball." After the miners were finished running the hammers, the muckers came in and bedlam was let loose. Everyone was running around like mad, looking out for greater production. The bosses did not have to say a word; the slaves were out for a record. All grabbed their tools, compressed air power drills, jackhammers, jacks, and shovels and began work in earnest. The miners slaved hard to break the record for the number of "plates" put on in one shift; the muckers wrenched their backs to get out more cars of muck than the previous shift.

After I had been working two weeks, the company put on a contest to see how many plates each miner could put on per shift. A month later they put the bonus system in effect. To get the bonus the workers had to mine more footage than the amount set by the company. They cared nothing about killing themselves—they were out for a bonus. They were unable to see that speed-up competition between shifts was just another way of gouging profits from their hides. They fell over each other trying to be the first done. They cared not a damn about their health. Despite the fact that there was only twelve pounds of compressed air on this job, the effects on the workers were disastrous. That seemed not to bother the slaves any, for they continued to work after they had contracted the "bends," or even after their ears had clogged. *Pain meant nothing to them but the bonus did!*

After a man had put eight hours in this badly ventilated tunnel (hot air was all one breathed) he felt as if he had just come through a wringer. In the tunnel there was invariably a lot of dust that the sand-hog "ate." The company preferred the dry-hammer method. Every movement of the hammer, every explosion (if there were any) stirred up sand rock, and made more dust. Even the cars that ran up and down carrying muck and sand rock on very narrow tracks stirred up dust in their passage. The mucker, shovelling sand into the cars, raised clouds of dust. All this was in a confined space, and practically choked the workers.

After Shift

After the shift was over we entered the lock again and were decompressed. We shuffled out of the lock, our faces black as sinister masks, our bodies dripping sweat, and stooped in weary curves. We went to the wash-house and washed off the dirt and mud. They had a bulletin board with a chart depicting the progress made each day in the tunnels. I could see some of the apes run over to see what the other shifts had done and a look of consternation came over their faces when they saw that they did not have as many feet as the others.

Many times I had come off shift at 8:00 A. M. with a raging headache, my ears ringing, and spots dancing before my eyes. When I arrived home, my trouble started. When I sat down to breakfast (and how I love to eat) my appetite was not there. When I drank my coffee it was like sipping turpentine. The ham and eggs tasted like roots garnished with sand.

Bonus or Death?

Two months later while on shift duty, a man next to me began to cough very violently and keeled over. An emergency call was sent to the doctor. The man was taken into the lock, revived, and then decompressed and brought to the surface. No one knew what was the trouble with him. After the shift was put in, I sauntered over to the doctor's office to inquire about the man who had fainted.

"Doc, what was the matter with Joe?" I asked.

"I don't quite know as yet, Harry. He might have silicosis."

"What's that?"

"All underground workers have silicosis or miner's consumption to some degree. That is not true tuberculosis, though the symptoms are similar. It is merely an accumulation in the lung tissue of quantities of fine sand particles which have sliced through the walls of the air passages. Silicosis paves the way for, and invariably induces, true tuberculosis, sooner or later, unless the man quits his job."

"Well, can't anything be done to prevent the sand particles from entering the lungs?"

"Yes, to some extent. Some companies, Butler Brothers for instance, provide the workers with respirators. But even these are insufficient to keep the fine dust out."

I talked with the doctor for some time. I learned some other facts regarding tunnel construction work. Men, particularly in the heading, worked in cramped positions and in very bad light. Miners' nyastagmus, a disease of the eyes, and also a trembling of the face and hands, was prevalent.

This is the life of the sandhog. The hoosiers are more than willing to meet any sort of catastrophy. They are eager to enter the tunnel and to slave for their masters. Few sandhogs have a social outlook. They are all out to beat their fellow workers and get more bonus for themselves.

What should be done?

A powerful union could easily force higher wages from the companies, and also force installation of dust-laying devices and better ventilation in the tunnels. If the miners made a powerful union of the General Construction Workers Industrial Union 310 of the IWW they could do much. High wages (miners got $10.95 and muckers got $7.70, but living was expensive), and abolition of contract work, would wipe out many of the evils the tunnel workers suffer.

They need a fight. At present, their first need is sound organization. The union which exists among the miners, muckers and other sewer workers does not afford even the protection of its name to as much as five per cent of the workers. No wonder—it is the American Federation of Labor. This organization has been organizing the sewer workers in the St. Paul-Minneapolis unit. Despite their success in some instances in raising wages and shortening the hours, it has clearly proven that it has not the power to protect and preserve those wages. Is it any wonder? It is not a rank and file organization.

Here is an instance to prove that this union is not a real labor union, but an organization controlled by the bosses and the union officials. On one job in St. Paul the workers went out on strike for higher wages. In the height of the strike, when workers had shown that they had the power to win, the AF of L officials secretly signed an agreement with the contractors, settling at the company's wage scale. The union's officialdom ordered the workers to go back to work. When labor's solidarity was at its peak, it was knifed in the back by AF of L scabbery.

They need direct action. These workers can be organized into the One Big Union of the IWW. Right now they are divided by craft pride or skill. These divisions, the speed-up competitions and antagonism toward nationalities, cannot be kept alive forever. A little energetic agitating—and who knows?

◆

A PRAYER TO LUCIFER

By Covami

God of Light Bearers, known of old,
God of the Rebels, free and bold,
Sound forth thy trumpet! Let us hear
Its silver notes ring far and clear!

In this stricken, slave-cursed world,
Let now thy thunderbolts be hurled;
In freedom's name, for truth and right,
God of my fathers, hurl the light!

Send out once more thy clarion call,
"Life to the brave! Death to the thrall!"
God of the Rebels, lead thine own,—
Behold the Bond Lord on thy throne!

Breathe on them thy mighty breath;
To mutiny stir the doomed to death;
To revolution or their graves,
God of my fathers, call his slaves!

From liberty's unconquered halls,
From out their grand and rugged walls,
In freedom's name, for truth and right,
God of the Rebels, hurl the light!

REVOLUTION WITH MUSIC

By BILL NIEMI

Every work of art, everything of beauty created by man expresses revolt, even though it be unconsciously, against the ugliness and injustice of his social system.

"All art is propaganda. It is universally and inescapably propaganda; sometimes unconsciously, but often deliberately, propaganda."—Upton Sinclair.

The Standard Dictionary defines propaganda, "Effort directed systematically toward the gaining of support for an opinion or course of action." Therefore, isn't all art prapaganda? Certainly it is the aim of every artist to have his fellow men approve of, and support the opinion, course of action, or idea he tries to portray, in whatever manner he interprets it, be it through music, painting, poetry, or writing.

In the field of music we have had very efficient propagandists in the persons of Beethoven, Bach, Mozart, Wagner, Verdi, and many others. They were artists who saw injustice but were not, in many cases, free to fight against it by means other than music.

Perhaps the most famous of all music centers is Vienna. In the beginning of the nineteenth century it was a "Vienna of discreet conversations, of toned down pleasures, and grey rococco palaces in which there always seemed to be dwelling a mystery," says Richard Specht in his "Beethoven, As He Lived."

It was Emperor Franz's Vienna. Franz was a tyrant who made Vienna into the gloomiest police state in the world. The spy and the informer prospered, and the narrow-minded censorships suppressed all who dared come out with the truth. The police censorship always "knew best," and drastically punished those who ventured a word against the existing order of government. Painters and writers either prostituted their art or lived in solitude, or perhaps mildly satisfied their feelings by limitedly burlesquing some of the less important events of the day. There were some who turned to music and used that as a safety valve for the inner feelings and emotions they weren't free to express otherwise, for with music they were able to express everything they felt. Deep mysteries were transferred to the staffs of music paper, as were the satires and mimicries of the king's court and the political merry-go-round. Through this outlet they tried to arouse the people to demand the rights and pleasures they were entitled to but did not enjoy.

To this terrific political pressure Specht attributes Vienna's fame as a musical center. Counter-pressure against the deadening authorities led to the encouragement of music. It obviously could not be that all painters, writers, and artists that were not musicians turned to music, but those who were able to, found freedom of expression in music—and music as a whole was thus encouraged.

Those that could, heard in the works of Bach and Mozart the suppressed truth, and "had anybody at that time had the eyes to look on Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in this way, and to realize its whole revolutionary power, its vehement call to fight for liberty and humanity, and its challenging cry of victory—he would the very next day have suffered arrest or exile."

Richard Wagner was openly a revolutionist. Wagner first tried pushing reform measures to right the wrong, but he soon recognized its obvious impossibility, and to him there seemed to be nothing left but revolution. In his book "Opera and Drama" Wagner says, "I do not consider true art possible *until politics cease to exist*," and he chose revolution as the course to make politics cease. However, he did not limit himself merely to his genius in writing basically revolutionary music. He became an active revolutionist and a member of secret societies. Before one of these societies Wagner delivered a fiery address which was printed as a newspaper "extra." "In it he demanded, besides general suffrage, nothing less than the complete abolishment of the aristocracy as well as of the standing army." (Finck: "Wagner and His Works"). He also took part in street fights and only by flight escaped a long prison sentence.

Needless to say, Wagner's work suffered greatly during his time. The immortal "Tannhauser" was not performed in Paris until twelve years after the time it was first offered. In Berlin, "Tannhauser" was refused for being "too epic." For "Lohengrin" he had to wait *forty-two years.*

Preparations were being made to show 'Rienzi" for the King of Prussia's birthday, and when Wagner arrived to superintend rehearsals he was greeted in a lukewarm manner. The local press then began to make personal attacks and injurious insinuations. "Rienzi" was foredoomed. Certain political catchwords such as "liberty," 'fraternity," and the like were censored by the management and finally the opera was postponed until a more suitable time—when the court did not attend. The opera made a tremendous hit with the miscellaneous people composing the large audience, but the popularity lasted only for the day, for no one influential enough to make the performance a 'success" was present. Even the "General-Musikdirector" thought it fit to leave town just for this occasion.

Often when his works (which he had to publish himself, assisted financially by a close friend) were sent to producers they were mailed back without even being opened. On some occasions hirelings were spread throughout the audience during a Wagner opera to hoot and ridicule the performers and the opera.

And thus was his art received—art coming from the pen of a revolutionist.

* * *

When Verdi's "Rigoletto" was about to be put on, the police ordered certain phrases in the libretto to be changed and they said that the performance could not go on unless the king in the opera was changed into some other character. The King was made into a duke of a petty town and the undesired phrases were left out; the opera turned out to be a big hit.

Orsini attempted his bombing of Napoleon and wife when the rehearsals were under way on Verdi's "Gustavo III." Verdi received orders again from the police. This time he was told to adapt his music to entirely different words. At first, when he refused, a revolution nearly broke out in Naples. People were parading the streets and gathering under Verdi's window shouting "Viva Verdi!" (Italians take opera as much to heart as Americans take baseball). Finally he was persuaded to rewrite the libretto, and he rechristened it "Masked Ball." As a result this turned out to be one of his greatest successes.

* * *

These few instances summarized here serve to give some idea of the part the great masters of music have played in trying to rouse the masses into fighting injustice. Surely their work was nothing but propaganda, and undoubtedly other composers of that period tried to pervert the truth by glorifying and immortalizing the rulers so that the people would look upon them with awe. Ironically enough, the works of Beethoven and Wagner reached the class of people against whom these artists produced their propaganda more than the class they sought to arouse. People of the latter class sacrificed a great deal when they climbed into the "garlic gallery" to enjoy the more profound work of artists. Because of economic conditions, their work could not possibly reach the great masses as did the songs composed to divert the minds of the people from the truth, songs written to stir the emotions of the people and make hem cry for battle, songs justifying conquest and wars where millions were killed, but out of which only a few, not "over there," profited by.

"It was Napoleon who said that if he could write a country's songs he would not care who wrote its laws."

Still, artists like Beethoven and Wagner worked under tremendous pressure, and if they did not succeed in overthrowing their oppressors, they at least produced unsurpassed works of art in the attempts.

They also, with music, tried to "Fan The Flames Of Discontent."

Mary Marcy on the CIO

The late Mary Marcy, one of the foremost of American economists, must have had visions of the CIO in her early days, for in the Industrial Union Bulletin of November 16, 1907, she has a little poem, entitled "OUR LEADER."

There was a College Graduate
Who had a Noble Brow;
We thought that he knew Everything,
Was It!
It!
It!

He said that if he hadn't come
To teach the workers HOW
We never should have progressed
A little BIT!
Bit!
Bit!

He volunteered to LEAD us
And he handed him the job.
He wanted so to Help
The Cause ALONG!
Along!
Long!

And he wrote a little booklet
And sold it to the Mob,
And showed us where "the Plutocrats
Were Wrong!"
Wrong!
Wrong!

And so our Leader pondered
With proud and thoughtful mien
Devising ways and thinking out
A PLAN!
Plan!
Plan!

No lines were writ so closely
That he couldn't read BETWEEN
As a really, truly, GENIUS
Always CAN!
Can!
Can!

One day he went a-walking
In his absent-minded way,
A-thinking of a speech he had
In VIEW!
View!
View!

On a lonely railroad crossing
'Twas a passing freight, they say
That cut his Massive Cerebellum
Right in TWO!
Two!
Two!

I thought the sun would darken
And daylight turn to Night
And I didn't hope for Pay Day
Any More,
More!
More!

But we found we didn't need him
To Sit and Boss the Fight,
And our Wages were nine-fifty
As Before,
Fore!
Fore!

The Wheels kept on revolving
And the Factory Whistle blew,
And our Stomachs forced us ever
In the Game!
Game!
Game!

The sun is really shining,
And it's quite a comfort too,
With the Struggle going onward
Just the Same!
Same!
Same!

Book Reviews

THE NEXT HUNDRED YEARS

By C. C. FURNAS

Reynal and Hitchcock—$3.00

"The Next Hundred Years" by C. C. Furnas is not only an interesting story on science's work in the past, and its "unfinished business," but an achievement in literary humor as well. Furnas is a professor of chemical engineering at the Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University. He is an experienced technician, and one possessed of a social outlook. He sees the advantages as well as the disadvantages of a machine civilization, and is much concerned, in the way professors sometimes get concerned, with what man will do with his leisure in a new society.

"The replacement of men by machines has only begun. I am all for the machine, and I am certain that eventually it will reach its fullest possible development, that the mountainous social problems will be solved and that the world will be an infinitely more satisfactory place in which to live because of it. We are a long way from that now and are progressing with disgusting slowness. We have never learned to synchronize the purpose of our lives with the purpose of the machines. The purpose of the machines, if they have any, is to do more things and to do them more quickly than would be possible without them, but they are merely used to make more money or as weapons to beat the other fellow. The problem is one of adjustment. It is one of the Things Undone; one of the Big Things to do," writes Furnas.

And in writing of eugenics, he notes pointedly, "competent investigators estimate that it takes at least 30 generations to establish a true-breeding strain of definite characteristics in anything as complicated as animals. If we go back 30 generations we are looking into the Crusades. Were Peter the Hermit, Walter the Penniless, Somebody the Shirtless, who were the acknowledged leaders of that time, competent to predict the type of men needed in the twentieth century? Perhaps they would have done better than chance has done, but I have a feeling that if they had had eugenic authority we would now have more Billy Sundays in our midst than we could absorb."

Furnas may not be as daring as Veblen in his conclusions but he has the edge on Veblen for humor. But Furnas' work is full of revolutionary implications, make no mistake about that. He has been the champion of the two-hour working day or the twelve hour week for several years now, and advances some sound arguments for its possible realization, even though he laughs while he argues.—**Trochet.**

PROLETARIAN JOURNEY

By FRED E. BEAL

Hillman-Curl—$2.50

Far too many books there are extolling Russian Five Year Plans that get completed in three years, and it is refreshing to come upon a tome that fearlessly informs us that all is not rosy in Russia. "Proletarian Journey" is just such a refreshingly informative book. It is the autobiography of Fred E. Beal, erstwhile Communist, who first came into prominence in the labor movement as a publicity writer during the Sacco-Vanzetti trial. In the spring of 1929 Beal was thrust more prominently into view by his activity in the textile strike that took place in the little mill town of Gastonia in North Carolina.

Beal and six others were arrested, tried and sentenced for the death of Police Chief Aderholt who died in his attempt to rout pickets from their tent colony. The decision of the court was appealed on the grounds that the seven convicted were sentenced to serve from seventeen to twenty years not because of the crime it was alleged they committed, but because of the radical reputations they were said to bear.

While out on bond pending decision on the appeal, Beal and his colleagues skipped off to Russia where they thought their radical reputations would place them in good stead.

After four years in Russia, Beal returned to the United States to write criticisms he couldn't utter in Stalinland where free speech and open forums are as scarce as baby teeth in the oral cavity of an octogenarian. His writing brought threats from the Communist Party of America, a body whom he feared more than the police who were sniffing his trail.

"Proletarian Journey" is a good cathartic for those radicals who still suffer from mental indigestion caused by a monotonous diet of Leninist-Stalinist-Trotskyist theory regarding the "dictatorship of the proletariat." It will rob them of their illusion that the state will "wither away" once it comes under the domination of such a dictatorship. It will show them plainly enough that Stalin's regime belongs unequivocally in the category of other totalitarian dictatorships that are not disguised with socialistic labels.

It is not difficult to understand why workers who have wrought a revolution in a technologically backward country must sacrifice their desires for a higher standard of living in order to lay aside surpluses needed to create greater productive capacity, but what is dificult to appreciate is that in a country arrogating to itself the labels of socialism, the workers have so little to say about what they shall produce and how they shall live, even after they have achieved an industrial productive capacity that rivals the world. Social control of the means to produce is a farce in Russia, if it is not a lie.

Such studies of Russia as "Proletarian Journey," however subjective, offer a warning to American workers that the road to economic freedom is not through the treacherous and soggy cowpaths of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," but along the broad highways of rank and file industrial unionism.—**Trochet.**

THE GANDY DANCERS

By GRAHAM ROBINSON

Two ragged individuals walked into an employment shark's office. Outside banners announced that good jobs could be had if you had the cash. Groups of idle men were standing on the sidewalk talking about how bad conditions were.

"Yes, sir, would you boys like to ship out on an extra gang?" asked a heavy-set man behind the counter. "It's a steady job and the fare is free."

The two men each planked down a silver dollar at the request of the shark, and without any further questions signed their names in a book. They were each handed a ticket and told to be at the depot at 7 o'clock that evening.

"I just got to get a job of some kind, Slim," said Joe as he tightened up his belt another notch. "I can't keep the wrinkles out of my stomach on coffee an'."

When they arrived at the depot they found a motley array of men loaded down with packsacks, bedrolls, and bags. They were herded into a passenger coach and were soon off on their journey.

Early in the morning the train came to a halt, and the conductor hollered "All out!" They were met by a bullcook who had directed them over to the camp which consisted of a string of boxcars with doors and windows. After running around and waking up all the men in camp, they finally found the empty bunks and were soon asleep.

They were awakened in a few hours by the clanging of iron, and everybody got up for breakfast. Soon a large bunch of men were lining up in front of the dining cars. When the gong rang there was a scramble to get in at the chuck. The men were grabbing right and left and hollering at the flunkies for more chuck. Nothing was left for those who came in late to eat. The flunkies were nearly running their legs off to satisfy the hungry men.

After breakfast the foreman blew a whistle and all the men climbed on the speeder. After a ride of a few miles they arrived at the place for work. Immediately there was a rush to grab the smallest shovels.

During the morning the new men were so anxious to be at work again that they did not notice the boss continually looking down their necks and telling them to hurry up. He was probably thinking of the bonus he would get for doing the most work.

When the day's work was over the men spent their evening loafing around the bunk cars. Two gandies were talking:

"Well I guess that fellow that slept in the top bunk had his stake made. He left for town this morning. Shorty, the fellow that slept underneath him blew his top on the job this afternoon and walked in from the job."

"Well Joe, this outfit is sure haywire."

"I'll say it is. They get you on the job half an hour early, and bring you home half an hour late, so that they will be sure that you do a good day's work."

"This rotten chuck has put my stomach on the bum. The hotcakes are like sweatpads, and the beef is like shoeleather. To make milk they put one can of milk into five gallons of water."

"Well Slim, you can't expect much from jungle cooks who have to cook in a kitchen that looks more like a blacksmith's shop."

"Say, Joe, do you know that the company takes about half of our paycheck. This bunk car is too crowded, and the blankets are all lousy and ragged. Is it any wonder that these guys blow their money in for booze when they go to town?"

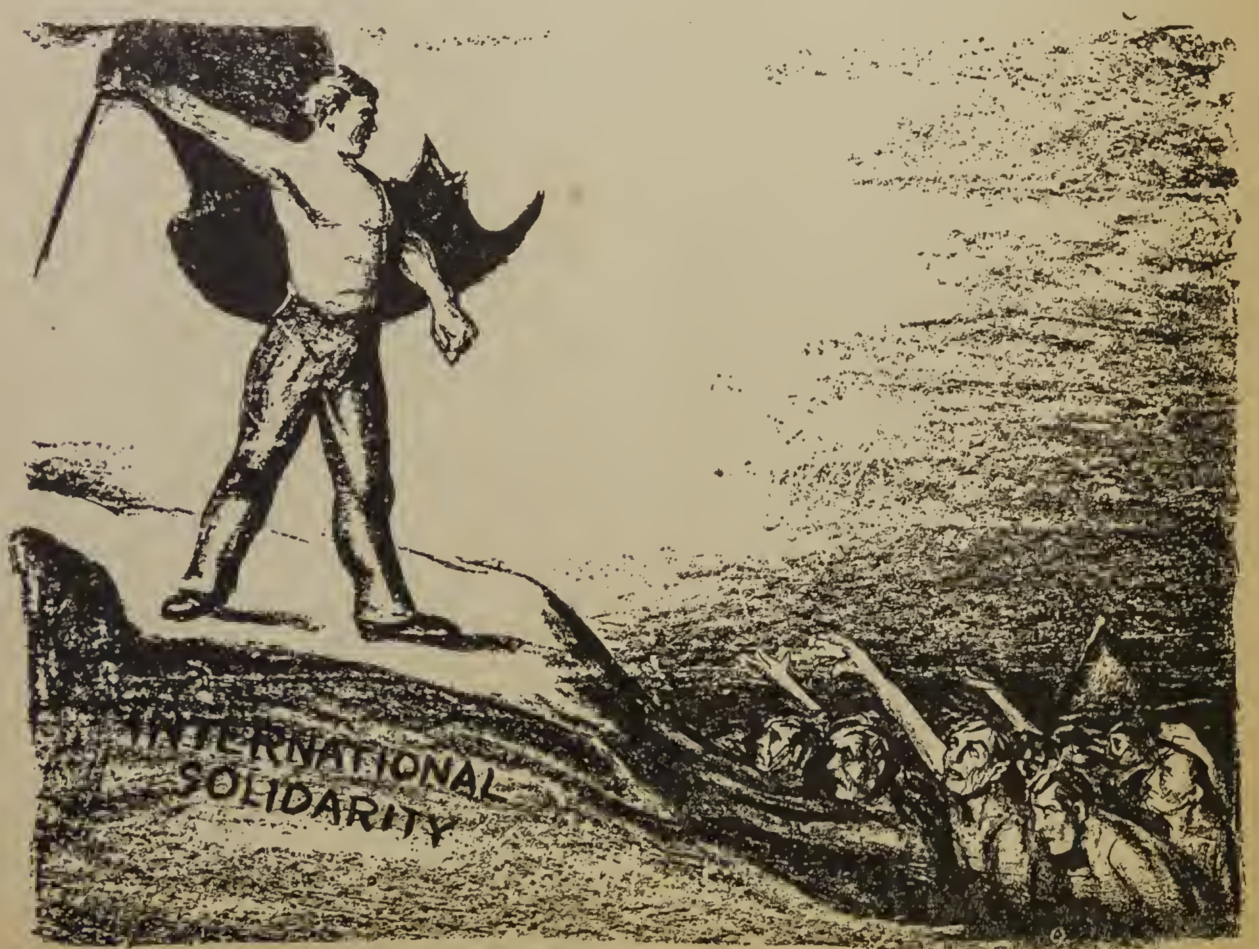
"Well Slim, I know this outfit is haywire, but I'm only going to stay here for a few days, just long enough to make a ten dollar bill. I guess it will take me nine days to make that. Then I'll go to town and get a good job. I wouldn't be out here, only I blew my last stake in with the bartender and the Chinaman, and I forgot to buy myself some new clothes."

"Yes, that's why this outfit is no good. You fellows come out here and complain about the conditions to the man next to you but when the boss comes around you keep quiet. Then you quit and say that you are never going to come back to one of these gandy outfits again. Quitting a job does not make it any better. The only thing to do is to stick to the job and organize."

"Well, Slim, some of those I.W.W.'s were around here last week, and they tried to organize the men, but I told them that they were not strong enough, and that they couldn't organize these hoosiers. But they got my sympathy, and if they get strong enough, I think I'll join them."

"Well, Joe, I think the only thing to do is to join now, don't you think so?"

"You had better blow out the light and let's hit the hay, we got a hard day's work ahead of us tomorrow."



Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

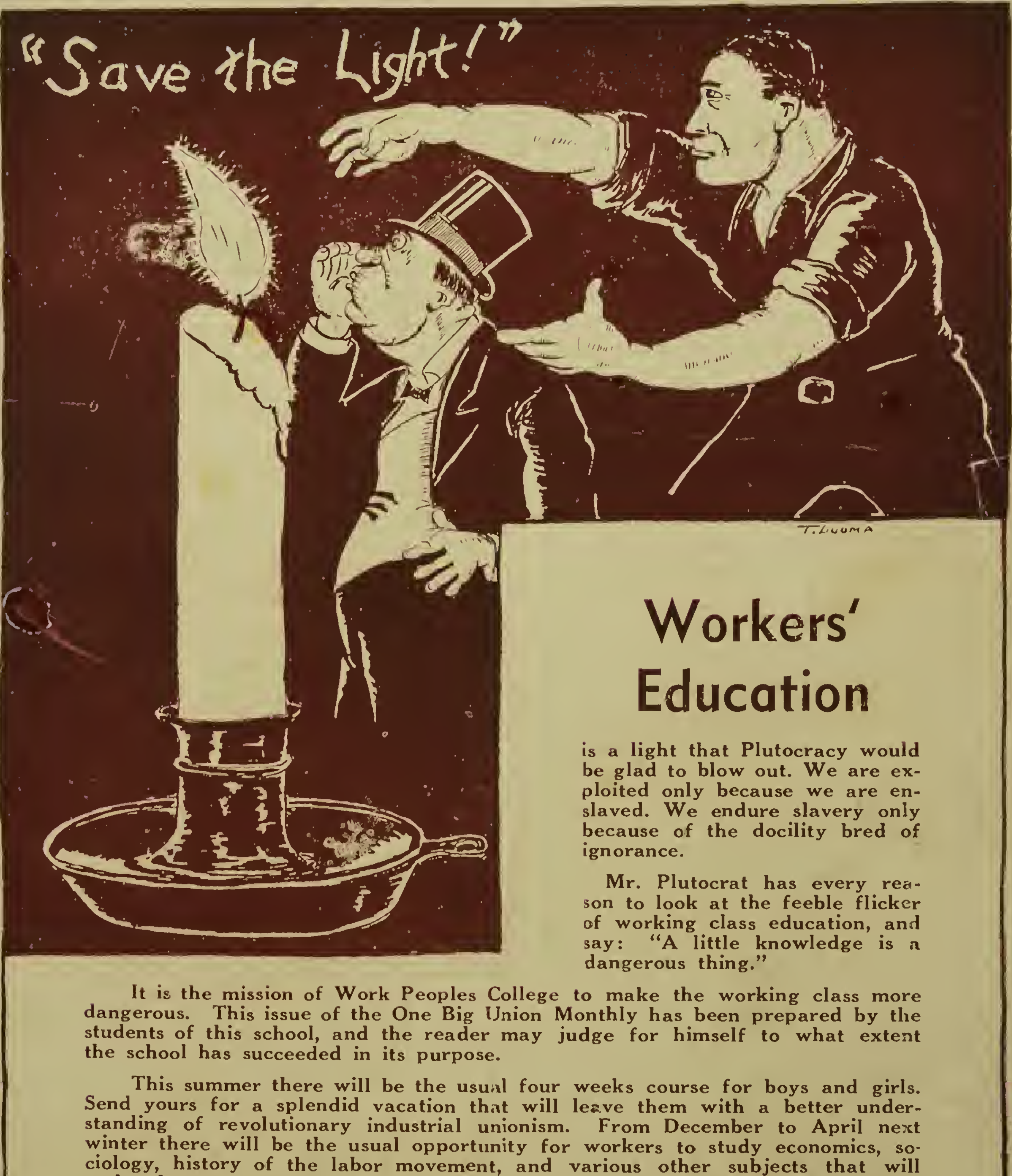
Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.



Workers' Education

is a light that Plutocracy would be glad to blow out. We are exploited only because we are enslaved. We endure slavery only because of the docility bred of ignorance.

Mr. Plutocrat has every reason to look at the feeble flicker of working class education, and say: "A little knowledge is a dangerous thing."

It is the mission of Work Peoples College to make the working class more dangerous. This issue of the One Big Union Monthly has been prepared by the students of this school, and the reader may judge for himself to what extent the school has succeeded in its purpose.

This summer there will be the usual four weeks course for boys and girls. Send yours for a splendid vacation that will leave them with a better understanding of revolutionary industrial unionism. From December to April next winter there will be the usual opportunity for workers to study economics, sociology, history of the labor movement, and various other subjects that will make them more useful in spreading the light of working class education. Terms will probably be $30 per month for room, board and tuition. Write for further information to Box 39, Morgan Park Station, Duluth, Minn.

The ONE BIG UNION Monthly

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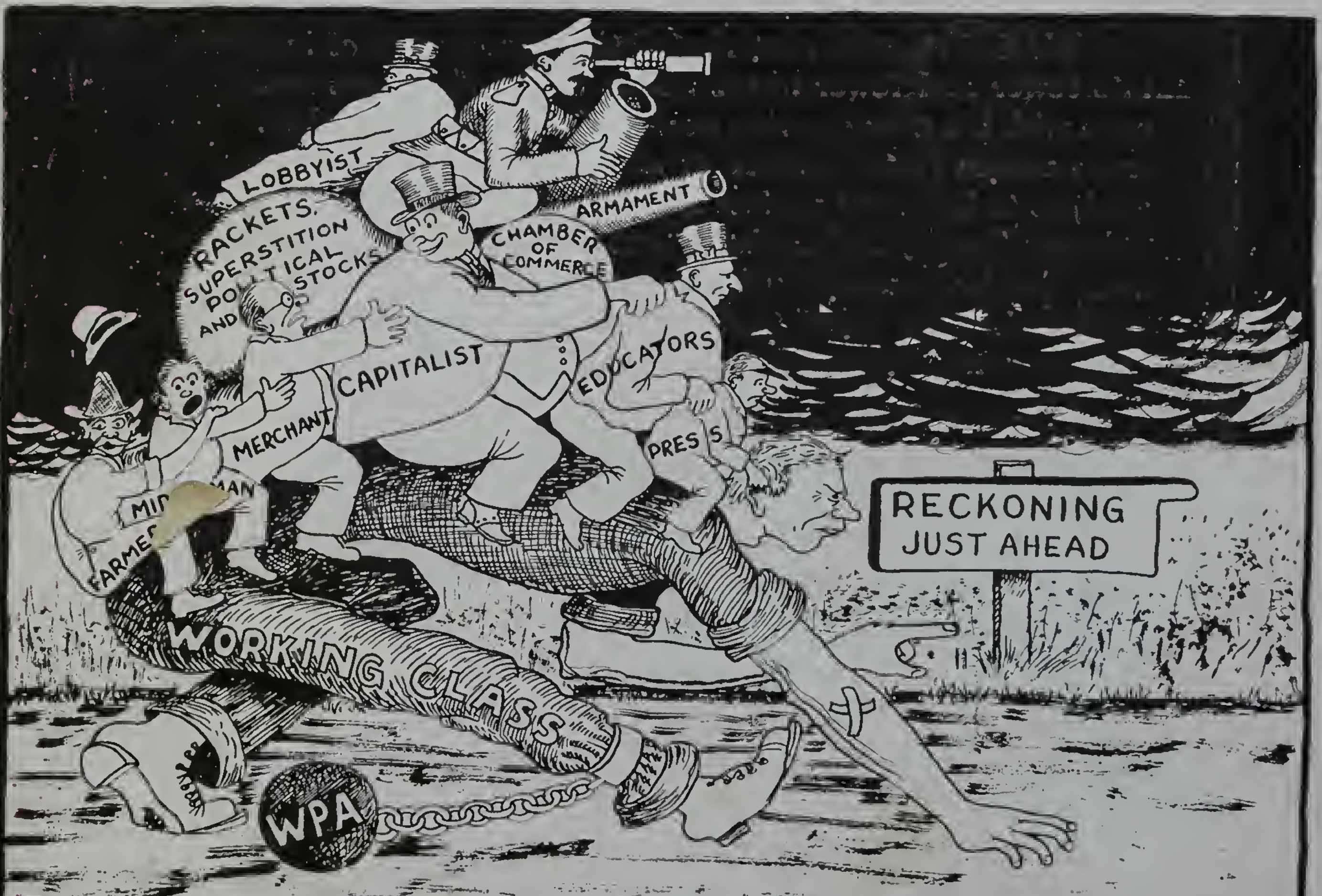
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For World-Wide Solidarity of Labor

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page
Strikes .... Editorial.... 4
Straws in the Wind .... Gefion.... 5
Banker's Island .... WPC Drama Class.... 7
Capitalism Must Go .... Several Students....12
Götterdämmerung .... John Hunter....16
Poems .... Covington Hall....17
What is Americanism? .... Ida Richards....18
The Lost International .... Joseph Wagner....20
Workers are Staked-Out Cattle .... Mortimer Downing....23
A World of Shams .... A. B. Cobbs....24
The Feeble Strength of One, A Story .... The Gadfly....26
The Growth of Fascism in Russia .... Chas. J. Miller....29

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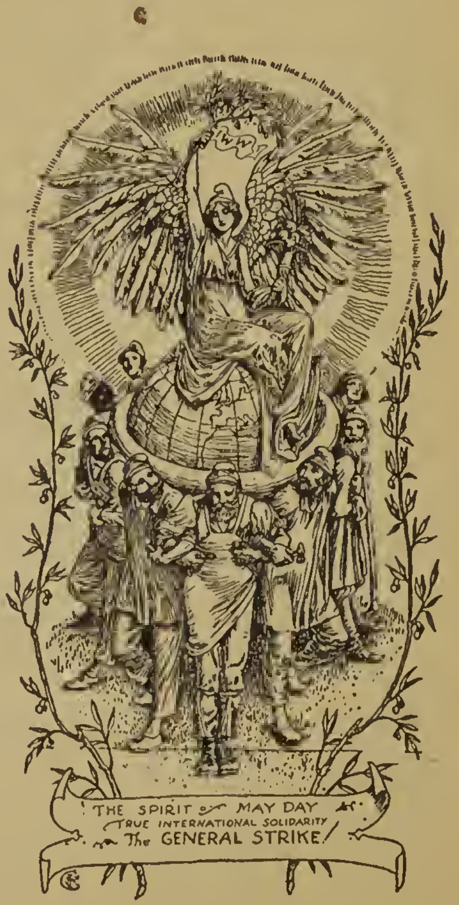
STRIKES



Can there be labor victories without strikes? The very idea is preposterous. A tool or weapon must demonstrate its effectiveness in use, a medicine must show its curative properties in practice—and so must organized labor furnish proof of its ability and will to enforce its demands in action.

Organized labor is powerful only if it is organized for action, that is to say, for striking. A show of force or a threat to strike is valid only if backed up by a record proving readiness and ability to strike. That record must be kept fresh and up-to-date.

In making demands labor announces the terms under which it desires to carry on production, in striking it proves its will to fight, and that is the only thing that can give weight to the demands. In a strike labor decrees—its will becomes the industry-governing law, in proportion to its its strength. The strike is a challenge thrown at the employer affected and, indirectly, at the whole employing class.

Labor victories, however, in ordinary strikes can be only partial and temporary. New industrial processes and speed-up tend soon to nullify the gains made even in the best of strike settlements. And so battle must follow battle until the war (class war) is finally ended with the complete defeat of the capitalist class through a GENERAL STRIKE of labor against the capitalist sytem.

The theory of the revolutionary general strike for the overthrow of capitalism is not a contradiction of or a radical departure from ordinary militant labor policies; it is, rather, the development of these to their logical conclusion.

In the ordinary strike labor demands that certain abuses are to be removed before the wheels of a plant or an industry turn. In the revolutionary general strike the demand will be for the rooting out of the cause of all abuses in all industries: private ownership, production for profit, the wage system.

It is indeed fanciful to think that all industries can be stopped for more than a matter of hours. Labor will continue to feed itself even in the throes of a gigantic strike but it can and will go back to work on terms set by itself. What power is there to prevent?

STRAWS IN THE WIND

By **GEFION**

The earth sunk into sleep. Under the trestle a lone fire blazes, its serpentine tongues licking at the night's blackness. A woman kneels over a skillet. She is heaping it with corn meal mush. On an upturned can, a man sits paring potatoes. Two boys and a baby sleep under a layer of ragged quilts. The cold night condenses their breaths into white vapours. They hang for a moment against the wall of blackness. Then the wind mingles them with the night. A mangy mongrel whines in the firelight and crawls with pleading eyes toward the frying pan. On the fringe of the darkness, the wind flaps the torn top of an ancient touring car.

The earth sleeps. But between its banks, the swollen river hurls its muddy waters pugnaciously against the trestle's creosoted timbers. Now and then the fire crackles and puffs a spray of glittering sparks up into the black night. And in the night's stillness, the woman says:

"Lem, ain't yo got them 'taters peeled yet?"

The man is silent. He spits a brown jet into the fire and wipes his chin. Then he folds his knife against his pantsleg and stumbles through the darkness to the river and washes the potatoes. He comes back and he says to the woman:

"Thar, put 'em on."

She empties the skillet into a pot and from a can she digs a lump of fat. It lies for a moment in the hot pan like a fragment of geological strata—mixed layers of ashen bacon drippings, pale mutton tallow and the yellowness of beef suet. But soon the fire makes it a sizzling lake in the skillet. The woman cuts the potatoes into the fat. She sits turning and waiting. Then she says to the man:

"Call the young'ns."

He pulls the quilts off the children and shakes them. He says:

"Get up—vittels is on."

The boys get to their bare feet. They have slept in their clothes. They rub their sleep-glued eyes with rickets-deformed fists. To their nostrils comes the smell of frying potatoes. They scramble across to the fire. The woman goes to the quilts. She wraps one of them around the baby. Then she opens her waist and gives it her breasts. The man empties the surplus fat from the potatoes into the corn meal. He tastes it. Then he says to the woman:

"Mira, ain't yo got no salt?"

She says:

"Yo know thar ain't none."

They eat in silence—greedily. Then the boys crawl between the quilts again. The woman changes the baby's diapers. Its bottom is red with inflamation. She cleans it with wet rags. The baby whimpers and struggles in her lap. The man scrapes his pockets and drops into his upturned mouth a mixture of tobacco leavings and lint. He chews reflectively, sitting before the fire. Then he says to the woman:

"Yo all better turn in."

She goes to the car and brings out an armful of sacks and quilts. Then she and her baby sleep. The man sits by the dying fire and chews. He scratches his chin and chews. After long, he empties his mouth into the blackening embers and lies down beside his woman.

The earth sleeps. The snoring of sleeping humans mingles with the swishing of whirling waters. Out in the black night, a coyote howls.

* * *

Lem's woman walks the town. It is early morning. In the front of stores, clerks are sweeping the sidewalks, saying, "Morning, ma'am," to early comers. A dog lifts a leg against a lamp post. It spies a cat crossing the street and hurls itself challenging down the sidewalk. In the front of Frank's Big Market, a truck is unloading vegetables.

Lem's woman is walking the town. She is looking for a day's washing or maybe a job of spring cleaning. She gets no day's washing—"Thanks, we have a regular woman coming in." And as for a job of cleaning—well, one simply doesn't want an ill-clad slattern prowling all through one's home—"No, thanks!"

But Lem's woman walks the town. She pleads here—three young'ns, ma'am, and the old man simply can't find nothin' to do. Sorry, my good woman—can't help it—try relief. Well, the old man is supposed to go there today. All right, they will help. And Lem's woman walks the town. She is sent here and yon. She stops in front of Schmerle's Butcher Shop—them thar pork shanks with a mess of mustard greens would do the young'ns good. Well, one has to keep going. And she moves on.

The sun passes the meridian and the shadows lengthen. Lem's woman turns her steps toward the trestle. She walks through shantytown. Here no one looks with suspicion at her faded, patched cotton dress. Poor folk see plenty such. She walks toward the trestle. Two men sit on the stoop in front of a shack. They have a jug of red wine. One says to Lem's woman:

"What's your hurry, tuts?"

She says:

"None of your damn business."

The other man says:

"Won'tcha have a drink?"

Lem's woman hesitates. Her legs are shaking. She thinks. Then she says:

"Don't mind if I do."

The man says:

"Atta girl—come right in, sister."

And Lem's woman enters the shack with the two.

* * *

The sun is sinking behind the hills back of the town. Over the spring-green fields lie black shadows. Lem's woman walks toward the trestle. She is light-headed and the wine has left a queer feeling in her belly. In her hand, she carries a bag. She stops and pats her hair into shape. She straightens her dress. She thinks of Lem. She thinks: "He can't say I didn't try."

The fire burns under the trestle. Lem is by the river trying to catch a mess of fish. The water is high and muddy. They don't bite until late summer. Lem sees his woman. He sees the bag. He goes to the fire and throws on more wood. The boys are making a fort in the sand behind the car. The dog watches them with drowsy eyes. On the quilts, the baby cries.

Lem says:

"Any luck?"

The woman says:

"Thar ain't no jobs."

She hushes the baby and gives it suck. Lem opens the bag and finds two cans of hominy and a half-filled bottle of ketchup. He thinks. He takes the skillet and drops in a lump of fat. Then he empties the cans into the grease. When the hominy is hot, he pours the ketchup over it and stirs. The hominy turns to carmine beads.

The woman comes to the fire. She calls the young ones and they sit down to eat. Lem smells the wine on his woman's breath. He squints at her. Then he says:

"Yo been boozin'. Where did yo get them vittels?"

She says:

"I ain't been boozin'—a woman give me them cans and ketchup and she give me a glass of wine."

She chews in sullen silence. Then she says:

"It ain't none of your business, nohow—yo're eatin', ain't you?"

They chew in silence. Then the woman says:

"Did yo go and see them relief folks?"

Lem says yes.

"What did they say?"

"They sed we ain't in the state long enough."

The earth sleeps. The snoring of sleeping humans mingles with the swishing of whirling waters. In the black night, the baby whimpers against the woman's empty breasts.

BANKER'S ISLAND

A dramatization of the I.W.W. leaflet, "An Instructive Fable," prepared by Work Peoples College Drama Department

PERSONS:

Vandergilt	The banker
Murphy	The cook
Swenson	The lumberjack
Burton	Hunter's guide

SCENES:

I. The island the morning after the shipwreck.
II. The island six months later.
III. The other side of the island.

SCENE I

Semi-tropical island. Trees, rocks, drift wood. A few rushes in floor cracks back of footlights.

MURPHY, asleep center front stage.

SWENSON, asleep at right of him snoring.
Large pot with ladle handle, a small tool chest, axe, saw, and a few bundles of clothes lie back of them.

VANDERGILT, asleep at left rear of stage, by a small brass-bound chest. His hard hat and silk scarf lie beside him.

MURPHY *(waking up and stretching)* Faith! I'm still alive. *(to Swenson)* You're not dead either. You're snoring. Wake up, you Swede.

SWENSON: Ugh! What a night! Yust us three here? Everybody else from the big boat drowned?

MURPHY: *(thinking deeply)* No, there was that English hunter fellow in the life boat with us . . . We tried to keep close enough to the other boats to hear them—but it seemed that they were to one side of us, and then to the other—and soon we couldn't hear them at all.

SWENSON: But where's the hunter?

MURPHY: It's beyond me to remember if he was here when we hit shore. I was that tired of rowing and rowing that I just crawled out and lay me down to sleep.

SWENSON: He's here. He got us here. It war so black we couldn't see each other, but he war sure he could smell fresh water and trees and animals, so we yust followed his nose and got here. We threw you and your kettles out, and then we helped the banker . . .

MURPHY. Who is that fellow anyway?

SWENSON: Don't you read the Sunday papers, or are you illegitimate? He's John Pierpont Vandergilt the Third—richest man in the world. He war so exhausted yust like he had rowed all the way instead of sitting still. We took him out of the boat as though he war a big baby, and he came to yust enuf to ask about his little box . . . *(turns to right)* here comes that hunter fellow now.

BURTON *(enters from right from among trees, with four small fish on a stick, a gun under his arm, eating a banana)* You seem to be recovering. Had breakfast yet?

VANDERGILT: *(waking, still in daze)* Who said breakfast?

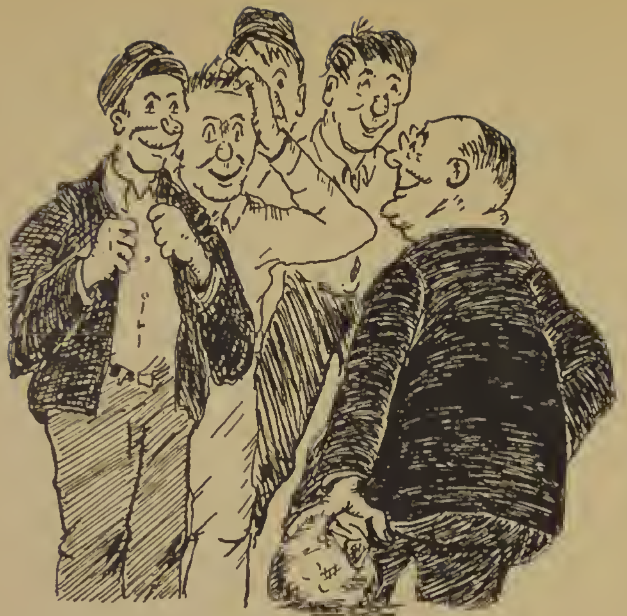
MURPHY: It's bananas and fish on the menu, sir.

BURTON: We're lucky. Good water. Good fishing. Plenty of fruit. There must be game here.

VANDERGILT: Those fish aren't cooked, are they?

MURPHY: They don't grow cooked; but I can cook them for you, sir.

VANDERGILT: Didn't you bring any more bananas?



"I will pay you ten dollars a day."

BURTON: You can get them fresh and sun-ripened if you climb the trees for them.

VANDERGILT: I'm not in the habit of serving myself.

SWENSON: Is it yust us four alive?

BURTON: I climbed a tree on the hill. This is an island. There is not another island in sight for all that it is such a clear day. There isn't a ship on the sea, or a sign of any survivor save ourselves.

SWENSON: And here I war on my way back to America again, yust to get myself a yob . . . and here I am shipwrecked on an island with my tool chest and my cross cut saw. I war going to bring my girl over. What will she say now?

MURPHY: Me too. I heard they paid cooks five dollars a day in America . . . think of it . . . over a pound a day . . . and here I'm stranded on this island, God alone knows how far from America and five dollars a day.

BURTON: I've guided big game hunters on every continent on the globe—killing game for them while they drank their whiskey and soda and played bridge. Then they boasted of their trophies afterward. I was on my way to America, for it's really better guiding around those summer resorts. The blooming natives aren't so dark, and there's shower bawths anyway. Well, cheerio, I can shoot a bit for myself here, and we can be thankful we have a cook and a carpenter.

VANDERGILT: Now, my good men, don't worry about this employment situation. We Vandergilts have always been noted for our public spirit. You have your pots, you have your tools and saw, and you have your gun and what-not—but I have even something more valuable. This chest is filled with pieces of gold . . . enough for us all to live on for a long time. You men work for me, and I will pay you what you hoped to get in America. No, to show you what a good sport I am, I will even pay you ten dollars a day.

SWENSON: *(doing a Kalispell hop)* Whoopee! Yust tank of it. Ten dollars a day!

MURPHY: Ain't the good Lord with us? Good jobs even before we get to America!

SWENSON: Yust tank how much we can save!

——CURTAIN——

SCENE II.

ABOUT NOON, SIX MONTHS LATER

At rear left a portion of cabin for banker shows. He is lying in a grass hammock busy figuring in a notebook. Murphy is busy at a fire place near it. A crude table is in center back of stage. Portion of a crude hut front right of stage shows. Swenson is on a stump dozing beside it. (To avoid long wait between scenes these needs can be covered by trees for a smaller setting for first scene; actors can have sunburnt paint on all but their faces in first act, and can tear clothes worn then to indicate condition in second scene, thus requiring moving of a few trees and painting of faces only for change.)

BURTON *(enters from lower right of stage as curtain rises—to Swenson)* Not a sign of a ship again today. I begin to wonder if it's worth while looking. You know it gets tiresome for me now that we have nothing to do. How long is it since we really did any work?

SWENSON: It took yust about a month to get our houses built, and we've been here a bit over six months now. It's what Murphy calls the life of Riley.

BURTON: Eat and sleep, and sleep and eat—even so I'm half starved after walking around this island this morning.

SWENSON: And yust sleeping here, I get hungry too. Oh, Mr. Murphy, is your dinner cooked?

MURPHY: Just to the dot, all ready to dish.

VANDERGILT: *(getting up from hammock and coming center stage)* Gentlemen: I have an announcement to make that concerns us all very seriously. I have been doing some figuring and I find I must tell Murphy to put just two plates on the table today.

SWENSON: Yust two plates?

BURTON: Why?

VANDERGILT: In a manner it's a depression, or recession . . . but we must keep our heads so as not to be hit by a panic.

BURTON: At least it really does sound quite civilized.

VANDERGILT: I have been figuring your accounts with me. Since *we* finished the work, and I had to lay you off, I have had to charge you for your board, and now your accounts are closed. You have no more money in the bank. There is nothing with which to pay your board. It hurts me worse than it does you, but I am obliged to tell Murphy to put just two plates on the table today, one for me and one for him.

SWENSON: Didn't we yust kill a buffalo the other day? We have fish. We found roots to make a sort of flour, and we have lots of that. We found honey. Why can't we eat?

VANDERGILT: That's the trouble. We have buffalo enough, and there is no reason for killing more animals. We have enough buildings. You surely don't want to see the place all cluttered up. You don't want a lot of stinking carcasses around, do you?

SWENSON: No—but why can't we eat?

VANDERGILT: Surely you don't want to eat the bread of a pauper? You surely have some pride, some sense of independence. You have no money left with which to pay your board. No one can hire you except me, and I can't find anything for you to do. There's no choice before us . . . Come, Murphy, set the table, for I'm exhausted thinking out this problem. And, please, Swenson, do not disturb me while I'm dining.

(Vandergilt sits at table. Murphy serves him from pot. Burton and Swenson saunter back and forth in front of stage.)

BURTON: If you were civilized, Swenson, you would understand it.

SWENSON: But we haff to eat. What will we do?

BURTON: There are millions of civilized people wondering about the same thing. You've read about their hunger riots and their unemployed demonstrations.

SWENSON: Yes, those communists and IWW's and radicals—that reminds me—once when I was in America before and I had a job in a lumber camp in Minnesota—

BURTON: I was up there with some game hunters in that Arrowhead country once. It was a fine country; but I ran into one of those lumber camps. It was a terrible place. It was positively full of lice. It stank of old socks and urine. and I really don't know what. Are all the camps like that?

SWENSON: They're all pretty much alike. That's yust what those IWW's I was going to tell you about, kicked about too. They showed us pictures of the kind of camps they had won out west—fine clean houses, good beds, fresh linen, and breakfast, dinner and supper fit for a king. They wanted me to yoin them, but I war going back to the old country, and they wanted a revolution, and I war not in favor of anything like that.

BURTON: No, it really isn't at all respectable.

SWENSON: But what I war thinking about, war how those IWW's used to talk and talk and talk about what made hard times, and say that if we would all yoin in One Big Union, we could yust take over everything and run it for ourselves. It sounded crazy to me . . . but . . . sitting here . . . and wishing I war eating my dinner . . .

BURTON: You surely wouldn't think of doing anything violent to Mr. Vandergilt, would you —like taking his dinner, or his house that you built, or that little box of gold?

SWENSON: No, I don't want the gold . . . but, say . . . do you know . . . maybe there isn't any gold in that box. Nobody ever saw the inside of it. Maybe it's all a fake, and we've been gypped, and have a right to eat!

(Running over to Vandergilt): Say, that box, you paid us everything out of it . . .

VANDERGILT: Yes, but don't bother me.

SWENSON: And yet, you never opened it.

VANDERGILT: No, I never opened it. I just kept your account, and acted as your banker. Don't bother me.

SWENSON: How do I know that there IS any gold in that box?

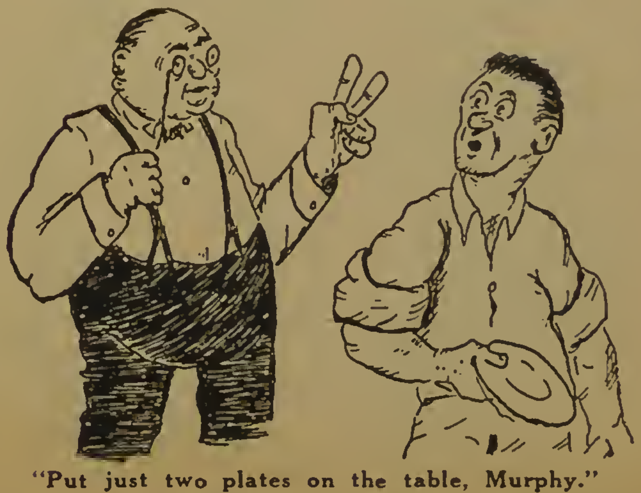
VANDERGILT: I'm surprised that you distrust me. It really wouldn't make any difference in our accounts whether there was any gold there or not. *(Getting up, getting box, opening it.)* You can see for yourself, it is full of gold.

SWENSON: I'm sorry. I yust wanted to make sure. *(Returns to Burton who is amused.)*

BURTON: So, now you're satisfied that everything is fair and square.

SWENSON: Yes, there really is gold in that box.

BURTON: You were talking about some idea that you had from those IWW's in a lumber camp in Minnesota.



"Put just two plates on the table, Murphy."

SWENSON: Oh those people. They said that with One Big Union we working people could use the natural resources, and carry on production for ourselves, and have no hard times.

BURTON: Just step out on this island say, and catch some fish, and hunt some game, and build us a cabin . . .

SWENSON: That's right, we CAN do that here . . . but neither of us can cook worth a damn.

BURTON: Murphy doesn't seem so well pleased with the present arrangement. Look at him.

SWENSON: Mr. Murphy, we two were going to start a union, a sort of One Big Union yust like I heard about in Minnesota, and then we yust go out and catch some fish, and hunt some game, and build a house, and not bother with the banker. Will you yoin us?

MURPHY: Sure thing, my lad. It's been breaking my heart, feeding Mr. Vandergilt this noon, and not giving ye a bite to eat too. It choked me so I couldn't eat—you can see my dinner still a-sitting there. I'm with you, boys. They told me in Dublin that Americans figure there's just two kinds of Irish—the good ones that come over and join unions, and the no-good ones that come over and join the police force. Count on me.

BURTON *(to Vandergilt):* You see, Mr. Vandergilt, we three have formed a union, and we've decided to discontinue operations. Swenson and I have nothing coming, but you should pay Murphy $1800 for 180 days at $10 a day, in gold out of your little box.

VANDERGILT: This is terrible. It's an outrage . . . It's a general strike.

BURTON: This is no outrage. We are very temperate men. We could throw you into the sea to feed the fishes, but we're taking nothing that is yours. We shall leave you the cabin we built, although we paid you for the privilege of building it with our own labor. We shall head for the other side of the island. Pay Murphy off. We're packing.

—— CURTAIN ——

SCENE III

The other side of the island. — Cabin at right rear. —Murphy by it cleaning smoke off a kettle.— Swenson and Burton playing creckers down center.

BURTON: That's one more game for this side of the house. You had better practice up for a while. (Gets up.)

SWENSON: Yust think when I go home and tell them that I war playing checkers with solid pieces of gold, they won't believe me. No, not even when I tell them that Mr. Murphy didn't know what to do with the gold pieces he got for cooking for Mr. Vandergilt, and covered some of them with clay and baked them to make checkers for us to play with.

MURPHY: Sort of ritzy, huh?

SWENSON: I wonder how Mr. Vandergilt makes out. He's been over there alone for ten days now.

BURTON: Did he worry so much how we would make out?

MURPHY: But he's a helpless sort of creature—he can't even climb a tree to get a banana. I sometimes think the rich people don't raise themselves right.

BURTON: He may be up against it rather soon. Each day after I climb the lookout and see that there's still no ship, I drop over to the old homestead without his knowing it to see how he's doing.

MURPHY— And how was the world's richest man progressin'?

BURTON: Yesterday morning he was fighting with the flies over the last of the buffalo that we killed before we left. He must have grown tired of that, for he tried to eat a starfish, but he hadn't sense enough to get it out of the shell first. It was really very amusing.

SWENSON: Yiminy yesus! Who's coming over there?

MURPHY: It's a man, for it looks terrible and has rags on it.

BURTON: I do believe, it is he.

SWENSON: You mean it's him?

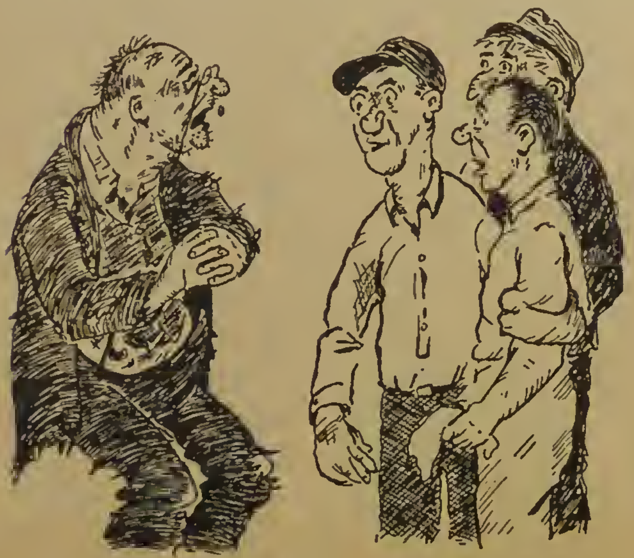
BURTON: Yes, I'm really sure it is he.

SWENSON: And yumping Yehosephat! He's too weak to walk! I'm going to help him. *(Exit left.)*

(Burton and Murphy edge to left side of stage.)

MURPHY: The poor old man!

BURTON: And if only we were civilized enough, he'd have us all starving to death; but since



"You can have a job washing dishes."

we're only partly civilized, I suppose we can save him.

(Swenson comes back, leading Vandergilt, tottering and about ready to fall down.)

VANDERGILT *(between puffs)*: Good-day, gentlemen . . . I've . . been having . . a terrible time . . You've got to . . come back . . I won't hold anything against you . . I'll raise your wages . . . double them — anything you say, but you fellows just have to come back . . . and work for me!

SWENSON: Yumpin' yiminy! Yust think of that! $20 a day!

BURTON: You know, we three men formed a union, so we'll have to have a union meeting to decide anything about that. So you just sit here while we decide.

MURPHY: And have a bite of something to eat while we're deliberatin' *(gives him dish of stew and some fruit which he eats greedily)*.

SWENSON: Twenty a day is a lot of money.

BURTON: On $10 a day we worked ourselves into a mess in six months. On $20 a day it might take longer, but remember we have our houses built. Aren't we having a jollier time of it this way?

MURPHY: And what would we do with our money?

SWENSON: But Yesus Christ! You can't let the richest man on earth starve to death.

BURTON: No, it wouldn't be considered proper.

MURPHY: I suppose it might hurt his feelings, but I'm having too damned much work cleaning the soot off those pots, and cleaning these dishes. Couldn't we hire him as a dishwasher to work for his board?

BURTON: That is an idea *(going to Vandergilt)*. We've decided that it is too risky to work for you for any money.

VANDERGILT: I was afraid of that.

BURTON: But we have a counter-proposition. We suggest that you work for us.

VANDERGILT: I never worked in my life.

BURTON: And we can't pay you, so we suggest that you take a job as dishwasher for us, working for your board.

VANDERGILT: Oh, oh, oh!

BURTON: If you don't, of course you can starve to death.

VANDERGILT: This is terrible *(licking rest of plate with his tongue)*—I mean this stew is excellent. But this situation, John Pierpont Vandergilt the Third washing dishes for his board . . . . Yes, yes, or I'll starve.

—— CURTAIN ——

As curtain falls, Burton steps out front of curtain and addresses audience directly:

We have had a reason for putting on this little play. Millions of us today are in the same situation as Murphy, Swenson and I on that day when Vandergilt told Murphy to put just two plates on the table.

We got out of it because we built One Big Union of the three of us. Swenson and Murphy could not have succeeded without the help of my humble self to catch their game. Murphy and I would have been up against it to build such a good cabin as Swenson knew how to build. If Murphy had not been with us we might well have died of indigestion from our own cooking, and of course we could not have brought Mr. Vandergilt down so well from his high estate.

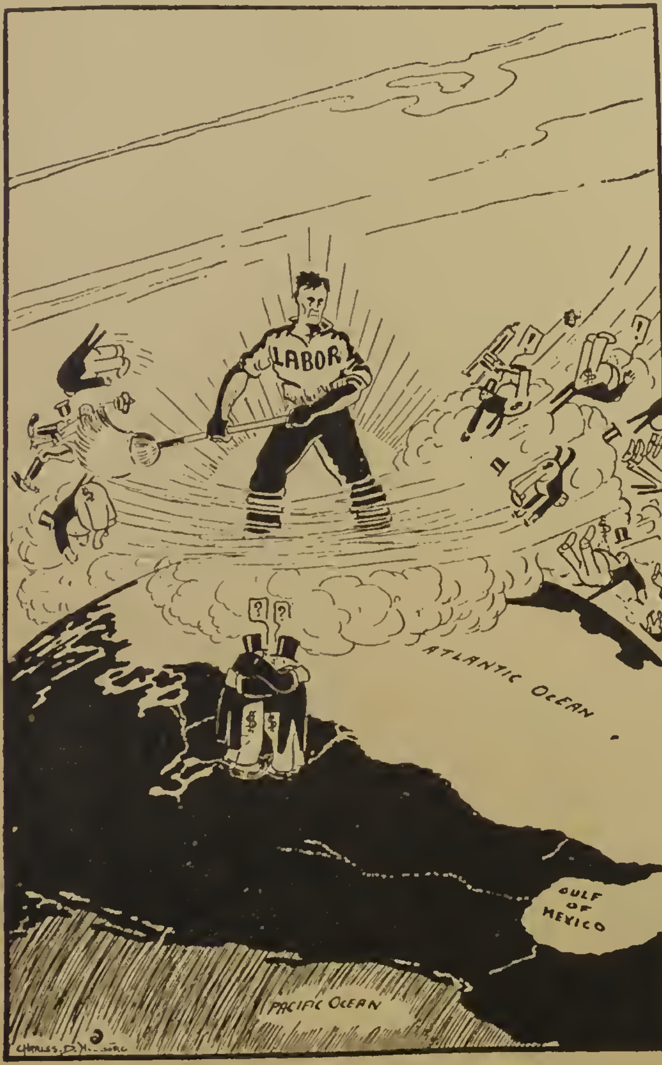
It took One Big Union of all of us. It will take One Big Union for you as well.

We went to the other side of the island. For you there is no other side of the island. But with One Big Union of all of you, you will not need to leave the industries that you have built. You need only to take them over, run them for your own use, and have security and abundance for all.—Thank you!

CAPITALISM MUST GO

An indictment of the present order prepared jointly by one of the classes at Work Peoples College

Capitalism has masqueraded as a benevolent and progressive force, alleging that it has encouraged and stimulated the arts, the sciences, and their application to production; that it has furthered education and the development of mankind in an atmosphere of stimulative competition and freedom; that it has made full use of the resources of nature and the abilities and past achievements of man; that it has turned even individual vice into a source of general well-being; that it has yielded us a wonderful array of products for the most part undreamed of a century ago, and has offered them at such a price that even the poorest may enjoy them; and that it tends to do these good acts because it automatically arranged everything so that it shall be to the self-interest of each that they be done.



Nothing will set the world right but a general house cleaning by organized labor but labor must organize AGAINST the capitalist parasites as in the Industrial Workers of the World, not WITH them as in political parties.

We charge that capitalism is a racket, and the source of countless rackets and crimes; that it wastes our resources, our equipment, our manpower; that it perverts the technical sciences to destructive purposes, and falsifies the social sciences to condone its countless crimes; that it makes of man a physical and moral weakling, a victim of avoidable diseases and a puppet jerked about by the strings of want and worry and fear; that it breeds hate, and prejudice, and war; that it deprives us of the security and abundance, the freedom and joy of living that could be ours were we but to rid ourselves of this incubus that so hypocritically masquerades as a system of automatic harmony, efficiency, and benefit to man.

* * *

We charge that capitalism is in itself a colossal racket. It is based on the exploitation of wage labor, a condition made possible only by the expropriation of the earth and the products of previous generations so as to make it impossible for any of the mass of mankind to earn a living except on condition that they produce something for nothing for a parasite class. By this scheme of things all the benefits of our improvements in the useful arts flow to this proprietary parasite class. These conspirators forbid any production to be undertaken unless they can levy their tribute from it. In this way they nullify the improvements in the industrial process; for the rational purpose of these improvements is to turn out an abundance at low cost, but the racketeers of capitalism can levy their tribute only by maintaining scarcity so as to sell at a profit.

Because of this racket the mass of mankind have no claim to life other than the saleability of their lives to the conspirators who have expropriated the resources and equipment for production. But this saleability depends upon the opportunity to collect tribute; and this in turn requires that means of production, resources, and man-power shall not be used fully.

* * *

Accordingly we charge that capitalism wastes our resources, our equipment and our man-power. It is not only that the conspirators force these factors of production to lie idle in the face of wide-spread want; their irrational and periodic exploitation of these factors wastes our forests and our mineral resources and turns our fertile plains to waste-land. Our productive equipment is deteriorated; mines are flooded; the men who can turn earth and stone into the glories of architecture, who can girdle the globe with copper cables, who can harness Niagara to light our homes, these it converts into gaunt derelicts of humanity, jobless, ragged, half-starved, homeless, hopeless and purposeless.

* * *

We charge that this supreme racket, the capitalist system, is the source of countless rackets and crimes. Since the sole concern of the conspirators in production is the saleability of the product at a profit, dishonesty in production and deception in merchandising become the established rules. Poor clothing, poor buildings, poor foods, goods that will not serve the purpose for which the victims of the conspiracy buy them, goods that will not last and thus block future sales, goods that will actually injure the unsuspecting victim who expects to benefit from them, are the results of its application of science to the ordinary industrial processes.

The consequent standards of get and grab, of customary dishonesty, of avoiding labor, combine to engender kidnaping and hold-ups, burglary and bank robberies, until man after his conquest of nature fears only two things: his fellow man and the microscopic germs with which our irrational way of living surrounds us. The system starts the younger generation off with traditional deceptions at their mothers' apron strings, follows this up with a training in the public schools that aims at making a living without soiling one's hands, gives the graduate a few years of unemployment in which to practice the game of grab and exploitation and dishonesty as best he can in his crude and individualistic way, furnishes a few pointers in its "reform" schools, movie shows and "best sellers," and provides a post-graduate course in its increasing but still overcrowded penitentiaries.

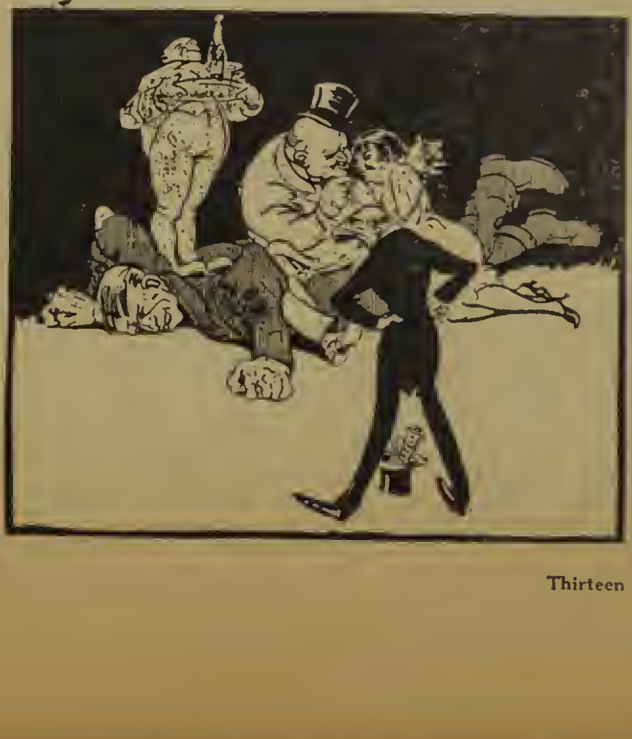
Misapplied Science

We charge that capitalism perverts our technical sciences to destructive purposes and falsifies the social sciences to condone its countless crimes. The skill of the metallurgist is turned to devise new means of slaughter. The chemist is commanded to desist from his labors to benefit mankind and told to devise new explosives for burying our wives and children in the ruins of our blasted cities, or to invent new and more terrible gases with which to cow the proletariat into subjection or to make the mass mutual slaughter of the working class in modern war the more ghastly. The bacteriologist is forced away from his work to free us from plague and pestilence and commandeered to perfect ways and means for infecting the drinking water of cities with diphtheria, infesting the cattle with anthrax, or for turning our cities into giant charnel houses with the bubonic plague.

Its academic science, which but thirty or forty years ago was the beacon light of liberation, is today the bulwark of capitalist ideology at bay. Its physical scientists blab of theology. Its social sciences are passionate pleas for the dictatorship of capitalism and its social institutions. Its economic sciences are the pimps of big business and finance. Its historical sciences are the servants of nationalism. Its biological sciences cling to outworn formulas and use them to defend militarism and the elimination of the so-called unfit, that is, of those who cannot fit themselves into the niches which this system of slavery and exploitation provides for them. Its philosophy blatantly formulates the instrumentalism of capitalist civilization and does not blush to offer to "save the children of fortune from the uprising of the poor."

Perverted Arts

As with its conscripted academic sciences, so too, with its arts. Its architecture is a chaos of hovel and skyscraper—a skeleton of steel draped with concrete and glass to encase countless stenographers as they induce hysteria or neurasthenia pounding out needless correspondence about a useless and needless business enterprise whose sole function is to sabotage actual industry. The false front has become the symbol of Main Street; the attempted prettiness of store front and middle class home protrudes from the general squalor like some adolescent ragamuffin bedecked in a cast-off evening gown torn and bespattered with mud. Its pictorial art glorifies cigarettes and



shoddy. The general cacophony of life under capitalism has generated jazz, and given birth to new hits daily whose departure within a week furnishes a relief even to the devotees of this distortion of rhythm, timbre, pitch and concord of sound. In order that there may be repeated sales, nothing produced by capitalism should be enduring. Whether it be ladies' stockings, song hits, million dollar movies, or what, it must be something that no one will want to see next week—and so it is. The increased literacy and the teeming presses that might have produced a great age of rationality, a new peak climbed by the intelligence of man, have resulted in the blessedly non-enduring products that stand witness against the system on every newsstand. The radio that might have been the most diligent servant of the true, the good and the beautiful, is forced to cry the wares of the conspirators and between the occasional glimpses of the lost beauty of pre-capitalist civilizations with which it furnishes an excuse for its being, to sing their praises; even these occasional glimpses into the beauty that might be, tend to be drowned out by the sports hysteria that has now replaced religion as the opium of the people. The very play and amusement of life have been turned from the healthful process of people amusing themselves to the dangerous process of being amused in mass; they dance, they sing, they wrestle, they play ball, they enjoy the thrills of life sitting down. Their amusement has ceased to be the enjoyment of reality and become an escape from it. And insofar as they do amuse themselves it is with rituals of chance that seem to have been devised to give irrational hope to the willing slaves of the system, or escape from the futility in which a leisure class renders its leisure and culture impotent. No art good enough to endure can be born of a system that finds durability unvendable; no search for the beautiful can be made by a culture based on the passive amusement of the mass; no art can serve truth when its function is the escape from reality. And there can be no inspiration from art to carry us forward when its notion of the beautiful is dug from the graveyard of the past and its motive for being done is to praise those who would strangle a progressive art. Thus whatever has been offered as progress in art in capitalism has been a distortion more insolent than its most blatant advertising.

Moral Decay

We charge that capitalism makes of man a physical and moral weakling. Poverty where there could be abundance; exploitation that lacks even the extenuation of accumulating necessary equipment—these iniquities are possible only because of the even greater iniquity that mankind has been enslaved. That men slaughter each other en masse is bad; that they do so as puppets moved about by an international murder trust far removed from the battle is much worse. The crowning crime of capitalism is that it has made of mankind a mass of scarcely vertebrate puppets so demoralized that they endure their own slavery without revolt and pave the road to fascism and social decay with the good intention of easing the lot of their children by fawning before the destroyers of the human race.

This demoralization has been accomplished by spiritually isolating each individual, so that his individual feebleness must cope with a vast world-wide conspiracy against him; so that his hope of escape from the mesh in which he is caught is that of individual escape. Though sprung of a stock to whom solidarity is normal, he has been made competitive and thus his sole source of security has been taken away and his morale, which was based upon solidarity, has been destroyed. An infernally cunning system of individual rewards and punishments has been devised to condition him to this servility. As an individual he is punished for the economic follies and the outright crimes of society; and the rewards held out to him are for so placing himself that the growth of a community may give him an unearned increment or that he may corner some market, or in some way make the creative capacity of society pay him tribute for breaking his solidarity with his fellows and committing some injury or nuisance to society. He is taught that it is shameful to be so unenterprising as not to exploit and betray his fellows. An "uneasy payment plan" furnishes him some temporary hold of the enjoyment of life that is just at the margin of his subsistence; and the fear that he will not complete his payments makes him hesitate over any act of self-defense. The continuous fear of unemployment, the continuous hopes of a better job, lash and prod the wage slave of today into a moral degradation compared with which the serf and slave were sublime examples of manliness. Production for sale at a profit, organized on a mass scale, completes this demoralization by isolation. He makes but the fragment of a thing. That his work is part of a world-wide social labor process is hidden from him. He knows nothing of what is to be done with the thing he makes and he cares less. He has lost the neighborly concern for the life and use of his product that led the earlier craftsmen to lay the economic foundation for our modern technology. On the job his instinct of workmanship is frustrated. Off the job he swings between the fear that his productive ability will prove unsaleable and the hopes of unproductive acquisition. Such rationality as is bred of his industrial techniques is sacrificed to the worship of chance, the mythology of which has been woven into his boyhood dreams, his manhood hopes, his fictional escapes from reality and his routine pastimes. Deliberate propaganda need add only a few finishing touches to make of the creature that has weighed the planets and linked oceans to serve his transportation, into the gibbering, irrational, prejudice-ridden imbecile who places dictators over himself to damn his race to reversion and barbarism.

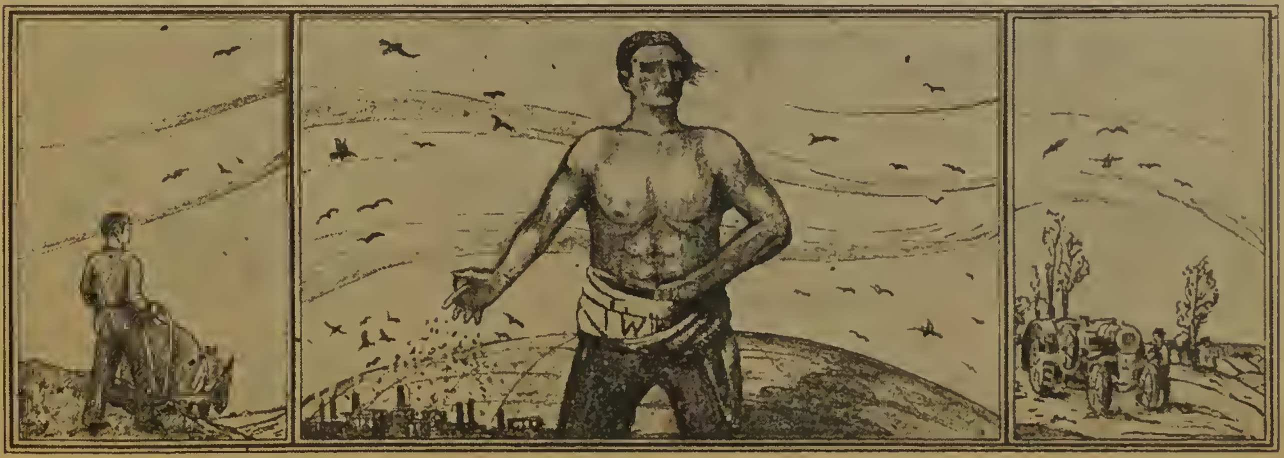
* * *

Medical progress is as thoroughly nullified by the capitalist system as is technological progress. Work could be a means of physical development; but mass production as carried on for profit means monotony, overstrain, fatigue, accidents, deaths, industrial diseases. It is technically possible to cope with the noise and vibration of fast moving machinery, with dust and gas fumes, with the poisonous substances used in industry—but it is not profitable and, therefore, unbusinesslike. Child labor in industry, poor food, poor clothing, poor housing, all serve to handicap us from the start. Accidents outside of industry are largely the result of the capitalist system. People drive poor cars not out of perversity, but out of poverty. Speed craze is born of the speed-up of intensified industry. Traffic is congested by the planlessness of transportation and lack of city planning and the use of individual transport where a public transport service, run for use, would be more economical and more convenient. Most accidents in the home result from doing things haphazardly there that a saner social order would do more systematically in industry. Diseases develop unchecked because people can not afford doctors. Contagion surrounds most of us because of the needless squalor born of needless poverty. The very nature of contagion makes disease a social problem rather than an individual one; but a profit system that depends upon the breaking up of solidarity for its perpetuation can not apply the results of modern science to the health of mankind. Capitalism forbids normal home life to millions of its wage slaves; it extends the concept of saleability even to sex, and mankind is scourged with venereal diseases as a consequence. Fear, worry, penny-pinching, poverty, all nullify the advances that science has made possible in the health of mankind.

We charge that the resources of science, technique, and production that should be used to make mankind healthy are used instead for the culminating insanity of large scale capitalist war. Capitalism breeds war. It is a system of production for the market and war is the one market that is never glutted. From no enterprise is such profit to be derived as from the mutual slaughter of millions of the puppet-class. The abolition of this colossal racket, capitalism, would remove every occasion for this colossal insanity, war.

Capitalism Must Go

We charge that capitalism deprives us of the good life that could be ours. We all have hopes and desires for a nice home, the average comforts of life, security, peace and the other good things of life. With our modern machinery and our capacity to produce, we all could enjoy a better and a fuller life. But this will be possible only when the profit motive and wage slavery are abolished and the cooperative commonwealth established in the place of capitalism. Then we will have a higher standard of living. We will be able to enjoy the fuller life; we will be able to enjoy nature, music, literature and the other fine arts. We will have better medical and hospital care, for the work of doctors will be available to all, as it will be directed toward prevention. We will have a better system of education; all children will have the chance to develop physically and mentally, in a social atmosphere free from the taints of bigotry and prejudice, hatred, envy and competition. The diffusion of knowledge and the increased possibility to use technology to save labor rather than to save wages, will stimulate invention and research. New standards of life will replace the insanity, cruelty and irrationality proffered as morality today, and mankind will be able to act humanly once more in a world that is the brotherhood of man. But these things cannot be until capitalism, guilty of every crime that can be conceived, has been abolished by a working class that organizes to resist the conspiracy of capital against it, that establishes its strength by practicing solidarity in this world of individualism, and from its mighty strength brings into being the abundance, the security, the solidarity of the world that is to be.



GOETTERDAEMMERUNG

By John Hunter

Said the Mouse: "If ever there was a set of four-flushers, it's the human race! And they have the crust to call themselves the Lords of Creation."

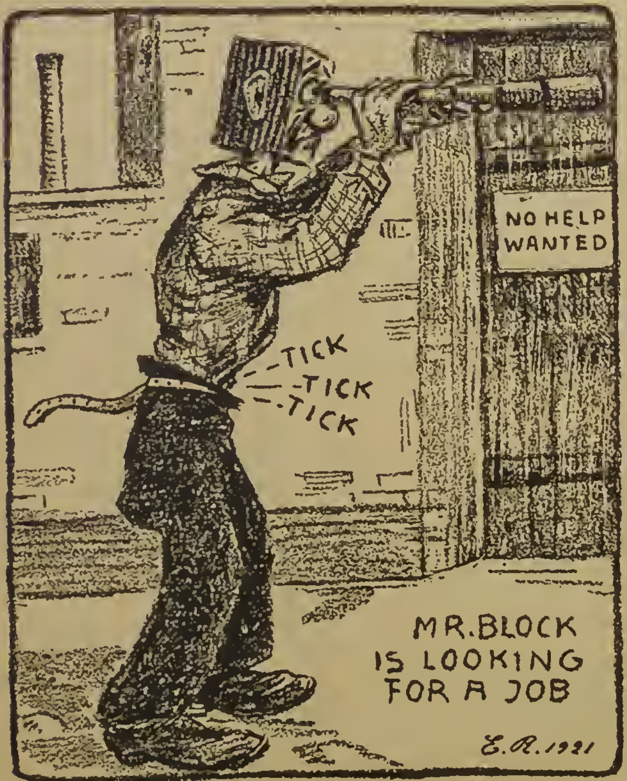
"Sit down," said Mrs. Mouse. "You are all worked up over your trip to town. You'll get a fever. I told you, you shouldn't have gone."

"But the things I've seen—yes, the things I've seen . . ." He piped and squeaked so shrilly about it that soon he had an audience of all the mice in the haystack.

"You want to know what it is that I have on my chest? It's this, my neighbors: We can inherit the earth and the fullness thereof. We can overcome the supremacy of Man."

"Nonsense." said his wife. "They have traps and cats and clubs, and they make walls that we can't gnaw. They are making it worse and worse for us with every sack of cement."

"But they are nothing," said the Mouse, "compared with the traps that they set for each other. That is what I am counting on—they are going to destroy themselves. You don't know how foolish they are. You thought these country folk were foolish enough when they burnt up the perfectly good wheat we could have eaten—"



The lordly master, Man, as represented by Mr. Block. If he doesn't soon do better than he has in the past he may as well turn the world over to the mice and other lower animals, who probably saw it first anyway.

"Now that wasn't foolish at all," said an old lady mouse. "If they had let us eat it, they knew we would become just that much more numerous and audacious. If you had only had a chance to chew up that book by Malthus that my great-grandfather ate, you would know something."

"But they treat each other the same way," said the Mouse. "Believe it or not, but these Lords of Creation could have plenty to eat, but they destroy it and go hungry for fear that they might grow too numerous and audacious. And these Lords of Creation could all have homes with concrete walls where no mouse could ever enter, but they live in hovels—and all for the same reason. They could be well, but they are sick, and for the same reason. Why, most of them have teeth that can hardly gnaw a piece of toast. And even with all their wretchedness they're so afraid of becoming too numerous that the buy things in the drug stores to make sure that they don't have children."

"They're getting ready for the biggest war that ever was . . ."

"More extras for us to chew," interrupted one fat old mouse.

"More ships for us to travel in," said another.

"More corpses for us to chew," said still another.

"If the carrion crows don't eat them first," broke in a fourth.

"We won't even have to travel," said the Mouse. "They are going to rain death down on the cities with shell and poison gas, and we can nibble to our hearts' content."

"It will kill you too then," said Nervous Nellie, the skinniest mouse in the haystack. "You will eat, and get thirsty, and drink water and die, just like my grandfather did when he helped bring over the bubonic plague."

"But we won't all die," exuberated the Mouse, "and we mice will never be foolish enough to start killing ourselves off like people do, so we shall inherit the earth. Come, Minnie," he said to his Frau, "let us retire into the haystack awhile, for our race must expand and take over the earth from these crazy Lords of Creation."

TWO POEMS

By Covington Hall

For Instance

There was once a strange old doctrine
that two and two made four,
That nothing unto nothing added ever
made it more;
But we live to learn, my brothers, and the
things that once we knew—
Or thought we did—for certain are no
longer fixed and sure.

For instance: our granddads thought the
more they raised the more they had;
The sight of fatted herds and fertile fields
made all hearts glad;
The countryside was full of cheer, the
houses rang with song;
The farer was a welcome guest the feasting
crowd among.

But since those days of innocence the
world has wiser grown,
And statesmen have discovered things that
never erst were known;
Where granddad held that plenty was "a
blessing from on high,"
We know today abundance means a famine
time is nigh.

This last, indeed, may sound insane, but
this remember, friend,
That progress is a hard thing for a sage
to comprehend;
That great economists have found that
ten times two makes one,
And the causes of our panics are the
cyclones on the sun.

L'Envoi

Our granddads were not Liberals: they
called a spade a spade,
And harbored the delusion that by labor
all was made;
But then our granddads never had a brain-trust
them to guide,
To tell them what to plant and when, or
how to skin a hide;
And so they went in ignorance, our granddads,
to their doom,
But never was, "Here Lies a State Slave,"
writ on any tomb.

The Wisdom of Onc' Pierre

He soliloquizes on the Highpriests of the State, Church, Craft and Chamber, and agrees with the Prophets.

"The Hierarchs," said Onc' Pierre, "are
traitors to the truth,
Are saboteurs of liberty, are bondagers
of youth;
Where'er their tribe is vested with the
royal right to rule,
The toiler feeds the usurer, the genius
serves the fool;
In Russia as America, in Mecca as in
Rome,
'Tis the people's wealth that glitters on
their gilded temple dome.

"Over all the seas and continents their
poisons daily spread,
They graft upon the living and they prey
upon the dead;
While kneeling at the altars of the Christus
they have slain,
They conspire with praetorians their evil
ends to gain;
They fill the world with broken hearts,
with murdered minds and souls,
And salve their guilty consciences with
charities and doles.

"Thru all the bitter ages they have plotted,
schemed and planned
To servilize the nations and the common
wealth command;
For centuries on centuries they've spread
the creed of hate
Their power-lust to satisfy, their greed
to satiate;
They were, and will forever be, the profiteers
of strife,
The mortal foes of liberty, the enemies
of life.

"But no night lasts forever, is, of history,
the sum—
The Hierarchs shall vanquished be—the
Golden Age shall come!
It shall come in all the glory that the
prophets have foretold,
With peace and bread for every one, and
no one asking gold.

What Is Americanism?

By IDA RICHARDS

"So you've come to me for advice, have you?" said the Old Politician to the Young Politician. "You want to know how to succeed in politics, do you?" The Young Politician inclined his head.

"I do," he replied. "Will you tell me?"

The Old Politician was silent for a moment.

"Times change," he said at last, "and I dare say there are new issues now in politics that there weren't in the good old days. The technic is somewhat different, too. However, the basic principles remain the same and after all, the issues don't really matter; it's what you say about them that counts, and I can tell you what to say about them. Very well, I'll advise you. First of all, if you're running for office in these days, you must run as a hundred-per-cent American candidate."

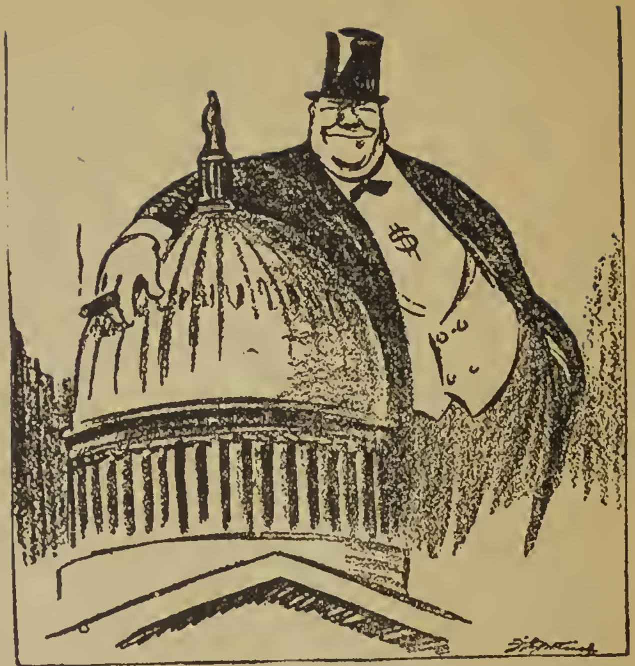
The Young Politician's eyes clouded with perplexity.

"What is Americanism?" he asked, "and how does one figure it on percentage basis?"

The Old Politician brought down his fist on the table with a crash.

"You aspire to political office, and ask a question like that!" he exclaimed in a voice of wrath. "Never question what hundred-per-cent Americanism is, even to yourself. If you do, somebody else will question too, nothing could be more fatal. Don't try to define it; assert it. Say, you're hundred percent, and your opponent isn't. Intimate that if George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Abraham Lincoln went over your opponent with a slide rule and an adding-machine, they couldn't make him add up to more than ninety-nine percent. If he's out for a seven-cent fare or a new set of municipal waterworks, tell the people that such things are un-American. Say that he's dodging the issue, and the issue is Americanism." He paused. "If you were my opponent, and asked what Americanism is, I'd double you up. 'Think of it, my fellow-citizens. He doesn't even know what Americanism is. Is that the kind of man to hold office in the country of Washington and Lincoln?' "

The Young Politician looked round uneasily to make sure that they were indeed alone, for the Old Politician was almost shouting.



"Please," said the Young Politician, "not so loud! I won't ask that question again. I see your point. What else do you advise?"

"You must learn," continued the Old Politician, "to be a good denouncer."

"A good what?"

"Denouncer. Keep your eyes open for objects of popular disapproval, and when you've got hold of the people, denounce them. At present I should advise you to denounce the high cost of living, the profiteers, and the Bolshevists. Next year, of course, the list may be quite different, but for the present those three are the objects of denunciation."

"What bothers me," suggested the Young Politician in a hesitating voice, "is that it may be rather hard to drag those things into the campaign. Suppose, for example, I'm pledged to broaden the Main Street of the city upon my election to the city council. Won't it be rather hard to tie Main Street and the Bolshevists together?"

The Old Politician looked upon the troubled face of the Young Politician with disgust.

"You're a great politician, you are," he said wearily. "Tie them together? Don't be so ridiculously logical." He rose to his feet, and as he did so, he smote the table once more with his fist. "Gen-tle-men," he cried hoarsely, surveying an imaginary audience with his glittering eye, "there is a movement on foot in this country, this very state, nay, this very city, to undermine our Congress, to topple over the Constitution, to put a bomb under our President! Confronted by such a menace to our President and our democratic institutions, what, gentlemen, shall be our answer? Let us broaden Main Street, as Washington would have broadened it, as Lincoln would have broadened it, and let us put down the red flag wherever it shows its head."

"Its mast," corrected the Young Politician, visibly moved.

"Thank you for those courageous, those hundred-per-cent words. I shall try to strike that note. But there is something else I want to ask. Suppose I am elected. What shall I do while I hold office in order that I may become ultimately eligible for still higher office?"

"In that case," replied the Old Man, who by this time had subsided into his chair, "you must not merely denounce the high cost of living, the profiteers and the Bolshevists, you must campaign against them."

"But suppose I am commissioner of roads or an attorney-general," inquired the Young Politician. "In that case nearly all such things lie outside my province. How can I campaign against them?"

"My dear young man," said the Old Politician with a weary smile, "don't bother about your province, as you call it. Your job will undoubtedly be uninteresting and the public won't know anything about it or care anything about it, and the test of your success will be your ability to conduct campaigns which have nothing to do with your job, and therefore stand some chance of interesting the public. There is no reason why even an attorney-general shouldn't campaign against anything, provided he handles his campaign right.

"The principal thing to bear in mind is that you must begin your campaign noisily and end it so quietly that the sound of the ending is drowned in the noise of the next campaign's beginning. That will put you on the front page again. Then when the conference meets, address them, tell them they've got to make conditions better, simply got to. Then after you have the conference well started, step out. Don't stay with them; they may begin asking you constructive questions. Step clear of the thing, and start a new campaign.

"I can't over-emphasize the fact that when the conference is well started you must help the public to forget about it, and stir up interest in something new. Flay the profiteers. Rap the Bolshevists while you're deciding what your next campaign shall be. Don't let the people's minds run back to the high cost of living, or they'll be likely to notice that it hasn't gone down. Refer constantly to the success of your own campaigns, and keep the public mind moving."

The Young Politician was visibly impressed, but apparently a doubt still lingered in his mind.

"There's one thing I'm afraid I don't understand," he said at last. "All this denouncing and rapping and probing—isn't it likely to look rather destructive? Will people want to vote for a man whose pleasantest mood is one of indignation?"

"My dear young man," replied the Old Politician, "I fear that you misunderstand me. A politician must be always pleasant to the people who are about him, and denounce only persons who are not present.

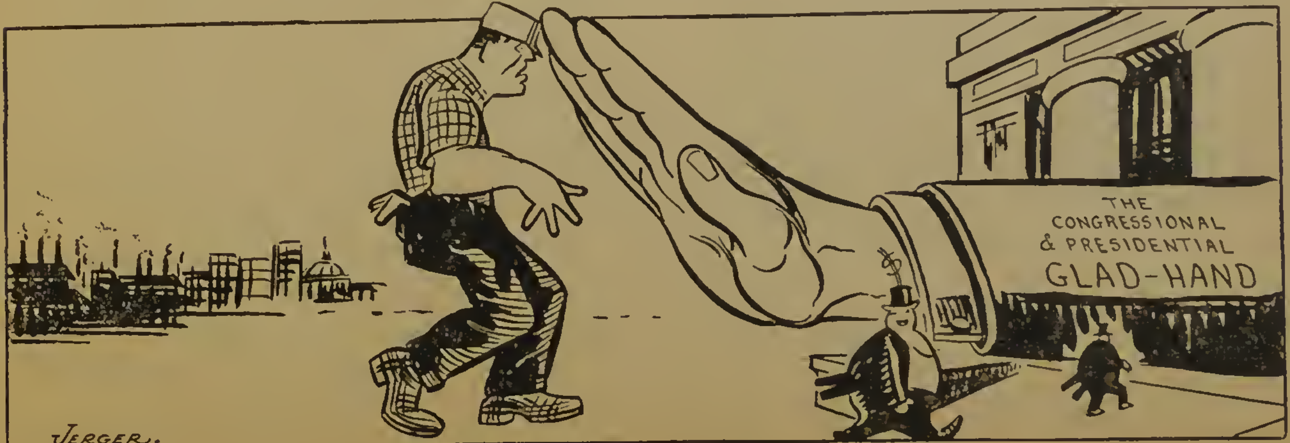
"Finally, give them a little patriotic rapture. Tell them this is a new age we're in. Picture to them how the capitalist and the workingman walk hand in hand with their eyes on the flag. Make the great heart of America throb for them. Unpleasant? Why, if you top off with a heart-throb, you can make the most denunciatory speech delightful for one and all."

The Young Politician rose. "I see," he said. "Thank you. Have you any other advice?"

"Merely one or two minor hints," said the Old Politician. "If the photographers want to take your picture, teaching your baby to walk, let them do it; the public loves the home life of its leaders. Always be affable to the reporters, but never state your views explicitly, or you may find them embarrassing at some later date. Stick to generalities. I think that's all."

"Thank you again," said the Young Politician, putting out his hand. "You are very good. You are—" an idea seemed to seize his mind, and his bearing perceptibly altered—"you, sir, are a good American. I'm delighted to have had an evening with a man who is absolutely one-hundred-percent Patriotic American to the core."

"Good night," said the Old Politician. "You're getting it very nicely. I think you'll do very well."



THE LOST INTERNATIONAL

By JOSEPH WAGNER

Discussion and even mention of the once famous Third (Bolshevik) International with headquarters in Moscow, has been diminishing in late years until at the present time hardly anybody is aware of its existence any more. Yet in former years one could hardly pick up a paper or a magazine whether radical, conservative or reactionary, that would not devote much space to that International. These writeups would be expressing love or hatred, respect or contempt, hope or fear, according to the social, philosophical or political inclination of the respective publications or writers. For Russia then loomed large and ominous to the rest of the world and the repeated assurances given to the world by the rulers of Russia that the Communist International was a distinct and separate institution from the Russian government would not fool anybody, neither the diplomats and politicians nor the common people all over the world. Both friends and foes of the Russian regime felt that the Comintern and the Russian government were but the two arms of the same body.

But now the excitement seems to be all over. It appears that the present rulers of Russia no longer need the Comintern in their business, hence the silence about it. But the title of this article is not referring to the Comintern, but to the **Red Trade Union International**, an appendage of the Comintern, that seems to have vanished entirely without leaving a trace behind. And, since the International we want to discuss was an offshoot of the Communist International, we will briefly touch on the highspots of the latter.

Heir to the Second International

Originally the Communist International was created to replace the then bankrupt Second (Socialist and Labor) International, that was at that time thoroughly discredited with the world's working class on account of the treacherous conduct during the World War of its affiliates, the Socialist parties and the "free" trade unions of the warring countries.

For half a century preceding the outbreak of the war, the workers had been assured that the international solidarity engendered by the Socialist parties in all countries could and would prevent an international war, only to see themselves driven into the shambles with the blessings of the leaders of that same Socialist movement. The end of the war found the Socialist parties and their allied trade unions broken to pieces and the workers disgusted with them.

So that when at that time the Bolshevik wing of the Russia Social Democracy, that had led a successful revolution in Russia, took the initiative to organize a new revolutionary proletarian International, the response was far and wide and enthusiastic. Workers' organizations all over the world signified willingness to join with the valiant Russian workers. Not only Socialists, but even anarcho-syndicalist organizations everywhere passed resolutions endorsing the new International and pledging full solidarity with it.

Little of the actual facts were known, beyond that a revolution was carried out, that the master class was dispossessed, and that the workers had been emancipated from wage slavery. It was considered natural that the true-blue revolutionists who carried the revolution to a successful issue in one of the largest countries of the world should be entrusted with the leading role in that International.

Attack on the Labor Movement

But these Bolshevik leaders were at the time confronted with another gigantic task: the reconstruction of organized social and economic life of a vast country in ruin and in chaos, in the midst of foreign and civil wars. The method chosen by them (or that was forced on them) for attaining their aim was the dictatorship (they called it the "proletarian dictatorship"). Strong arm methods were used exclusively. One had to obey the dictates from above or be unceremoniously bumped off.

We are not here discussing whether they could or could not have used different methods to attain the same objects. At any rate, in the desperate situation they were confronted with, they made use of any and all means to maintain what they attained and to forge ahead with their plans.

They needed the effective aid of the working class of other countries to whom they sent frequent appeals. The leaders of the old Social Democracies were not too friendly with the Bolsheviks and the regime they were establishing in Russia, and were fighting against the spread of Bolshevism in their respective countries. The Russian rulers thereupon made use of the newly formed International to break up and liquidate the Socialist parties and their "free" trade unions (as well as any other labor organization that would not take dictation from Moscow), to take over the membership of the disrupted organizations and form sections of the Communist International with them.

They introduced the same ruthless dictatorial methods into the Comintern as the ones they were ruling Russia with. Democracy was abolished not only within Russia, but also in all the Communistic organizations in other lands. Emissaries with full power were sent from Moscow to supervise and to boss the work of breaking up of workers' political and economic organizations.

These emissaries would unseat officials regularly elected by the membership of the Communist sections and fill their places with appointees. Valuable and capable members and even whole organizations were expelled from the Communist fold by these emissaries. As Russia did not have a surplus of capable organizers, it would entrust such agencies to all kinds of shady characters and imposters, who often turned out to have been secret service men of the various bourgeois governments.

Nothing of any value to Russia was accomplished by these ruinous tactics, but the labor movements of all countries were in the long run systematically and almost completely ruined. Now, the present ruler apparently has found out that it is wasted money and energy, and the Comintern is being kept in the background.

Red Trade Union International

But to come back to the vanished Red Trade Union International. As stated above, when the Third International was launched, very little of actual facts was known of Russia outside its boundaries, and the workers all over the world greeted the Moscow International with joy and pledged solidarity with it. But as soon as a little of the truth became known, the best elements of the working class became cooler towards it. The militant proletariat did not relish being bossed in its unions by politicians and impostors of all kinds.

The powerful syndicalist movement of several countries of Europe and of Spanish America would not even hear of affiliation with political parties or a political International. Besides, the structure of labor unions did not fit in with the "21 points" laid down by the Moscow International. So a movement got started to create a revolutionary labor union International.

In 1921 the I.W.W. and the European syndicalists arranged for an international conference to launch such an International of revolutionary labor unions. The conference actually met in Berlin that year with an I. W. W. delegate participating, but action was postponed, because in the meantime, the politicians in Moscow got wise to the situation and themselves sent a call for a World Congress to meet in Moscow, May 1, 1921, to organize a Red International of Labor Unions.

Delegates to the Berlin Conference decided then that in order to avoid rivalry in the field, it would be best to wait until the Moscow Congress had acted. The Berlin delegates decided to take part in the Moscow Congress and act as a bloc together with other syndicalist delegates and fight for complete autonomy of the Labor Union International from the political one.

The Moscow Congress took place, not in May as called, but in July, 1921, and there the Red Trade Union International was founded. But in spite of the fight put up by the I.W.W. and the syndicalist delegates, the Red Trade Union International was to be a subordinate of the political International. Some of the syndicalist delegates met later in Germany and founded the I.W.M.A. The I.W.W. did not affiliate with either of them.

Losing Favor

At the beginning the new International had quite a large following. The entire membership of the trade unions of Russia belonged as a matter of course; they had no choice in the matter. Almost the entire trade union membership of Czecho-Slovakia went into it at first, but in a few years they all left the Moscow and went over to the Amsterdam International.

In France a bare majority favored the Moscow outfit and a split with grave consequences resulted. Until last year, when unity of the unions was restored, there were two rival Confederations of Labor, one bossed by the Communist party and affiliated with the R.T.U.I., and the other, dubbed "reformistic," affiliated with Amsterdam. In Germany, they claimed three million adherents out of a total union membership of 12 million.

On orders from Moscow, these followers had to follow a very much zig-zagged course, at times building dual unions, at other times boring from within the "reformistic" unions, and at still other times doing both at the same time. On account of that their membership could not be approximated and they claimed more than they were entitled to. In England and the United States they hardly had anything, a fact that never stopped them from claiming large membership.

For a while regular Congresses of the International were held in Moscow, at about the same time with the Communist International. Elaborate reports were printed in all languages showing the great progress the R.T.U.I. was making. The industrial proletariat of countries of Central Africa you never heard of, were represented there by some Moscow politician.

Moscow Statistics

The AFL never lacked representation there either. Some adventurer who probably never possessed even an AFL membership card, would there represent millions of "revolutionary minorities" of different parts of the AFL. Statistics would show that the R.T.U.I. was growing by leaps and bounds and that soon every proletarian from one end of the earth to the other would be enrolled

But, as a matter of fact, the membership was at its peak when the R.T.U.I. was founded. Ever since that time it diminished. All the great oratory and resolutions of the Congresses were but cheap comedy. One could never understand whom they intended to fool. However, the Russian membership was real, and so for many years the farce was kept up, in order to have something for a future horse trade with the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam).

Thus Moscow gave up to Amsterdam its French membership for a consideration. It needed Jouhaux's (the leader of the French GCT) support in its diplomatic deals with the French government. And very likely the entire International was buried for some such political considerations. For the great Red Trade Union International is no more.

Last year the General Confederation of Russian Trade Unions applied for admission into the International Federation of Trade Unions (Amsterdam International), completely ignoring the past or present existence of the R.T.U.I. Can there be a better proof than that for the death and disappearance of the once famous International? And when will the Communist International be put to rest? The following appeared in the French syndicalist paper "Le Combat Syndicaliste":

"Three members of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions: **Jouhaux**, vice president, **Schevenels**, general secretary, and **Stoltz**, assistant secretary, went to Moscow, in order to negotiate with **Chvernik, Moscatow** and **Nicolalva**, secretaries of the All-Russian Central Council of Trade Unions, the affiliation of that organization with the I.F.T.U. It should be noted first of all, that there is no question at all of negotiations or of an accord with the Red Trade Union International.

"For that matter, Jouhaux points this out in his press statement, published in 'Le Peuple' of Dec. 3, 1937, in the following terms:

"There was no question of International unity, in the sense of an understanding with the Red Trade Union International.

"In ether words the R.T.U.I is finished and the Russians are themselves accepting this dissolution, as matter of fact.

"The same as in France—and all over for that matter—the Russians are now destroying, as far as their foreign policies demand, the institutions that their external necessities brought into being in former times.

"After very cleverly having themselves admitted into the concert of powers, into that inglorious League of Nations, where they played the nice boys, after having accepted the English plan for Spanish non-intervention, of control and blockade, the rulers of Russia made away with the Red Trade Union International, the last obstacle to good international neighborliness.

"Let's not forget that the German-Italian-Japanese anti-Communist pact has not been concluded against the Soviet government, but against the Comintern.

"Let's also keep in mind that the Russo-German and the Russo-Italian treaties have never been denounced by either Germany or Italy.

"We should also keep in mind that Fascist Italy has for long boasted of having been the first great power to recognize Soviet Russia; let us remember that it was Russia that furnished to Italy the gas and oil necessary for the war in Abyssinia, and that at this very moment it is the Russian gas and oil that enables the Japanese to crush China, the supposed ally of the USSR.

"Like the disappearance of the Red Trade Union International, that of the Communist International is sure to come. That will permit Russia in the very near future to come to an understanding—as it should between totalitarian regimes—with Fascist Italy and Germany.

"Once this great treason is accomplished, there will be nothing to hinder a Holy Alliance of all governments against all peoples. The unity of capitalisms, whether State or private, will be realized against the workers of all countries. That is the lot that is being prepared for us all by all the governments of the world, that of Stalin included.

"And then what is the exact meaning of the Moscow understanding that treats the affiliation of the Russian Labor Federation as a mere formality?

"Why has Jouhaux felt the need of stating: 'All I can say is that this accord does not contain any secret clauses, and that there are no secret documents!'?

"What does that mean? What is he afraid that they may deduce?

"If it is nothing, the precaution taken by Jouhaux is futile and mischievous. If there is something behind it, why does he say that there is nothing? Everyone among us, and outside us, will be asking these questions. And many people will suspect, with or without reason, that Jouhaux and his pals have not gone to Moscow to merely discuss the affiliation of the Russian unions to the I.F.T.U. and that this affiliation has something to do with the Franco-Russian politics that ensues from the pact concluded between the two countries. We think that that is the truth and we do not believe that it could be otherwise.

"We strongly believe that the affiliation of the Russian unions to the I.F.T.U. marks a new turn in the Russian policies, and that the disappearance of the Communist International will mark the decisive turning.

"Whether there are any secret clauses or not, or secret documents, it is absolutely certain that the Moscow accord will have an important repercussion on the foreign and especially on the internal politics of the two countries, particularly on that of the French 'Popular Front.'

"It is as yet too early to prognosticate, but that will be possible in a very short while. The General Confederation of Labor is the backbone of the Popular Front, and Jouhaux is one of the consular personages of the Republic. That is sufficient to indicate to us that the Moscow accord will have important repercussions in France. For the moment let's record this accord and Jouhaux' statement."

After a good deal of agitation the application of the Russian unions for affiliation with the I.F.T.U. was rejected. So now the Russian trade unions are not affiliated with any international body.

Like so many prominent Bolshevik leaders, who disappeared, who were killed and buried without the formality of public trial and without having had the chance to confess to unearthly and impossible crimes, the Moscow International is dead and was buried without any public notice.

Workers Are Staked Out Cattle

By **Mortimer Downing**

Whether savage or gentle, humanity is subject to production. Commodities are the sill and the structure of society. Human life would cease if labor refused its tribute. This truth is everywhere recognized.

But when wage workers are driven to desperation their only convincing argument is to cease labor until their demands are allowed. This is one of the contradictions of capitalism. Why?

Mass production has come. What is mass production? It is a scheme by which a favored few organize for exploitation of wage workers. Within a competitive society nothing else seems possible. Its objective is not the supply of social utilities but the gathering of profit. Profits to the few and "the public be damned," as was well put by the elder Vanderbilt.

But production is the first factor in that endless chain of Production, Distribution, Acquisition, Consumption. This scheme of things can not be changed although it can be raped by greed.

Take a look at a modern Public Utility. First, experts in greed meet. They analyze the situation and estimate the mass need of humanity. They figure out the cost of necessary machinery. They have a sure thing. But they are not satisfied.

Secondly, they plan a bond issue to cover every dollar they put into the enterprise. Interest is high. Every dollar is protected by a mortgage on the plant. But this is not enough.

Thirdly, they issue stock for every dollar, so that they take a double toll on every cent of investment. Is this the last step? No.

When profits are high, as they usually are in the marketing of publicly useful commodities, they withhold part of the profit and issue it in the form of stock dividends, and these pile up sometimes eight or ten times the original volume of the stock.

Now the graft of profit taking is complete. When wage workers strike the robbers show their books to the court calling all these stocks and bonds fixed charges and raise the cry of "Rises in wages force rises in prices." How about this scheme to pick the public pockets, while they grind their workers to the very bone?

Meantime, the wage workers, forced by starvation, eke out a bare subsistence and the public pays through the nose.

Workers, wake up. You and you alone can right this wrong. It is economic theft that faces you. You can not right it by a Congress that is sensitive to the stock market.

Why, in the rich pasture of civilization, stand chained to a peg which automatically fixes the limit of your feeding? Why be contented cows? As things are you seem to be more than satisfied when your owners throw you a hunk of rock salt to lick. You wage workers, and you alone, must organize to root out these evils. You have the power of the one complete monopoly—the sale of labor power. By joining One Big Union, legislating in your union halls, you can take this graft out of the hands of the Sixty Families, but you must keep the power and the ownership in your union halls and remember forever what you have suffered through the centuries of chattel slavery and capitalism.

A World of Shams

By A. B. COBBS

"Every modern institution hides a sham."—Marx.

A fellow worker challenges the truth of the above statement. He demands proof. When Marx wrote that sentence some 75 years ago, he took it for granted that even then all wide-awake people could see the fraud behind every organized body. But today one has only to listen to the spokesmen for the various groups to get the low-down on the whole works.

They admit even their own failure. The church, the school and the government in turn plead not only their impotence but their sins. A man that so much as reads the daily papers and still doesn't know that the whole world ought to be scrapped and rebuilt is asleep or a mental wreck—a total loss and no insurance.

Take any organized society, the Church of Rome, the Government of the United States, the Salvation Army or the Communist party, read what they pretend to do and compare it with what they actually do. Not one of them deserves the least particle of respect, at every turn they show signs of cowardice, imbecility and rapid decay. Whenever a problem needs to be solved, no matter how important or how simple, each group in turn will pass the matter up to the others and all together try to blame the public.

A remark by another social student, Lewis Morgan, fortells their doom: "Every institution that attains permanence will be found linked with a perpetual want." Our present day groups fulfill no needs, are fraudulent, parasitic and all of them must be reformed or die. Human desires are everlasting and to serve them we must have organs that further our ends instead of those that, when we ask for bread, hand out stones. Humanity will suffer greater calamities than ever before unless and until institutions are built to care for our needs instead of merely to hoodwink the people while they are being exploited. The population is in advance of its leaders; this situation cannot last.

In the Old World, the gangs that have ruled and robbed for centuries have now fallen so low that even the reactionaries are deserting them. The British Government, that so recently acted as sales-manager for the idea of "Making the World Safe for Democracy," has now come out to do everything possible to stop the upsurge of democracy in Spain. Its interference in Russia made democracy difficult and a dictatorship all but inevitable. The Roman Hierarchy, dedicated to the Prince of Peace, sanctified the gas that poisoned the Abyssinians, blessed the dynamiting and burning of women and children in Spain, the most Catholic country in Europe. The totalitarian states, pernicious, parasitic, fatal to all that is good in human nature, have at least one thing to their credit; they have torn away the mask of hypocrisy that heretofore has veiled the villainies of these others.

When the Constitution for these United tSates was drafted, many voices were raised against it as an instrument designed by the rich to oppress the poor. Since its adoption whenever questions arose relative to the importance of human rights as against property rights, the rights of property and the sacredness of contracts have almost invariably been held by the court to be supreme. Those phrases in the Preamble about Liberty, Justice, Freedom and the General Welfare are not law but sarcasm. As a result, in this land that has more natural resources and a more versatile population than any other country of equal size in the world, we find a third of the people lacking the barest necessities and another third threatened with the same fate.

The present Administration, in order to keep this lower portion of the public from getting too boisterous, and perhaps as a reserve of cannon-fodder, has endeavored to feed them at the general trough. But tories now as always, stand in their own light. They stand by the letter of the Constitution and is support of propery rights. Let the down-and-out live on the Preamble and its empty abstractions.

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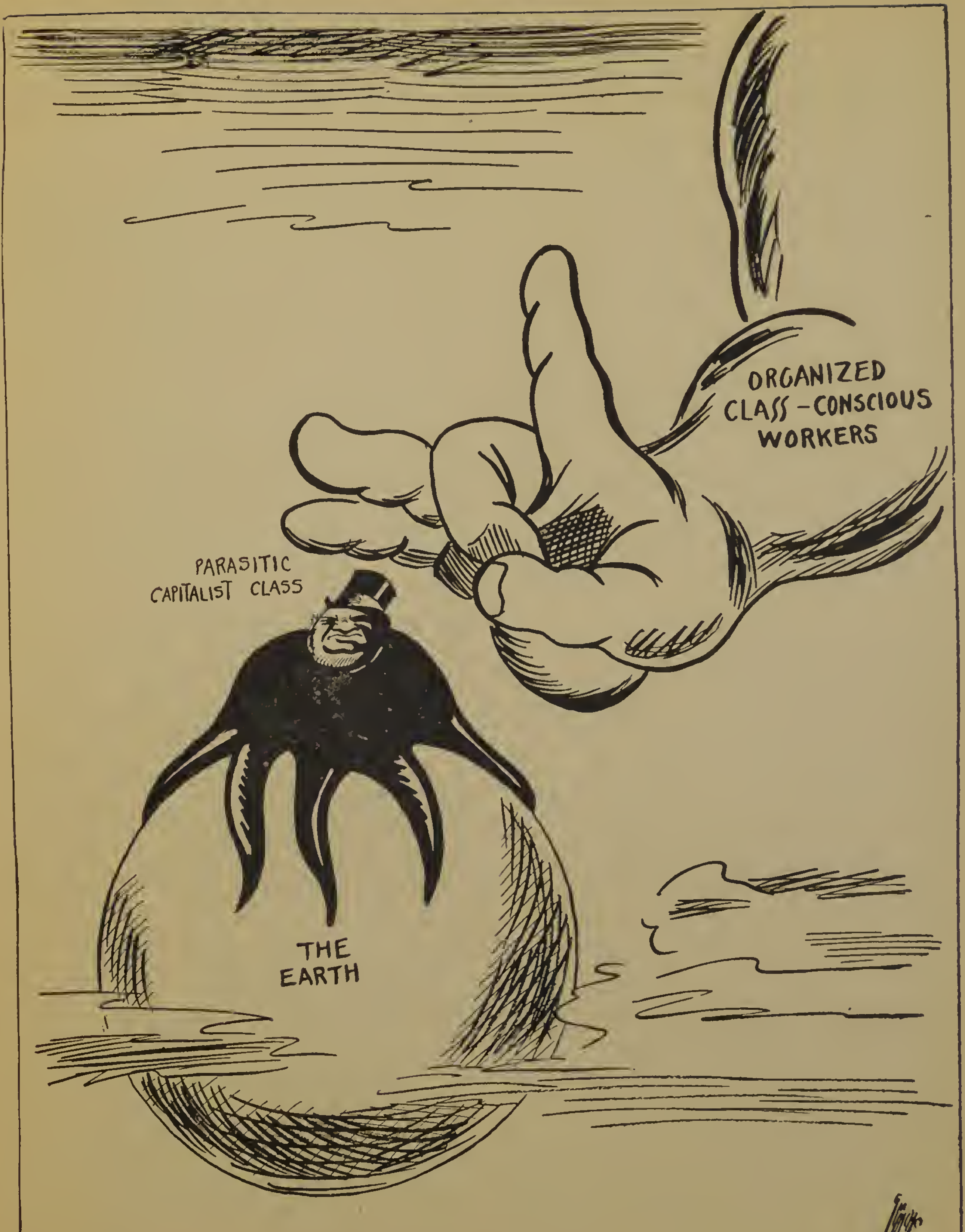

ORGANIZED CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS
PARASITIC CAPITALIST CLASS
THE EARTH

The Feeble Strength of One

By
The Gadfly

"YOU CAN GET SAFELY ONLY WHAT YOU'VE GOT THE ORGANIZED STRENGTH TO TAKE!"

The green park bench quaked beneath the soapboxer as he shifted his weight from the flats of his feet to his toes and rocked back to his heels, socking a chapped fist into the air with an emphasis that seemed to clinch the argument for all his listeners—all but Pug-nose, who came to the park for his first time, and he did not come to hear a spouting radical, either. He came because he was miserable, just like the other denizens of the "public" park. But he was a man with a purpose, an ulterior one, to be sure, and he would not be swayed from it just because a Red orator looking like he had not a pot to spit in happened to jar him with a punch of logic.

The speaker zig-zagged through his night-time audience with a shoddy cap in his hands to catch a few reluctantly falling pennies and nickels. That cap served him well, especially during his oratorial matinees when the office crowds stopped to hear his radical humor. A few sparrows, not satisfied with their nests, eyed that cap covetously, and frequently embarked on imperialistic campaigns, dropping their splattering projectiles on the lid when the orator dozed beneath a tree. Else, how explain those splotches of encrusted avian whitewash? His passing of the ancient chapeau was the cue for some of his ungrateful listeners to break up into pre-occupied cliques that became pettily argumentative. Pug-nose spat up a phlegmy wad in a gesture of disgust, muttered "Nuts!" in a muffled tone and dragged his legs out of the park.

* * *

The grotesque silence of a residential section street corner at two in the morning. The clerk in the open-all-night drug store seems to respect the stillness, for, though he is asleep, propped uncomfortably on a stool behind the counter, he does not snore. The two lights in the window, a great green vessel on the left, a similar red one on the right, glow like altar lamps. Only the nervous pacing shuffles of a man on the sidewalk outrage the brooding solemnity.

This blasphemer, Pug-nose Riley, was formerly a prizefighter of expanding repute. But a long, sweeping upper-cut originating some place in the neighborhood of his adversary's right hip stopped him. The blow passed across his map in what might be termed a north-westerly direction, shattering the cartilage of his nose and plowing the ruins deep through the tips of his olfactory nerves. When the bandages were removed some weeks later, it developed that his sense of smell was obliterated. His nose was stranded ludicrously and irreparably beneath his right eye. He was informed that further participation in pugilism would certainly necessitate complete amputation.

However, fighting was Pug's only livelihood. "I can't quit the racket," he told the doctor. "I gotta eat, ain't I?"

The doctor shrugged. He was not concerned with the economic welfare of his patients. But in the corridor he met Nola, Pug's girl, a brassy peroxide blonde, an ex-gold digger who could not realize that the mine had petered out. He explained the situation to her. She marched into Pug's room with a determined expression; ten minutes later she emerged with a satisfied expression. Pug would fight no more.

* * *

It was exactly the moment when Pug's resources were quite exhausted, on the way home from the movie where he had sunk his last fifty cents on the tickets, that Nola discovered the 49.50 bracelet. She hinted for it, asked for it, demanded it, and finally published an ultimatum that henceforth for Pug the bracelet would be the sole key to her apartment. Furthermore, when the next evening he arrived without the bracelet, she made good her threat through the speaking-tube. Another time Pug might have gone to the service entrance and muscled his way in. But this time, having had nothing since doughnuts and coffee in the morning, his morale was down. He slunk away.

As many a capitalist hesitates to realize, it is an extremely simple matter to convince a man with an empty belly, who is not used to an empty belly, that something ought to be done about it. As a further incentive, he found himself unable to dispel his infatuation for Nola. Accordingly, he took the only course open to a man in his position: he repaired to the open-all-night drug store, desperately intent upon a stick-up.

Yet he hesitated, for Pug possessed a most virulent hoosier conscience, past dealings with which had taught him always to gain its consent before committing any misdemeanor. Stimulated by the cathedral impressiveness of the place, his conscience was working over-time that night. It required numerous and powerful arguments before it would let him proceed. Thumbing his memory, he moved back and forth before the show-window, his distorted face illuminated now by the green vessel, now by the red one. His memory gave him admirable support. It showed him the images of numerous acquaintances, all of whom were crooks but all of whom were swell guys. Grudgingly his conscience allowed itself to be appeased. Hand in pocket, Pug entered the store.

The proprietor woke automatically as Pug crossed the threshold.

"Mornin'," he said. "What'll you have?"

With all the haste of a rank amateur, Pug displayed his gun.

"All de bucks in de box, buddy, and make it snappy."

The druggist slouched unconcernedly to the cash register at the end of the counter and sprung it. But before the bell would cease singing, he jerked a small automatic from the cash drawer and fired twice. Both shots missed. Pug, dropping his gun, which was empty anyhow, dragged the druggist around the end of the counter. They struggled in the center viciously at close quarters. The druggist anchored to a four-foot, slant-front case of cameras, perfume and fountain-pens. It toppled against them. It carried them to the floor. It smashed. Again the gun in the druggist's hand exploded, its report muffled by the two strained bodies which sandwiched it. The druggist relaxed, groaned. Pug got to his feet and shook himself, cleaned the cash register and ran out.

He moved abstractedly, viewing himself objectively, as one drunk or dreaming. He hailed a taxi. The coin bore oppressively upon his thighs as he climbed in.

In his room, still dazed, he swallowed a double dose of sleeping powder and fell into bed.

Next morning when he awoke his consciousness did not immediately resume the thread of his existence. He put his left hand on the tap to turn on the hot water. He touched the switch of the light with his right. There came a jolt in his forearm like a cracked funnybone, like the blow of a sledge-hammer, like (thought Pug) the juice in the electric chair. The shock brought him to himself and at once the commonplace sounds about him assumed an undreamed of significance.

"Murderer!" rumbled the street-car. "Murderer!" yapped an autohorn. "Murderer!" ticked the clock. "Murderer! Murder! Murderer gets the chair!" yelled a newsboy. Pug rushed to pull down the window. The pulleys screamed, "Murderer!" He turned on the tap in the basin. "Murderer!" hissed the water, and "Murderer!" sneered the drain. Many were the mouths of his conscience. He cupped his hands over his ears, and in the surflike roar which the action produced he heard it again: "Murderer!" He began to shave. The razor was dull, his beard tough. Every bristle as it was mowed down cracked and stung, and, crackling, seemed to Pug to add its tiny voice to the rasping chorus of "Murderer!" flowing from the edge of the blade.

Feverishly, he counted his haul. The very clink of the coins accused him, but he forced himself to count. "Ninety-three-sixty," he announced defiantly. "Murderer!" his conscience insistently reminded him. "Ninety-three-sixty," he repeated, thinking of enough food to eat and enough cigarettes to smoke, visioning Nola's light yellow hair, her passively inviting grey-green eyes, her sensual mouth, her voluptuously curvate body. Pug was a gourmand: The pleasure of the senses formed no small part of his life's philosophy. The picture of pleasure which Pug imagined was too much for even such a well-developed organ as his conscience. It subsided.

Putting up a front of synthetic buoyancy, he passed down into the street and headed toward the U-Like-It Lunch. Before he had traveled a block, an awareness of something extraordinary and malevolent in the attitude of the crowd pervaded him. Something so malevolent, in fact, that he fairly traveled at a dog-trot in his haste to attain the welcome of Acropulous, the proprietor of the lunchroom.

As he opened the screen door, the amicably gruff voice of McCarthy, the promoter, an old friend of Pug's, called to him. "Hiyah, Pug!"

He felt relieved. "Oke," he said, and seated himself on a stool next to McCarthy. He looked out the window to see if people were watching him. Satisfied, he turned to McCarthy. "How's da chili?" he asked.

But McCarthy did not reply. He was perched on the far edge of the stool, his nose wrinkled in an expression of disgust.

"Wot's up?" demanded Pug.

Without answering, McCarthy went out the door, leaving his chili uneaten. Acropulous entered from the kitchen just in time to see McCarthy leave. In amazement he walked down the way behind the counter to a position in front of Pug, and stood peering out the door.

"Guess your chili ain't so good," Pug jested.

Slowly Acropulous turned his eyes upon him. His leathery features contorted into a sneer. "It's not da cheelee," he murmured significantly. Then abruptly, "Whadya want, huh?"

Pug managed to stammer: "Ham and eggs." He did not like ham and eggs. It was simply the first thing that occurred to him.

"Holy chee," thought Pug while he waited for his breakfast, "What's de matter wid everybody?"

"Murderer!" suggested his conscience.

"No," he gasped almost aloud. "Jeez, no!" Surreptitiously he inspected his clothes. "Coupla powder marks on my vest. But nobody wot wasn't lookin' fer it would notice dem." An unworded memory of something he had read in a Sunday newspaper supplement about a sixth sense sprayed through his rabbit-punched brain. "Gawd! I wonder if dere's sumpthin' in dat stuff. Can dey tell I done it?" Something tickled the back of his left hand. He looked. So violently were his tortured nerves shaking his right hand which held a salt-shaker that the salt was sprinkling from the cap. "Baloney!" he reassured himself, and banged the shaker down on the counter. Nevertheless, when it came time for him to go out upon the street and face the crowd a cold sweat soaked him.

Even the jeweler, in Pug's sphere the model of courtliness and suavity, treated him with deliberate contempt when he was buying the bracelet.

In the vestibule of Nola's apartment, he fumbled at the bell.

"Yes?" "It's me—Pug. Got somethin' fer ya."

The release on the door buzzed ecstatically, triumphantly. Pug took the stairs three at a time. In the presence of the reward for his extra-legal efforts, all his torments vanished. Her door was open. In pink dishabille, she awaited him.

"Oh, Pug!" she chortled, as he approached her holding at arms' length the bracelet, like a priest placing a sacrifice upon the altar of Baal. "Oh, Pug, I didn't mean for you to get me this." She threw her arms around his neck.

Then something happened. She backed away, and Pug saw in her eyes the embodiment of the attitude of McCarthy, of Acropulous, of the jeweler, of every passerby in the street.

"Why, hon—" he stammered.

Disdain changed to hatred on her face. "You—you—Get out," she screamed, "and don't you never come around here again!" She looked at the bracelet undecidedly for a moment. Then she tore it off and threw it in his face. "And you can take that to yer moll!" She slammed the door.

As he bent over to pick up the bracelet, apartment occupants all down the line stuck out their heads. He was rather hurt than surprised; it was beginning to seem natural, if inexplicable, that people should know him for a murderer. He trudged down the hall between the two cordons of gossipy faces, his head bent. Behind him budded a vicious twittering.

Pug wandered over to Harry's, stung and taunted at every dragging step by the faces of the crowd. He saturated himself with Harry's bad liquor, paid with his recently acquired money, and staggered to the down-town park. Harry seemed glad to have him leave.

As he advanced along the curvilinear paths, people shied from him, and after he had passed, many stood and looked after him scornfully, or giggled maliciously. "Know I'm a murderer, don't-cha?" he mumbled hiccoughingly over and over again, twisting clumsily in his stride to look back at them. "But ya can't prove nuthin', can ya? Ha ha! Nozir, ya can't prove nuthin'."

A policeman accosted him. "Think you better come along with me and sober up."

The desk-sergeant sniffed when Pug was brought in. He looked piercingly at him, and treated himself to a prolonged belly-laugh. "Begorra," he guffawed, "Oi've seen many a prize-fighter awaltzin' in the ring, but, to be sure, ye're the loveliest oi've yit had the pleasure of witnessin'!"

That night Pug enjoyed unusual privacy in his corner of the bull pen. In his drunken sleep he couldn't hear what the inmates were saying of him.

The following morning at eight o'clock they called him out to take him before the sergeant again. As he and his escort entered the room, the street door opened to admit a square built cop with a surly face. He headed for the desk. He reached it before Pug's party.

As Pug came up the sergeant was saying, "'Tis sweet ye're smellin' this foin mornin', Detective Levinsky."

Neither of them noticed Pug. Levinsky replied, "Nerts! It's that damned drug store murder. Gawd, what a mess! The old guy was buried under cameras and fountain pens, and layin' in a puddle of perfume. Got some on my boots, I guess."

Pug squirmed. "Murderer!" said his conscience.

His movement attracted the attention of the sergeant. "Guess you can go, Pug," he laughed. "Certain it is we don't want ye about here."

Pug turned hastily. But Levinsky shoved himself off from the desk upon which he had been leaning, and grabbed Pug by the shoulder. "Oh, no, you're not going. Not by a damned sight. You just wait a minute."

* * *

Several weeks later Pug stood upon the trap, waiting to be hanged. A guard knelt in front of him tying his feet. Another bent behind him tying his arms. The hangman fumbled under his left ear beneath the hood adjusting the knot. The priest—serving the state faithfully—stood to his right whispering nervously, —"Grand that this payment which this poor sinner is about to make may be sufficient, O Lord, and—" There was a twisting beneath the hood as Pug turned his head toward the priest. "I heard a guy lekchurin' in da park once 'bout organizin' with your class before ya try to take somethin'. He said it waz safer dat way. He wuzn't so dumb like I thot. Yeah, and Father, I waz just thinkin' 'bout dat time I wuz waiting fer my grub in de lunch-room." The priest, who was new to the job, was horrified. The hangman, accustomed to such things, merely grunted sorrowfully at discovering that Pug's ear was no longer above the knot. He rotated the noose to get it there. "Ya know, I was thinkin' den maybe it was da sixth sense wot wuz givin' me away. But jeez, I was part right. It sure wuz a sense—de sense of smell. Dat perfume in de case wot upset on me. Funny . . ." The hangman stepped back. Guards and priest followed suit. "Jeez, no wonder people wuz treatin' me like dey done. Dey musta thot I was a—"

There was a great banging of steel plates.

* * *

Off in the park dozed the philosopher spread out on newspapers beneath a tree. He was dreaming of a world without double hernias, without capitalists, without city halls, without jails. In his sleep he pulled his cap over his face, and just in time. The sparrow took good aim.

The Growth of Fascism in Russia

By
CHAS. J. MILLER

It is a far cry from John Reed and the revolutionary conspiracy in the sand dunes of Lake Michigan, with the World Revolution just around the corner; and now, 20 years later Commissar Hathaway of the Communist Party talking on "What Does Democracy Mean?" before the American Town Meeting of the Air, advocating the getting together of all people believing in Democracy, in a People's Front against Fascism.

No wonder the audience chuckled. No doubt some of them felt like holding their noses.

The Communists have mellowed with age like limburger, and like garlic, they are a small bunch, but, O Boy! whatever they are you can tell by the smell.

But how is it, that after 20 years, instead of learning by their mistakes and becoming a part of the revolutionary movement, they have degenerated to the point where they are more like Fascists than the Fascists themselves?

As they get their inspirations and instructions from Soviet Russia, it is there that we will find the key to the puzzle.

The history of the Russian Empire is the history of the dark ages. Starting in the ninth century, we find one thousand years later a great part of the Empire still in the cultural stage of Barbarism. And at the time of the Revolution only a small part of the Empire, in those sections that had dealings with other nations, had capitalistic civilization developed.

Retarded Development

At the time of the World War, Russia as a nation was a hundred years behind the nations of Europe in its economic, political and social development. The Russian Empire, the largest continuous area nation in the world, was at the same time one of the most backward nations.

This is the background of the present social development of Soviet Russia. It is also the basis of the psychological background of the leaders and the people. It is from this background of Czarism that Lenin, the selfless heroic realist, tried the impossible task of jumping from Feudalism to Industrial Democracy in one long continuous revolutionary jump. It was also the training ground of Trotsky, the egotist, fighter and organizer, and the foxy barbarian politician, Stalin.

The development of modern capitalism in Russia got its real start after the 1905 revolution. It did not pass through the slow growth of other countries, but entered into large scale concentrated capitalistic industry. These industries were chiefly engaged in export trade and were centered where they could deal in foreign trade.

In August, 1914, when Russia entered the war, you had these two extremes. On the one hand about nine-tenths of the people engaged in backward undeveloped peasant production, and the other one-tenth of the people worked in capitalistic industry production. About twenty per cent of the capital invested was from foreign countries.

The capitalists enthusiastically supported Czarism in the entry into the war, with its prospects of expanding and big war profits. But as the corrupt and inefficient Czarist bureaucracy bungled the management of the war, instead of a profitable victory, defeat stared the capitalists in the face. They became critical and demanded an ever more aggressive war against Germany.

With the support of foreign capitalistic interests and foreign government agents and the new younger group of officers, who had replaced the defeated Czar Guards, the capitalists plotted to replace Czar Nicholas with a "strong" Grand Duke, who would carry out the aggressive capitalistic policy.

But when the time came for replacing the Czar, another group took a hand and overthrew the Czar. It was the revolutionary direct action of the workers of Petrograd, strikes, demonstrations and food riots that shattered the tottering Czarism to ruin.

Direct Action

The finish of Czarism came when the workers ignored the Duma with its political trickery and betrayals and with the slogan of "Peace, Land and Liberty" turned to mass direct action.

This was the first phase of the revolution, March 8 to 15, 1917, which ended Czarism.

The capitalists in Russia were a minority group, and had developed under the Czarist bureaucracy.

With the destruction of Czarism, the capitalist class had no organization to replace it. They were left without any effective means to enforce their orders and they had no time now to organize.

They, with the help of the Socialists, who also did not have any organization to replace Czarism, tried to revive the remains of the Duma in a provisional "national" government of the usual "democratic" capitalistic type. This was on March 13, 1917.

At first the capitalist group controlled the provisional government, but because they lacked the organization and ability to deliver the goods, they drifted along with words instead of action and matters grew steadily worse.

In the meantime a new government had come upon the scene. On March 14, there was formed in Petrograd a Council of Workers and Soldiers. This council was a makeshift united front political organization to carry on the revolutionary work and propaganda. These groups were represented in the council: the Social Revolutionaries, a middle class peasant organization; the Mensheviks, right Socialists; and the Bolsheviks, left Socialists.

From this beginning the organizing of Soviets of peasants, workers and soldiers spread rapidly.

No sooner were they formed, than the struggle between the political groups for control of the Soviets was on. Things were moving fast. While the Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks who controlled the Soviets were busy in the Provisional Government trying to capture control there, the Bolsheviks, a small determined group of the intelligentsia, past masters in the art of underground organization, were planting their men in key positions, undermining the opposition in the Soviets.

The failure of the Bolsheviks' attempt to overthrow the government in May was followed by the government control going to the right Socialists under laborite Kerensky. The Kerensky government acted just as all socialistic governments have acted when once in power.

Then came the second attempt to overthrow the government (July), with the vicious action by the Kerensky government to crush the demonstration with force.

With this treacherous counter-revolutionary action by Kerensky against the masses, the power of the Bolsheviks grew rapidly, and the agitation for "All Power to the Soviet" was bearing fruit.

The climax came when the All-Russian Soviet refused to call an All-Russian Congress of Soviets. The Bolsheviks, who now controlled the Petrograd Soviets, went over their heads and sent out a call for a Congress.

At this time the Bolsheviks started another insurrection to overthrow the government.

On November 6, Kerensky, realizing the end was near, attempted to suppress the Bolsheviks, but failed.

The next day, November 7, the Bolsheviks seized and dispersed the Parliament and swept the government out of existence.

The Soviets

When the All-Russian Congress of Soviets convened at the Smolny Institute, it was confronted with the accomplished fact. The Bolsheviks, with a left group of Social Revolutionaries representing the peasants who accepted the Bolsheviks' program, dominated the Congress.

The Congress decreed that the Soviets should be constituted as the Government of Russia.

They elected Lenin as President of the Council of People's Commissars and Trotsky as the Commissar of Foreign Affairs. The Dictatorship of the Proletariat was in the saddle!

On December 20, 1917, the Tcheka was organized and the Red Terror was let loose. At the time Lenin said: "No dictatorship of the proletariat is to be thought of without terror and violence."

All factories, mines, forests, railroads were seized and turned over to the workers, industrial production was placed under the control of the government. All property was socialized.

Trotsky organized the Red Army and there was fighting on all fronts, but after two years the last of the enemies came to terms and the Red Terror had put down the inside enemies, so by the end of 1920 the civil war came to an end.

During these years, 1918 to 1921, the militant Communism was in effect. By decree universal forced labor was applied to industry and agriculture. This was the real attempt to apply Socialism.

The war and revolution disrupted and destroyed a great part of the necessary industrial equipment. Vital sections, such as railroads, were disorganized and run down.

The Soviet, being a makeshift political machine, was now used as a means of running industry. The result was great confusion, the workers running the industries to satisfy their own needs, without any coordinating plans and no provisions for replacing, rebuilding, or the building of new industries. There was no surplus value.

Then came the two great droughts of 1921-1922, the peasant uprising and general discontent.

It was at this time that Lenin introduced the New Economic Policy.

Retreat

The New Economic Policy was a retreat to State Capitalism. Under the State Planning Commission (Gosplan) the state bank was restored and the nation was put under a capitalist money basis. Restricted freedom of trade was granted the peasants. Socialized production was replaced by state control, industry was put under control of trusts, foreign concessions were granted.

The New Economic Policy marked the end of the Communist experiment and the birth of Fascism.

This N.E.P. was the rock that split the ranks of the Communist Party.

It marks the highest point ever reached on the march of Communism.

It was also the greatest demonstration of the fatal mistake in the Marxian theory of revolution as propounded by the political Socialists the world over, that the workers can, through a political machine, usher in a new economic society without first building the necessary economic control over the processes of production and distribution.

The greatest force in society is the control over the means of life. Labor is the creator of the means of life. When Labor controls this process through its economic organization, organized for this purpose, organized from the bottom up through a revolutionary industrial union, then and not until then, will the industrial revolution be successful.

Let us digress at this point to investigate this vital point further.

The history of the Bolsheviks during those ten months was a wonderful display of ability and persistency in the face of overwhelming odds.

This group of "intelligentsia" with Lenin, their leader, used their knowledge of history, especially the French revolutionary period and the Marxian revolutionary theories, "laws" and lessons, as a guide to their actions right up to the seizure of power.

Going through the mass of articles on problems, aims, lessons, tasks, appeals and resolutions dealing with various phases of the progressing revolution, you can follow the sure hand of Lenin, even when in hiding, guiding the group, working out practical programs of action in accordance with the immediate problems, step by step, always working toward the goal.

The application of Marxism to the Russian revolution was fitting. Marx and Engels lived in a time when Europe had passed through a somewhat similar economic and political period.

In the French Revolutions (1789 to 1871) the workers wiped out one form of property rights, Feudalism, and saved France for the bourgeoisie with its constitutional, parliamentary, republican government.

The Bolsheviks proposed not to stop with the overthrow of the Czarist Feudalism and the capitalistic parliamentary government, but to organize a new society through the new revolutionary "apparatus," the Soviet.

With the Bolshevik-engineered overthrow of the Kerensky government and the seizure of control of the All-Russian Soviet Congress the Dictatorship of the Bolsheviks by way of the Soviet was accomplished.

When Marx formulated his maxims on revolution, he too, thought that Europe was entering an epoch of world revolution by the workers to overthrow capitalism and set up Socialism.

But in spite of the facts that the world revolution did not materialize, that capitalism was really in its infancy, that the first modern trust wasn't formed until after Marx's death, the political Socialists from that time to this have used his theoretical writings as a peg on which to hang their hats.

One of these that the Bolsheviks used is: "The proletariat cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made machinery of the bourgeois state and use it for its own purpose."

Not a Workers' Machine

This is a truth as far as it goes, but it does not follow that the Soviet is a machine that can be used by the workers for the workers' purpose. The Soviets were mass organizations and were later turned into a political machine and used by the politicians to create the dictatorship of the small group of intelligentsia.

Another peg used by the Bolsheviks was from Marx's Criticism of the Gotha Program: "Between the capitalist and the Communist system of society lies the period of the revolutionary transformation of the one into the other. This corresponds to a political transition period, whose state can be nothing else than the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat."

This, too, is true as far as it goes. But just look what a monster has been created from this plain statement.

The Bolsheviks, now the dictators, used the above to justify their action as follows: "The theory of Marx is the practice of the proletarian revolution in Russia. The dictatorship of the proletariat ruthlessly annihilated the rights and ideology of the old regime, and relentlessly crushes all counter-revolutionary movements."

We know that this "crushing all counter-revolutionary movements" meant the liquidating of any one daring to oppose the dictators.

The political Socialists of all countries have perverted these Marxian writings to justify their refusal to organize revolutionary industrial unions in preparation for the taking over of industry.

Society is a growth. The revolution is the labor pains of the birth of a new society. But the form of the new society is determined by the control of the economic organization formed in the old.

Ever since the days of Marx the Socialists have been steering the workers up the blind alley of capturing political power. And like Kerensky, when they got into power they had the bear by the tail, but couldn't do anything since they had no roots in industry.

Not only Russia, but France, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Italy, Great Britain have traveled this blind alley. Briand, Clemenceau, Scheidemann, MacDonald, Pilsudski, Mussolini, Kerensky, Stalin are some of the leaders that have led the workers into the bog of politics. There have been no exceptions.

The N.E.P. industrial success story has been told many times. There was rapid increase in industrial production. Then in 1928 the five-year plan was put into operation. This was followed by a second five-year plan which is now near completion. And never in the world's history has there been anything so gigantic, stupendous, colossal, as we say in America.

Extracting Surplus

Never in the world's history has there been so much surplus wealth extracted from the hide of one generation of workers. It is a fitting monument to the greatest slave system ever devised, and that under a so-called Communist dictatorship.

The introduction of the N.E.P. aroused a great storm of protest within the Communist Party. It was only the great dictatorial power wielded by Lenin that put it over.

This was the last important act of Lenin, who suffered a stroke in May, 1922, and never fully recovered, dying January, 1924.

During his inability, Kaminev, Zinoviev and Stalin carried on.

With Lenin's death, the fight for control came to the surface. Stalin outmaneuvered Trotsky, who was the logical candidate for the office.

With Stalin's ascent to dictatorship, he inherited the dictatorial power and prestige built up around Lenin and a weapon in the form of the capitalistic N.E.P. that Lenin had sponsored. Stalin now proceeded to repeat the process in the Communist Party that the Bolsheviks had previously carried out in the Soviets when they got control and wiped out all opposition.

The opposition to the N.E.P., that started out as a controversy that in any democratic organization would have been a simple, wholesome difference of opinion as to the methods of reaching the goal, was driven by tyranny to become treason. The responsibility for this treason rests with the tyrant. Tyranny is the cause, treason the result.

Dictator Can Do No Wrong

While Trotsky was busy organizing the opposition and charging Stalin with deliberately creating a new bourgeoisie, the Nep-men, foxy Stalin was busy building political fences and traps.

These activities of Trotsky that were counter-revolutionary plots, betrayals and frame-ups, these same acts by dictator Stalin were perfectly legal acts against the counter-revolutionist. You see, a dictator can do no wrong.

And so, steadily, as Stalin overwhelmingly defeated the opposition at every turn, these men of high intelligence, many with courageous revolutionary records and comrades of Lenin, were driven to further and ever further extremes to try to save the situation. After each defeat, a fresh opposition was started.

It was then an easy matter for Stalin with the control of the propaganda machinery to arouse the masses against all opposition. The record of the steps by which Trotsky was eliminated is an example of how the opposition was driven to defeat.

1924—Stalin gets job as Dictator.

1925—Trotsky is fired as War Commissar.

1926—Trotsky forms opposition bloc.

1927—Expelled from Communist Party.

1929—Tried for rebellion against the government and exiled to Turkey.

1932—Trotsky's citizenship cancelled.

Today, Trotsky, an exile, is a sick man, burning up with hate.

In the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party all leaders of the opposition were expelled. There was no longer any question of the absolute dictatorship of Stalin.

Another severe Communist Party crisis developed in 1936. Sherwood Eddy in his latest book, "Europe Today," estimates those loyal to Stalin as follows: "Some 99% of the youth and Red Army, 90% of the party and of industrial labor, about 80% of the collective farmers and about 60% of the intellectuals, professors and engineers who have not been dismissed or arrested on suspicion.

"But with equal emphasis I must maintain there is a grave party crisis of which the broad masses are not aware. There are strains, tensions and fear among party members and officials almost everywhere, and especially in Moscow.

"Never were so many party and government officials, factory managers and heads of departments dismissed, removed or attacked in the press.

"For every one who is Trotskyist or counter-revolutionary guilty of sabotage, a hundred are accused and a thousand suspected. Some hundreds have been shot during recent months and many thousands are in prison or in exile or have disappeared."

The "purgings" of the party, which have been almost continuous, have recently become much more drastic, reducing the membership of the party by one-third. There is a hysterical fear and suspicion which take the form of a witch-hunting campaign to root out all traces or even suspicion of "Trotskyism" and counter-revolution. This has affected industry with decreased production, which creates more suspicion and more political purging. Production, instead of increasing, is decreasing. This is Soviet Russia today.

Sovietism—Fascism

It is commonly held that Fascist Italy and Soviet Russia are the opposite poles of Dictatorship, Italy being the negative, trying to save a dying order, while Russia is the positive, building a new order. The new order of Russia is the most advanced Fascism. Fascism is the Italian form of Sovietism or vice versa.

Sovietism—Fascism—is the strict control, supervision and direction of the industrial, political and social structure of a nation, under a Corporate State, a Dictatorship.

A Corporate State is an institutional device for regimenting and controlling the agencies of national production.

The Fascist Party and the Communist Party are not political parties—they are an organ of the "State."

Mussolini and Stalin are the heads of the State and control the "parties."

Both parties are closed organzations, confined to a restricted selected membership. They are political machines. Out of a Russian population of 165,000,000 the Communist Party membership in 1934 was 1,872,488 or a little over one percent, while out of an Italian population of 42,000,000 the Fascist Party membership was 2,500,000 or six percent.

Both parties have a monopoly of supply of leadership. Both use identical governing mechanisms and political tactics and rigid discipline.

The "intelligentsia" in Russia and Italy lead the movement as a short cut to power. Both Dictators are ruthless, cruel, inhuman barbarians and depend on terrorism to stay in power. Both claim to "rule for the workers," suppress civil liberties; all are slaves of the State.

In Italy the workers are "silent partners" in industry. They are organized in workers' syndicates, similar to our C.I.O., and the employers are organized in their Confederations similar to our Manufacturers' Associations. These two parallel organizations are united in a higher organization, which is the Corporation. They are national in scope.

There are six of these Corporations,—1. Industry, 2. Agriculture, 3. Commerce, 4. Land Transport, 5. Sea and Air Transport and 6. Banking.

These are united in the National Council of Corporations which is composed of 52 Mussolini-picked men and 13 representatives of the Corporations.

The employers' Confederations are responsible to the State for the operation of their particular industry. The Syndicates are responsible to the State for the "Social Duty" of the workers to labor.

Labor courts are established; the State being the third party, maintaining strict supervision over terms and settling controversies.

Wages are paid "as best suited to the needs of the employes and the undertaking."

The collective Labor Contracts (Labor Bondage) are the real heart of the Corporate State program.

The Industrial Unions of Russia, instead of being the controlling force of economic life, are nothing more than the Fascist Labor Syndicate. You have the same conciliation and arbitration set-up, with the three-way makeup of the workers, the managers and the **neutral** third party, the State, i. e., Council of People's Commissars, which is also the Board of Directors of Industry and Agriculture.

You can imagine the brand of justice handed down to the workers from such an arbitration board, when the Commissars are the neutral party! The managers who may be shot if they do not carry out orders from the Commissars, and the representatives of the Union, which is controlled in every department by the Communist Party.

A Geographic Difference

The real difference between Soviet Russia and Fascist Italy is not in the "State," but is directly based on the difference in the economic geography of these two nations.

Soviet Russia is four times as big as the rest of Europe combined, or twice the size of the United States, or one-sixth of the inhabited world.

And what is even more essential, it has the raw materials basis of a complete economy. Russia has colossal stores of ore, fuel, lumber, water power, raw materials for the chemical industry, etc. With its vast resources it is self-sufficient—a "Have" nation.

While Italy, the very opposite, is a small nation. Including Sicily, Sardinia and other islands, it has a total of 110,684 square miles, about the size of the single state of Nevada.

Italy lacks in practically all necessary raw materials, minerals, etc., essential for a complete economy—a "Have-not" nation.

This is the real reason why Mussolini does not take over full possession of Italy's economy. He must have international financial, commercial and trade dealings; he cannot withdraw from world trade. This is the reason why Mussolini is in Ethiopia, in Spain, and has linked up with the other "Have-not" nations to make war on the "Have" nations for these materials. Mussolini's cry of "Communism" is simply a blind, just as is Stalin's cry of "Fascism." Stalin has got many things that Mussolini wants.

In order for Mussolini to carry on, he has to divide his power at least nominally with the King, Pope, corporate interests and international trade and finance.

Basically, Soviet Russia is not only not Communistic, it is more Fascist than is Fascist Italy. In Soviet Russia the State not only controls, it owns and controls.

Experience

There is no magic formula by which the workers can prepare to take over and run industry. They learn by doing. There is no other way.

Have you noticed that in all Communist propaganda, when they touch on the union movement in Russia, they always speak in glowing terms of the wonderful headquarters, efficiency classes, social work, everything from day nurseries to the two weeks vacation with pay; but did you ever hear one of them tell how the workers, through their union, are taking over the management of industry, replacing the tight grip that the bureaucratic dictatorship has fastened on industry and the workers?

At first the control was to be temporary, until the resistance of the enemy was broken. Years went by, the enemy without and within was defeated. The revolutionary fire has died down, the mold is set and instead of the promised gradual shifting of power from the Communist Party to the workers in industry, there has been a steady reactionary tightening of the grip of Fascism.

In 1918 Lenin said, "Russia is constructing the industrial State, preparing the conditions for a final abolition of the State, and the instituting of Engels' 'administration of things'."

Russia, after 20 years, has still to take the first step toward the workers' control of industry. Instead of Lenin's "the State withering away," it has become more tyrannical.

This is the real test of the sincerity of the dictatorship in Russia, and it has greatly embarrassed Stalin.

They realize the danger of this betrayal and are now trying to cover up their nakedness by taking another page from French history. It was Napoleon III that established a totalitarian state veiled by a form of parliamentarian government with its universal suffrage controlled by agents of the Emperor.

The new Soviet Government is composed of two chambers; the Council of the Union is elected from all citizens, while the Council of Nationalities embodies the federal principle with representatives from republics as the American Senate represents states. But they wouldn't even take a chance with this. Before the first election they had a wholesale liquidation of all opposition inside and outside of the Party all over Russia. Those elected were guaranteed 100 percent.

The new Constitution guarantees "Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assemblies, freedom of street processions and demonstrations . . . . these are at the disposal of the toilers . . . ."

Opposition Will Grow

With no political parties tolerated except the Communist Party which is really a State apparatus, the above is the Czarist and Communist idea of "liberty." For loyal Stalinites only.

In the Politburo, which is the inner ring which controls the Party, Kaganovich, Varoskeov, and Yezhov are the most powerful leaders around Stalin. Yezhov, who is in charge of the liquidating, has had a rapid rise to power. He is forty years old and, like Stalin, ruthless and is directly responsible for the fear and terror in Russia now.

They are driving on with ruthless disregard for the workers to the goal of complete Fascism.

Stalin's version of Communism is, "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor," at so much an hour.

With State controlled propaganda for the masses, they have evolved a new religion, the new "opiate of the people." In the place of Jesus and the cross they now have Lenin and the tomb. Where formerly Marx, Lenin and Trotsky were to be seen on display everywhere, today it is Lenin and Stalin.

No stranger things have ever been done in the name of Jesus than are now being done in Soviet Russia in the name of the great revolutionist, Lenin. Out of twelve disciples, Jesus had but one Judas, but according to Stalin, Lenin had all Judases except one.

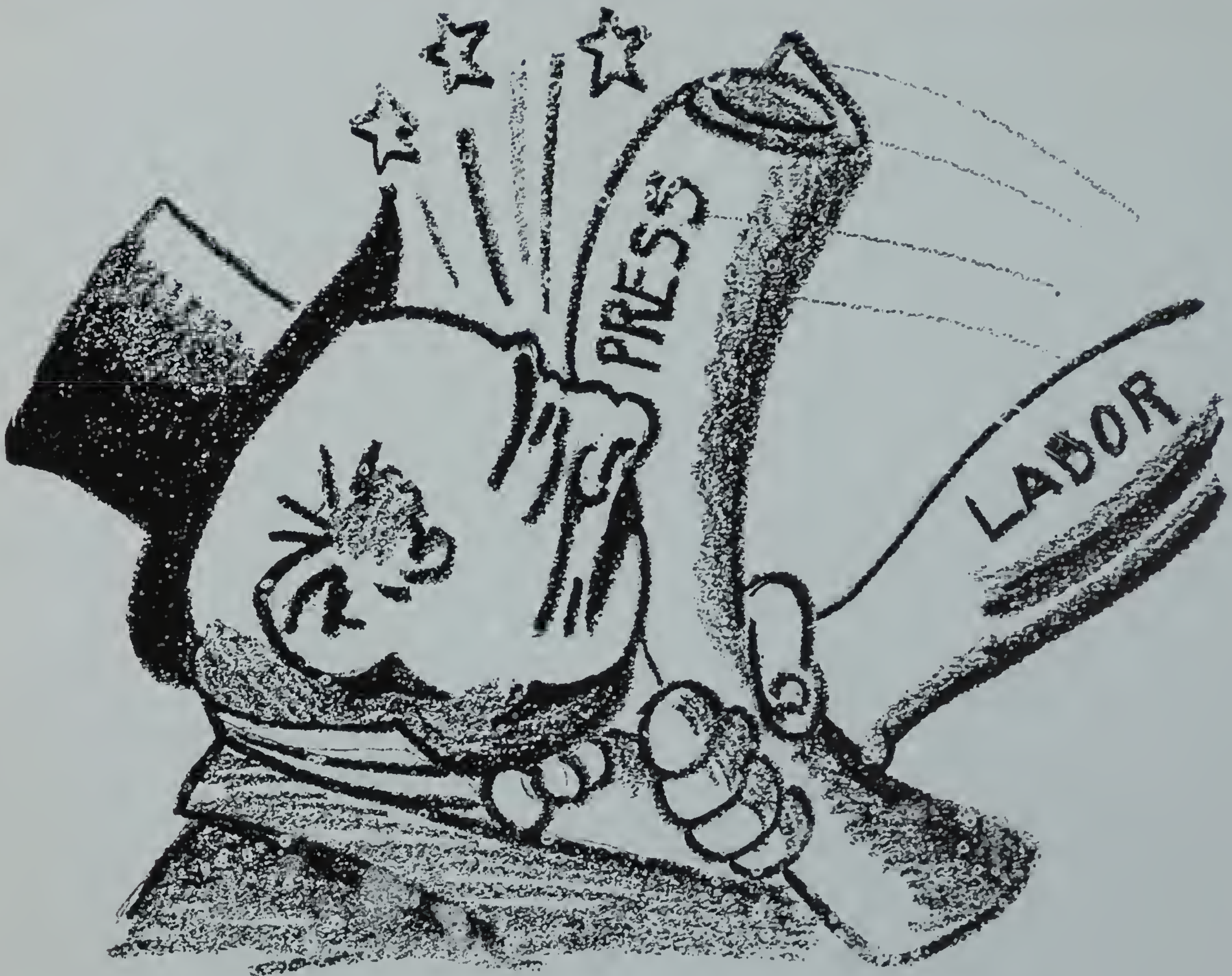
The new industrial environment in Russia will produce a new Russian who will not be satisfied to be treated like a cow, fed, milked, and when the time comes, be slaughtered, all for the Fascist State.

Already a serious food crisis (1932-33) brought about by sabotage forced the Dictator to let up. Again production is dropping.

In the mass of 24,769,000 wage workers the opposition, no matter what they label it, will continue to grow. The real danger to the dictatorship is in the necessary education that must be carried on. That, too, is the hope of the future.

The opposition to the new Fascism is growing and spreading in spite of terror. Fascism will meet its defeat from forces within.

This is the story of the growth of Fascism in Soviet Russia. It is also the explanation of the actions of the would-be Commissars in other countries.



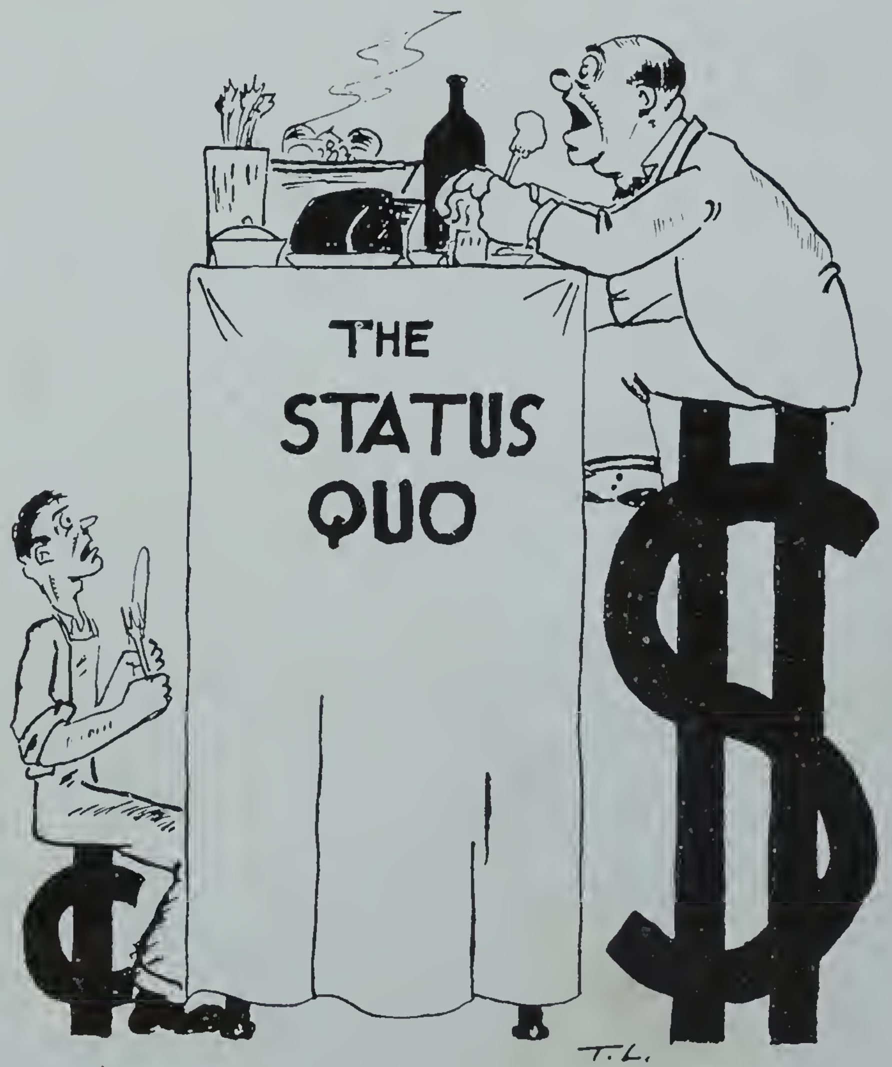
The I. W. W. Shows the Way

In Italy the compromising policies of political radicals were burried in a landslide of capitalist dictatorship. The same thing happend in Germany, Austria and in several other countries. Today the same calamity threatens in Spain, France and England. Every remaining democratic country is in danger.

It is the business of the labor press of this country to point out the danger ahead and the way to avoid it. The I. W. W. press does this, has been doing it for years. Our contemporaries almost without exception, and we say this regretfully, are following the road of compromise and collaboration—the road that in other countries has led working class movements to defeat.

To support working class rights, to build working class power, we must have, among other things, a strong labor press—and that, in this country, means the press of the I. W. W. Let's take a fresh start and with renewed vigor put it over the top! Let's make fuller use of it in furthering our drives for rank and file revolutionary industrial unionism, the only sure cure for the economic ills from which we suffer.

DOLLARS AND CENTS

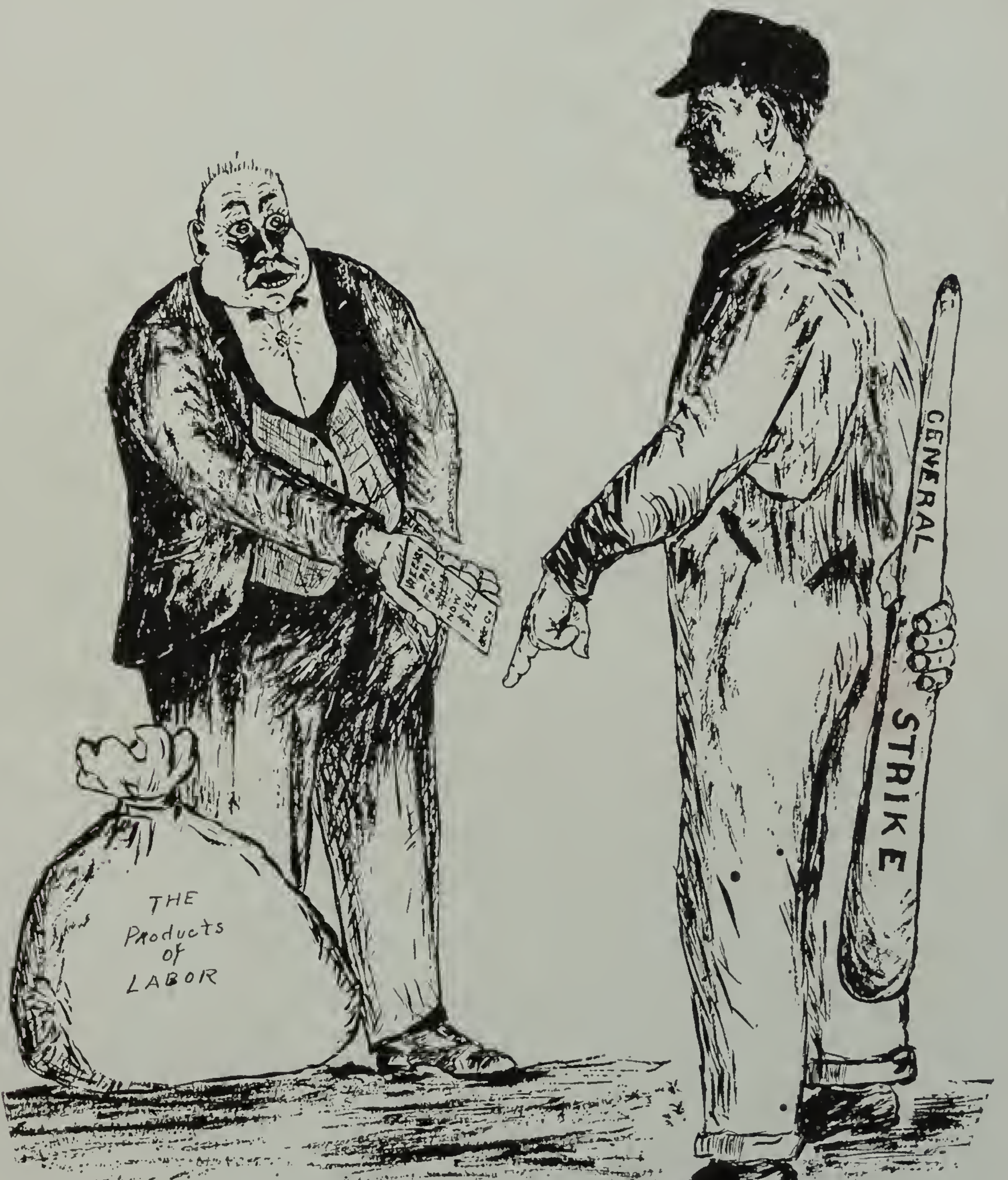


When Mr. Cents gets organized in the Industrial Workers of the World he will knock the props out from under Mr. Dollars and the Status Quo into a cocked hat. After all it is Cents who produces the food, cooks it, and sets the table. He ought to play a bigger part when it comes to eating.

The

ONE BIG UNION

Monthly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Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The ONE BIG UNION MONTHLY

For World-Wide Solidarity of Labor

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page
On the Right Track, ... Editorial.... 5
Victory for Spain .... Spanish Bulletin.... 5
Judas Was a Piker .... A. B. Cobbs.... 7
Unskilled Worker Doomed? .... Covington Hall.... 8
Farm Workers and Farm Jobs .... Card No. 372561....10
Government of Tomorrow .... Art Hopkins....14
Fellow Workers, Hear Me, Poem .... Covington Hall....15
Jobites, Poem .... Jane Street....15
Growth of Fascism in America .... Chas. J. Miller....16
Industrial Organization, (Reprint) .... George Speed....20
Nut House News .... WPC Drama Dept.....22
End of Leadership .... Acma....24
Merry England .... A. Martin....28
Advice to Boys, Poem .... Uncle Covamy....31
Wage Workers Unite .... Mortimer Downing....32
I.W.W.—Non-Political Union .... WPA Worker....34
An Ode to Youth .... Gussie Pearlman....34

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ON THE RIGHT TRACK

The I.W.W., in its Preamble, as well as in other literature, has constantly pointed out during these past 33 years that real, enduring social and economic power can be obtained only through the control of industries, for those who control the industries also control society and all its functions.

Today there are fewer people who question this proposition than there were in the early days of our organization's existence. The growing concentration of wealth in the hands of fewer and fewer people and their corresponding increase of power has become too obvious to admit of an intelligent opposition argument.

On the other hand, most workers (the workers are the only people that count as far as we are concerned) still cling tenaciously to the notion that the control of industries from which power is derived must be based on private ownership and that the only way to get a redistribution of power is to go back to the conditions of by-gone days when ownership of the means of production was more widely distributed among individuals.

Of all the changes the future may hold such a reversion to a past condition is the most unlikely. Every development points in the opposite direction. For society as a whole there would be no practical advantage in having the meat packing industry, for instance, under a thousand managements instead of under three. There certainly would be no gain for the workers in such a change. A wider distribution of wealth will not help wage slaves who are not included among the beneficiaries. Workers employed by an unlimited number of little employers can be just as poor as when employed by a few big ones.

The only forward steps labor can take lead toward control of industry by a working class organized in one big union. Can labor build such an organization? Having built such an organization, can labor prevent its being taken over by the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class and perverted by them to an instrument of oppression?

Labor can do both. Moreover, labor will continue to strive, unconsciously in part, for that goal until capitalism has been overcome; for until then there will be no end to the struggle of labor for more of the better things of life.

Industries have been controlled by private individuals, by corporations and to some extent by municipal, state, and national governments. What's wrong with industries being controlled by a union of the workers who operate these industries? There's nothing wrong with that proposition except that bondholders, stockholders, politicians, and other parasitic elements don't like it.

But, after all, it is the workers and their welfare that counts and the I.W.W. calls upon these to unite in one mighty union so that they may make full use of their economic power for the further advancement of civilization.

The only thing that delays the fulfillment of this program is the sidetracking of working class discontent into sterile activities and compromises. If you are an I.W.W. you are on the right track. Tell others about it.

Homes wrecked by fascist bombers

Victory for Spain

CNT-FAI BULLETIN

A message to the proletarian and anti-fascist world from the union men and women of Spain.

Republican and proletarian Spain has reorganized its strength. All sectors which have fought from the beginning of the war to achieve peace and victory are now represented in the new national union government. Those who were never dismayed in the fight to secure victory and a return to legality and prosperity in Spanish territory have joined forces in strength and harmony through a government whose fundamental objective is to win the war.

We know what this means for the proletariat of Europe and of the whole world, for the democratic countries which will be the future victims of totalitarian governments and for civilization itself. Contrary to the expectations of Franco and his fellow traitors, who on July 19th, 1936, rose in arms against the constituted authority, representative of the popular will as manifested at the polls on the 16th of February; contrary to the calculations of the reactionary generals who tried to trample on the Republic, longing for the times of the classic "pronunciamientos"; in face of the shameless attacks of the Italo-German High Commands who are directing elements in this war, we the Spanish people, guided by our faith in our right to be masters of our own destinies, have united, forgetting all our political differences, and through our united war government stand ready to fight and die in this struggle for independence and freedom.

The anti-fascist Spanish people have united as never before, and have made a pact for action through their two powerful Syndical Organizations.

We have forgotten what separates us and take into consideration only that which must unite us, and this is a great deal in face of our common enemy, bloody fascism, oppressor and adversary of progress and culture.

We are disposed to fight and win, not only because of our convictions and national interest, but because we feel sure of the repercussion which the war will have in the whole world, and we offer our uniting example to the proletarian and anti-fascist world so that they may adopt it without hesitation.

Who will dare to maintain discrepancies deriving from political or other creeds while the cannon thunders and the machine gun is directed against the proletariat, the anti-fascist world? The unity of the anti-fascist powers must take place quickly in all the corners of the world. Not a single anti-fascist should remain disunited. Not a single worker should be against his fellow-worker. The hour is critical, the enemy powerful and the battle extremely hard. We are obliged for these reasons to gather up all our strength in a solid bloc of anti-fascist unity to put up the unbreakable barrier of liberty, progress and well-being in front of the oppression and degrading slavery of fascism.

Where are the passengers?

Proletarians Awake!

It would be unpardonable that while Spain sheds its blood in defense of the rights that are sacred for all free men of noble and high thinking, that while we fight in order that peace may be free from the weight of Prussian heels and the Florentine dagger of the "blackshirts," the proletariat of Europe and of the world and the great democracies who are able to prevent it by their energetic and quick action, should observe a platonic and passive attitude in the name of rights and principles destroyed by the mercenary air force at the service of Franco, by the bombardments of open cities and the massacre of peaceful citizens, women and children.

It is high time to oppose the criminal fascist power with energy and action. Spain, we proclaim, will not follow the path of either Abyssinia or Austria. The repulsive boot of fascism will not succeed in crushing us, and if we are not crushed, neither Czechoslovakia nor any other of the small Balkan states will be enslaved, not even France itself, which is threatened more effectively every day. Or is it that France has not become aware of the fact that Germany is fortifying intensely along the Pyrenees with modern and powerful cannon to weaken even the famous "Maginot line"? Or is it perhaps that she does not know of the intention of Italy on the Mediterranean to cut all communication between France and her African possessions and protectorates? Or is it that both France and England are awaiting more promises such as those which were ridiculed by the bully "Duce" in Stressa and Nyon?

The cowardice of the democracies is leading the world to an abyss, to the abyss of a horrible war that will end civilization. The democracies, the anti-fascist peoples, and, finally, the proletariat, can still prevent such a cataclysm.

"ARMS FOR THE SPANISH REPUBLIC!" "OPEN FRONTIERS FOR THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT!" "ANNULMENT OF THE SINISTER POLICIES OF NON-INTERVENTION, WHICH IS INTERNATIONAL INTERVENTION ON BEHALF OF THE FASCIST INVADERS!"

The proletariat, the anti-fascist people, should turn into a popular clamor those demands for action and help for Republican Spain, and the democracies should proceed to enforce them.

Action—Not Pledges—Needed

This is not time for pledges and excuses. Action is what counts. The spark of Sarajevo has been collectively reproduced in Spain. The baseless amalgam of calumnies raised around our cause by both the home and the invading fascists, must be taken as such by all who have visited us and have shared with us a part of the struggle. In loyal Spain exists none of the extremes about which the traitors of Burgos and Salamanca have made so much fuss. The authority of republican order is absolute and it is upheld by all, absolutely all, of the representative authorities of the country.

Determined to conquer our rights and not to be crushed in the holocaust of our fascist aggressors, we will fight until the end, with the conviction that victory will be ours after all. Our decision is made. Our fall would mean the failure of all the possibilities of the proletariat of the world to crush fascism, and for the democratic powers the last opportunity to preserve peace. We are, and will be, a people who valiantly wave the flag of its liberties, rights and justice.

Proletariat, liberal and democratic peoples of the world! Our call for peace and happiness is your call! Our defense is the defense of your homes and families! He who does not understand our struggle deserves to be crushed by fascism in its advance that destroys towns, wipes out the culture of the people, destroys freedom and paints the world red with blood of innocent victims. Join with us, comrades of the world, in our demand: **Arms and aeroplanes for Spain! Open the frontiers to the Republican Government! Away with the policies of Non-intervention!**

—National Committee of the C. N. T.

JUDAS WAS A PIKER

By A. B. Cobbs

Another "strange circularity" is showing up in the educational system and raising little dust storms in various parts of the country. Some leaders claim that as only about five per cent of the students will ever go to a university, the school should pay more attention to mechanical and vocational training. Other equally prominent educators, with equally reliable statistics, show that not more than five per cent of the students will ever be able to get jobs if they do have vocational training. It is truly astonishing how square headed educators turn out so many insoluble (for them) circularities.

Until recently, long drill in authoritarian methods was found sufficient to keep the population docile and trusting. But, says a great philosopher, "Principles have no force unless people are well fed." The training of years vanishes when a man discovers that the ideas and institutions he has been taught to venerate are all of them phoney: that they are not helps but hindrances to human progress; that they protect a selfish few against the needs of many.

The scientific method of thinking should be introduced in the early years of schooling: it should be studied as a science and practiced as an art. Every educator worthy of the name must know this. But he also knows that he had better say nothing about it. Otherwise he will be an ex-educator, former professor, a red or an agent of Moscow to be hounded around the country like a criminal. So all of them keep quiet and help perpetuate the illusion.

But the end of this hypocrisy is at hand. The old ideas and institutions are seen to be unstable and incompetent to solve the problems forced upon us by the monopoly of resources, and the application of science to the various industries. The totalitarian states that were erected to protect ancient rights, ideas and institutions, turn into ravenous wolves, eating up the property and laughing at its owners, insulting the Church, and turning schools into military academies.

In the face of new and world-wide calamities our American educators have no program for saving their own institutions, much less for helping humanity. A few, no doubt, are praying in secret, others are preparing to become drill sergeants for some future dictator. As for productive thinking in such an emergency, they are as helpless as the students they turn out. They are a product as well as a source of ignorance, prejudice and stupidity. One thing they will save out of the wreck, they will be respectable and reactionary if they starve. A group of animal trainers would have more initiative and far more "guts."

Our educators take sides and write long articles about the relative importance of vocational training and general culture courses for some ten per cent of the students. So far they have expressed no concern for the other ninety: if they ever think of them at all it is likely to hope they starve quietly. Judas Iscariot was a piker.

UNSKILLED WORKERS DOOMED?

By Covington Hall

It would seem that the unskilled workers are doomed, that is they are if that profound commentator on economic and political questions and human affairs in general, Heywood Broun, is correct. And he must be, for, while Heywood is selfconfessedly not a member of the Communist party, he is a Stalinist. And who ever heard of a Stalinist who didn't have the Almighty backed off the map when it came to omniscience in regard to the ordering of the affairs, not only of this miserable planet, but of the Universe?

But that is too well known to talk about and, besides, is not what I wish to have my say-so on. What stirred me to attempt to shoot Heywood's works was this: Commenting on Gov. Phil LaFollette's recent calling the Progressives again to Armageddon, Broun quotes, "in part," that part of the platform adopted by the Progressives which reads:

"We flatly oppose every form of coddling or spoon-feeding the American people, whether it be those on relief, whether it be farmers or workers, whether it be business or industry. No government on earth can successfully manage, regulate and direct the numerous details that make for healthy families or successful business . . . Whatever it may cost—so help us God—we shall use the power of these United States to restore to every American the opportunity to help himself. After that, he can sink or swim."

Then Broun "shoots the works" with this:

"The keynote speech of Little Phil is sloppy in its composition and vague in thought. Accordingly, it is probably unfair to point out certain grim implications of his words no matter how logical those implications may seem. For instance, it is a fact beyond debate that in every nation there are many who are incapable of making any useful contribution whatsoever to the economic well-being of the country. There are always the sick and aged and maimed, but in addition we are accumulating many millions of unskilled workers whose services simply are not needed under a machine age and a capitalist system. I hardly think that the Governor of Wisconsin actually means that nothing should be furnished for their needs and that they should be rewarded only on the basis on their contribution."

(See New Republic, 5-12-38.)

Stalinist Ramblings

Agreeing for the sake of the argument that "the keynote speech of Little Phil is sloppy in composition and vague in thought," (although in both respects I cannot see where it "has anything on" the crap the Stalinists are shooting these days) it still strikes me that Heywood attempts to read an unfair meaning into the plank quoted; for the whole sense of it is that no nation can prosper in which millions of grownup men and women are willing to be "spoon-fed" by any government whatsoever, and that whether it masquerades as the "New Deal" or the "Proletarian Dictatorship." In saying this, I make no defense of the Progressive platform: for, if that is all they have to offer in this hour of crisis, they may as well strike their tents and quit the field.

Armageddon is no place for those who propose to use popguns on an enemy armed with poison gas, airplanes, tanks and heavy artillery and which has shown its intention in Spain and elsewhere to use them ruthlessly and without mercy. That much is certain. But when the Great Columnist goes on to say, "It is a fact beyond debate that in every nation there are many who are incapable of making any useful contribution whatsoever to the economic well-being of the country," and lists along with the "sick and aged and maimed," "unskilled workers whose services simply are not needed under a machine age and capitalist system"; and closes this unfactual assertion regarding the social uselessness of the unskilled by charging by innuendo Gov. La Follette with not caring whether or not the disemployed should be aided in their need,—well, then, it strikes me that Heywood is simply trying to make a political point or else is trying to head off a split-off from the "Popular Front."

Probably it is both, for certainly there is not an iota of truth in his innuendo that Gov. LaFollette just doesn't care a damn whether the disemployed starve or not: for the record of the LaFollette brothers, whatever else may be said of them, is all against Broun's assertion. Not even Roosevelt has made a more desperate effort to "spoon-feed" the disemployed and disinherited than have Bob and Phil LaFollette; and I say this who have never agreed with the policy of "spoon-feeding," but have ever demanded that "We shall use the power of these United States to restore to every American **the opportunity to help himself.**"

If I have opposed the "New Deal," as I have from the beginning, it was simply because not a single one of its proposals tended in any way whatsoever to "restore" this lost right of "equal rights and opportunities to **all**." And I still oppose it and criticize the aid rendered it by the Progressives, and for the same reason. But, enough of that.

The Unneeded Unskillful

Let's talk about the "accumulating unskilled workers whose services are simply not needed under a machine age and capitalist system," a little.

In the first place: What is an "unskilled worker"? "Under a machine age," there is no such thing, only varying degrees of skill. For instance: Heywood Broun may be a very skillful manipulator of words, and is. But take Heywood Broun's typewriter away from him (and more than one member of the "intelligentsia" has lost his typewriter since October, 1929) and, instead, give him a shovel and a job on a railroad construction crew. Who will then be the "unskilled worker," Heywood Broun, or Bill Jones the Gandy Dancer? Verily, verily, I say unto you that Bill would put it all over Heywood in that case.

Further, "under a machine age," Bill Jones is, in my humble opinion, of far more service to society than, say, Heywood Broun and Harry Bridges, who, attending a conference of CIO "leaders" last year gagged at but finally swallowed whole Phil Murray's proposal that all "contracts must be rigidly adhered to," though it involved one "industrial" union scabbing on another. I know quite a few humble and "useless unskilled workers" who would see themselves in hell before agreeing to organized scabbery.

That, however, is beside the question, I suppose. So, what is an "unskilled worker"? Not only do I say there is no such thing, but so does Sir Money Chiozza and others who have had anything to do with superintending labor on the job.

It was during the World War that Chiozza discovered this truth. He was in charge of labor on the London wharves. Labor-power was then scarce and, says Chiozza, "we decided that the men working in the warehouses handling different goods, being nothing but unskilled workers, could be shifted here and there as we pleased; but, within a few weeks, the wharves of London were so congested with freight that a blockade was threatened." So, in their desperation, the skilled workers in charge of operations sifted out the crews, sending the men composing them back to their old jobs and, in less than "no time," the congestion was ended and everything again "running like goose grease."

This led Sir Money Chiozza in a book he wrote shortly after the war ended, to say: "There is no such thing as unskilled labor." And there is not, for, as George Bernard Shaw, dealing with the same subject, says: "When it comes to music, then I am the expert; but when it comes to an automobile, then the chauffeur is the expert." And that's the true truth—"under the machine age," especially.

Skilled Today; Unskilled Tomorrow

Furthermore, the skilled worker of today is often the unskilled worker of tomorrow, as many craftsmen have learned too late and at terrible cost to themselves and families. Ever since the machine age began this has been going on. Techological unemployment is not a phenomenon only of our times. It began to plague mankind when the hour in which the first "labor-saving" machine was put into use and has grown steadily worse from the day steam first turned an engine. It is not the machine, but the private ownership thereof, that causes unemployment and dole-ful misery to millions of men, women and children. If Broun is not aware of this, I advise him to read a small pamphlet titled: "Unemployment and the Machine." He can get it from the General Offices of the I.W.W., 2422 N. Halsted St., Chicago, for only 5 cents, or one nickel.

Lastly, I note that Broun qualifies "under a machine age" with "and a capitalist system"; but since the Stalinists today are moving heaven, hell and earth to maintain the status quo here as in Eurasia, his qualification, if it is one, has more the smell of bait thrown out to catch that part of the working class that is at heart and by instinct drawn to revolutionary industrial unionism, the only kind of unionism that is today worth a continental to these who must sell the labor-power of their hands and brains in order to live.

That is my hunch of what is back of Broun's qualification, as it is my hunch that back of Phil LaFollette's "sloppy composition" is the motive to keep the "Great Liberal" in the White House from double crossing the LaFollettes, as he double crossed Upton Sinclair, Bill Lemke and Senator Cutting of New Mexico.

Finally, I'll give Heywood this tip free gratis: The Stalinists are not fooling the thinking workers of this country as they once did. Neither is the "New Deal." And the hour is not far distant when the "Great Labor State's men" of the C.I.O. will quit trying to save capitalism or will be bumped off the map along with it.

Farm Workers And Farm Jobs

By CARD NO. 372561

Child beet field worker

Agricultural districts have been regarded by the employers of labor as the reservoir from which labor for city industries, lumbering, construction work, and mining is drawn when needed; and as havens to which such labor should return when slack time or depression knocks the props out from under business prosperity. "There's always room for another pair of feet under some farmer's table," is an assumption that even today is considered by some to be an appropriate answer to jobless workers' pleas for the price of a meal in cities not too far removed from farming sections.

There is work in the country, lots of it. At this season of the year, north, south, east and west, industrious farmers and their hired hands are working early and late planting, cultivating, and otherwise attending the crops upon which the nation depends for its food. But also, in the country towns and along highways there are hundreds of thousands of workers who have no jobs and no tables under which to put their feet. There are men in the "jungles" and whole families in tourist camps waiting now—as they have been waiting since last fall—for something to open up.

No doubt, as the season advances, many of them will be absorbed for short periods in the rush of cultivation and harvesting—a few days of hard labor now and then to interrupt the hungry wandering and waiting which has come to be the normal, regular state of existence for these people. A recent survey places their number at not less than 2,000,000.

These are the wanderers, the "surplus army of production" ready to jump in and fill any available job, whether it be a week's work at corn cultivating or a two-hour job cleaning up somebody's back yard for a meal. They are recruited forcibly into this sort of existence by pressure of the utmost necessity. Hardly one out of a thousand but would prefer reasonably steady work and the poorest sort of home to even the best that may be had on the "road."

It doesn't make much difference where they come from; all of them belong to the ever-growing class of dispossessed producers whom a ruthless capitalism has condemned to the misery of slow starvation. Some of them are new recruits who have but recently been kicked out of what is somewhat fancifully known as the "independent life of the farmer." Among these are dried-out and blown-out farmers from the arid districts and ex-farmers (share croppers and renters), forcibly evicted by landowners who are discarding the old "bull-tongue and heel-sweep" method of cultivation with the gas tractor method, which automatically sets out one-third or more of the workers needed for farm work.

Others are old-timers who long ago entered the labor stream that flows from country to city and then back to the country again when city industry (or other non-farming work) becomes slack.

The important question is not where they come from; it is, rather, where are they going?

A glance at conditions as they exist now even in places where a considerable amount of agricultural work is obtainable indicates that merely to get a job is not a satisfactory answer to the migratory worker's problem because the job he can or may get will not provide him with the barest minimum required for civilized existence. We take a glance at what a settled farm worker gets for his labor.

Consider the Beet Worker

Not all agricultural workers are migratory, of course, the majority of them are more or less settled in communities in or near which they do most of their slaving for the master class. Conditions of life and employment vary for them in different sections of the country but they are all alike in this: poverty is their common lot.

Among the beet growing states Colorado ranks first. California and Michigan are next in importance. The nature of the work in beet fields and the need for a large amount of hand labor for brief periods at different intervals during the entire season have made it necessary for even small growers of sugar beets to hire extra labor to do the hard work required in the fields. Hand labor is used first for thinning the young plants that come up very thickly from seed planted in rows, then for hoeing and weeding the plants after thinning, and finally for pulling and topping at the harvest time. Hoeing and weeding are done once or several times during the growing season. The thinning must be done before the plants become too large or crowded. Topping is concentrated into a few weeks in order that the beets may remain in the ground as long as possible and yet be harvested before they are frozen.

Beet laborers are drawn in large part from Spanish-speaking people, either American or Mexican born. Another important racial group is that of Russian-German extraction. In better years it has been rare for other Americans to contract hand work in the beet fields because of the low wages paid for the work, most of which is done in a stooping position and is very fatiguing. However, when jobs are scarce, and this is now a chronic condition, few workers of any nationality or previous condition of prosperity draw the line on this or any other sort of "stooping" job, not even potato picking which probably ranks as the most fatiguing of all agricultural work.

Contract Labor

Though floating labor is employed in the beet fields the outstanding characteristic of the sugar beet industry, in the farming end, is contract labor. Labor is usually hired on a seasonal contract basis.

The contract specifies the acreage on which the hand work is to be performed, the manner in which the work shall be done, whether housing is to be provided, and the rate of wages per acre which is to be paid the laborers. It also usually specifies the time of payment, conditions under

After a hard day's work in the beet field. This is home at its best for the beet field worker. At least there is food on the table

which store credit is to be obtained while waiting for wages, and the amount to be withheld until the harvest is over.

The labor contract is made between the farm owner or grower and the worker but the sugar companies are involved in determining labor conditions and wages. Sugar companies recruit the workers in most cases. How they do it was well stated by a witness in the sugar hearings before a House of Representatives sub-committee. He said:

"The way it worked was that the Great Western Sugar company (biggest beet sugar concern) boys, or their agents, would go to the relief offices several weeks before the beet season began and go over the lists to see what beet worker families were on them. The relief officials would be requested to throw those families off the rolls so that, as Mr. Mahony puts it, they would be good and hungry when the sugar boys came around wanting to sign them up on a labor contract."

The Whole Family Works

According to labor surveys made in 1920 the majority of even the eight and nine-year-old children in the beet workers' families went into the fields to add their share to the family income. They went there to work, not to play, and they were kept at it often over nine hours a day.

Since 1920 conditions in this respect are supposed to have improved. In 1935, while the Jones-Costigan Act was in force, the number of children under 14 in beet fields was reported to have decreased about 62 per cent.

But despite the prohibition of law, the Children's Bureau found, in the latter part of 1935, that in the beet workers' families interviewed, 9 per cent of the 12 and 13 year olds and 91 per cent of the 14 and 15 year olds had worked in the fields. "Half of the children of 14 and 15 years of age were reported by their parents to be working usually 10 or more hours a day . . . Among the children workers under 14 . . . a fifth were usually working 12 or more hours a day, and only a ninth . . . had usual working hours of less than six a day." Children's Bureau report.)

This was in 1935. Next year was worse, as bad as it ever had been, and there is no improvement to this day.

The apathetic submissiveness of parents toward this ruthless robbery of children—it might well be termed the murder of childhood—is a reflection of the despair which makes every consideration secondary to the urgent need of just keeping alive. How big sugar men profess to look at the question of child labor is expressed by one of their representatives, B. F. Falzgraf, chairman of the Labor Committee of the Mountain States Beet Growers Association, who told the House Committee on Agriculture the "greatest crime society has imposed upon youth is taking away from the boys and girls the privilege of earning a little spending money." Their real reason for favoring child labor is another matter.

According to capitalist wage philosophy if the head of the family alone works he must earn enough to feed his dependents, if he is joined by his wife at the point of production the two together need still be paid only enough to feed the family, and when the whole family, including the infants, marches off to work, there is even then, in the opinion of the bosses, no reason why the total family wage should be higher.

What the Beet Workers Get

A study of Weld county, Colorado, beet workers' income revealed that for every 100 families 30 earned less than $200 for beet work, 25 earned more than $200 but less than $400, 20 earned $400 but less than $600, and 22 earned more than $600. Since variations in family earnings are due largely to differences in the size of families it is necessary to get an approximation of individual earnings in order to comprehend conditions thoroughly.

Figures furnished by the same study (made by WPA workers) show the total income of Weld county beet workers, from all sources **including relief**, amounts to $78 per year per person. Excluding relief, earnings averaged $47. A Children's Bureau study revealed the amount of cash income per family member, excluding relief, was $75 or less for half of the families reporting. This was in 1935. During the winter just past destitution was, if possible, even worse than three years ago.

The very low standard of living of these workers is apparent in the overcrowding of their small houses which are sometimes not even weather proof, in their meager diet and in their frequent lack of proper clothing. According to the standard of the Bureau of Home Economics of the U. S. Department of Agriculture the cost of food for an adequate diet was $110 for each member of the family in 1935.

Organization

So much for the beet workers. Their poverty stricken condition is repeated, with variations, in every agricultural district where seasonal work is of a nature that permits the employment of men, women, and children. Most notorious among these are the fruit and hops, cotton, and vegetable producing districts.

In the wheat and corn belt only men, as a rule, find employment in the busy season. At such times the migratory slaves are still welcome in spite of changes in production methods which have greatly reduced the labor power required in cultivation and harvesting. Tens of thousands of men still rush into the wheat producing states to "make the harvest." They are lucky if, after a season's work, they can leave the Dakotas in the fall of the year with clothing on their backs suited to the weather in that bleak section of the country, to say nothing of a few dollars for their season's work.

An outstanding difficulty that the seasonal worker in the grain belt has to face is that it is seldom indeed that he can settle down to stay in the neighborhood of the place where he finds brief periods of employment. His job, in fact, travels and he is compelled to move along with it. Whether he wants to move or not he must, for his welcome ends just as soon as his job.

The chances of improving conditions for the casual, migratory workers through organization are good. Most of the work they are called upon to do cannot be postponed. Demands for increased wages that result in strikes have to be taken seriously by employers. If the workers have not won in many of these contests lately it is because organization among them has been pitifully inadequate or of the wrong kind.

C.I.O. and A. F. of L. organizers are not at home in the temporary "jungle" homes of migrating workers. They prefer to make "deals" with employers' associations and politicians, deals which leave the workers holding the bag and the organizers with a dues-collecting franchise.

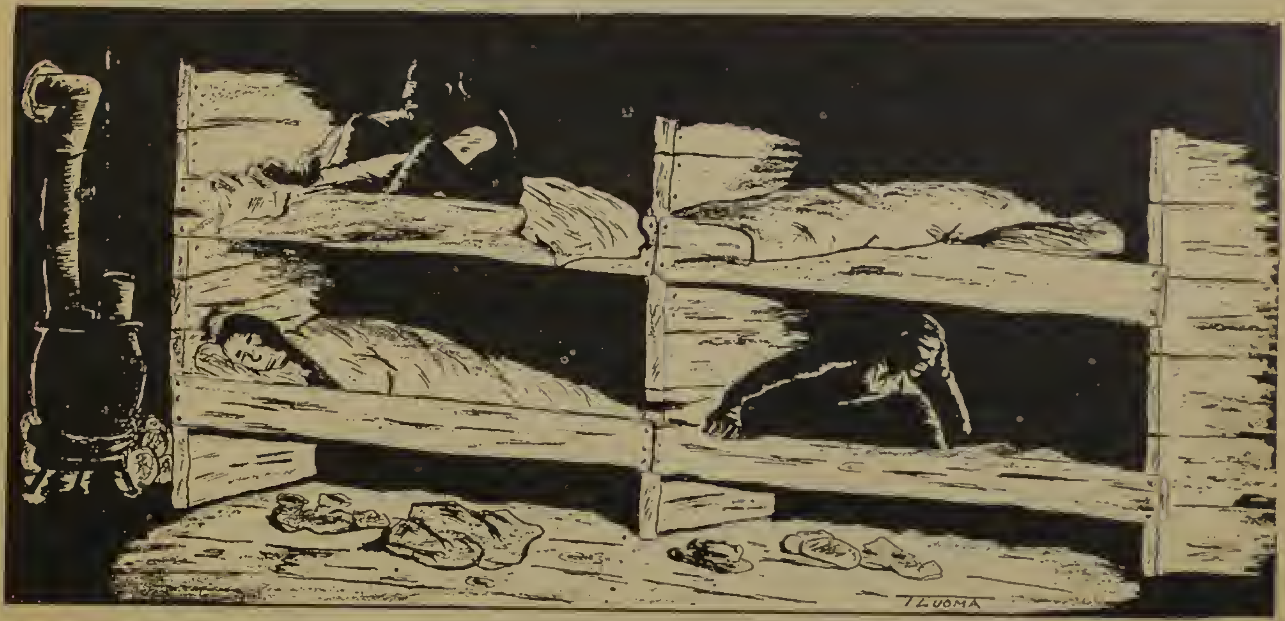
Permanent "locals" are impossible in most sections where the migratory does his work. He must carry his union with him wherever he goes and together with his fellow workers set it in operation as soon as he lands on a job.

Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110 of the I.W.W. has worked out a technique for handling the peculiar difficulties that confront the migratory worker bent on maintaining an efficient union. This organization has in the past had notable success in improving general working conditions and raising wages wherever its members have carried on intensive campaigns.

Its failure to make greater headway, especially in the past few years, is due to a great extent to its very efficiency as a fighting weapon for the workers. This efficiency has served to stir up an enormous amount of the most bitter opposition from the employers. These are often willing to deal with other unions merely in order to forestall growth of the I.W.W. which they know from experience cannot be induced to compromise workers' interests for the sake of employer-worker harmony or for any other consideration.

The changing of production methods and the vast influx of new workers looking for jobs have also contributed to bringing about a temporary halting in the forward march of this organization.

There have, however, been no changes either in the organization or outside of it that lend color to the idea that the I.W.W. is not competent to organize the agricultural workers. Many keen observers are of the opinion that the day is not distant when new nation-wide drives and new "thousand-mile picket lines" will infuse the homeless and now almost helpless agricultural workers, both migratory and stationary, with the spirit to resist the almost unbelievably bad conditions under which they are now compelled to produce the food that others consume.



The bunk car. Some migratory workers find seasonal jobs on railroad extra gangs

THE GOVERNMENT OF TOMORROW

By Art Hopkins

The will to power has been a powerful factor in the history of mankind. There have always existed men who have spoken to their electorate: "Give me the power and I will change things." And the masses of people have fallen for this philosophy. The last innovation of power politics, where the control of a people is placed in the hands of an individual, is the rise of fascism throughout the world.

Fascism is a resultant of many conditions, but it also is the result of a people becoming so thoroughly disgusted with individual initiative and the utter lack of confidence in the masses of people that it gives itself over to a "more fit" egotist.

In the world turmoil, where chaos and disorder play an important part, where politics has become the favorite game of ruling men (it never administers the needs of the people), the willingness of the masses to place their destinies in the hands of individuals becomes paramount.

The granting of power to any individual has always had a degrading effect. Political power has never been interested in the welfare of the people. For once a person descends into the abyss of politics his interest lies in the holding of that power.

History is filled with countless records of individuals who, in their desire to help humanity rise from its utter lack of security and freedom, have entered the field of political activity and have, as soon as they are elected to office, forgotten their promises of yestereve—their desire to institute a freer, a more wholesome world.

Consequence of Power

These people are not bad, nor wicked, nor scoundrels; their actions are but the consequences of the very nature of political power that degrades and demoralizes the individual.

A Chinese sage, Lao-tse, once wrote:

"Experience teaches that none can guide the community;
The community is collaboration of forces;
As such, thought shows it cannot be led
By the strength of one man.
To order it is to set it in disorder;
To fix it is to unsettle it.
For the conduct of the individual changes:
Here goes forward, there draws back;
Here shows warmth, there reveals cold;
Here exerts strength, there weakness;
Here stirs passion, there brings peace.
And so:
The perfected one shuns the desire for power,
shuns the lure of power,
shuns the glamour of power."

But, you object, in this complex world in which we live, power plays an important part. If you will not delegate political power to individuals, how will society be run?

Your questions are to the point. Who is to have the power?

Our original premise is that no man is more fit than the individual to govern himself. From here we continue.

Political representation, as we know it today, is not true representation of the masses of people, particularly that vast class of wage workers. Political representation cannot represent the interest of the majority of the people. For there are many diverse interests in a certain territorial division. Here may live a lawyer, next to an accountant, next to a doctor, next to a clothing worker, next to a real estate agent, next to a steel worker, next to a mechanic! No one man can realistically represent all these interests.

Union Is the Representative Body

But the labor union of the steel worker, the union of the clothing worker, the union of the mechanic, the health workers' union,—these can effectively represent the interests of these various and diverse trades and professions. If there is to be a representative body, that body is to be the representatives of the various unions, coordinated in an administrative body, with a functional One Big Union of all the workers.

Most important in the reorganization of society and the delegation of power is that no official of any union shall be elected for a life term of office; he must, after a certain length of time return to the industry from which he came, and no official is to receive a larger salary than the highest paid worker in the trade from which he comes.

Such a plan was tried out in Loyalist Spain during the early days of the fascist revolt. In fact the Spanish labor unions have been so organized that there is no bureaucracy in them.

There are no sell-outs by Spanish labor officials, as we know them in American labor history.

The power of the future will not be concentrated in individual hands seeking political satisfaction, but will be concentrated in the hands of the workers, through their labor unions.

Power of the future will be economic power. The functional unit in society will be the labor union and its purpose will not be the governing of men, but the administering of industries.

FELLOW WORKERS, HEAR ME!

By Covington Hall

Shall we the challenge made decline,
Forever bow before these swine
Who hold not e'en the truth divine;
Who justice burke and labor scorn,
And science as a whore adorn?
Who claim all rights and yet deny
All duties? Who crucify
Earth's noblest, and acclaim
The basest in their "Halls of Fame"?
Whose governments lay waste the Earth,
And starve our children from their birth?
Whose insane Congresses declare
That plenty is a curse and snare;
That scarcity and famine are,
Together with the woe of war,
The only way men can save
The Nations from a common grave?
Who Jefferson and Lincoln spurn
Who hold democracy a creed,
An ideal sprung from "putrid" seed?
Who Christus hang and Judas crown,
And Freedom in pollution drown?
Who worship Gold, who Truth defame,
And make us serve them to our shame?

Answer!

Shall we, the Race, the Mighty Mass,
Forever bow unto this class;
Forever fear the puny fist
Of Banker, Landlord, Capitalist?
Forever fight, forever vote
to keep their hands upon our throat?
Forever to them serviles be,
Rightless, homeless, and unfree?
Selling our bodies, brains and souls
For their circuses and doles?
"Forbid it, O Almighty God!"
Call thy people out of Nod!
Let it once more defiant ring,
The song that Freedom's children sing
When New Worlds are about to be:
"Give us death or liberty!"
Onward! Upward! Waken! Rise!
In One Great Union organize!—
Take our comrades from their cells!—
Cleanse the good Earth of their hells!—
Up, ye men of shop and soil!
Up, ye Militants of Toil!
"Rise like Lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number!—
Shake your chains to Earth like dew
Which in sleep had fallen on you—
Ye are many—they are few."

JOBITES

—JANE STREET

How lousy the world is with them!—
Mean-souled people who think
They work to live
While in reality
They live to work!

They know nothing about living—
They do nothing remotely prejudicial to
their jobs.
They don't love work—
They know nothing of the joy of creation.
Their minds are on their money,
And the money goes for food—
Un-epicurean food
That makes for brawn
That makes for jobs.

How they hurry on their jobs!
Not with the thrill of getting somewhere
Or having something,
But like speeding electrons
In unchangeable orbits.

How they scurry, off their jobs,
Knifing blindly at eath other,
For fear some other work pattern
Might be made by different vacancies.

All the deep purple of hidden murder
In the soul of man
For possession, for love· for power—
Leaks out in degenerate gray streaks
From the jealous eyes of jobites
Fearing for their jobs.

—Oh, life is nothing
Unless something is worth
More than life!

The Growth of Fascism In America

By
CHAS. J. MILLER

Communist demonstrations at New York wharves to keep out fascists, Socialists looking for fascism, watch with apprehension the antics of some Republican politicians in Washington for fear they may get control and bring fascism to our country; liberals and brain-trusters in Washington work feverishly on the New Deal to save the Democracy from fascism—and all of them, Communists, Socialists, and liberals cannot see that fascism is right here, growing day by day.

You see, all of them are political minded, they think and reason only in political terms. Politics is always nationalistic. Even economic or industrial problems are reasoned out in national terms: protect our industries from foreign competition, protect our high standard of living, protect our interests in China, find foreign markets for our surplus goods so our workers will have jobs. To them the class struggle is but a phrase to explain things that they themselves do not understand.

If you reason out your problems in terms of "our nation," "our government," "our congress," "our supreme court," "our laws," "democratic nations and fascist nations," etc. you will necessarily come to the conclusion that Mussolini made Italy a fascist nation and Hitler made Germany a Nazi nation and, therefore, if fascism ever comes in United States some one will have to bring it in or make it.

Nobody made fascism. Fascism is a growth. Just as man was not made, but evolved from a simpler form of life; just as society evolved from a simple relationship of sex and the economic relationship imposed in getting food, clothing, and shelter to the complex society of today, so fascism has evolved from the economic relationship of man producing something useful for exchange.

Basically, fascism is a growth, present in every capitalist nation. Every so-called democratic nation has this development of fascism, according to the extent of the development of its capitalistic system. Italy and Germany are fascist nations, but they are different from democratic nations only in degree and not in kind.

What is fascism? Fascism is a Corporate State. A Corporate State is the pooling or combination of corporations under the control of one head, the State.

In different countries the social superstructure varies according to the geographic, political and historical differences, but the base is the same. Capitalism is in various stages of development in different countries and consequently there are different political governments, but all are based on the profit system, the exploitation of the wage worker for the benefit of the controlling class.

In this connection be it noted that no matter what political structure the different nations have the symptoms of economic ills are all nearly identical, showing the international character of economics.

Let us now examine briefly the evolution of the present economic system, capitalism.

The Economic Basis.

The economic history of the United States gives a fine example of the development of capitalism because the birth of the nation and the birth of capitalism were almost synchronous. The Revolutionary War started the United States as a nation and a series of inventions started the nation off on the industrial revolution and capitalism. Second, it had no long previous history or older social orders to confuse the issue, it started from scratch.

We can give only the high spots of this history. But on these high spots rests the entire social history of this country.

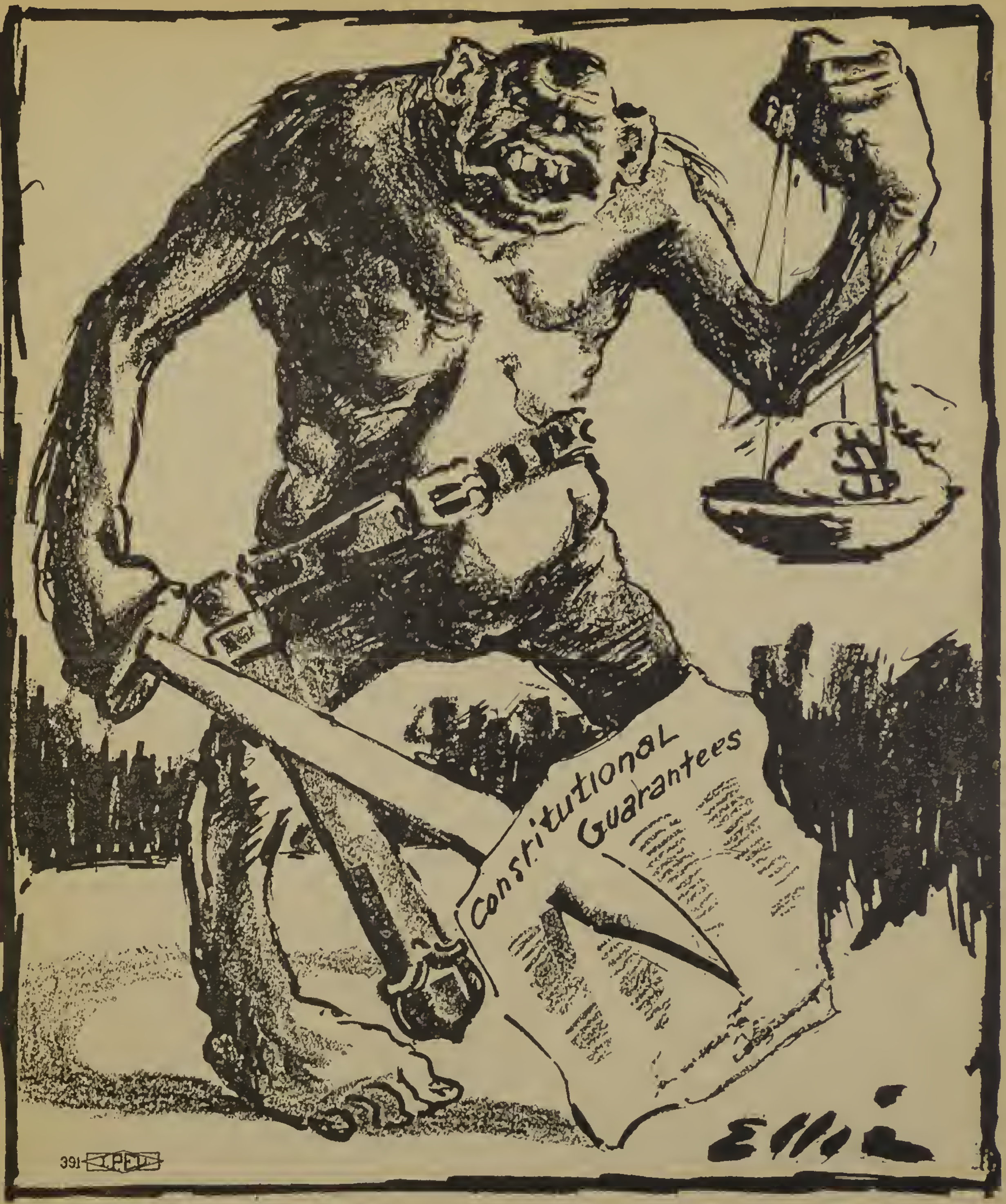
The economic life of the colonies was primarily agricultural, nine-tenths of the people living directly by agriculture. Industry was carried on by the household. The factory system was unknown. Then came a series of inventions:

Fly shuttle	1739
Spinning jenny	1769
Steam engine	1769
Power loom	1785

At about the same time the War of Independence (1776) and later the War of 1812 released the Colonies from the control and checks placed upon the development of the new industries by the British Crown.

In 1791, the first U. S. Bank was established.

The necessity of better transportation and communication resulted in the invention of the steam



boat (1817), railroads (1830), telegraph (1843).

Here you have the basis of economic history of a hundred years in a hundred words, the greatest period in the history of society. The inventive genius of man applied to nature gave conception to a new society. Accumulated capital, raw materials, and plenty of labor applied to these new inventions ushered in the capitalist system.

The development of the factory system was rapid. First they erected cotton and woolen spinning mills producing thread. Then weaving factories. Next, they combined the spinning and weaving in a mill.

The development of the factory system gave tremendous momentum to all branches of agriculture, commerce, and industry. Here is just one item: Consumption of cotton, 1820, 10,000,000 lbs.; 1860, 500,000,000 lbs.

With new inventions in other industries, they too, were on their way.

Another result of the industrial revolution—the cotton gin and chattel slavery brought into being an economic power, the Cotton Kingdom of the south; bringing on the conflicting economic interests of two systems of slavery ending in a Civil War, with the new wage slave system victorious.

As late as 1850 the bulk of general manufacturing was carried on by family or individual proprietors. In the span of fifty years the factory was universal.

Starting out as an agricultural nation, by 1900 the United States was rated the first manufacturing nation in the world. The invested capital grew from $1,011,000,000 in 1859 to $44,688,000,000 in 1919.

Now we come to the fundamental question: What is the form of the basic economic organization by which the capitalist class, a minority class in society, controlled this capitalist system?

The Political State

Starting with household production and individual proprietor, then partnership, then companies, then, after the start of the industrial revolution, they combined into larger units with bitter competition among them—stock companies, pools, trusts, corporation (U. S. Steel and Standard Oil, first trusts in the world, about 1890), and then holding corporations.

With this grew the New Imperialism, spreading capitalist civilization to the far corners of the world.

The results of this Industrial Revolution in the U. S. have been vividly summed up in a recent speech by Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, over a national hook-up. We can quote but a few excerpts here; he said in part:

"America stands at the crossroads, with men of wealth eager to push the country along the road to fascism . . .

"About one-half of the wealth of the country is in corporate form, and over one-half of it is under the domination of 200 corporations, which in turn are controlled by what Ferdinand Lundberg in his recent book referred to as America's 60 families.

"The fact is that under a democratic form of government we have fostered and permitted to grow up economic autocracies which are stronger than government."

Here you have the brief outline of the economic history of the United States. And the evolution of the controlling capitalist organization which made this possible is:

First you have household or individual proprietors; next these combine into partnership or company; then they combine into stock companies or pools; they then form trusts and corporations.

The next logical step is the combining of the corporations into the corporate or fascist state.

But now you may ask, if the corporations combine under a corporate state what becomes of the political state?

Read your history. The function of the political state has been to protect the rights of private property, to be the wet-nurse to the growing capitalist system.

The capitalist system has developed to the point where it needs the cloak of a political state to protect it. Corporations are now strong enough to make their own laws and enforce them direct without the help or hindrance of a clumsy, slow-moving, behind-time, wornout, ox-cart political state. The further development of the corporations in a corporate state spells social degeneracy and is anti-social. They can develop further only at the expense of society.

The molders of public opinion are working overtime to keep the workers political minded. Every organization that we know of, with the exception of the I.W.W. fosters the notion that politics is the principal weapon of labor.

Elect honest politicians and "pass a law" are the remedies heard on every side. It seems to be the general conception that the government is of, for, and by, the people and the function of the relief and other federal agencies are the automatic result of "passing a law."

But let us look behind the scenery of the political act put on in Washington for public consumption. There we find a new species of gigantic control octopus, a mighty infant with unlimited arms reaching into every state, every city, town, village in the United States.

This octopus was not created by the people, they had no say in the matter. It is being evolved to save the economic "Royalist" of the United States.

The Corporate State

After plundering the nation of the natural resources, causing floods and dirt storms, laying waste to great sections of the country and mercilessly exploiting the workers, these rugged individuals are now using their government to save them from the results of their own past acts.

In the years before the war it was common to refer to Wall Street as the Invisible Government. It was there that the important decisions pertaining to the industrial life of the nation were made. And it was there that the policy of the government originated. Wall Street was the real power.

With the United States' entry into the World War the government took over control of production. And Wall Street moved down to Washington. This was America's first test of planned economy on a national scale.

After the end of the war to unscramble the industries back to the old rugged individual basis was impossible.

The great increase in efficiency, mass production and over-built and over-capitalized machinery of production; with a sudden loss of greatly diminished market for agricultural and manufactured products, came the beginning of the end of the rugged individuals, as such.

From 1914 to 1928 at least eighteen new federal agencies, bureaus, commissions, boards and corporations were set up. The economic setup was on the road to government control.

Under President Hoover this trend rapidly increased. He spent vast sums to keep up the prices of wheat and cotton and on public works, in trying to inflate credit by buying and selling government securities in the open market, and on unemployment relief on a federal basis.

He organized the Reconstruction Finance Corporation which poured billions of dollars into the tottering financial structure of banks, railroads, insurance companies.

With the coming of President Roosevelt and the Bank Holidays this trend became a landslide with the federal agencies and corporations multiplying so fast that there is now a duplication of alphabetical abbreviations and they may have to adopt a numeral system like that used for auto registration to keep track of them.

There are seventeen government corporations covering many fields of activities and some fifty controlling, planning and advisory bodies.

The oldest and largest of the corporations is the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, a carry-over from the Hoover administration. In three years it spent or allotted nearly nine billion dollars. Three and one-half billion dollars went out to bankers and over two billion more to farmers, the greater part of this going to the bankers, indirectly. Then there were the unemployment allotments, railroads, mortgage companies, home owners' loans, etc. This is the largest financial corporation known.

Then there is the Agriculture Adjustment Administration which is in the process of controlling some six million farms which have failed at self-sustenance.

Next, you have the building up of industrial controlling machinery to take the place of the unconstitutional National Recovery Administration which was formulated by the United States Chamber of Commerce in conjunction with the Manufacturers' Associations.

The Wagner Act and the government inspired C.I.O. are moves in this direction. The N.R.A. is being revived as the Supreme Court is now considered safe. There is also a proposed system of control of corporations by federal licensing.

Then there are the W.P.A., F.E.R.A. and C.C.C. and other agencies to care for the surplus slaves and the Social Security Act to have the slaves finance their own unemployment and old age. Every slave now has a number.

Another type of activity is the Tennessee Valley Authority, an experiment in government development.

And this Federal Government that is daily increasing its control over the economic activities of the nation, is the largest owner of securities in the world, its holdings totaling $16,955,000,000.

We have shown how the Industrial Revolution, with the concentration of wealth and power through the large corporation has brought us to the threshold of fascism.

And further, we have shown that government agencies, not elected or controlled by the "people" are being organized to take over the control of the economic life of the nation.

Secretary Ickes of the Democrat administration warns us against the Republican "Big Business" fascist.

Fascist Program

And the new head of the Republican brain-trusters, Dr. Glenn Frank, chairman of the Republican national policy committee warns us against the "fascist program of the New Deal."

They are both right, no matter whether the government be Republican or Democrat, the program will be fascist. "The economic royalists of America are stronger than government." The government is but a Charlie McCarthy to "big business."

You need only to read the reports coming from Washington to realize the collaboration between the economic royalist and the government. Here is a sample:

Washington, D. C.—Edsel Ford, president of the Ford Motor Co., William S. Knudsen, president of the General Motors Corporation; K. T. Keller, president, and B. E. Hutchinson, vice-president of the Chrysler Corporation; and Alvan Macauley, president of the Packard Motor Car Co. and president of the Automobile Manufacturers Association were the manufacturers invited to a conference. Also the heads of affiliated finance companies.

Governor Murphy of Michigan was an overnight White House guest.

At another conference John L. Lewis, chairman of the C.I.O. (fascist labor corporation) sat at the same table with Thomas W. Lamont, J. P. Morgan partner, Owen D. Young of the General Electric Co. to consider plans for attacking the recession.

This group of conferences were to clear up many false impressions, mostly political; farm curtailment, business price regulation, attitude toward holding companies, anti-trust action, are some of the questions discussed.

This was on Jan. 21, 1938. The following day, Jan. 22, the papers reported as follows:

U. S. Steel plans $80,000,000 plant project for 1938. The U. S. Steel Corporation intends to spend this sum on plant modernization before Sept. 1, 1938. Roosevelt's Naval program expected to startle world. May ask for 90 new warships costing ultimately between 700 million and one billion dollars, and will call for a 20 per cent increase in all categories of American combat ships, including three more battle ships.

There is but one more step necessary to establish fascism here and that is a serious national crisis, which is brewing now, to give an excuse to close the show and send the politicians home as per Hitler and Mussolini.

The Alternative

What is the solution of this trend to fascism? Politically there is none. This is an economic problem. Fascism is the logical next step in the evolution of capitalism. But there is an economic solution. The Industrial Workers of the World is the only organization in the United States that has the answer. The I.W.W. is the answer.

In our examination of the evolution of capitalism from household production to corporation mass production we found that an industrial revolutin had taken place in production.

The most important fundamental result of this industrial revolution was the dividing of society into two opposing economic classes.

With the introduction of the factory system the workers were drawn from their homes into the factories. It separated society into two classes, capitalist and workers, those who own and those who work.

With the further development of production there evolved the corporation where the owners are completely divorced from any useful connection with industry. It degraded the capitalist class to a life of living without working, a parasitic class; and degraded the workers to industrial slavery.

The remedy for this condition is to bring about the relationship of the people to that prevailing before the industrial revolution, i. e., the owner and the worker in one person.

But not individually. It is now on a higher plane. You now have social production. You must have social ownership. Not one man, one industry, but all workers, all industries.

> **"It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old."**

INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION

By George Speed

(Reprinted by Request)

An editorial from the Industrial Worker of June 26, 1926, by the late George Speed.

Millions of workers have accepted the teachings of those whose interest it is to keep them dosed with mental chloroform in order that they may be used by the nickel snatching profiteers.

We have been taught that there is no class struggle; that the interests of labor and capital were identical; that we have equality before the law; that we all have equal opportunities in this land of the free and the home of the brave, and a thousand other pet phrases to gull the gullible. And the AFL, with years of experience behind it, still accepts this doctrine, virtually accepting capitalism as a finality, with the slogan of "a fair day's work for a fair day's pay."

The writer would ask what is a fair day's work and a fair day's pay, and how and who is to determine it? Labor being the creator of all wealth recognized the right of the employer to a portion of the wealth the worker creates. We would like to know how this wealth can be divided equally and each receive his due portion? Is there any possibility of adjusting a problem of this kind so peace may reign between the exploited and the exploiter? And if capital and labor are brothers as we are told, having common interests, why bosses' organizations and labor organizations—and the conflict ever going on between the two forces? Is this not evidence of a class struggle—a war between capital and labor?

What Is Americanism?

What is capital but unpaid wages; that portion of wealth used for the production of more wealth, the surplus over and above what we as workers receive in wages? All this above a bare living we give to an idle class for the right to exist and not to live.

And to you One Hundred Percenter, if you are an American, tell me what you mean by Americanism. Does it mean to accept everything without question from our afore-mentioned teachers? Is it not true that in every capitalist governed country, you will find the same system of exploitation, only different by one degree, that you as a wage slave are dependent upon another for the right to live, that your boss determines the price he will pay for your labor power and that you must accept his dictum or go hungry? Can't you realize that you are in economic bondage? Have you ever heard of a slave class as a law making body? Is it not true that in every civilized country, the ruling class has always been the property owning class and the worker the subject class? Is it not true that political power is but a reflex of economic power, and that those who hold it shape the political policy of the nation and that the workers can have political power only in proportion as they can demonstrate economic power?

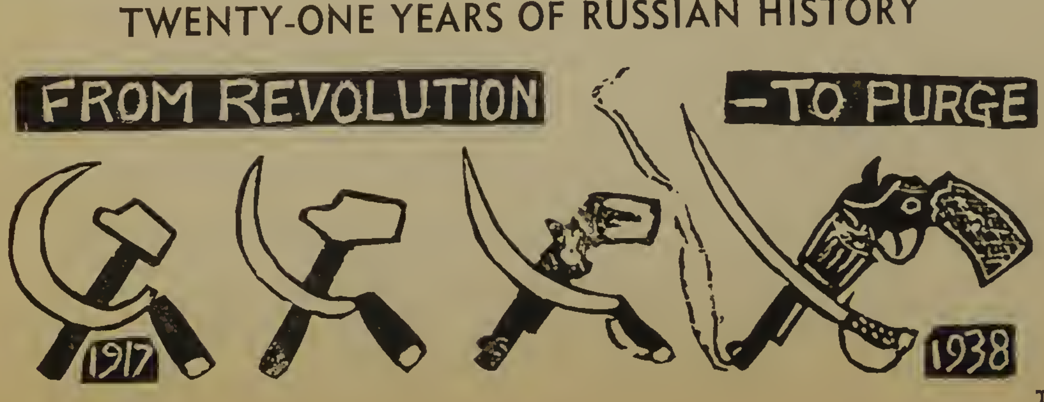
The capitalist, by controlling the industries and resources of a nation necessarily hold in the palm of their hands our welfare and our lives. They know the value of organization, they are class conscious and ever act in accord with their class interests. When you look squarely into this subject, can you conceive of any crime and lie they will not resort to keep you, the workers, in subjection? Yes, my brother worker, you are looked upon as a mere commodity to be bought and sold in the labor market like any other commodity, in competition with your fellow worker. You are a cheap commodity, often paying for the privilege of being bought. Why? Because you are unorganized and dependent upon some saviour to save you. You neglect to study your class interests so that you may learn to act as a class. You are the many; they are the few; yet they rule us with an iron hand through the power of their organized might. And power in the last analysis is the determining factor. The workers have the power; let us crystallize it into a powerful industrial organization so that life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness will not be an empty phrase.

Direct Action

All institutions rest on a material base. Where the workers are governed is in the shop, mine, mill and factory. And our fight is on the industrial field. There, we must organize to gain control over our own lives, by gaining control over industry. We ourselves shall determine under what conditions we shall work, what wages we shall receive, and that determines our mode of life. Whether we can afford to marry, clothe our children, give them an opportunity to play and a proper education, or force them into a slave pen at a tender age—all these things are determined by conditions in industries where we work, and not at Washington, D. C., nor state capitols. Those institutions are run by the owners of industry.

In our union hall or out on the job we will make our laws and rules where every man and woman shall have full voice and vote as to action and to enforce the same on the job. This is job action—direct action—not delegating our power to another to do something for us that we ought to do for ourselves. This delegating of power by the workers to labor leaders has caused havoc in the labor movement and has made it a laughing stock of those who have placed temptation in the way of the leaders who have betrayed the workers, as was shown in the English general strike. Remember, industrial organization is the tool intelligently used by the workers and is the most potent force to free us from the damnable curse of wage slavery. We have nothing to lose only misery and want and we have a world to gain. Join the I.W.W. and be a man.

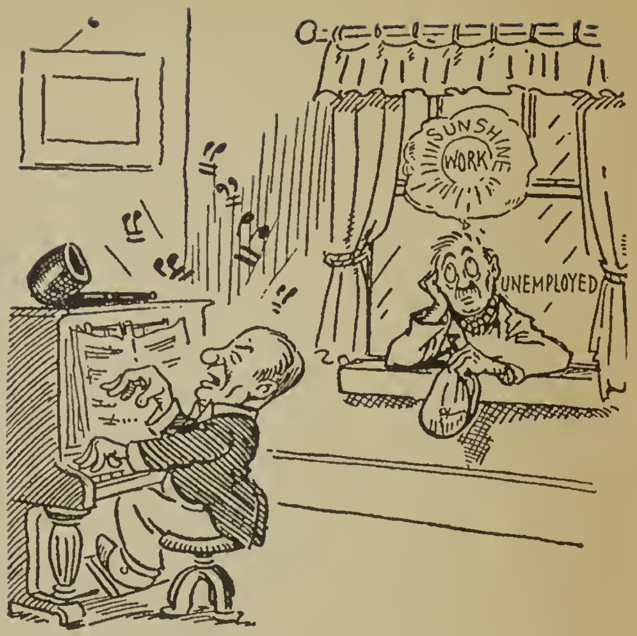
TWENTY-ONE YEARS OF RUSSIAN HISTORY



NUT HOUSE NEWS

A Skit

Prepared by Work Peoples College Drama Department



Scene: Fence with gate in it. Fence extends across stage; gateway near middle. Arch over gateway reads "NUT HOUSE": sign suspended from center of it: "No Nuts Allowed Except by Special Permission." The audience gets an eyeful of this before Hobo comes sauntering in, singing: "Hallelujah, I'm a Bum."

Hobo sees butt of cigarette on walk. Picks it up and starts re-rolling it for a smoke as Nut comes along inside fence, slowly wheeling a wheel-barrow upside down. He watches Nut and laughs.

NUT: What are you laughing at?

HOBO: You.

NUT: What's so funny about me?

HOBO: You've got your wheelbarrow upside down.

NUT: What's wrong with that?

HOBO: You can't put anything in it when it's upside down.

NUT: That's why I keep it that way. If I turn it the other way up, people may put something in it.

HOBO: You're not so crazy! What did they put you in for?

NUT: I used to keep my barrow right-side-up like you nuts.

HOBO: How come they put you in for that?

NUT: They used to fill it up that high with bricks.

HOBO: They can't put you in for that.

NUT: Well, I used to take my clothes off when at work.

HOBO: What did you do that for?

NUT: I figured that if I had to work like a horse, I might as well look like one, too.

HOBO: No—not so nutty after all.

NUT: Did you ever run one of these things? *(Indicating barrow.)*

HOBO: Often—I'm an expert on that thing.

NUT: Which side did you keep up?

HOBO: I kept the other side up.

NUT: I'll bet that made it hard work—but if that was the right way to run it, why didn't you keep on running it?

HOBO: The job blew up.

NUT: An explosion?

HOBO: No—it got finished. We did all the work. There wasn't anything more to do. We worked ourselves out of a job.

NUT: You should have run it like I run mine. Where are you going now?

HOBO: I'm going downtown to see if I can find some breakfast.

NUT: I ate mine a couple of hours ago. Where are you going to get it?

HOBO: I don't know, but I'll get it somewhere likely.

NUT: I think you're crazy. Where are you going to eat dinner?

HOBO: I don't know. If I can't get it in this town, I'll get it in some other town.

NUT: I get mine at sharp noon everyday. You must be goofy. Where are you going to sleep tonight?

HOBO: I don't know. Last night I found a pretty good reefer.

NUT: What's a reefer?

HOBO: It's a box car with double walls, and an icebox in each end for keeping things frozen.

NUT: And you think that's a pretty good place to sleep? I always sleep in a nice, soft, warm, clean bed.

HOBO: Say, who are you anyway?

NUT: Last week I was Napoleon, but that was by my first marriage; when I got divorced that made me General Lee; but next week I'm going to be Washington crossing the Delaware.

HOBO: You can be Napoleon if you want to, but you insult me when you say you're George Washington. He was the father of our country. Do you mean to tell me he was crazy?

NUT: Haven't you seen a picture of him crossing the Delaware?

HOBO: Sure—every good American has.

NUT: Isn't he standing up in the boat instead of sitting down?

HOBO: Yes.

NUT: Isn't that crazy?—Say, how much of this country do you own?

HOBO: I don't own any of it.

NUT: Then you're crazy to call it your country. *(Starts to trundle away with barrow.)* Say, when you were running a wheel barrow what were you making?

HOBO: We were building a flour mill.

NUT: What are you doing with the flour mill now?

HOBO: I'm not doing anything with it. It isn't mine.

NUT: How did you lose it?

HOBO: It never was mine.

NUT: If you fellows that built it don't own it, who does?

HOBO: Why the owners own it.

NUT: Did they work to build it?

HOBO: That kind of people never work.

NUT: The folks that didn't build it own it, and the fellows who built it don't own it. I think that's crazy.

HOBO: Why that's the way with every job. When we get through making something, we never own it. It always belongs to the people who don't work.

NUT: That's why I want the guard to turn this sign around. The way it hangs now, people would think the nuts were on this side of the fence, wouldn't they?

HOBO: That's why it's there.

NUT: But it should be turned around, for the nuts are all on the other side.*(Starts to trundle barrow away, but stops.)* Say, when do you think you'll start running a wheel barrow again?

HOBO: I'll get a job soon—I hear we may go to war.

NUT: That's terrible! Who are you going to kill?

HOBO: It may be the Japs and it may be the Chinks, I'm not sure who it will be.

NUT: Where are you going to kill them, in town here?

HOBO: Hell, no—we'll go over to their country and kill them.

NUT: Ever been over there?

HOBO: No.

NUT: Ever seen the fellows you're going to kill?

HOBO: No.

NUT: Did they ever hit you, or hurt you, or do anything to you?

HOBO: No.

NUT: And when you go to kill them, maybe they'll kill you?

HOBO: Sure, we've got to take that chance.

NUT: How far away do these Japs and Chinese live?

HOBO: I guess about three or four thousand miles.

NUT: So you're going three or four thousand miles to kill some poor people you never saw, who never hit you or hurt you or did anything to you, and you may be killed doing it? That is crazy . . . Or may be they're the fellows who took your flour mill away from you?

HOBO: No—those fellows live in Minneapolis.

Nut: Quick—before the guard comes—give me a hand and we'll turn this sign around.

HOBO: Maybe we ought to.

NUT: No—we can't do it now—I see the guard coming, and he won't let us.

HOBO: Don't those guards ever get afraid of you nuts?

NUT: No—I asked him once and he said that even if there were a thousand of us nuts and only four guards, they still wouldn't be afraid of us.

HOBO: Why?

NUT: He said it was because nuts never organize.

—— CURTAIN ——

THE END OF LEADERSHIP

By ACMA

Dictatorship, red, black, or brown, is what the future holds for the workers of the world unless they organize to control the world.

In an American university students were advised to study labor history, unionism, etc. in addition to their usual studies. Their instructor in the intricate questions of floods, missing tribes, immaculate conceptions, saviors, and the "Big Apple" deemed that in the event of their not finding a flock to ride herd on from the sanctuary of the pulpit, it was but a short step from Genesis to the Preamble of the A. F. of L. and the work of "savioring" labor was almost identical with that of "savioring souls." Of course, the language is ours but the meaning is not original with us.

In fact it is not original with the professor. It is an old, old story and even Homer Martin adds but a sentence to it. Furthermore, every passing day brings us closer to the time when the final show-down between capitalism and labor will determine whether an intensified degree of class demarcation shall take place under fascism or shall labor come into its own with a classless society.

Leaders and Followers

We have had many a laugh at the expense of the "intellectual liberals" with their inane pronouncements on labor's problems and their predictions on labor's role in the future. And these swarms of ministers, professors, lecturers, leagues of this, that and the other "cause," trade unions, so-called industrial unions, alleged workers' churches, and others too numerous to mention—all belong to the category of "intellectual liberals."

Those without enough bourgeois education to be classified as intellectuals are just run-of-the-mill liberals. The **raison d'etre** of these fakes in the labor movement is to be found in a principle which is by no means new—the principle of "leaders and followers." Hitler adopted this soon after becoming dictator and the German "Labor Front" is a classic example of its effect when applied to labor organizations. It can be applied equally as well to the trade unions of the U.S.S.R., the Amsterdam International, Third International, and to the unions and political parties upon which those Internationals are based.

Much of the confusion existing in the labor movement of today is the result of the "predestination" assigned to it by various intellectuals of past eras. Marx has been one of the foremost offenders because he gave impetus to the politico-economic type of organization which has split on every issue presented to the working class by the ever advancing mechanization of production.

His work is of great value as far as his analysis of capitalism is concerned. No one can reasonably object to his theories of the role of private ownership, wage slavery, materialistic interpretation of history, and of how profits are made. His theories of cost, value, exchange, commodity relations, surplus value, effects of modern machinery on society, gradual elimination of the middle class, all stand the test of analysis.

But in his inflexible, centralized, authoritarian, politics-dominated organization for the correction of society's ills, he failed utterly. Today we have a dozen organizations claiming to have the only true interpretation (revelation) of Marxism. All of them—Socialist, Social Democrat, Socialist Labor, Independent Labor, Communist (which includes Stalinites, Lovetoncites, Trotskyites, P. O. U. M.ites, and several others of still lesser importances, and the Proletarian party are based on the principle of "leaders and followers." Nearly all of these organizations have seen the day when they were classified as "right wing" and another when they were called "left wing."

Marx at one time belonged to the Social-Democrat party because it was then the "left wing" party. Then it veered to the right and the Communist party came into being as the revolutionary left wing. And so it has been throughout the years. This is further illustrated by the recent swing of the same party to a point so far to the right that it is liable to "out-right" the Democratic party of the New Deal. And this the spawning bed for pinks and finks of all stripes.

Green Pastures

Why this veering from point to point? Why this paradoxical situation in which "right" becomes "wrong" and vice versa during the passage of a few years? Why have workers' unions been flooded with opportunists from the middle and professional classes—plus an overflow of saviors from their own ranks?

Do you remember the story of how Samuel Gompers and thousands of other cigar makers were thrown out of a skilled trade by a guy who invented a machine that rolled cigars by the thousands per day with the attendance of an unskilled boy? And of the Glass Blowers union members with an initiation fee of $800.00 being thrown out of work by a machine? Of thousands of sky-pilots who had their celestial wings singed and lost their balance on the cloud of economic security by the introduction of the radio? These are illustrations of the insecurity of life under capitalism.

But the labor movement! That is different! Regardless of inventions of labor displacing machines in industry, no one is going to invent a machine that will emancipate labor.

Here the "intellectuals" from the professional class, bankrupt retailers, tired farmers, graduates from colleges and theological seminaries, outcasts from the ranks of ex-skilled labor groups, and forked-tongue politicians converge on the green fields of labor unions and labor parties.

A large number may be sincere in the beginning—sincere in the sense that labor is a helluva jackass if their advice and leadership is not accepted. Ruling cliques are established in control of unions. Union members who become elected or appointed to office either conform to the machine in control or out they go. Voting is juggled by the clique through control of ballot committees or by outright murder of opponents by hired gun-men.

A recent example is the Carpenters and Joiners of America in the vote on the C.I.O. and in their juggle of votes from the S. M. & T. W. U. on representation. In the various political parties the same procedure is carried on. A few years ago the communists in the States split on a question of adherence to Moscow and the Third International. The Stalinist (Browder) faction expelled the Lovestonites, even though the majority of votes cast favored the latter group in their effort to establish naional autonomy.

So it is not strange that voting in these organizations means nothing to the rank and file. Followers from both camps have been in and out of the A.F. of L. like a revolving door since 1920. They take their orders from Moscow or other political parties and juggle their previous stands on labor questions accordingly, lest they get left out in the cold when there is some gravy to be lapped up.

Some claim that technological advances in industry, change in the set-up of State apparatus in different countries, and the rapid progress of fascism necessitates corresponding changes within the ranks of labor. They are correct in their first contention. The mechanization that has taken place within the past half century has necessitated a change from the old craft and trade union to the modern industrial union method of organization—but the relationship between master and slave remains unchanged.

Finks, Incorporated

Changes in the State set-up is caused by the need of a more efficient and co-ordinated program to protect private ownership in its struggle to maintain control over the machinery of production and distribution. Again there is no change in the "brotherly love" of capital and labor. Fascism is not an unnatural phenomena. Just as capitalism was born amidst the death pangs of feudalism, fascism is being nurtured within the womb of present day society. To say that the shadow of this bastard system alters the economic positions of employer and employe is nonsensical. Yet this shadow provides the finks and pinks with the best of all opportunities to crash the gate into labor's ranks.

The communists are again in the vanguard with the slogan of "United Front." With whom? With the whole riff-raff from the back-wash of society. Instead of having separate cliques of finks, they desire a One Big Union of these "saviors" so, like pigs at a trough, they can all get their snouts into the pockets of those who sweat for a living. They are artists at blackmailing labor into thinking that nickels, dimes, quarters and dollars donated to Leagues for Peace . . . for Democracy . . .anti-fascism . . . to aid Spain . . . to aid China . . . to aid in boycotts of Japan . . . Italy . . . Germany, etc., etc., will make great changes within the system and will be a barricade against the advance of fascism . . . That the "tremendous power of a united organization of the great A.F. of L., C.I.O., statesmen, humanists, rationalists, socialists, communists, Baptists and Holy Rollers" will sure throw a helluva scare into—well, anyone that wants to take them seriously. Let us elucidate on this "anti-Fascist Front."

Are the "leaders and followers" advocates sincere in their opposition to fascism? Let us take a glance at the "leader of the leader" faction, the Communist party. In Germany they had the impressive number of nearly 7,000,000 followers. Their half-brothers, the social-democrats, had a slight advantage in the numeric strength of their "flock." Between political trading and internicine battles for a "united front" (against fascism) in which both factions wanted to be the "leader," direct action on the part of the large German trade unions in the final show-down was thrust into the background as the term "General Strike" was regarded as general nonsense by both factions. Result, Hitler seized power without the sound of a rifle shot to mar the burial of freedom and the conversion of the trade unions to a fascist "Labor Front."

In Vienna the socialists had held sway at their favorite in-door pastime of controlling municipal councils for some years. Again the Austrian trade unions were given a back seat. When Mussolini deemed that the time had come to bring Austria into the fold of Fascist Italy, the Austrian workers wrote the cost of politico-economic unionism in their own blood. Bauer, head of the Vienna socialists, admitted afterward that a General Strike in Austria before the fascist attact took place would have given them an immense advantage . . . IF? . . . IF? . . . IF? . . . Will they not profit by such lessons? Lessons written in blood? Remember the inflexibility of Marxism before answering in the affirmative.

But what about the "Fatherland"! You say it is without doubt, against fascism? Why "without doubt"? There is no doubt about the fact that a vast majority of people believe that such is the whole truth. If it is a fact, then truth is in a hell of a hole. Compare the regime in Russia with that of Germany, or Italy. Is it not a fact that regimentation of all phases of life are similar in those three countries? Is it not a fact that free speech, free press, free association and freedom of movement are denied in all of them? Is it not a fact only a small percentage of the population of any one of these countries belongs to the party that is ruling it? Is it not true that the labor unions of these countries are of a castrated type and devoid of the power or right to function in accordance with the welfare of their members or as a determining factor in the building of society? Do you agree that the elections of representative parliamentary bodies are carried on in Italy as in Germany? You do? Then you must agree that the Russian people are being ruled in the same way, as their "elections" are of the same idiotic type as those of Germany and Italy. Do you agree that the largest representation in proportion to membership in the Russian "gas-house" is that of the police force? Such is a tragic fact . . . and in the "Utopia" of an organization which is always blatting about free speech, democracy, workers' rights, etc., etc.!

The Same in Russia

Now what is the record of this country in regard to the boycotts and "aids" which are the pet raves of the communists in North America? Russia did not boycott Hitler Germany when the "leaders" went down with the followers. Russia did not boycott Austria when the Pope and Benito backed Dolfuss in his blood-thirsty purge of working class rank and file fighters. Nor did she boycott Germany when Hitler took Austria. When Italy deliberately provoked a war with Ethiopia in order to ally the discontent of the Italian workers and to add to Roman prestige by grabbing a colony, Russia did not refuse to supply the sinews of war, oil, to the Blackshirts of fascism among other raw materials. By the way, where is Japan getting oil for her invasion of China? Take a look at a map for the Sakhalin Islands. They belong to the U.S.S.R. and oil wells are located on these islands close to Japan. Japan is getting oil from the Sakhalins.

Franco's bombers, in their daily flights over working class districts in the populous cities of Spain, flights that are followed by hundreds of graves being dug, graves which men, women and children of our class will occupy, burn gasoline manufactured in Italy from crude oil obtained from the Socialist "fatherland." This has been going on from the beginning of Franco's Italio-German invasion of Spain. But a country that will turn anti-fascist fighters over to fascist countries and certain death, as Russia has done in the case of Italian anarchists, would not stop a profitable trade balance nor stop the delivery of battleships that Italy, Fascist Italy, is building for the Russian "peepul" just because a few thousand Spaniards are slaughtered as the result.

You say that Russia has aided the Spanish people with armaments. Quite right . . . but paid for in gold at top prices . . . and included in the price is that the "leaders" have full opportunity to advocate their old theory of getting "followers." They, the leaders, agreed that in return for a cementing of the Franco-Russian military pact, they would do all in their power to prevent an establishment of a workers' Commonwealth in Spain by the anarcho-syndicalists; that they would support other political cliques in an "United Front" for the maintenance of the bourgeois Republic. For this they received the blessing of England and France, the former because of her trade routes on the Mediterranean, the latter for the protection of the Spanish-French frontier.

Anarcho-Syndication

Furthermore, France, governed at the time by a "One Big Union" of the type mentioned previously, was the first to initiate the non-intervention pact to prevent the Spanish workers from purchasing arms in the open market. This was immediately seconded by Russia because an access to arms and materials of war would result in an early victory for the anarcho-syndicalists in Spain, and then where would the leaders be?

What is the basis of anarcho-syndicalism? In a few words it is the contention that the emancipation of the working class must be accomplished by the workers within economic, direct action unions without the interference of political or reformist groups or parties. From the days when Bakunin, as an advocate of anarchism, opposed Marx in the latter's attempt to dominate the International Working Mens' Assn., (First International) this school of thought has been strangled by all organizations who subscribe to the "leadership" theory as well as by the ruling class in society.

This attempted strangulation is particularly directed against the anarcho-syndicalists by those same enemies in Spain today. From the outbreak of Franco's **coup d'etat** in July, 1936, the former group has formed the vanguard in revolutionary achievements; in the reorganization of economic and social life of the nation; in the collectivization of lands left by fascist sympathizers; in the confiscation of factories, transport and raw materials and, at the same time, keeping the war against the insurgents at a high level of efficiency. This was carried out, not by coercion, but by the initiative of workers and peasants and the results obtained have surprised the world . . . and even the anarchists.

The communists, on the other hand, have boosted their ranks from a few thousands of members (followers) to nearly half a million by opening their ranks to the semi-fascist elements of the middle class . . . people that even the left wing political parties in Spain would not organize. They furthered their policies of dictatorship by openly collaborating with the old line reactionaries in the restoration of private property which had been confiscated by the C.N.T.-F.A.I. By smashing the collectives in the Aragon with the Lister division, one of their army corps, but were forced to call a halt when production began to drop as a result of their action. They have murdered militant anti-fascist fighters and jailed, without trial or evidence, foreign volunteers to the Internatonal Brigade because they would not acknowledge communist leadership. Caballero was kicked out of the Cabinet because he refused to play ball with the Moscow saviors. A previous military plan to relieve the pressure against Bilbao by an attack on Franco's forces from the South was shelved by the Moscow dominated Cabinet of Negrin. So the Basques and the Asturians were sacrificed on Stalin's altar, and over all of Loyalist Spain the club decorated with a hammer and sickle was waved over the heads of all who raised their voice against a repetition of the debacle of 1917-20 in Russia—waved with the threat that armaments from Russia would be stopped unless the Popes of the Third International had their way.

It has gone on—and goes on—until when? It has gone on in Spain because the Stalinists know that the defeat of fascism would be the defeat of their own "infallible" theory of "leaders and followers." They know that Spain would not return to the status quo of republican democracy; that their dream of a "Soviet Spain" based on the Moscow plan of a social order ruled by gas-house politicians and police representatives is but a fantasy of deluded minds. As long as they can keep the "unseeing" eyes of labor focused on the Soviet Star, they will not lack followers. Let anarcho-syndicalism prevail in Spain and those "unseeing" eyes will be witness to the building of a social order wherein the unions of workers will be the determining factor; where the "leader" and the politician will be a negative factor; where there will be freedom in the fullest sense of the word for all who direct their efforts towards the work of accomplishing socialism.

Industrial Unionism

It also would swing labor away from the bureaucratic trade unions of the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O., away from politicians of all stripes and the likes of Green, Lewis, Martin, Hillman, Van Bittner and dozens of other leeches. The real industrial union would be the order of the day. And that union is the **Industrial Workers of the World.**

For 30 years this organization has not changed its principles; it has not veered like a weather vane in a variable wind, because it is based on a solid foundation, the foundation of a clear analysis of capitalism and the need of unions designed to give labor its fullest revolutionary expression, whether it be to bring the Standard Oil or General Motors to its knees or to refuse to handle or produce products to be used against labor abroad; and it provides, in its structure and methods, a means to emancipate labor minus the blessings of labor finks and pinks.

Look back over the pages of history, my fellow slave, study the role of leaders and see if it is to your interests to place your destiny, the destiny of your class, in the hands of proven traitors. You have been doing so—you are still doing so and a continuance of this suicidal policy will inevitably result in fascism. Leaders of all types will always go hand in hand. Look back at the reception tendered by the socialists and social-democrats to Mussolini's Fascisti when they entered Rome on the march from Bologna. Remember the collaboration of the same politicians when Horthy and his White Guards inaugurated a reign of terror against the Hungarian workers in 1919.

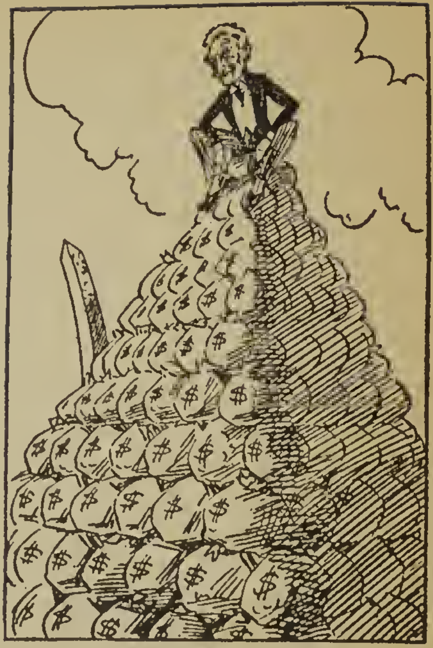
Another repetition when the "saviors" slaughtered the German workers when they attempted to build a more equitable social order in the same year. But the most important is the slaughter of the garrison of Kronstadt by communists under the command of "our beloved" Trotsky—and with the sanction of the late un-lamented Lenin.

The "cream of the revolution," that is what Trotsky termed those defenders of Kronstadt. Quite right—and it follows that when the Russian Revolution was liquidated it was logical that the "cream" of its fighters had to be killed so that "leadership" would have a clear path to establish a dictatorship of the workers—by the leaders. And dictatorship, either red, black, or brown, is what the future holds for workers who do not organize in rank-and-file controlled unions, industrial unions, unions of the type advocated by the I.W.W. There is no substitute, no alternative and no excuse . . . if you desire to stem the rising tide of fascism and chaos do not place your confidence in a leader dominated organization or you will write down the cost in disillusionment and blood.

◆

MERRY ENGLAND

"Another world war, profit for ammunition makers, misery, starvation at home —death at the front for the youth of the world."



By A. MARTIN

"This is the best country in the world; we have the money and conditions," so stated a longshoreman to me in Avenmouth, England.

Some things have improved a lot in England since the war. Lots of new homes have been built and more are being worked on. It is about 12 miles between Avenmouth and Bristol and all along the highway there are new homes, mostly two story buildings. They are buildings of two or three apartments with small flower gardens in front. In the rear there are quite large spaces for vegetable gardens.

Families are encouraged to raise their own vegetables and a special field is set aside for those who like to cultivate them. But for all these improvements England is far from being the "best country in the world," as the Avenmouth longshoreman was preaching.

Employers Attack Unions

Bristol is a city of half a million people. It is a manufacturing center for light industry—the largest undertaking being the Wills Tobacco company. It is supposed to be one of the most prosperous cities in West England.

It is a fact that the Bristol workers appear quite contented. They are well fed and well dressed. Though food prices are not much below those of New York, rent, I was told, is about $20 a month for dwellings for which one would have to pay as much as $30 and $40 in New York.

For factory workers wages are $12 to $18 a week. Skilled workers make more than that. Longshoremen get about $3.25 for an eight-hour work day and time and a half for overtime for the handling of general merchandise. For the handling of grain the pay is 18 shillings a day. Very little overtime is worked and Saturday afternoon work is indeed very rare.

Saloons are well patronized but I did not see a drunk while I was there. They close at 10 P.M. and by midnight streets are empty.

But all is not so rosy for the workers. While the longshoreman was talking about the best country in the world—on the very same day—newspapers reported that London workers employed by Messrs. Leslie and Godwin were told to leave the guild or leave their jobs. All these workers are members of the Guild of Insurance Officials. The employer's ultimatum was given when the union presented the following demands:

Recognition of the guild as the negotiating body for the insurance staffs.

Adequate salaries, including a **marrying wage** at marrying age.

Security of employment after probationary period and guaranteed pensions.

Equal opportunity for promotion of women.

The matter was reported to the Ministry of Labor. What the Ministry will do for these workers remains to be seen. But here is what it did for another group of workers.

No Favorable Settlements

This headline appeared in one of the papers: "MINISTRY FAILS TO END STRIKE," and it is typical. The article under this head goes on to say that the Ministry of Labor has failed to settle the strike of 120 warehouse workers at the factory of Falk, Stadleman and Co., makers of light accessories. The strike, then in its eighth week, had been called for the full recognition of the union, the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers, and for reinstatement of the men who allegedly (newspapers use that smear word over there too) had been victimized. Support to this strike was given by dockers and railway men who refused to handle "hot" goods to and from the factory.

A previous strike, about five months before the present one, ended when the Industrial Court awarded improved wages and conditions and the present dispute arose from friction over the operation of that award, the article explained.

Many other cases that serve to illustrate the prevailing British labor unrest and the failure of official agencies to keep it down may be obtained from newspaper accounts.

A claim of pitchers and shopmen in a Smithfield meat market for a wage increase of five shillings a week is to be referred to the Industrial Court for arbitration.

Mr. L. C. Hansen of the Transport and General Workers union told the **Daily Harold** that apart from the wage claim, the workers had originally asked for a 42½-hour week. But the employers had insisted on the normal 45-hour week and, against that, proposed to improve overtime terms. Men making an early start would be entitled to overtime pay after nine hours of work, instead of ten hours work for straight pay. Claim for a two weeks annual vacation pay was rejected.

A deadlock in the claim for higher wages involving 20,000 public employes has been reached in the London Joint Industrial Council for the "non-trading" services—persons included therein are park employes, scavengers, sewermen, and numerous other trades of essential health protectors. On the employers' side are the London county council and the 28 metropolitan boroughs. Several authorities have increased the minimum wage from 56 shillings to 60 shillings a week, but there is no general agreement. Wage rates in London are today below those paid in many provincial areas.

Workers at the Hawkers Aircraft factory, Brookland, Surrey, are on strike against the employment of non-unionists in what was hitherto a union shop. The strike is now in its third week.

Even the co-operative societies are not free from labor troubles. The **Daily Herald**, April 1, reports that at a mass meeting strikers unanimously rejected proposals for a settlement of the dispute between distributive workers and the United Co-operative. At another co-operative, the Baking Society of Glasgow, about 1,500 are involved in a strike which began following the refusal of the society to grant a ten per cent wage increase.

The suggested basis of settlement was that the workers, most of them girls, should return immediately and that negotiations should be reopened, with the understanding that they should be concluded within a month, and that whatever settlement should be reached was to operate from April 1.

The above reports are picked at random from the **Daily Herald**, the official mouthpiece of the Labor party. They show that all is not well in England for the workers. It's not good for workers though business conditions are considered good and a huge armament program is in effect.

Want More Production

At the same time the Cabinet wants production doubled. The Prime Minister, Mr. Chamberlain, appeals to the National Confederation of Employers' Organizations, to speed up armaments.

The following is what the Government will ask employers to do:

Refuse orders which may interfere with the output of ammunitions and to extend their plants where necessary, the Government providing the money for this undertaking.

Mr. Chamberlain will assure the employers that they will not lose money by assenting to the armament speed up. He will announce that within the next 18 months the Government will place 500,000,000 pounds sterling, roughtly 2,500,000,000 dollars, for war preparations.

Many factory owners engaged in light metal production for civil work will be asked to switch a big portion of their plants over to the armament work. Factories engaged on wireless, iron mongery, metal windows, metal furniture and similar iron work, will be involved in this change.

The Prime Minister will ask the employers to engage a quarter of a million semi-skilled workers to supplement the skilled men now engaged in the manufacture of ammunitions, and he will also ask firms not participating in the munitions program to release skilled men needed by the arms firms.

Later this week, the Premier and Sir Thomas Inskip, will meet the Engineering unions and ask them to waive trade union rules which prevent night work and the employment of semi-skilled labor.

He will give them guarantees to the effect that these regulations will be restored to a peace-time basis, when the armament drive is over.

The answer that the trade union officials will give Mr. Chamberlain will no doubt be along the lines already indicated by the leaders of the Labor party. To quote Mr. James Walker, M.P., at the Labor party conference, "The British workers will fight for British institutions and the British Empire." A. V. Alexander, another M.P., in one of his Parliament speeches, said "he would be ready to consider conscription."

When a political labor fakir talks of "collective security" he is really talking for the preservation of the capitalist system, and the politicians and a raw deal to the workers in return—that is, if the workers will be foolish enough to believe them again.

Capitalism can be maintained in England only by reducing wages and through the usual unemployment benefits—in amounts that will insure capitalists a satisfactory increment of profits.

Labor Party Helps Bosses

The last Labor Government cut down the wages of the public workers, introduced the so-called "Annomalies Act," which deprived 30,000 workers of unemployment benefits, and appointed the "May Economy Commission," which recommends the Means Test. In other words, the Labor party performed a deed that the capitalist class did not dare to undertake directly. The Labor Government had become a tool of the capitalist class, to save capitalism by lowering the standard of living of the workers.

While the re-armament program will employ hundreds of thousands of workers directly, many other hundreds of thousands will be put to work, either in the production of the necessary raw material or the necessities of life upon which the wages of the first section of workers will have to be spent. This is bound to bring about an artificially created prosperity in old England.

While the politicians and labor fakirs lull the workers into a false sense of security, the capitalist class foresees the crisis when the armament program will be over.

The Independent Labor party has this to say.

"The possessing class clearly foresees that the crisis will arise and is preparing for it by preliminary steps towards fascism." This is the meaning of the Trades Disputes Act, which limits the power of the workers to strike; of the Sedition Act which seeks to prevent solidarity among the workers of the rank and file of the armed forces; the Public Order Act, under which the right of the workers to mass on the streets and to demonstrate is restricted; and of the militarization of the police force, with the object of mainaining it as a defense of private property. No thinking worker who understands the significance of such legislation can doubt that the possessing class in Great Britain is preparing to use fascist methods in any critical situation threatening its time-established privileges.

"British capitalists who tangled in the Spanish war and have been giving, secretly, unconditional support to Franco, are now beginning to realize that victory for Franco means victory for Germany and Italy, who are threatening British imperial control of Africa and India. Hitler is demanding German colonies as the price of withdrawing troops from Spain; and if such colonies will not be granted he means to colonize Spain with Nazi soldiers and their families to the tune of many thousands."

Threat of War

According to the diplomatic correspondent of the **Sunday Pictorial**, March 27-38, these intentions of Hitler augur trouble. France will not tolerate a fascist state on her southern frontier. Britain is alarmed at the threat to Gibraltar.

While the diplomatic front is still in a bad shape, the military is still more dangerous for France and Great Britain. This is what "John Bull," April 9, '38, has to say:

"Twenty years ago Germany lay beaten, broken and bankrupt, under the heels of the Allies, today, without the firing of even a gun or the drawing of a sword, she dominates the continent as decisively as Napoleon dominated it at the height of his power.

"During the brief five years that have elapsed since the Nazi conspiracy seized power, the whole complexion of Europe has changed. Austria has been absorbed in a night; Czechoslovakia lies helpless in the vast jaws of a greater Germany. Hitler legionaires are on the Brenner and Mussolini, having sacrificed Austria of which he had declared himself to be the guardian, for the sake of German consent to his own conquest of Abyssinia, receives them with acclamation.

"All the smaller nations are running for shelter before the storm. The Hungarian soldiery fraternize with the formidable neighbor who is now on their frontier. The King of Rumania finds reason for not paying his visit to London. Switzerland, with its large German-speaking population, sees the shadow darkening over Lake Constance. Poland, once the ally of France, is virtually making terms with the power that matters, and right through the Balkans, to the Sea of Marmora, it is the Nazi star in the ascendant.

"Von Papen, fresh from his successful intrigues in Vienna, has gone as ambassador to Turkey, which has been our friend and is the keystone in the Balkan block, and incidentally, in the Eastern Mediterranean.

"Working swiftly and under close secrecy, Germany has been building on her North Sea coast new and immensely powerful fortifications, which are the greatest menace to Britain's safety.

"The island of Sylt on the west coast of Jutland has been turned into a vast aerial and naval stronghold. The fortifications of the island include a naval harbor and aerodromes.

"The whole northern end of the island has been transformed into a mass of concrete, concealing underground hangers, and this only about 400 miles from London.

"The island fortress of Heligoland guarding the approach to Hamburg on the river Elba and the North Sea end of the Kiel canal has also been strengthened.

"The strongest of the fortifications in all Germany, the **Dagbladet**, in Oslo, states, now extend from Hamburg to the Baltic port of Lubeck and about 100 miles eastward along the Baltic coast to the island of Ruegen.

"Germany's hegemony of Europe is not a dream; it is a fact.

"So John Bull is turning his eyes to the Mediterranean and says we are engaged in what are called, conversations with the Italian dictator, and all must hope for a happy issue to them.

"But it would be suicidal to shut our eyes to the enormous change that has come over the situation there.

"Even in the last war, when there was no effective enemy on the Mediterranean littoral, the passage of the sea was full of perils.

"Now with Lybia on one flank of Egypt and Abyssinia on the other, with the narrow straits between Sicily and the African coast fortified so as to make the channel impassable—and with Spain and the Balearic islands falling into the hands of the protege of Hitler and Mussolini, the navigation of the Mediterranean might in certain events become unthinkable. These are bare and sinister facts with which we (Britain) are faced. And the only answer to this is armament and more armament; and another world war, profits for ammunition makers, misery, starvation at home—death at the front for the youth of the world."

ADVICE TO BOYS

By UNCLE COVAMY

(Dedicated to my adopted Nephews, Bob and Edgar Hodemaker)

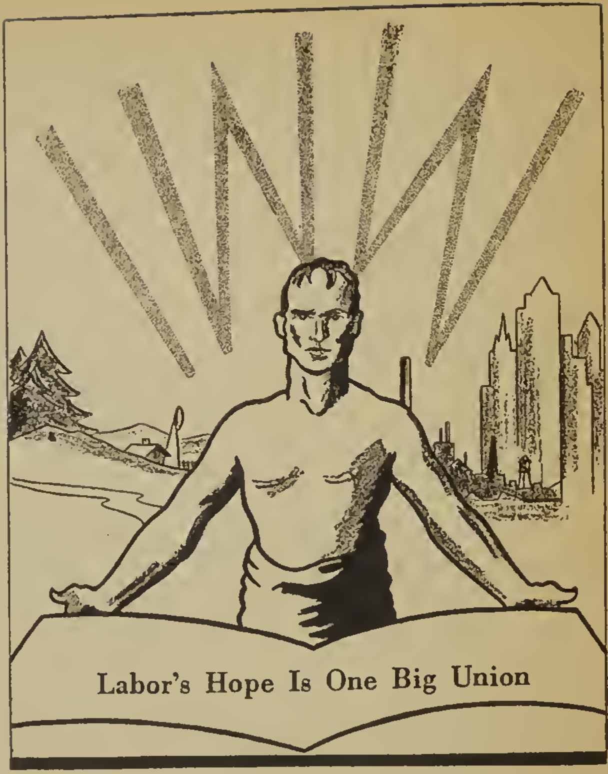
When you're called to war, my son,
You will get a bomb and gun,
A helmet and a mask,
And no question you must ask;
And you must put from the start
Love and mercy from your heart;
For then your duty is to slay,
Ravish, and obey
Your superiors, my boy.
To this end you must destroy
Every ideal mother thought
She, my boy, to you had taught.
On the battlefield you will
Another good boy seek to kill;
And he will do the same to you,
Or to his country be untrue.
This your duty is,—
Likewise also it is his—
To center all your thought and will
Each the other boy to kill.
But hard as this may seem to you,
'Tis not all that you must do.
In addition, you will gas
Mothers, children, babes en masse!
You will bomb the peaceful town,
Blast its schools and steeples down;
You will gorge its streets with dead,
Far and wide will ruin spread!
You will slaughter, raze and burn—
To an insane beast you turn!
But, if you return alive,
If with honor you survive
"The crusade for democracy,"
You will, son, a hero be!
You will sit down at the feast
With the statesmen and the priest.
If so it be that you return
In a coffin or an urn,
Your very name to them unknown,
They will raise a mighty stone,—
Out of marble they will hew
A memorial for you!
And to it will come thru the years
Presidents and Profiteers,
Mourning o'er your silent dust—
Calling other boys to trust,
Urging them with glowing lies
To a devil's enterprise.

L'envoi

When you are called to serve, my son,
Remember who the last war won.
If so you do, then you will choose
To other ends your strength to use—
To cleanse the homeland of the crew
Who would make a beast of you.
That is all I have to say,
Unto you, my boy, today.

WAGE WORKERS UNITE

By MORTIMER DOWNING



Labor's Hope Is One Big Union

Wage workers are the children of the ancient serfs. Capitalism claims to have made the present producers of wealth into Freemen. But at the same moment that they made wage workers of serfs, capitalists enacted laws that for two or more to combine to raise wages constituted "restraint of trade and commerce." All their laws to this day are on that basis. What capitalism actually did at its birth was to make every wage worker a merchant—a merchant of the one supreme commodity, Human Labor Power.

Now look at yourself, Mr. Merchant. When you seek to feed clothe and shelter yourself, you go out into a legally open market, in free competition, to sell the powers of your body to the highest bidder, whose yardstick is the clock. You can not eat, clothe yourself or sleep except you find a buyer of your labor power. Your forefather, the serf, could kick against his lord as inhuman, but you are part and parcel of a system wherein you sign the contract of your own starvation. So long as you permit this system to survive, you are doomed.

What happens? You are hungry—you must find a job. You are ragged—you must find a job. You are sleepy—you must buy a bed. You have tramped long, you are weary and disheartened, then you can "buy" a job from a mancatcher. And for this you must have cash.

There is your problem and this brings the question of your existence to the last stage of the iron law of Production, Distribution, Acquisition and Consumption. In a world of possible plenty one-half of your class are ill fed, ill clothed and ill housed. You blame the laws, curse the lawmakers and do everything except unite—

"Unite to break for aye the chains
That fetter fast your brawn and brains."

With all this misery you have a remedy for your condition. What is it? Ah! Something so simple that a child of ten years can read and understand it. It has been translated into every language under the sun where wage workers sweat and suffer. All the story of your freedom from your ills is told in three hundred and fifteen simple English words, and relatively briefly in every language. It is called the

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Three hundred and fifteen words, six short paragraphs and eleven sentences frame the charter of your welfare as wage workers. Moreover it is not only your freedom but that of every other wage seller in the wide world. Mr. Merchant of human labor power, why not follow the "trusts," which you hate, in so far as organization is concerned? Blot out wars, throttle greed, exile brutality by the one act expressed in one sentence:

"Workers of the World, unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains and a world to gain."

Then the circle of Production, Distribution, Acquisition and Consumption will close for all mankind.

In January, February and March of 1938, as compared with the same months in 1937, production in the United States dropped 54 percent. Production fell more in these three months than in three years after 1929. Face this fact and realize that either the workers have to take over production for use or fare along with capitalism to world chaos.

On the inside of the front cover appears the full text of the Preamble of the Indusetrial Workers of the World.

BUTTE AGAIN

A reader criticizes "Butte," a story by Montana Slim which appeared in the April issue of the One Big Union Monthly.

Montana Slim, with the scissorbill's weakness for rushing into print, has acquired for himself the distinction of being the proverbial April fool. His villifying description of the Irish miner is written for the purpose of deluding the average reader that "Mike Finnegan" is typical of his race.

We have seen the stage Irishman in all his grotesqueness and recognized it as British propaganda to divert attention from their merciless exploitation of the Irish. Direct action was the method used to stop this slander, which consisted in wrecking such theatres which exhibited the monstrosities. The owners and managers learned a costly lesson and the scurility ceased.

Now Montana Slim ignorantly enters the already exploited field to exhibit his bigotry. He drags in Mike Finnegan as his straw man, pummels him mercilessly, finally demolishes him and emerges in a blaze of self-conceit.

According to Slim, Mike arrives from Miami, Arizona, and never saw or heard of a drilling machine nicknamed the "widow maker." For Slim's information, the "widow maker" was operated in Jerome, Bisbee and Miami long before its introduction to Butte, and was so named by the Irish miners.

Poor Mike, after his experience in the "hot holes" of Arizona, didn't know enough to get the sweaty stiffness from his "digging clothes" until, Slim relates, the other miners told him to "wash them every night."

Invincible Mike, with the help of the little Slav performs a Herculean task with a machine he had never heard of. Slim says, after several days work (not weeks or months), Mike and his partner had 1,200 feet for breaking, 1,150 for mucking, and 800 feet for timbering—not counting how much the measure-man cheated. A colossal record which only Paul Bunyan and his Blue Ox might have made. Mike evidently smuggled them into Butte in his two suitcases.

Slim says Mike was amazed at the little Slav, who wouldn't stop to get his breath but kept mucking in the terrible heat. In a succeeding paragraph he forgets himself and says, "The Slav was a little wiser because he didn't work so hard."

The story of the employment office is pure bunk. Imagine a wobbly climbing the "hill," looking for and needing a job, confessing to the manager of the "Kangaroo Court." Such a one is either dumb or has the martyr complex.

Slim takes us to the "Rose Garden" with Mike in the clutches of the law, and the wretch is given a prison sentence. Mike is a despicable slave, a drunkard, an adulterer and Slim forgets to crown the worthless character a dope fiend.

The nearest Slim ever got to a Butte mine was the vitiated atmosphere of a Park street pool room. No new arrival gets a contract as these jobs are reserved for company pets since there is a chance to make better than wages and no shift boss bothers them.

Let us remind Slim of a Butte incident.

The Pearse-Connolly club of Butte, composed of Irish revolutionists, many of them wobblies, protected and escorted the funeral of Frank Little when scissorbills hid in pool rooms and saloons, afraid to be on the street.

We also tell you that from the loins of the Molly Maguires sprang the Knights of Labor, the United Mine Workers, and the Western Federation of Miners. Incidentally, it was from the Western Federation of Miners that the I.W.W. got the three stars on its symbol.

The I.W.W. constitution particularly stresses—**irrespective of race, color or creed.** This Slim ignores.

We recall the old wobbly song:

Scissor Bill is down on everybody—
The Irishman, the Dutchman, and the
Man in the moon.

—Goban Sayer.

I.W.W.--Non-Political Labor Union

A non-political labor union, such as the I.W.W. is particularly well adapted to the situation confronting the WPA workers as well as other unemployed men and women of many political beliefs. Some are Republicans, some Democrats, some Socialists, and some have no particular favorite party. To restrict membership in the I.W.W. to one political faith would be to isolate one group from those of other political beliefs. Working people have not a common political belief.

Working people have common interests in wages, hours, and working conditions; also in the amount of relief they get when unemployed. A republican, a democrat, and a socialist, though unemployed, could never agree on the political questions of tariff, taxes, or who is the best man for President. But they could all agree on the economic questions of higher wages, or shorter hours on WPA jobs, or more relief. Therefore the I.W.W. tells them to leave their political beliefs and differences outside th union hall so that these differences will not disturb the discussion of the union's business of shorter hours and better working conditions.

Being non-political, the I.W.W. does not endorse any political party or individual politician and we ask them not to endorse us. This is the plain common sense way of doing things too. If we endorse one politician for an office the other fellow would naturally say, "Well, if you aren't going to support me there is no use of me paying any further attention to you. I had better use what influence I have to satisfy people who might support me."

And the politician whom we might endorse would say, "Well, now that I am sure you are going to vote for me and my party there is no use in my paying any further attention to you. I had better use my influence to satisfy those persons I am not so sure will vote for me, to see if I can win them over." They wouldn't say it in so many words but that is the way they look at it. And there you are. One will work against your interests because you won't support him and the other, cock-sure you will support him anyway, will do the same.

Furthermore, unions endorsing politicians because of what they say they are going to do has proved a fruitless procedure. A politicians' platform is like the steps of a train—it is only to get in on.

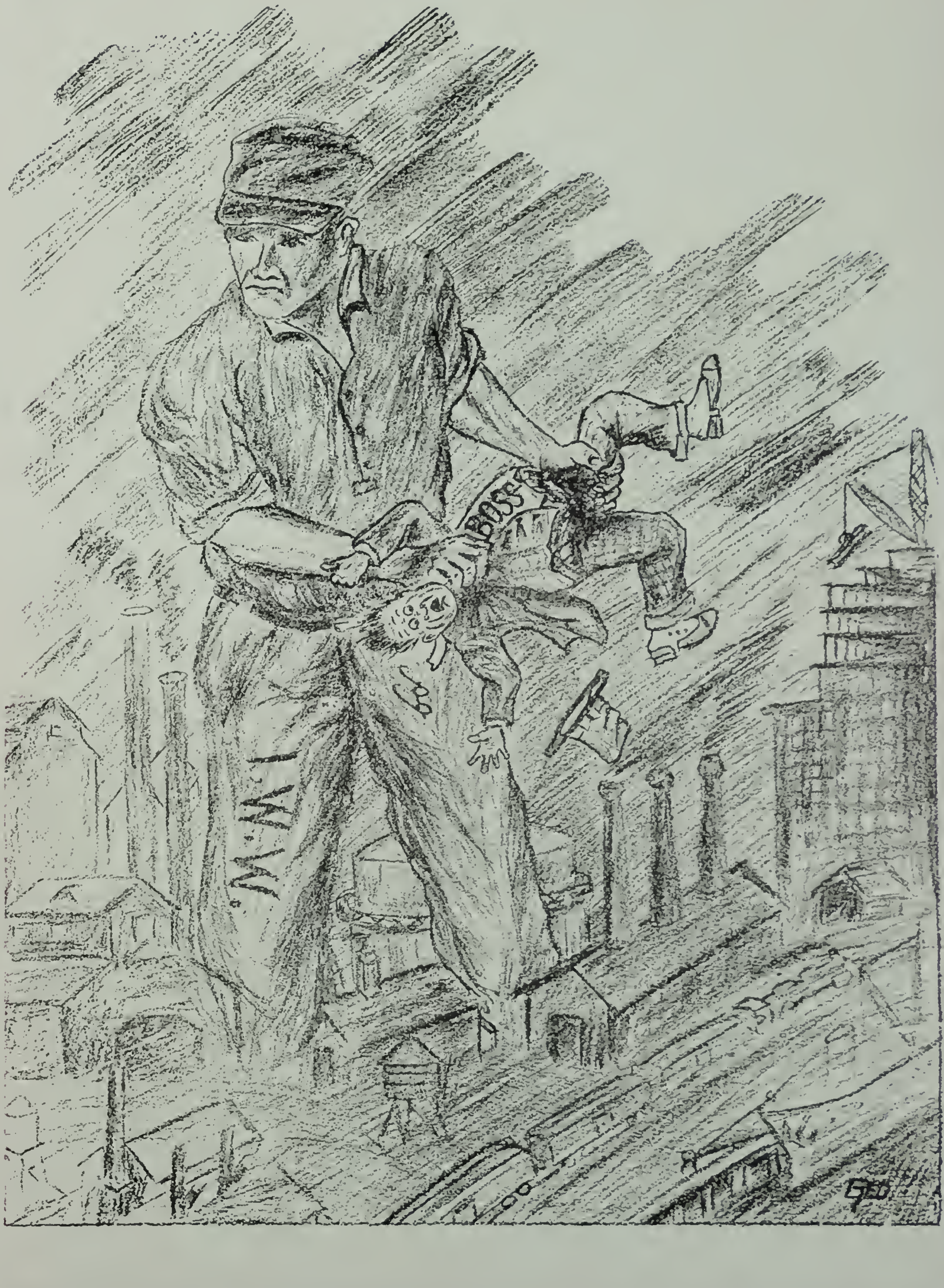
Not that the members of the I.W.W. don't vote. But the members of the I.W.W. can vote as they please, without telling us or telling them. And when they vote, if they vote, they are influenced in much the same manner that other workers are They vote for the one that will do the least harm in their estimation. But as the I.W.W. does not allow politicians and their stooges to use the organization for a vote-catching machine and does not endorse any political group, it avoids any risk of the politicians tearing the union wide open in their attempts to control it.

The worker's power lies in his organized strength on the point of production and if we build up the power at that point, the politicians will be around, hat in hand, wanting to listen to our slightest desire just as they now listen to the desires of the economically powerful employing class. The I.W.W. says, "Keep politics and politicians out of the union and keep the union out of politics.—**A WPA Worker.**

AN ODE TO YOUTH

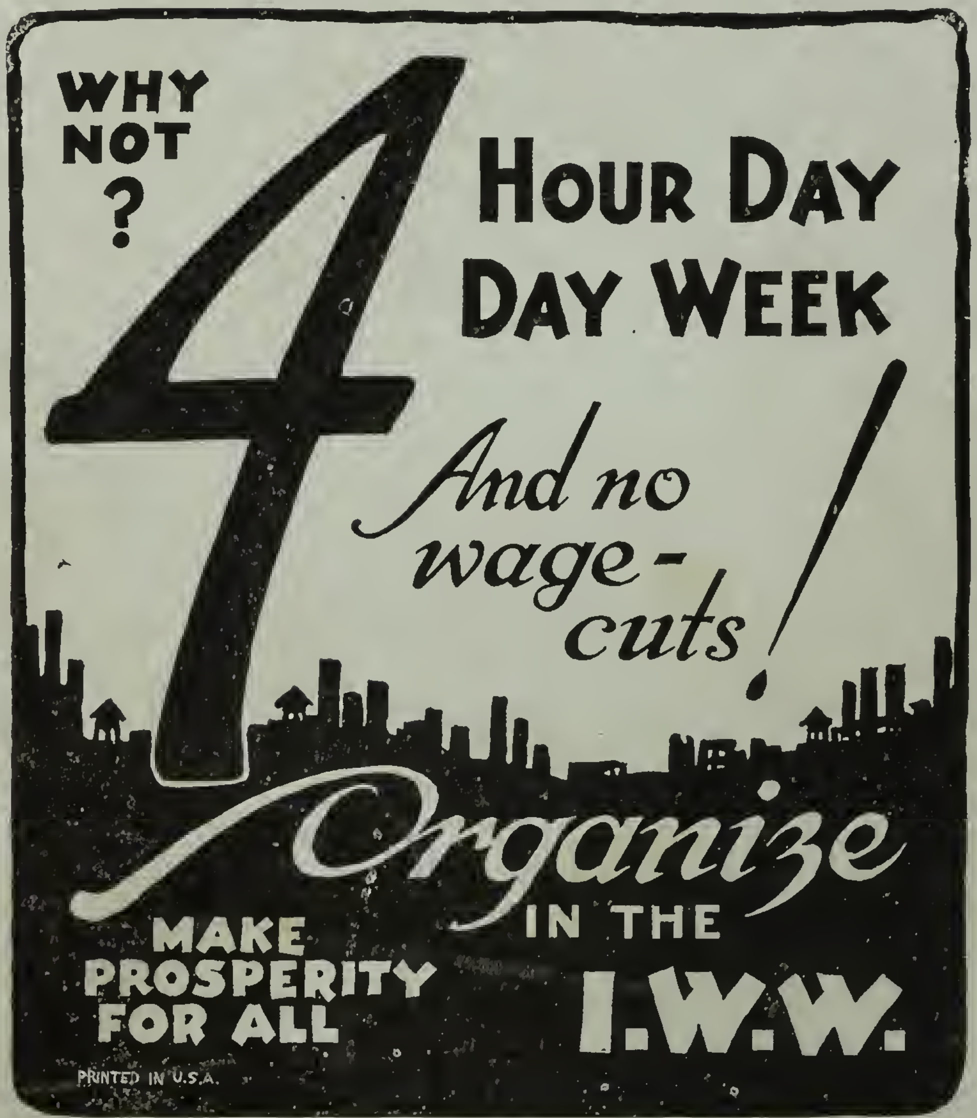
By GUSSIE PERLMAN

Do not spend the fleeting hours of your youth,
Grinding a morsel of some half-baked truth,
Nor create a halo around forgotten themes,
To frustrate the very presence of your dreams.
May the past sleep in the dust of the years,
It is not your want to shed timeless tears.
Yours is the mission to seek and to find
The essence of reason, hope for mankind!



BOSS
I.W.W.
GEO

APPLY THE REMEDY!


WHY NOT ?
4
HOUR DAY
DAY WEEK
And no wage-cuts!
Organize
IN THE
I.W.W.
MAKE PROSPERITY FOR ALL
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

The sixteen-hour week will end unemployment, guarantee economic security, and go a long way toward putting the control of industry where it belongs—in the hands of the organized workers of the world.

Profits?—Let the parasites worry about them. Labor's job is to see that everybody eats.

The Rebel Worker

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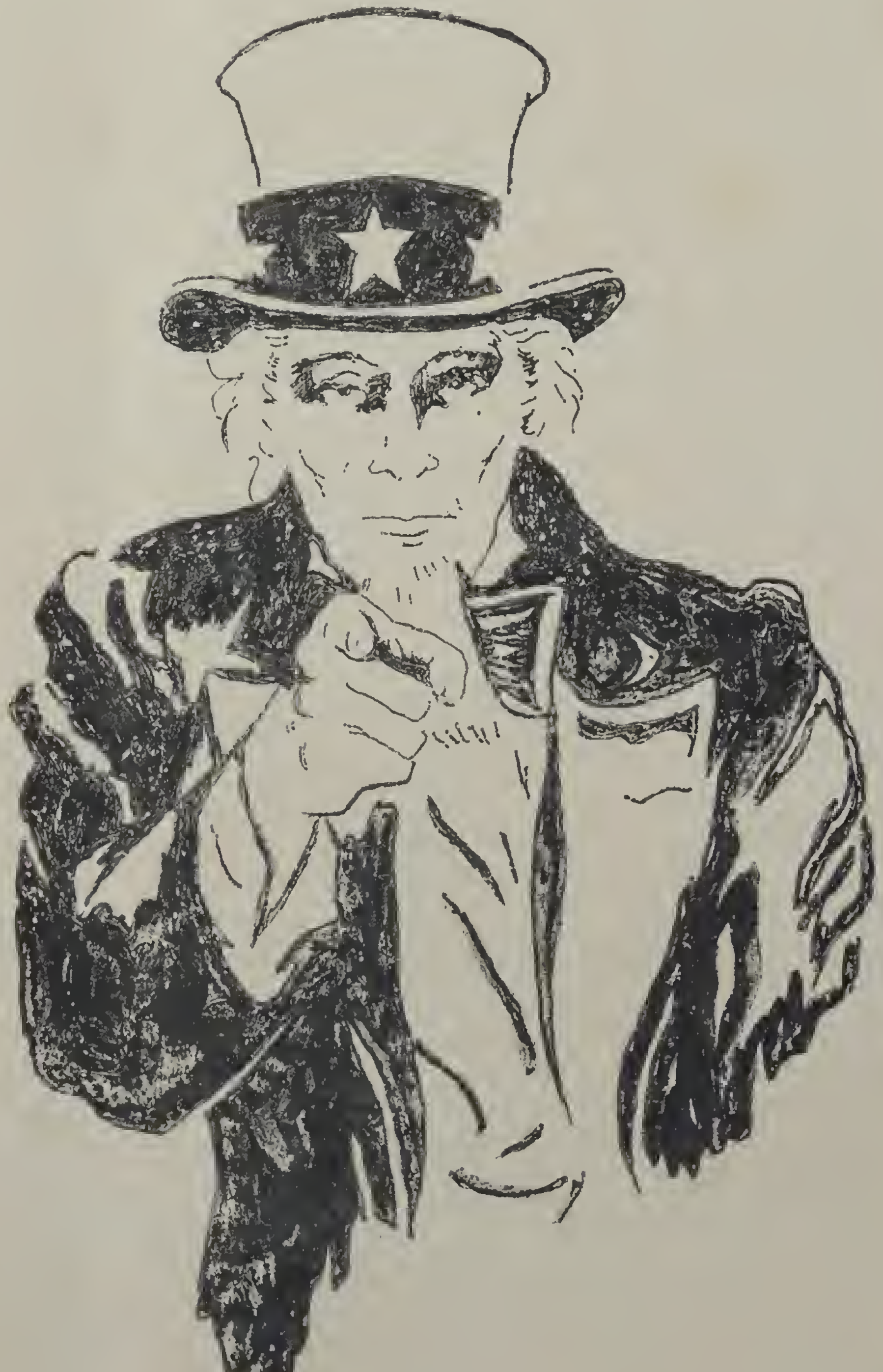

"I'm organized, are you?"

The Rebel Worker

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Contents Spring 1964

Cover by Torvald Faegre

Why Rebel? by Fred Thompson 3

"The Wobblies Return" in Chicago
by Franklin Rosemont 5

May Day 1964 8

A Longshoreman's Call by Jimmy Jewers 9

The General Defense 10

Agricultural Workers 11

The Great Magician by René Daumal 12

Education: What is it? by Jack Sheridan 14

Preamble to the Constitution of the
Industrial Workers of the World 16

Will We All Go Together When We Go?
by Barbara Garson 17

Selections From the Works of
T-Bone Slim: Introduction 19

Selections 21

IWW Literature 27

Cartoon 29

Calligraphy & Art-Work by Torvald Faegre

"An injury to one is an injury to all"

WHY REBEL

WHY REBEL

Why bother rebelling against capitalism if it is destroying itself anyway?

It is wrecking itself, damaging the earth that nurtured it, and threatening to drag humanity into oblivion with it,

But to conserve ourselves, to conserve the world so that later generations may blossom in it, to conserve whatever is worthy in our traditions, we must rebel.

We are an enslaved and manipulated class of hired hands. Our lot is that of trying to make a living by doing what we are told to do---and by people who can not have our interests at heart. That is our destiny whether we have not learned to read and write or whether we are busy hawking our sheepskins to personnel managers. We cannot be aware of our situation and hold our heads erect if we do not rebel.

The intelligent rebel of today is concerned with somewhat different issues than was his counterpart of an earlier age. Then men rebelled against what was and what had been, The world we live in is phony and over-administered and self-destructive. We should rebel against it. But it is a world so obviously in the process of shifting and changing that today's rebel is primarily in revolt against what the world threatens to become.

Yes, capitalism is all too likely to disappear without our lifting a finger to end it. But in that case, what can we expect as a system to succeed capitalism?

Surely it will be succeeded by a society premised on those technical and traditional traits of our present order that survive it, organized and modified by the forces that have destroyed capitalism. The issue what traits survive and how they are modified and organized depends on what forces do bring capitalism to an end.

If capitalism ends primarily because of the troubles it gets itself into, or from the actions of the swollen bureaucracies it needs and engenders, or is given the final coup by the authoritarianism it seems likely to seek as a final refuge---what sort of world do we get from that?

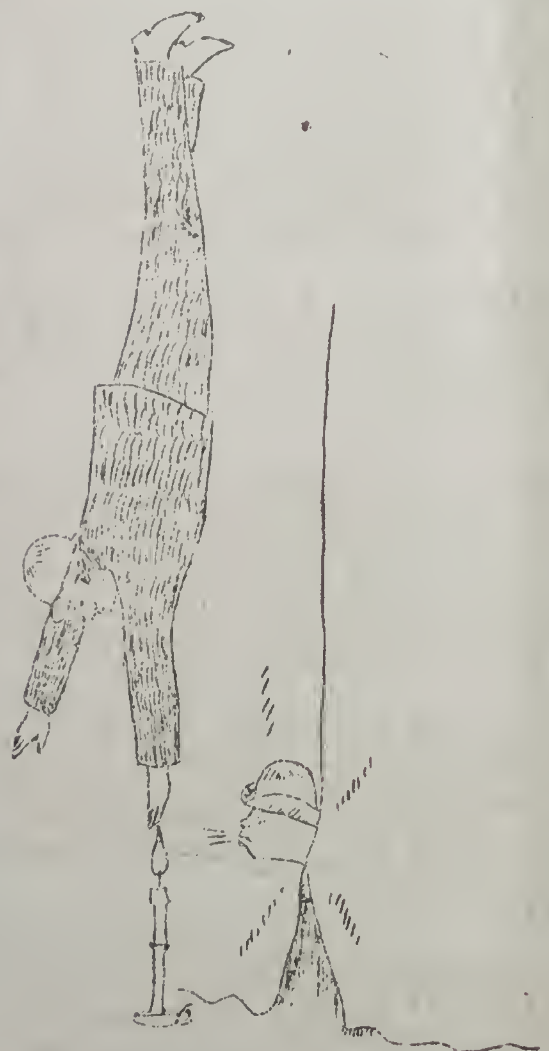
Beware of the sort of "socialism" mankind can get without even trying. It is not only a hideous caricature of the dreams of the socialist pioneers, but it may so adroitly manipulate its antagonisms and administer its underlying population as to make itself rebellion-proof.

But---IF capitalism is brought to an end by those who rebel against it, by those who despise its exploitation of labor, by those who contemn its devices for dividing humanity into warring collectivities, by those who cannot stomach its commercialism and who revolt at its commercials, who shudder at its glad-hand peddlers of mummified smiles and instant personality, who prefer the ancient verities to its tinkling baubles, who cringe at its ugliness, its stench and its moral degrodation, but who refuse to cringe before its hireling watchdogs---then, and only then, is there a chance for a good world.

Rebel, while capitalism still makes it possible.

Fred THOMPSON

Where will you be when capitalism collapses?



Cartoon by Topar

→ JOIN the IWW

"THE WOBBLIES RETURN" IN CHICAGO

The recent resurgence of IWW activity in Chicago (reported a few weeks ago in a long but somewhat confused article in the Chicago Sun-Times, under the headline "The Wobblies Return") points to a general reanimation of the radical movement here, and the present situation seems to indicate a promise of continuous renewal of organization and education in several areas. Plans for the agricultural workers organization drive this summer and fall have been discussed at length in recent issues of the Industrial Worker and elsewhere in this issue of The Rebel Worker. Members of the branch have also decided to promote the Industrial Worker and various other IWW publications by arranging for sales at newsstands, factories, streetcorners and at forthcoming IWW street meetings. We've also been setting up a weekly literature table at the open-air street market on Maxwell Street.

Most recently, the Chicago IWW branch has begun seriously investigating the possibilities of organizing unemployed workers in this area into some sort of direct action, self-help program.

Strangely enough, however, it seems that the IWW is not the only group in Chicago interested in the possibilities of action by organized jobless workers. It was with considerable surprise that we noticed the emergence a couple of months ago of a rival group purporting to organize the unemployed here into an allegedly "radical" pressure group. This group calls itself Jobs Or Income Now (JOIN), and is run by the liberal Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), with substantial financial backing of the United Auto Workers and the Packinghouse Workers. Its program is almost totally political in scope (hunger marches to the Mayor's office, meetings with local politicians, etc.) except for some even more useless and ridiculous proposals (such as having the unemployed sell apples on the street: this, they claim, is a "dramatic" effort to arouse church leaders, social workers, etc.).

With such competition, the Chicago area Wobblies are reasonably confident of some success in their own organizational effort. The potential danger of this other group (which, it must be remembered, is well-financed) is that it could very well sidetrack many unemployed from the economic roots of their problem and turn them into little more than a vehicle for disrupting the Chicago political machine and replacing it with another machine which could be just as bad if not worse.

It is therefore necessary for serious militants here not only to give attention to the organizational activity of the IWW, but also to expose the ineffective and misleading political nonsense of its competitor.

We have begun our organizational effort by an intensive leafleting of the North and South sides of the city to determine the degree of unrest among the unemployed and their willingness to participate in a direct action program. These are the two greatest focal points of unemployment in Chicago, the former containing a large number of Puerto Ricans and Mexicans and the latter being the main area of Chicago's Negro ghetto. A leaflet in Spanish will be distributed on the North side in the next few weeks. Another leaflet, specifically directed to Negro workers, was distributed to participants in the second Freedom Day school boycott demonstration downtown, and is now being distributed on the South side. It was this leaflet that resulted in the aforementioned story in the Sun-Times (February 25).

The fundamental problem confronting the jobless workers and us is, naturally, what can the unemployed do? The two tasks at hand are to better the lives of the unemployed (to feed them, clothe them, house them) and simultaneously try to lay the foundation for a revolutionary workers' movement. My political socialist friends (who call themselves "realists") tell me this is impossible, that the workers aren't ready for a revolutionary movement, that all we can do now is attach ourselves to the civil rights movement and "radicalize" it, while keeping alive among ourselves the idea of socialism. We must even support reform candidates, some of them tell me, because there's nothing else. I suppose, by voting for this or that candidate (even a stalinist, if the party line happens to be "liberal" at the moment) that it might be possible to get an extra bowl of oatmeal in the morning, or the right to move into a new potential slum, or any one of a thousand other meaningless "rewards" for accepting the status quo, by blending into it, "realistically," like a chameleon. But this so-called "realism" seems to me to conceal a deep-rooted fear of real struggle, and if an actual revolutionary situation developed (in their terms), I suspect they'd still be uttering the same hesitations and postponements. Meanwhile the day-to-day struggle with the boss goes on, and the workers are looking for answers.

Considering the present situation of the labor movement, we view ourselves in the IWW primarily as a disruptive force within the existing capitalist system, seeking ways out of that system by demonstrating its uselessness and its miseries and participating in all meaningful movements of protest and liberation. Until the time rolls around when we can once again function as a union, i. e., as a collective bargaining agency (and the forthcoming agricultural workers organization drive as well as the current railroad organization on the West Coast indicate that possibility in the not-too-darkly-distant future), we see much need at this time for rebellion by small groups of workers directed toward various problems related to but not exactly traditionally part of the labor struggle. There is, at present, for instance, no organized effort at opposing the draft except by pacifists of one variety or another. Yet the occasional increases in the draft are nothing more than efforts to artificially reduce unemployment, and therefore deserve our attention. It is problems like these that we are now working on.

The next few months will probably see the branch's emphasis on the following:

Picketlines: We hope to set up intermittent picketlines at unemployment offices, accompanied by leaflets telling the unemployed what we're doing and why they should join us.

Rent Strikes: The success of these in New York, San Francisco and elsewhere makes the rent strike an inevitable aspect of a serious protest movement. Metropolitan CORE, of which a number of us are members, has begun canvassing slum apartments intending to organize a series of rent strikes here. They're also planning to set up slum tours for the middle-class to see what slums are like, etc. This isn't a bad idea, but we're thinking of turning it around and setting up "tours of slumlord's mansions," consisting of a group of slum residents who'll show up one morning in front of one of these suburban palaces, incidentally armed with picket signs denouncing slum conditions in case the "No Visitors" sign is out.

Help Yourself Demonstrations: There are hundreds, if not thousands, of children in Chicago who are hungry and undernourished. We're trying to assemble a group of these children and/or their parents to go with us into a downtown restaurant, have a good meal, and charge the bill, of course, to the President's "War on Poverty."

Street Meetings: The recent success of these in the Bay Area IWW demonstrates that this old Wobbly organizational method is still useful. We're planning a series of them all summer and fall.

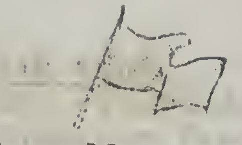
Aside from the organization of unemployed and the side-issues described above, Chicago IWW members are developing certain related tactics to bring the facts of economic exploitation into the foreground of public consideration. We have decided, for example, to picket and leaflet various factories, restaurants and stores which pay their employees a subhuman wage. There are factories and stores here which hire only Puerto Ricans, and restaurants which hire only Irish immigrant girls as waitresses, because the boss knows that these immigrants are in desperate need of employment and will work for less, and are ignored by the trade union bureaucrats who are more interested in maintaining their bowling clubs and dinners at expensive hotels. We have begun going into some of these places (such as Woolworth's, where no one makes more than a buck and a quarter an hour) talking to the workers, finding out how the wages run, etc. Until we get the IWW off the "subversive" list it's pretty damn hard to talk to these workers about joining the One Big Union. But we can start by picketing and leafleting the rat-shops where they are forced to work, letting the workers and the public know what working conditions and wages must always be when the boss is organized and the workers aren't.

Several of us are also thinking of entering some unskilled, part-time occupation (either as laundry workers or dishwashers or service station attendants, etc.) and raising hell from the inside, collectively. You must admit, if several dishwashers in different restaurants suddenly began simultaneously demanding recognition of the IWW as their collective bargaining agency, it would certainly have an appreciable impact on our fellow workers and the boss.

Unlike well-meaning but misleading liberals, we do not have such a low regard for our fellow workers as to seduce them into a time-wasting political tea-party. The workers of this country (and for that matter the world) need a labor movement. We are trying to build it. We think that many workers are ready, as we are, for some serious action now. After all, it has been said, the working people have nothing to lose but their chains, and a world to win.

Franklin ROSEMONT

MAY DAY 1964



> "May Day ought to be a glorious day for all the workers of the world. It is their international holiday; their day of universal rejoicing; their day of hope and inspiration."

These lines were written by Eugene V. Debs for the May Day 1925 number of the IWW magazine, The Industrial Pioneer. What remains of the May Day spirit today? The United States government has declared May 1 "Law Day," perverting the revolutionary workingclass spirit of May Day into an official hymn of respect for capitalist oppression. Soviet Russia and Red China similarly distort May Day with their long military parades and even longer speeches by well-paid bureaucrats.

But a new revolutionary workingclass spirit is rising from the ashes of these last few apathetic years. It is rising against the obstacles not only of capitalism but of stalinism and nationalism and other authoritarian "left" theories, as well as the official "labor movements" run by bureaucrats who have no interest in anything other than maintaining the system and their salaries. In Britain and Japan this new revolutionary workers' consciousness has already become a serious nuisance, if not a threat, to the State bureaucracies. In Spain the rising wave of protest against fascist oppression will one day soon topple the dictator Franco. In Latin America too there are signs that the working people feel they can no longer rely on the empty promises of "leaders" and must take a hand in their own destinies. In the United States, where the authoritarian socialist movement has practically collapsed (having reduced itself to excercises in Bolshevik catechism), the IWW is growing larger and stronger each day. Government bureaucrats, the press and authoritarian socialists like to pretend that the IWW no longer exists. Undoubtedly they would prefer that it didn't, for our very presence disturbs their complacent illusions and forces them to recognize that freedom remains, for some of us at least, "the only cause worth serving."

We are tired of the sterile theorizing that has exhausted the "left" these last few years. We are tired of the practice of confining revolutionary aspirations to the college campus, to the middle-class intellectual's suburban parlor, to abstruse esoteric journals. We are organizing on the job, talking to our fellow workers in stores, in restaurants, in factories and on the street. To some, who know of socialism only as an idle diversion for college students, this may seem to be a new tactic. But the IWW has been doing it for years, because it's the only way a serious revolutionary workingclass movement can be built.

This May Day we are going to picket and leaflet the Spanish Government Tourist Bureau at 23 West Jackson, between Dearborn and State, as an expression of solidarity with our Spanish fellow workers in their struggle for freedom. The spirit of May Day is coming back! Why not join us in celebrating it? And if you can't make it, the Bureau's telephone number is WA-2-0005: why not call them and give them May Day "greetings" of your own?

★ WORLD LABOR DAY ★

A LONGSHOREMAN'S CALL

(The following letter, republished from *Solidarity*, was written in connection with an anti-war conference held in Paris last November, sponsored by the National Committee of 100 of Great Britain, the War Resisters International, and the Zengakuren of Japan. A simultaneous meeting (also in Paris) of longshoremen, seamen, clerks, etc., was held to consider the particular possibilities of action against war at the ports. The Secretary of this meeting was John Papworth, 22 Nevern Road, London SW5, from whom further particulars can be obtained.)

Dear Brother Portworkers,

This is a plea for peace. A plea made by a dock labourer, the largest proportion of whose life must be spent amid sweat, dirt, exhaustion and sometimes blood in the never ending struggle for some sort of economic stability. A struggle which should and almost always does monopolise the whole of his consciousness and leaves no time for any original thought. This is the station in life into which I have been placed---one which, I am sure, you will easily recognize.

My position in society has been so carefully arranged by those responsible for such things that I am removed by only one week's wages from pauperism. Domestic tragedy, as you will well know, is always imminent. Sickness, accident, unemployment---the real ever-present enemies ---always there to smash our pride and destroy any vestige of character and personality we might develop in spite of all the obstacles.

Is it any wonder then that the vast majority of us concern ourselves less and less with the major international problems and grab at the fruits of labour while they are going? We look at life through half-closed eyes and leave our destinies in the hands of people who have consistently betrayed us throughout the ages---and taught us to hate other working men just like ourselves.

We British portworkers have been taught in turn to hate Germans, Italians, Japanese, Russians and Chinese---and we have complied with fervour. We have then been commanded to go out and shoot them or blow them to bits and accepted as easily as if we were doing a normal day's work.

Such is the manner in which restricted minds react to abusive propaganda. I would willingly have machine-gunned an Italian portworker even though in the course of my whole life I have never met one. I could have quite easily condoned the slaughter of German workers' wives and children in Dresden or Hamburg, although my stomach would turn at the sight of a mutilated animal. I could have applauded the decision to atomise Hiroshima when the nearest I had come to a Japanese was at a performance of *Madame Butterfly*. And so it goes on. Tomorrow it might be the turn of the French. The day after that the man next door. Next year my own wife and children.

Authorities are rapidly failing to ensure the continued existence of mankind. We must begin to take control from them. We must reject the hate attitudes. Portworkers may be inarticulate, but they are also vociferous. They may be humble but they can be equally as powerful. They are an essential part of any nation's economy and are in the position to terminate anyone's aggressive aspirations.

Only when we stand together as one race, mankind, can we begin to end forever man's greatest scourge.

Let us begin by starting to know each other, by meeting and talking and laughing with each other and gradually find out that we are exactly the same, with the same kind of problems, then we shall soon reject the swindle that we have been involved in for centuries and really think of each other, after the comradeship we would generate, as brothers.

Yours fraternally,

Jimmy JEWERS

8th October 1963

The General Defense Committee

To protect the interests of workers in their revolutionary struggle for freedom the IWW long ago established its General Defense Committee, which throughout its history has paid for the defense of workers, collected and distributed strike relief, publicized trials of revolutionary workers, etc.

The need for such organized defense cannot be overestimated. In the early days of the IWW the "free speech fights" required funds and publicity. The famous strikes at Paterson and Lawrence, the Wheatland hop riots, the opposition to war and other labor struggles which catapulted the IWW into national and world prominence---all these depended in part at least on urgently needed defense activity.

Today the General Defense Committee remains at the forefront of revolutionary defense. It has recently collected and sent strike relief to the destitute miners in Hazard, Kentucky, and to the Asturian miners in Spain.

The inertness of the official trade unions and the left-wing political sects regarding these problems requires that the General Defense Committee (as the only organized defense of all workers everywhere in their struggle against oppression) maintain itself and grow to meet the demands of the new wave of protest now emerging.

Contributions to the General Defense Committee are always welcome. Membership in the Committee is open to IWW members and non-members who agree with the principles of the Committee. For further information write to:

W. H. Westman
General Secretary-Treasurer
The Industrial Workers of the World
2422 North Halsted Street
Chicago, Illinois 60614

Agricultural Workers

Agricultural workers are the most thoroughly deprived and thoroughly exploited workers in the country. Working in the hot sun for twelve or fourteen hours for a total daily income of as low as three or four dollars, with which a wife and children must be fed and clothed and housed; subjected to unhealthful and physically dangerous working conditions (agriculture is the third most hazardous industry in the United States in terms of job-connected accidents, but farm workers are unprotected even by workmen's compensation); their children given almost no opportunity for education, since they too must work in the fields: this is the lot of hundreds of thousands of workingmen and their families in the United States.

Obviously they need a union. But repeated failures by well-financed AFL-CIO "organizers" (with their Buicks and briefcases) have led some people to the conclusion that these migratory workers cannot be organized, that the obstacles are too great. When one looks into the history of agricultural workers' organization, however, one sees that the IWW Agricultural Workers Industrial Union 110 (starting in 1915 and continuing through the 20's into the 30's) consistently improved the living and working conditions of its members. The IWW is the only union that helps the agricultural worker to help himself. With this in mind, we can conclude that it is not that migratory workers cannot be organized, but that the AFL-CIO cannot possibly organize them.

This summer a number of IWW organizers are entering the harvest fields, in Michigan, in Wisconsin and in Illinois, to agitate for the organization of our migratory agricultural fellow workers. Of course, the corporation farmers didn't in the past, and probably won't now, take too kindly to Wobbly organizers, who have a reputation for raising wages and improving working conditions and thus reducing somewhat the income of the exploiters. There are "criminal syndicalism" laws in many states which can easily be revived if necessary to keep agricultural workers in "their place" (i. e., at the bottom of the ladder). There are also police, the militia, the American Legion: the whole anti-union network. We are fully aware of the obstacles awaiting us. But we are equally aware of what agricultural workers have done for themselves in the past and their even greater possibilities for today. As the old IWW song by Ralph Chaplin---Solidarity Forever---says:

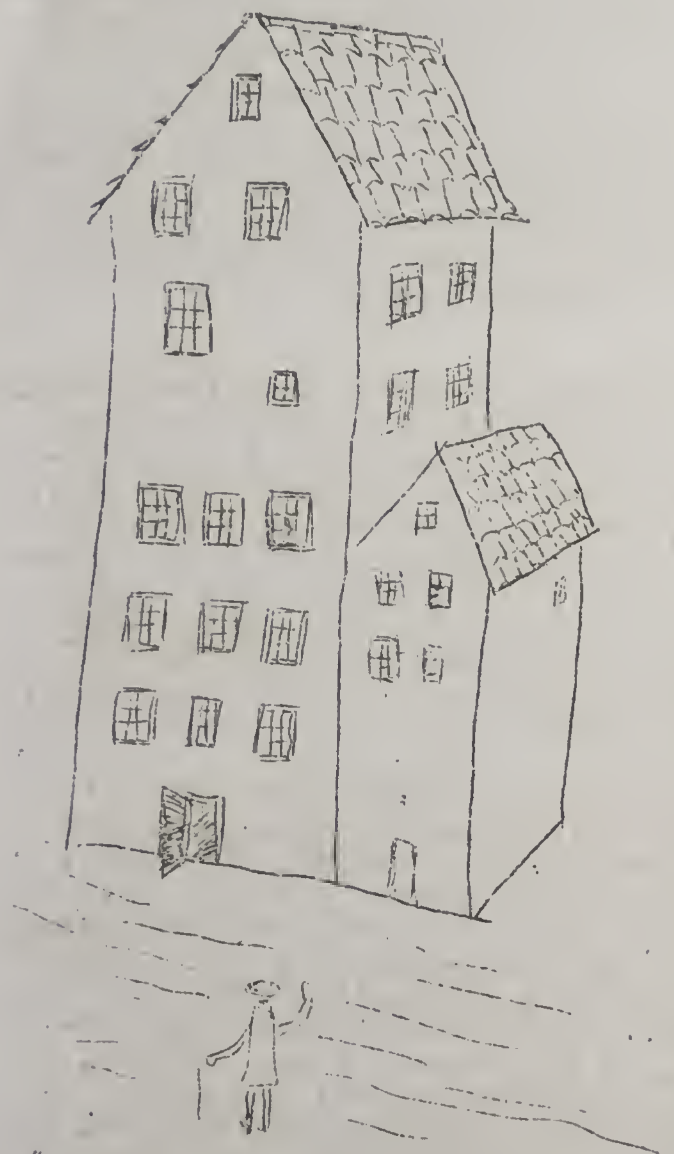
> "When the Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
> There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun."

If YOU are entering the harvest, we need your help in our organization drive. For further information, contact:

Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee
Robert Green, Chicago Branch Secretary
The Industrial Workers of the World
2422 North Halsted Street
Chicago, Illinois 60614

ORGANIZE

THE GREAT MAGICIAN



"he could have transmuted all the tiles of the roof into bars of gold."

There was once a powerful magician who lived in a garret in the Rue Bouffetard. He lived there in the guise of a little old clerk, tidy and punctual, and worked in a branch of the Araganais Bank on the Avenue des Gibelins. With the wave of a magic toothpick he could have transmuted all the tiles of the roof into bars of gold. But that would have been immoral, for he believed that work ennobles man. And---to some extent---even woman, he would add.

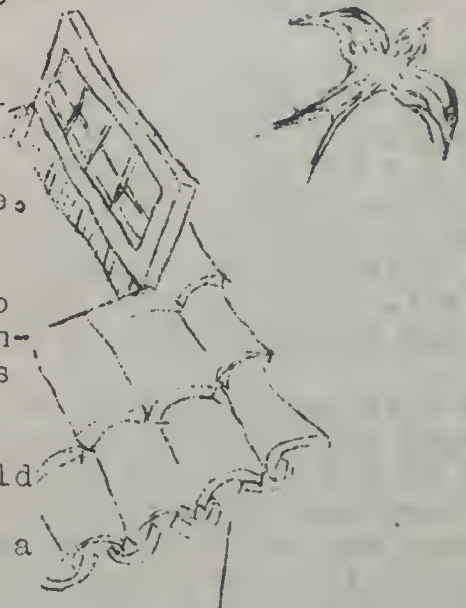
When his Aunt Ursula, an old shrew who had just been ruined by the collapse of Serbian-Bulgarian stocks, came to live with him and demanded that he take care of her, he could have transformed her at will into a pretty young princess, or into a swan harnessed to his magic chariot, or into a soft-boiled egg, or into a ladybug, or into a bus. But that would have broken with good family tradition, the backbone of society and morality. So he slept on a straw mat and would get up at six o'clock to buy Aunt Ursula her rolls and prepare her coffee; after which, he listened patiently to the daily broadside of complaints: that the coffee tasted of soap, that there was a cockroach baked into one of the rolls, that he was an unworthy nephew and would be disinherited. "Disinherited of what?" you might well wonder. But he let her talk on, knowing that if he wanted to... But Aunt Ursula must never suspect that he was a powerful magician. That might give birth to thoughts of lucre and close the gates of Paradise forever.

After that, the great magician would go down his six flights, sometimes almost breaking his neck on the murderously slippery stairs. However, he would pick himself up with a faint smile, thinking that if he wished he could change himself into a swallow and take wing through the skylight. But the neighbors might see, and so wondrous a feat would shake the very foundation of their naive but wholesome faith.

When he reached the street, he would brush the dust off his alpaca jacket at the same time taking care not to pronounce those words which would have instantly turned it into a brocade vestment. Such an act would have planted a sinister doubt in the hearts of the people passing and shaken their innocent belief in the immutability of the laws of nature.

He had his breakfast at the counter in a cafe, taking only some ersatz coffee and a bit of stale bread. Ah, if he wanted to...but in order to stop himself from making use of his supernatural powers, he would swallow five cognacs in rapid succession. The alcohol, dulling the edge of his magic powers, brought him round to a salutary humility and to the feeling that all men, including himself, were brothers. If the cashier repulsed him when he tried to kiss her, pretending it was because of his dirty beard, he would tell himself that she had no heart and understood nothing of the spirit of the gospels. At a quarter of eight, he was in his office, his sleeve-protectors on, a pen behind his ear, and a newspaper spread before him. With only a slight effort of concentration he could have known straight off the present, past and future of the entire world, but he restrained himself from using this gift. He made himself read the paper so as not to lose touch with the common language; it allowed him to communicate over an aperitif with his equals---in appearance---and guide them in the right direction. At eight o'clock, the paper scratching began, and if he made a mistake now and then, it was in order to justify the reprimands of his superiors, who otherwise would be guilty of the serious sin of having made a false accusation. And so, all day long the great magician, in the guise of an average employee, carried on his task as humanity's guide.

Poor Aunt Ursula! Whenever he returned at noon having forgotten to buy some parsley, that dear lady, instead of cracking the basin over his head, would certainly have behaved differently had she known who her nephew really was. But then she would never have had the opportunity of discovering to what extent anger is a momentary madness.



"he could change himself into a swallow and take wing through the skylight."

If he had wanted to!...Instead of dying in a hospital of an unknown disease in barely Christian fashion, leaving no more trace on earth than a moth-eaten coat in the wardrobe, an old toothbrush, and mocking memories in the ungrateful hearts of his colleagues, he could have been a pasha, an alchemist, a wizard, a nightingale, or a cedar of Lebanon. But that would have been contrary to the secret designs of Providence. No one made a speech over his grave. No one suspected who he was. And who knows---perhaps not even he himself.

Still, he was a most powerful magician.

René DAUMAL

EDUCATION: WHAT IS IT?

I am not ready to admit that the vast majority of workers are blockheads and consequently uneducable. I prefer to think that the majority of working men and women are victims of a false system of education. Educators are fond of quoting Solomon who was supposed to have said, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it." Now, the thing that is fundamentally wrong with this formula is the fact that "the way to go" is determined by the traditional and personal prejudices of those who control the educational system, and once the minds of our youth are molded in accordance with these prejudices, intelligence ceases to function.

The character of true education seems to me quite clear and definite. It consists of first, the ability to discriminate between relative values and second, an attitude of sincere and honest doubt.

Any man or woman who possesses the two requisites mentioned in the above paragraph is an educated person regardless of age or status in our social system; and anyone who does not possess these requisites is not an educated person. It is possible under the present educational system for anyone who possesses the financial resources to obtain a diploma and any number of degrees, even the much-coveted Ph. D., and not possess either one of these requisites.

Any student who achieves superior marks in all his college courses is by necessity an extreme conformist who accepts everything on textbook and pedagogic authority, since he has not the ability to discriminate between the humbug taught by one professor or textbook and the science taught by another, If, by chance, a student readily learns that the professor he faces is a conceited clown despite all his pretensions and degrees, that student possesses all the requisites of an educated man, but he will absolutely be disqualified to receive superior scholastic marks and he will probably fail altogether.

We have been accustomed to the idea that education is a method of collecting data to be hurled at teachers and professors on an examination day or to entertain our friends in idle parlor conversation or marshal for purposes of propaganda. True education consists of knowing what to do with the tremendous volume of data that comes to us. The educated man has the power to analyze, interpret, appraise and classify data as to its relative value. He accepts none as facts unless they prove to be facts in the light of experience or by sense perception; and he knows that his senses are not always to be trusted.

The uneducated man accepts everything as fact that is in accord with his prejudices and will violently reject the evidence of facts that comes to him through his sense perceptions if it conflicts fundamentally with his prejudices.

It seems to me impossible to dissociate intelligence from education, or education from intelligence. Without intelligence there would be no education, and where intelligence is present there is always some type of education. Intelligence is the possession of innate powers or abilities, and education is the process of developing, enlarging or intensifying these powers or abilities. Therefore, a child entering school for the first time has all the requisites of an educated person even though they are only present in a small degree.

All education outside pure science is a commodity to be sold to somebody, the selling of which is justified by any method that will bring the highest price. Consequently prestige, wealth and fame rather than truth and accurate knowledge become the goals for which those who survive a college education strive for. This is why it is easier to "sell" or "teach" the false rather than the true notion about things. There is a great incentive on the part of the Board of Trustees of knowledge factories, euphemistically referred to as "institutions of higher learning," to silence a professor whose ideas are not in accord with traditional prejudices since what he says attacks a racket from which multitudes of men derive profits.

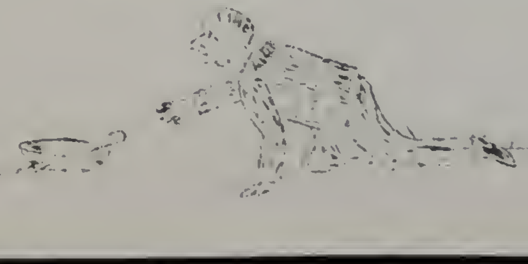
Organized societies for various reasons have always been opposed to education. It was always considered dangerous by those in authority. From the days of the medecine man in savage tribes to the big businessmen of modern democracies and functionaries in totalitarian states, authority has always been maintained by magic and hocus-pocus. The big business corporations of today and their chief mouthpieces, the political bosses, their editors and teachers are just as much witch-doctors as the medicine men of ancient societies.

Nothing so quickly dispels witchcraft and magic as the free excercise of human intelligence. When workers stop attempting to reason about their place in the world in the light of the bunkum they have been taught and begin to reason from what is obvious, that our industrial and social machine has broken down many times, that these breakdowns have caused unemployment and wars, and that the capitalist and communist alike, despite all their credentials and claims of competence have miserably failed to maintain a social order worthy of the name---when the workers realize this and begin to apply the intelligence of a fourteen-year-old boy to the situation, they will have taken the first step toward their emancipation. And, who knows, they may decide that the kind of world that would offer a fuller and more meaningful life is the kind of a world built according to the plans drawn up by the Industrial Workers of the World.

Jack SHERIDAN

"... what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?" Ralph Chaplin

ORGANIZE!



cartoon by [illegible]

PREAMBLE
OF THE
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

The working class and the employing class having nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars, Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

WILL WE ALL GO TOGETHER WHEN WE GO?

I used to think nuclear war had one advantage over conventional war: the people who started it got killed just as surely as their workingclass cannon fodder. But, according to research conducted by the U. S. Office of Civil Defense, it seems that the H-bomb is as class-biased as any bomb of World War II. It respects the lives of Top People.

I worked for four months in an American University Research Center studying "post-nuclear attack demography" for the government. For every possible pattern of nuclear attack, we would be given the number expected to be killed in each area. We would then check this against the U. S. Census figures on race, occupation, age, religion, political opinions, tolerance of communism, Atheism, nonconformity, etc., for the area. We fed the data into an electronic computer, and up would come the probable social characteristics of the surviving population.

American cities are, of course, segregated by class and race. If you are Negro, workingclass, Roman Catholic or of recent immigrant stock, you tend to live near the center of the city. If you are white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant and upper-class, you are likely to live in the "exurbs"---semi-rural settlements as far as 50 miles from the center. The middle classes, true to form, live in between, in the suburbs.

Farmers, of course, are safest of all. But the American "family farm" was wiped out long ago. The few farmers remaining are prosperous businessmen who hire seasonal labor. Many of these farm laborers live in cities when they're not working.

I thought I saw a bright spot in the unusually low survival rates for Washington, D.C. A day-time attack would catch all the bureaucrats in their offices (day-time attacks are more egalitarian, because they get the upper classes in their offices rather than their homes). But there are two things to remember about Washington, D.C. First, its Negro population is about 55 per cent (our rulers need a lot of servants). Second, it is the only place with deep blast (not fallout) shelters, underneath buildings like the Pentagon. Foiled again! The day after a nuclear attack, then, the bureaucrats would be "safely" holed up either hundreds of feet below the Pentagon and White House, or, if it was a night-time attack, on their Virginia estates. With a year's supply of tinned food.

Safest of all of course would be the files and records. All important government records (and most trivial ones) are duplicated and stored in blast-proof shelters in the Virginia hills, far from Washington, D.C. Moreover, all bank records everywhere in the country are similarly duplicated and stored, So while you're floating 40,000 feet over the Atlantic as a radioactive dust cloud, they will know you owe $50 in taxes and $500 in hire-purchase, with $5 in the bank to take care of it.

More important than the study and the studiers. I never met the people in Washington who filed our results in duplicate (one copy for the wastebasket and one for the blast shelter in Virginia). But we six in the California Research

Center all considered our job a patriotic duty: wasting government money helps stimulate the economy, you know. If someone came in fifteen minutes late, he was frowned upon as a slacker. Half an hour late was about right; being an hour late made you a hero of labor. In ways big and small we did our bit to avoid recession. Once we spent an entire day (48 man-hours) arranging to buy an unnecessary electric typewriter. And we took home paper clips whenever steel production dropped.

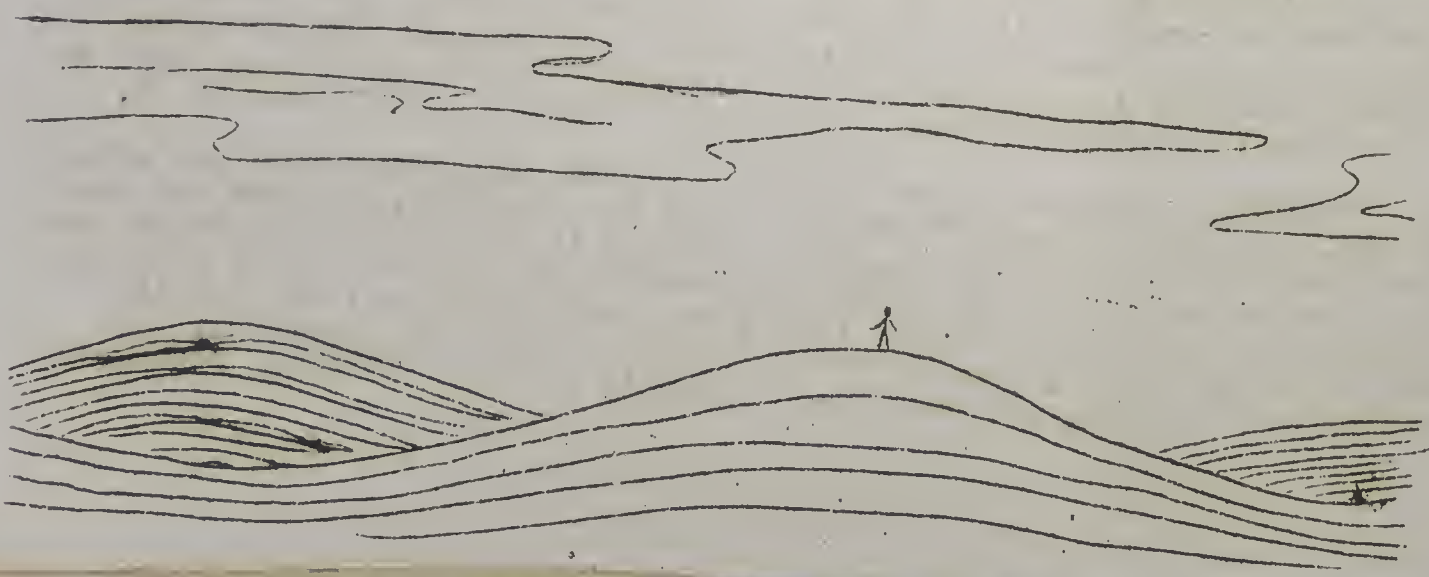
How did we feel about the exact nature of our work? Political consciousness in our office was high. Everyone was at the very least some sort of peacenik. Yet none of us felt guilt about our part in war preparations. Some rationalized that we were syphoning defense department money away from directly destructive weapon development into merely useless projects. Others felt that some of our startling findings might shock people into seeking peace. (Alas, the fact that an attack killing about 20% of the protestants would also kill 35% of the catholics and wipe out over 50% of the jews would only encourage our generals!). But we all felt wasted: our brains and our hands were simply rented out. We worked all day (albeit sluggishly) without ever making anything that anyone wanted or needed.

We knew, of course, that *we* were not doing any harm. But we worried about the people in Washington. Did *they* take this stuff seriously? Or were they just helping avoid recession, like us? Perhaps there was a man in Washington whose sole job was to think up new projects. If they took it seriously, the implications were ominous. The questions they asked were aimed, crudely to be sure, at techniques of manipulating and dominating the surviving population. Only two of their factors---age and sex---were directly concerned with reconstruction work. All the rest were concerned with social background and political attitudes. They were in effect doing post-attack Gallup Polls.

Our rulers have learned to control the American population through a century-long process of trial and error. They know their public relations techniques will be disrupted by nuclear war. But they apparently think they will be able to adjust to the new situation. When the first politician crawls out of his blast shelter and grasps a microphone, will he "call on the peoples of the world to live in brotherhood now that the totalitarian threat has at last been overcome?" Or will he declare: "Ma fellow citizens, now that the niggers are out of the way, we can really get to work again to rebuild our great nation." Post-nuclear demography may help him decide.

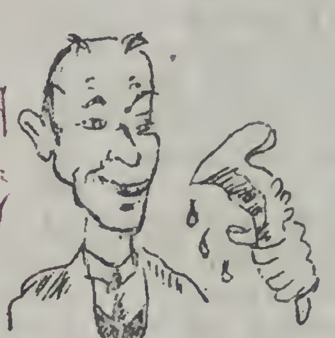
Barbara GARSON

(Reprinted from *Solidarity*)



SELECTIONS FROM THE WORKS OF

T-BONE SLIM



Most younger members of the IWW probably know of T-Bone Slim only as the author of "The Mysteries of a Hobo's Life," "The Popular Wobbly" and "I'm Too Old to be a Scab," songs in the current edition of the Little Red Song Book. Older fellow workers who knew him describe him as a "fantastic character" who could hold his listeners spellbound with his rambling stories, raucous word-play and violent humor. He seems, however, to have been somewhat of a loner and to have had few friends. Those I have talked with who knew him were acquaintances, fellow workers who jungled up with him someplace during the Depression or met him at some IWW Hall.

Very little is known of his life. He was born (I have not been able to find in what year) Matt Valentine Huhta in Ashtabula, Ohio and drowned in 1942 while working as a barge captain in New York. His obituary in the Industrial Worker, which (illustrating the obscurity in which he lived) did not appear until nearly five months after he died, commented: "While there have been few workingclass writers in our time better known than T-Bone Slim, little was known about the man himself, even to those with whom he worked or who crossed his trail and stopped for a chat with him in his frequent tours of observation about the country. He is said to have two children somewhere in Ohio. Beyond this, even rumor says little or nothing about his personal relations .... Having lived almost a full life-time in anonymity, Fellow Worker Huhta died that way, and was buried that way. We have an idea that's the way he wanted it to be."

As far as I know, there exists no photograph of T-Bone. The illustration on this page is taken from the cut that headed his column in the Industrial Worker.

I am presently assembling biographical information, reminiscences, letters, manuscripts, etc., for an introduction to a possible pamphlet or book of T-Bone's selected writings, and would like to hear from any older Wobblies who were acquainted with him or who can supply important details of his life. In the meantime I have gone over his columns in the Industrial Worker (which appeared regularly therein each week for years), his contributions to the Industrial Pioneer, and his booklet, Starving Amidst Too Much, published in the early twenties by Foodstuff Workers I. U. 460 of the IWW. It is from these sources from which this selection has been made.

* * *

A few words should perhaps be said about T-Bone's writing. It goes without saying that if what is meant by "literature" is that tasteless soup of words hurled down our throats in high school, then clearly T-Bone Slim has nothing to do with it. Because he escaped the academies, and didn't listen too closely to the limits imposed by authoritative grammarians, T-Bone gives us something else (and something infinitely better) than the esteemed but useless literature of our ruling ¢lass. His spontaneous notations riddled with explosive humor and his savage plays on words transcend all bounds of bourgeois propriety. He'll never make it in the college textbooks. Neither could he be comfortably included in an anthology of "socialist realism," that reactionary middle-class genre which naively thinks that factory-workers, after putting in an eight-hour day or longer, want to read long, drawn-out tales of other factory-workers putting in eight-hour days or longer. As if the work itself wasn't tiring and alienating enough!

Nor can T-Bone be simply and conveniently classified as a writer in the "folk tradition." Folk art, as it has been analysed by the cultural anthropologist Nicolas Calas and others, is the expression of the repressed sensibility of a collectivity, and as such it is extremely interesting and deserves study. But T-Bone and the other Wobbly songwriters (including Joe Hill, who published the first Little Red Song Book and thus more or less started the IWW rebel song tradition) customarily regarded as "folk" artists of some sort, actually rebel against the very roots of folk tradition. They disclaim the essential submissiveness of this tradition and grapple instead with the complexities of industrialization and urbanization in a desperate (and still continuing) struggle to transform the world and change life to meet human needs. T-Bone is horrified by the city, like the folk writer, but he does not recoil into a pastoral quietism, or a "jolly" let's-work-and-like-it attitude, or a submissive expression of weariness, which supply the themes for ninety per cent of the folk song bag.

T-Bone obviously works out of a different bag. His horror of the industrialized city and its concomitant ills is not masochistically turned against himself but is *externalized* as an instrument of social transformation. He savagely ridicules the boss, the politician, the cop, the priest and the scissorbill worker because these are the servants of that oppressive class which makes cities what they are and therefore (in our urbanized world) makes life what it is.

It seems that as he grew older T-Bone was harder hit by his horror of the capitalist city, almost to the point of paranoia. He could sleep with ease in an open boxcar across the countryside but in the city, in a hotel, he would not only lock the door but would stack up tables and chairs against it to protect himself against the persecution of hirelings of the employing class. (This may, incidentally, account for his remarkable propensity for playing on words, which seems to have its psychological origin in some sort of reality disorder.)

But T-Bone, always refusing to succumb beneath the blows of the capitalist system, passionately mobilises his senses of humor and satire, which become his specific weapons in the class war. "True humor," he once wrote, "is the carefree manhandling of extremes." Hilarious rebellion against the rottenness of this system reverberates throughout his writings.

It would be, of course, absurdly superfluous to dwell on the underlying seriousness of T-Bone's writings. All humor, in any case, is serious in one way or another. It is sufficient to know that T-Bone Slim was above all else a Wobbly, that his whole life (in his peculiar way) served the cause of freedom.

"Freedom," as he once said, "is what makes life worth fighting for."

We look upon *The Rebel Worker*, in part at least, as a continuation of the revolutionary spirit which animated the life and works of T-Bone Slim. The following pages contain a few selections from old T-Bone himself.

Franklin ROSEMONT

SELECTIONS

Bugs hide under rocks, germs under fingernails & still other parasites under elm trees on country estates---garbage scow passing down the Thames stunk out the House of Commons.

All leadership is based upon the presumption of dictatorship, the very thing that the boss excercises. Dictatorship, no matter how well intended, makes for tyranny on the one hand and slavery---or rebellion---on the other. The rebellion is inevitable though deferred.

These millions must be freed not by a leader but by an organization formed in such a way that all hands can get leverage on the problem and lend the weight of their considerations to balance the scales of justice.

* * *

The trouble with the workers is: They get too much nothing, and not enough something. (Whatever that something is I leave to proletarian imagination.)

"Sarcastic again?" Who? Me? I'm not sarcastic...just a little blunt.

All right, since too much nothing and not enough something won't do it, it occurred to me to reverse them. I placed them in front of my plate glass mirror, in my laboratories, put on my two-bit spectacles, and sure enough, there she was, a remedy for the workers' ills---T-Bone Slim's Golden Discovery! I could hardly believe my spectacles.

In the mirror the worker is getting too much something and not enough nothing---could anything be more miraculous? He swells up in the middle and a pair of chins starts sprouting on his chest. I shook hands with myself. My mirror is one of those motion mirrors---you throw a dead cat in front of it and it shows the cat tearing up a live buzzard. Says I to myself: "Slim, your discovery transcends all human imagination...you have today not only rescued the human race, but you have prevented the destruction of the world!"

"Well and good---there's the remedy---but how do you apply it to the malady?"

"By joining the I. W. W."

Me sarcastic?...pooh, pooh...just a little blunt!

* * *

Workers should not under any circumstances accept the designation "lower class," because it is not so, and acceptance doesn't make it so. No debate here is necessary. Suffice it to say: Nothing can be lower than the parasite class.

* * *

Machine: A mechanical device used by engineers to create wealth and by financiers to create poverty.

* * *

Profit: The price ignorance pays greed for the privelege of starving in a world of plenty.

Law of supply and demand: The capitalist dictum that makes a commodity in the hands of a robber more deadly than a gun.

⁂

Tear gas: The most effective agent used by employers to persuade their employees that the interests of capital and labor are identical.

⁂

Recurring depressions, say every 20 years, is a good indication of the health of capitalism. Like a sworn-off drunk in a recurring spree....

⁂

Not all of us, but most of us should bear in mind that it is a dead herring that floats with the tide and finally lands on the bathing beach too far gone to take note of nature's wonders. On the other hand, a live smelt bucks the current in most energetic manner and generally arrives at its destination in good shape---and is conscious of its accomplishment.

⁂

The reputation of the IWW is not putting porkchops on our platter today; rather it was the spirit of the IWW then that did it as the spirit of the IWW now does it.

Reputation catches no herring. Past is buried, Future isn't born, Present is here. There are two words that cover it: Now and Action.

⁂

Never try to reach the top too soon---your hat may blow off.

That which you see about you is the product of capitalism. If you don't like it you are probably a worker. If you do like it you are probably a parasite, Derelicts of capitalism, strew the sands of time. Shall we censure them---"the man with the hoe?" Chide them? Chasten those already chastened? Or shall we organize and put skids under the cause of all these wrecks?

⁂

I don't believe there is necessity for a news censor. Editors have been very careful not to let any news get into the papers.

Censorship would be like gold-painting a gilded gladiolus---and we would look foolish to the neighbors, slapping whitewash on ivory towers.

⁂

Life is just one long row of upsets to those whose spoon strays into another man's dish, be the dish empty or full. Retribution is the greater when the dish happens to be empty and the owner doesn't know what became of the mush.

⁂

Brakeman: (in high dungeon) What! You haven't a union card? And you've got the nerve to ride this train! Get off---UNLOAD!---Yes, both of you. Why you're worse off than a ship without a rudder!

First Hobo: (as they are going) Wot did he say, a stiff without a brother?

Second Hobo: (peeved) Naw, he said a ship without a rudder---darn him!

First Hobo: (thinking) Well, I guess he's right. We don't seem to be getting anywhere.

* * *

Organized men will strike for pay increases; unorganized men suck their thumbs....

* * *

The one big trouble with labor and me is that we are forever talking. We know unionism is good. So what?

Well, we should organize once and talk about it afterwards. Let us have no more about this "what we will do," but do it, and then tell what we have done.

The getting of results is simple, indeed. For instance, the shorter workday requires no extended remarks. Just go out later and come in earlier.

* * *

THE BIG QUESTION

Tune: "America"

My Job---now is no more
The boss has slam'd the door;
What shall I do?
Seems like my end is near,
My guts feel awful queer---
Where do we go from here?
---This is up to you.

No, I've not lost a leg,
---Why must I starve and beg?
What shall I do?
Where can the answer lurk?
Why am I out of work,
Gazing on all this murk?
This is up to you.

I can not stand alone,
Masters have laid me prone;
What shall I do?
Why can't we hand in hand
Reclaim our right to stand,
Unhorse the sleek brigand?
This is up to you.

(Dedicated to the Open Shop drive, 1921)

* * *

STARVING AMIDST TOO MUCH

Life, it is said, is a funny proposition. But I fail to see the humor of it. And if there is any humor in it, I would be sure to recognize it---for I have quite a rep for distinguishing between the drab and the vivid.... We cannot consider the business of life as an antic, a few years of clowning through the world, or as a farce that brings down the house of the future in outbursts of unroarious laughter. No, we cannot see it that way.

We see life, we feel life, as something mysteriously terrifying. We try to study it. We fear to study it. And sometimes when we are studying it we fear to step into it. We fear to put our foot into it. But thank goodness, we are not afraid to study Industrial Unionism, the breathing, living protest of the millions against a system of wage slavery.

Although we do not know that we are slaves, although we only know that the alarm clock tells us when to wake from our sleep; although we only know that the hours are long and that the pay won't reach around; although we only know that a boss tells us that the company will do all the "sitting down," yet, we sometimes, somehow, feel that we are not free.

Adam, upon a time, felt that he was naked. And a voice said, "Who told you that you're naked." So it is with us: we don't know that we are slaves---we only feel that way. And the feeling is the strongest upon us in times of unemployment. We go from place to place blindly, asking, inquiring, if there is a job for us. We have felt that every man was against us. We have felt that every eye was on us when we got turned down. Where is the system of such proceedings?

Yes indeed, we have felt like slaves. No place is there a guarantee of a job. In a large country a man might travel indefinitely before he would find work. But as serious as is the lack of system in the way civilized people attempt to live, we find that the act of asking for a job has become very "matter of fact." A man will walk into the employment office; without tears or sobs he puts the question to the unemotional employer, and upon being refused he retires gracefully out to the street---to wear out more shoe leather.

Many a pair of high heeled dancing slippers too have been worn out this way.

What is there about work that makes it so attractive? A gang of rough-necks will trample the weaker ones to death in their mad rush for a job. Do you call that a system, and is it the Capitalist System? Aren't you proud of it? Isn't it an elegant arrangement? So perfectly brainless; a child could invent a better one.

That is the reason that time is always pregnant with possibilities for labor. Society is practically "unsystematized." Everything seems to drift along in an haphazard manner. If it succeeds, the capitalist takes the credit; if it fails, the blame is put on labor. Hence, if we are to have the blame, we may as well have the game. If we are to be held responsible for the way they run things, we may as well have "a say so" how things shall be managed---or mismanaged.

We take the position that it is our work that makes industry possible---money and credit produce nothing. We produce everything. We produce money. We produce credit.

Nothing but blind folly can prevent labor from establishing a semblance, at least, of a sane system of production; and the elimination of profiteering on the miseries of those who labor for a living.

Even the foolishness of those who would have labor depend on others than themselves for emancipation, partial or complete, can no longer stand in the way. Industrial Unionism, its benefits, will be made so plain that every worker will consider himself a traitor to himself if he neglects to enroll his name among those of his fellow workers---men and women.

An industrial union is an organization of labor formed in such a way that every man, woman and child working for wages in an industry can become a member of it. That means that they will not be divided in groups. They will be the group, the unit, or whatever you wish to call it. And "what they say, goes!"

⑤

How to keep well has been told those who still care to read the daily papers and many of these articles have been the only ones worth reading. Doctors too have recognized the difficulty people are having in keeping out of a premature grave. Hence, I feel that it is no more than right that I should be allowed "to tell the world" how to keep well. I shall try to be more modest than some I know---so as not to offend those with finer sensibilities.

The only way to keep well (and you're sick) is to join the Industrial Workers of the World and do away with the foods that are making you sick; that is, making everybody sick; that is, making the whole world "sick---and tired."

It will do you no good to shampoo your hair with rosewater or pine juice to stop your hair falling out, so long as the necessary pure food lies rotting on the ground---while you are tormenting your stomach with garbage that would over-whelm a buzzard. After a while (of this) you will need a complete observatory with the most modern telescope to find your shoes in the morning if you continue eating the things the trusts are putting out---You are going blind, so am I.

A wobble: By the way, the wobbles in our papers have a true office to perform---that of bringing the sublime and the ridiculous into a compromising proximity....

To illustrate:

A STEEL MAGNATE CRYING IS A PATHETIC FIGURE.

Not always!

A steel magnate crying and (at the same time) eating a pig's foot---is a rather pleasing spectacle.

That's what I mean by sublime and ridiculous....

Electricity

Juice is stranger than friction:

A friendly stranger is half as strange as a strange friend.

The world's champion friend has 198 friends---two, former friends ---are no more.

China has 440,000,000 opportunities for a man looking for friends.

The thinning out of the Chinese, in favor of western civilinsanity, has started in earnest---earnfest---to enslave the rest.

The idea is to get the 440,000,000 Chinamen to support the world ---an impossibility without thinning them out, and impossible after.

China industrialized will number about 200,000,000 workers, and will be able to do much of Europe's manufacturing, when not conducting an engagement with rice and chop-suey---and, when Europe's unemployed hold extraordinary sessions with soup and petrified biscuits.

Europe's civilinsanity, too, will feel safer after China is deflated: remember how rosy the school girl complexion of "our" capitalism got after labor was deflated, 1920---?

But, (note this) they do not deflate labor in America any more--- they use a stomach-pump: they grab a man in the street, full of compulsory temperance, rush him to a hospital, and pump the constitutional sobriety out of him.

Sometimes they save the man. Good! Bravo! But, neverthelittle, prohibition has killed more men than we lost in the last war---this is not favoring war nor prohibition---prohibition is the worst stuff I ever drank.

I would not mention it if it wasn't a thinning-out process---why carry on war when---when you can give the victims wood alcohol, hair oil, chloral and torso-ointment---?

If you want to thin 'em faster, re-introduce saloons, legalize moonshine and denatured "gas."

Not much prohibitionary stimulant is being guzzled---little is SO effective, and SO cheap. Really, prohibition seems like a concession to the mounting gas bills---with what would you buy a radio if the people were allowed to spend the money for liquor? Only saloon-keepers would have Fords and "Neitherdynes."

Leaving all jokes aside, I would rather listen to a radio than a drunk, yes I would---as much as the pufformers stagger in their igloo---Sixon---but I would rather be half shot while doing it, yes I would.

How helpless we Americans are! Law tells us when to work, what to eat, what to drink, what to chew and smoke, where and when to sleep; tells us what to think; tells us where to live; tells us when to die---where would we be without law? What would we do? It tells us not to celebrate our Independence with Chinese fire-crackers.

I suggest---patriotically suggest---that we loan our laws to China, just as soon as we can spare them.

Another thing in our favor is cheap food. It's really astoundful!

You can get two spoonfuls of oats and a tube of milk for 10 cents ---everybody, too, seems to have a dime---ah, may the dimes never grow extinct!

I stood by the cashier's desk and watched the breakfast customers pay their bills. Here is what the register registered: 10, 15, 10, 05, 05, 10, 10, 10, 10, 05, 10, 20, 10, 10---I wonder where all that money is coming from.---A hundred years from now they'll celebrate this prosperity and Coolidge---the one-man PROSPERITY.

(Industrial Pioneer, August, 1925)

IWW LITERATURE

The Industrial Worker	Bi-weekly IWW newspaper featuring world labor news, news of protest movements, book reviews, etc.	6 months: $1 1 year $2 2 years $3
The Rebel Worker	Official magazine of the Chicago IWW Branch, published sporadically but at least four times a year	25¢ a copy 6 issues $1

IWW BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

One Big Union	Lists and explains the Departments and Industrial Unions of the IWW, and shows the famous "Wheel of Fortune" chart	35¢
The General Strike		20¢
The IWW in Theory and Practice		25¢
Railroad Workers	Description of Industrial Unionism in the Railroad industry	20¢
Lumber Industry and its Workers		50¢
IWW Songs: To Fan the Flames of Discontent	Revolutionary songs of the "Rebel band of Labor" by Joe Hill, T-Bone Slim and others	25¢
Unemployment and the Machine		10¢
The IWW: Its First Fifty Years	Fred Thompson's historical survey of the IWW is the best introduction to the subject	paper $2 cloth $3

A considerable number of IWW pamphlets are available in various foreign languages: Italian, Hungarian, Spanish, Russian, Finnish, Swedish and Bulgarian. A catalog of these will be sent on request.

SHEET MUSIC

The International	25¢
We have Fed You All For a Thousand Years	25¢
The Advancing Proletaire	25¢

BOOKS OF OTHER PUBLISHERS

Nationalization and the New Boss Class (Syndicalist Workers Federation)	by Tom Brown	10¢

(IWW LITERATURE, Continued)

What's Wrong with the Unions by Tom Brown (Syndicalist Workers Federation)		10¢
The Meaning of Socialism by Paul Cardan. (Published by Solidarity, this is largely a discussion of workers' control		10¢
Ill-Health, Poverty & the State by John Hewetson (Freedom Press)		10¢
The Workers Opposition in the Russian Communist Party by Alexandra Kollontai. Published by the IWW years ago and now made available by Solidarity, this pamphlet discusses the workers opposition to Bolshevik domination of the Russian Revolution.		35¢
Revolutionary Government by Peter Kropotkin (Freedom Press)		25¢
The Russian Revolution and Leninism or Marxism? by Rosa Luxemburg. Both in one volume.		$2
Civil War in France by Karl Marx Discussion of the Paris Commune	paper cloth	35¢ 75¢
Lenin As Philosopher by Anton Pannekoek A libertarian socialist critique of the philosophical basis of Leninism		$1.50
The Hungarian Workers' Revolution (Syndicalist Workers Federation)		25¢
Resistance Shall Grow The story of the "Spies for Peace"		25¢
The Bomb, Direct Action & the State (Syndicalist Workers Federation)		15¢
Ethics and American Unionism by Sam Weiner		25¢
Battle Hymns of Toil Poems by Covington Hall		$1
Workers' Control (Syndicalist Workers Federation)		25¢

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Chicago Branch IWW
2422 North Halsted Street
Chicago, Illinois 60614

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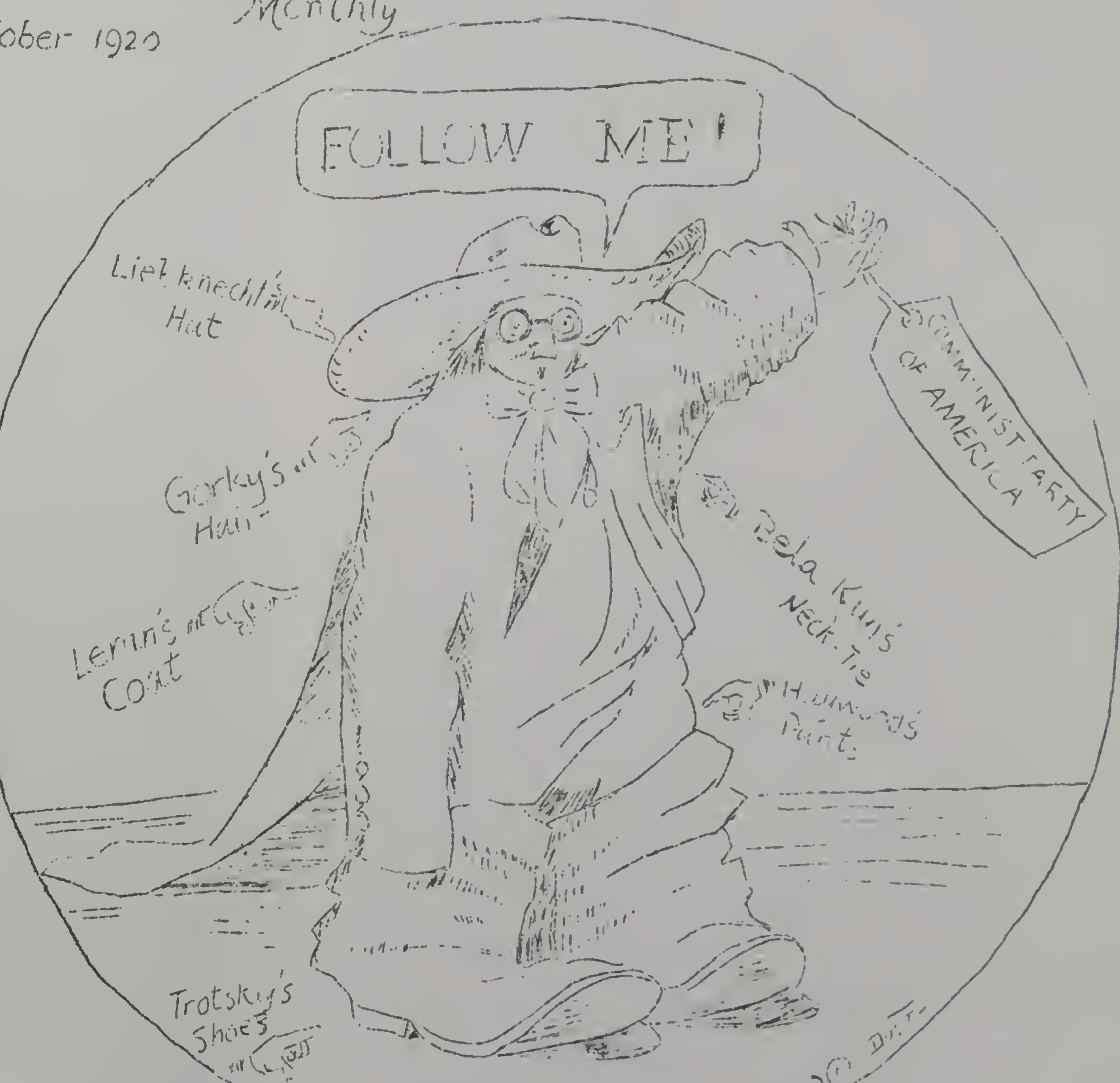
ELITISM 1920
(and 1964)...

from: The One Big Union Monthly

October 1920

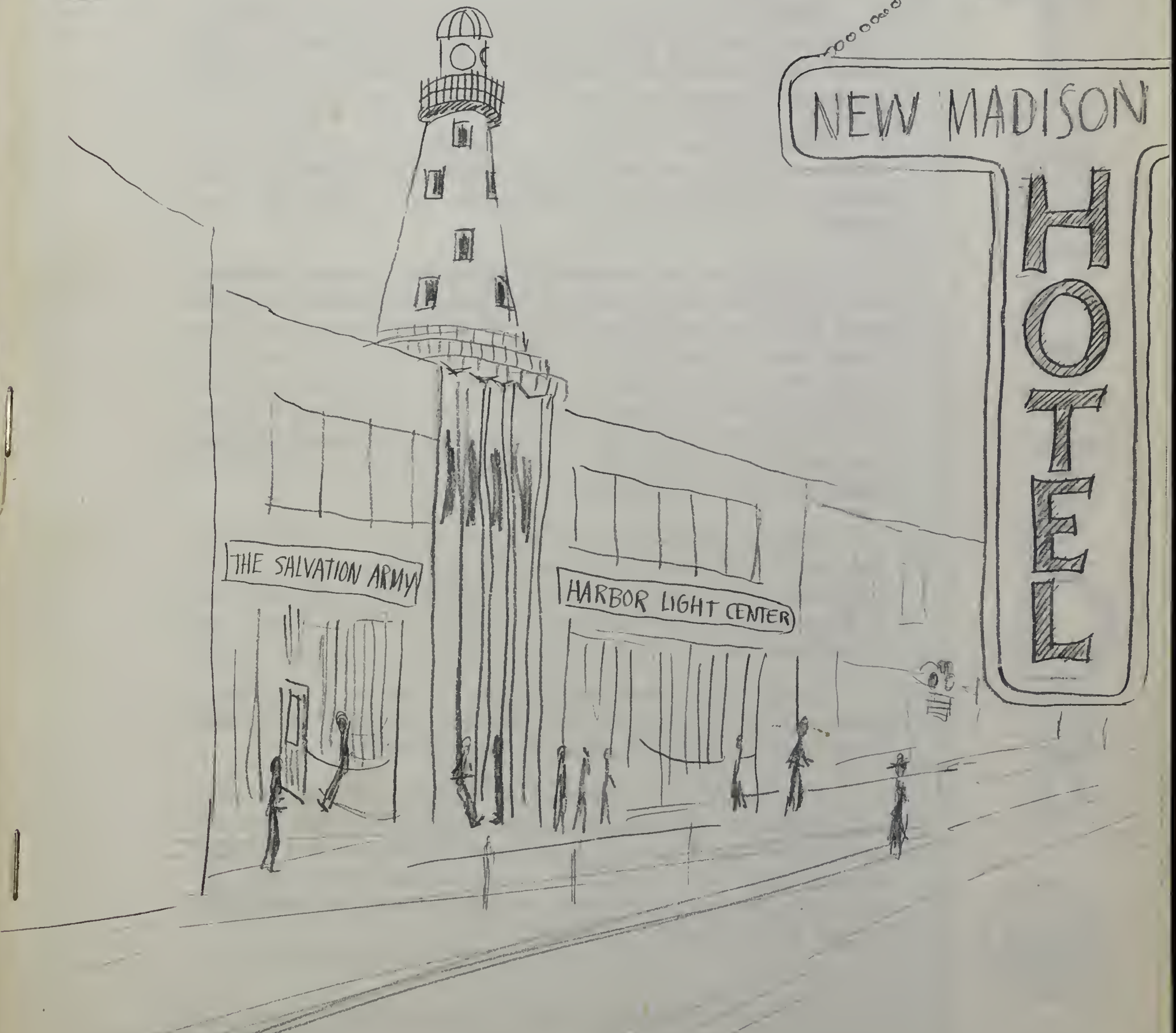

FOLLOW ME!
Liebknecht's Hat
Gorky's Hair
Lenin's Coat
Trotsky's Shoes
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA
Bela Kun's Neck-Tie
Haywood's Pants

"The ass in the lion's skin or
"All dressed up and no place to go."

The Rebel Worker

Official Journal of the Chicago GRU Branch of
the Industrial Workers of the World

Number 2


NEW MADISON
HOTEL
THE SALVATION ARMY
HARBOR LIGHT CENTER

Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The Rebel Worker

Edited and Published by members of the Chicago
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Contents

Summer 1964

Cover by Torvald Faegre

IWW Preamble 2

On the Job by Franklin Rosemont 3

Organizing Blueberries: This year's I.U. 110 drive by Torvald Faegre 6

Kitten In The Wheat (verse) 10

Thoughts on Bureaucracy by Bob Potter 11

Letters 16

Starvation Army: 1964 by Daniel R. Thompson 17

Barbara by Robert R. Green 23

Poets & Pearls (A Rhapsody) by T-Bone Slim 24

A Contemporary Culture Document 26

IWW Literature 27

Calligraphy & Art-Work by Torvald Faegre

Cartoons on page 29 by Topor

"An injury to one is an injury to all."

IU450

ON THE JOB

ON THE JOB

Once upon a time there was a labor movement in this country. Hundreds of thousands of working men and women carried red cards, IWW cards, and pulled strikes that hurled the capitalist class into some of the most troubled waters it has ever seen.

Today the term "labor movement" is used to describe those massive bureaucratic structures, the actual function of which is to "keep the workers in line" by tossing them occasional bread-and-butter gains. The class interests of the bureaucrats who "lead" these organizations are identical with those of the exploiting class, rather than the working class. It is thus absurd to speak of these groups as composing a "labor movement," for it neither represents the interests of the workers, nor is it a "movement" since it obviously isn't moving (at least not forward): its bureaucracy has bound it irrevocably to the ruling class mechanism. If the official trade unions "move" at all, it's downhill.

This is not to say, however, that there has not been a labor movement in this country for the last twenty-five years. We will leave such deprecations of "workers' apathy," "wrong historical period," etc., to the middle-class socialist intellectuals who invent the terms and find the means to theorize about them endlessly. That there has been a labor movement, in the real sense of the term, and that it is growing into proportions which may presently make it into a greater force than it has been for many years, we can see by looking to the actions of rank-and-file workers, rather than their "leaders." Every wildcat strike, every rank-and-file slowdown, every "un-official" (i.e. without the imprimatur of the labor bureaucrats) protest action by the workers themselves, in or out of the unions, is adequate testimony to the intrinsically revolutionary spirit of the working class. These sporadic skirmishes with the labor bureaucrats and the employing class are the chief indications of the class struggle in our day.

These indications are growing in number and in significance. In the railroad industry we are witnessing an almost total breakdown of communication between the men-at-the-top and the rank and file. In many other industries workers are realizing more and more that the so-called "unions" to which they belong are actually only additional exploiters. Look at the ridiculous postal workers' unions, for instance, which do not even have the right to strike. Or the various restaurant workers unions, to which many restaurant workers belong without knowing it (unless they inquire about the "misc. ded."--miscellaneous deductions, i.e. union dues--on their paychecks.)

Aside from the decline of the official trade unions, these developments in the workingclass movement have demonstrated the complete impotence of the traditional "socialist" left. It is obvious that the growing class consciousness of American workers is not finding its expression in the middle-class sentimentality of the Socialist Party, or the hysterical reformism of the Socialist Workers Party, or in any of the other pathetic little sects clustered around the shrine of Tradition of the Holy Left. The struggle of workers to build a really free and more human world continues entirely outside of the tiresome dogmas of these groups.

We in the IWW suffer no illusions about our own role in this struggle. We do not pretend to be a large organization, but we are growing, and our influence is growing considerably beyond our own ranks. Press coverage alone is adequate evidence of this resurgence. The year 1964 marks the first IWW strike in many years. IWW organizers are becoming increasingly active in various industries in which the voice of militancy has too long been drowned out by choruses of defeat and resignation. We see as our role the fostering of mass consciousness among our fellow workers in industry, so that more and more working men and women can apply their own leverage and their own solutions to the problems that confront them every day at the point of production.

As a writer in Solidarity,* the journal of our English friends and fellow workers, wrote a while back: "Real power lies in our hands. If we use it, we will win. And as long as we keep it there, we can't be sold out."

* * *

The Rebel Worker is the sounding board of working men and women in their struggle for freedom. In these first few pages of each issue we'll let you know what we've been up to, and what we've got cooking.

The Chicago IWW Branch will soon be getting its own office, a storefront on the North Side. For several years the Branch has shared offices with IWW international headquarters on Halsted Street, but this has proved inadequate for our needs. Now we will have a branch office open at all hours (since a fellow worker or two will be residing in back), better facilities for meetings, free weekly movies, speakers and discussions on matters of revolutionary interest, free coffee: in other words, a definite center of radical activity in the city.

This branch office will also be the only radical bookstore in Chicago, headquarters for Solidarity, Anarchy, Freedom, La Breche, Reconstruir, Tierra y Libertad, Le Combat Syndicaliste, Direct Action, Views and Comments, Pouvoir Ouvrier, etc., and for books from various radical publishers (Solidarity, Freedom Press, Le Terrain Vague, Charles H. Kerr, J.-J. Pauvert), many of which are practically unobtainable in U. S. bookstores.

We will, of course, also be carrying used radical books. If you have any old radical books, pamphlets or magazines which you would like to donate to help us get started, send them to The Rebel Worker c/o IWW headquarters. We'll pay the postage....

* * *

As part of the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union #110 drive, new "silent agitator" stickers for agricultural workers have been printed up in bright red ink, with the famous black cat symbol. As the old Wobbly pamphlets said, these are "just the thing to wise up the slave, jolt the Scissor Bill and throw the fear of the O.B.U. into the boss." A packet of fifty costs only a dime.

---

* This is surely one of the best radical journals published today. Write c/o Bob Potter, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1. Monthly; about $3.00 a year.

We will also be putting out other stickers in the near future: for railroad workers, restaurant workers, and several general organizational (and agitational) stickers.

* * *

Much of the reanimation of the IWW is materializing in new pamphlets. Agricultural Workers I.U. 110 will soon be publishing a pamphlet on agricultural labor in the U. S.. This will contain a history of the IWW in agriculture; a review of the 1964 AWIU 110 drive and its plans for next year; and a number of articles on various aspects of the situation of agricultural workers today.

Members of Railroad Workers I.U. 520 are hoping to soon publish a new pamphlet for railroad workers, analyzing recent developments in the railroad industry and how they are likely to affect its workers. Railroad workers interested in collaborating on this important pamphlet, which will replace the somewhat dated pamphlet issued by this union in the late 1940's, are urged to contact us through IWW headquarters.

Members of the Chicago Branch hope to pool their resources this winter in organizing restaurant workers in this city. We hope also to publish a pamphlet on restaurant work, and would like to hear from restaurant workers throughout the country who would be interested in contributing to this pamphlet and/or in distributing it.

* * *

We had hoped to include in this issue an article on Chicago rent strikes, and hope to be able to publish one in our next issue. Metropolitan CORE, organizing these strikes, at the moment is somewhat handicapped by some "socialist" bureaucrats who are in many ways preventing its becoming a rank-and-file organization. It has been suggested that the IWW publish a rent strike manual, to be sold or given to slum residents; if you have experience in rent strikes, as an organizer from the outside or a striker from the inside, let us know if you're interested in helping us put together this manual.

* * *

These few paragraphs can only provide a hurried summary of our activity. We have arrangements for IWW speakers at Michigan State University, Shimer College, the University of Wisconsin and Roosevelt University. We're working on the possibilities of recruiting younger workers (high-school dropouts, etc.) and developing some action suited to their particular problems. We hope to soon be putting out an IWW Action Bulletin in Spanish for Puerto Rican and Mexican workers here. We also hope to publish a pamphlet by and for post office workers. We're setting up an IWW literature table at the Maxwell St. Open Air Market on Sunday mornings, expounding revolutionary industrial unionism from the soapbox. We also soapboxed at Bughouse Square a short time ago, resulting in a more than usually agitated crowd of listeners and the sale of several copies of Rebel Worker #1 and the Industrial Worker. We're also trying to revive some peace action in this city.

In the factories, in the fields, in the shops and in the streets: the IWW is on the job. Our third issue will be coming out in early November. See you then. And send in your letters and your news; we like to hear from you.

Franklin ROSEMONT

Organizing Blueberries

"Blueberries are what tide you over between cherries and apples. You pick them because you got to, and you got no money." A fruit tramp, as he called himself, from Benton Harbor, Michigan told me this, but I was heading back to Chicago then and I couldn't have cared less . . . .

Two weeks later with three more Wobblies, I (we) returned to Michigan and discovered the Great Blueberry Conspiracy was real. The blueberries don't just "tide you over," they are a specially rigged economic trap. Workers come up from the South and pick strawberries, blackcaps (black rasberries) and cherries in early July. Then when the blackcaps are through and cherry-pickers are allowed to pick only a few hours a day because of the glutted market, pickers turn to blueberries as a last resort. If they can last through blueberries, they can make good money again picking apples. In blackcaps I often made $12 a day; in blueberries I couldn't make $6. And this was a ten-hour day.

We entered the Michigan blueberry fields to fathom the extent of wage worker discontent in agriculture, and to see how this discontent might be organized. We started with little enthusiasm, having been told all too frequently of the impossibility of organizing agricultural workers: "They move around too much . . . they don't understand unions." The A.F. of L., I was told, spent $100,000 in an agricultural organizing campaign and gave up. On the other hand, the old I.W.W. A.W.I.U. 400 had organized the most unorganized workers in the grain belt. Well, we would see . . . .

Discontent was rife. Except for a few workers who commented on "how nice this farmer is to work for," most were fed up with the whole deal. Just about every day we saw or heard of a "strike in detail" with a discouraged family leaving, usually not because of a better job elsewhere, but because they preferred living on savings to working for 50¢ an hour. Everyone was discouraged, but most had no choice but to stay.

The foreman told us that the berries would get better. We were encouraged. A veteran picker told us how they dropped the price down when they got better. "Wouldn't you know it," a picker commented, "you start to get ahead and they take it away from you."

Hodgman's blueberry farm where we started work was a small farm, too small for our purposes we decided, and prepared to get our pay and leave. Then on Friday night Bob talked with a couple of unconsciously class-conscious Arkansas boys who, before he knew it, declared that they would strike with us. That stopped our moving plans immediately. From then on, around the cabins at night, and in the rows by day, we cautiously felt out the strike potential of each picker.

By Monday we were sure we had all but two families even though we didn't have a commitment from everyone. We were trying to figure out the best time to strike when a large family from Florida announced that they wouldn't wait for a strike, but were leaving for home the next morning. That decided it; we would strike the next day. Our questions to fellow workers were now bolder: "We're walking out. Will you come with us?" By night we counted five families who would strike or just leave and three who were staying.

The next day we worked for an hour. Then each turned in his berries, had his card punched, and slipped it into his pocket. Our last striker joined us from his picking machine detail and we walked together towards camp.

"What seems to be the trouble?" we were asked by a frightened farmer.

"Can't make nothing picking these berries. We want higher wages and showers."

"Well, you can go elsewhere then."

"Everybody tells us that, but they all pay the same. We're staying here on strike."

We argued further but our friend was not willing to negotiate. He turned and started to walk away saying, "I'll pick them myself if I have to; now clear out of here!"

Back at camp we packed and waited for the police. The fearsome police turned out to be a genial deputy sheriff who listened sympathetically to our tale of woe and then told us how he had been a union man since 1914, and was proud of it. Our deputy sheriff left, but the terrible state trooper arrived a minute later. He strolled on the scene with wrap-around sunglasses and cigarette holder, and after a detailed explanation of how and why he must carry out his obligations, he announced: "It is time for you to depart." So we left for Grand Junction to plan our next strategy. Our fellow strikers we found were in bad financial shape so that they decided to work at a farm down the road for a couple of days and then return to picket with us. We left to make signs and work on a leaflet.

Just before dawn we returned and crept through each farm in the dark dropping a strike proclamation at each doorstep of every farm in the area. At seven we returned for our second attack with signs:

On Hodgman's farm the three remaining families went dutifully to work. But on an adjoining farm the workers were not returning to work but stood clustered about the camp watching us. The owner of this farm walked up to us. Her workers, she said, were afraid that if they returned to work we would "slash their tires and beat them up." She asked us to sign an agreement that her workers would not be injured and said that she would pay them 10¢ a pint (they were getting 9¢) and promised to build a shower. We talked to the workers in her camp explaining the situation at Hodgman's. We assured them that we intended no violence toward them or anyone, that we were trying to build a union of agricultural workers.

Unfortunately our next-door neighbor did not keep her agreement, but lowered th;e price back to 9¢. We had no way to hold her to this so we had to be content with her promise of a shower. It must also be noted that her price of 9¢ was a penny more than we were paid at Hodgman's, her berries were thicker, and her camp was better (stoves and refrigerators in the cabins at no cost to the pickers).

The second day of the strike we paid a visit to our fellow strikers. We found them enthusiastic to hear how we fared. But in very short order we were surrounded by hostile faces and voices which declared that "You're not going to make us strike. We like it here. Why don't you stay at your own camp?" We left, posthaste, after receiving a few well-placed kicks. When we drove by the next day we saw that our friends' cars were gone. We weren't able to find them again.

It was amazing the mystique our strike exercised in the minds of some workers. One camp was fearful that we would beat them up, another camp would beat us up if we "made them strike."

On Saturday Fred Thompson and Jack Sheridan arrived from I.W.W. headquarters in Chicago and agreed to assist us in union negotiations. They, together with Bob Green, talked with the Hodgmans. A very vindictive Mrs. Hodgman referred to pickers as "filthy" and "slimy" and stated that if a shower were built the pickers would tear it down. A familiar tune, no? She then called over some of her loyal workers (we were in the habit of calling them scabs and scissorbills, however) and Sheridan had the chance to ask them a few questions:

"Do you want higher wages?"

"No."

"Showers?"

"No."

"Toilet paper?"

"No, we like it here."

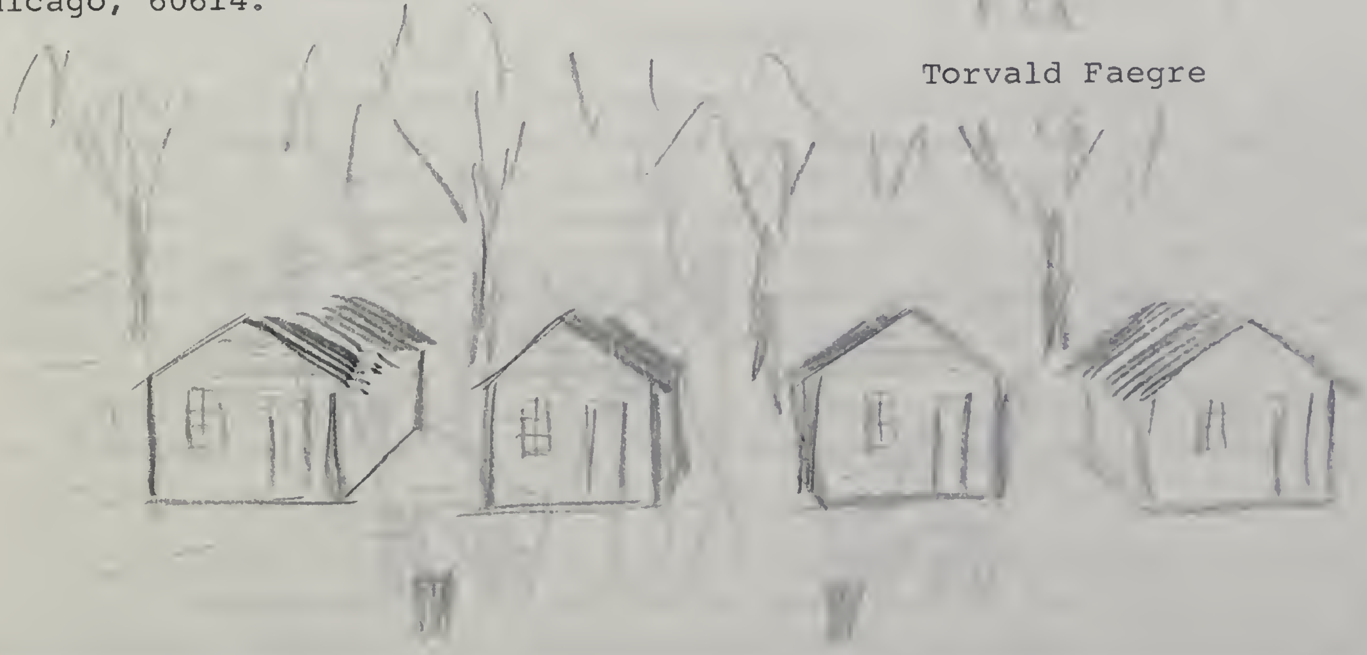
At the end of the week we called a strategic withdrawal (never defeat) and returned to Chicago to plan further assaults.

What did we achieve? At Hodgman's the only material progress we could see was garbage can covers, put in after a visit (provoked by our picketline) of a state employment commissioner. Next door we obtained a guarantee of showers. But more important, while picketing we talked with many sympathetic and interested workers--many more were friendly than antagonistic. A few actually took out red cards. Others put Wobbly Agricultural Workers stickers on the front windshields of their cars. We had a strike in an area and an industry in which strikes are almost unheard of. The newspaper coverage, although hardly unbiased, was big, and the biggest headline--"PICKETS NOT UNION SENT"--was obviously designed to allay the fears of the farmers. (Clippings from this and other stories can be found on the back cover of this issue.)

Most important we discovered that agricultural workers will respond to the call for an agricultural union and with many more I.W.W. organizers in the field next summer, we should be prepared to strike to win.

Those who are interested in joining the harvest for the rest of this summer or our major drive next summer, contact the Agricultural Workers Industrial Union 110 Organizing Committee, 2422 N. Halsted, Chicago, 60614.

Torvald Faegre



Kitten in the Wheat

A sab-cat and a Wobbly band,
A rebel song or two;
And then we'll show the parasites
Just what the cat can do.

From early spring till late in fall
We toil that men may eat,
And "All for one and one for all,"
Sing Wobblies in the wheat.

And have you fixt the where and when
That we must slave and die?
Here's fifty thousand honest men
Shall know the reason why.

The sab-cat purred and switched its tail
As happy as could be.
They'd better not throw Wobs in jail
And leave the kitten free.

The sab-cat purred and twitched its tail
And winked the other way.
Our boys will never rot in jail
Or else the plutes will pay.

The above anonymous Wobbly verse is reprinted from "John Neuhaus: Wobbly Folklorist," by Archie Green, The Journal of American Folklore, Vol. 73, No. 289, p. 196.

Thoughts on Bureaucracy

One of the greatest problems facing the revolutionary movement today is that of bureaucracy. What is it? Is it a rootless "thing", floating between the working class and their rulers? Is it a "new class"? No other issue more clearly shows up the bankruptcty in ideas of the traditional "left" than its inability seriously to grapple with this problem.

The traditional "left" is incapable of looking at reality as it is, of analysing it here and now. Instead it gazes at society from the standpoint of political doctrines expounded a century ago, doctrines in many cases relating to very different social conditions and class alignments.

The contributions of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and other "giants" of the past have been reduced to "sacred scriptures". They are quoted as "divine authority" on the assumption that "nothing has changed". The term "revisionist" has become a term of abuse. That the "giants" themselves constantly revised their ideas in the face of the constantly developing experience is conveniently forgotten.

This "religious" attitude to the past is a complete rejection of dialectical thinking. With such tram-lines firmly laid in their brains it is little wonder that so many self-styled revolutionaries fail to see that Russia today, for instance, is as much a class society as any Western country.

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The traditionalists, for instance, are all obsessed with the legal status of property, as if this were the fundamental thing. They fail to see that the bureaucracy in Russia has assumed the role of ruling class because it dominates production, manages it in its own interests and decides, through the exclusive control of the State, all about the distribution of the social product. State capitalism hadn't developed in Marx's day. His doctrines must be brought up to date in this respect.

Marx's dream of state ownership, centralised* and rapidly increasing productive forces has been fulfilled with a vengeance in Russia today. But is this socialism? The Russian workers are never consulted in the important, everyday decisions that concern them most. Hours or tempo of work, wages, consumption and leisure. They were never consulted about the resumption of tests (any more than ordinary people in the West were). Sometimes they are not even informed of such facts. And in the Arts, what the Party says, goes.

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* "...to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgoisie, to centralise all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e. of proletariat organized as ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible." Manifesto of the Communist Party, Foreign Languages Publishing House edition, Moscow 1957, p.85.

Marx defines capitalism as a society based on commodity production and wage labour and in which "surplus value" is extracted from the workers. Part of this surplus value goes to capitalisation and part goes to the unproductive consumption of the rulers themselves. But many "marxists" fail to see that from this standpoint the Russian worker is exploited just as much, if not more, than his American counterpart.

The mere assertion that the State is "owned" by the workers has about as much relevance to the Russian worker as the fact that British Railways are "publicly owned" has for the rank-and-file member of the NUR. The abolition of private ownership is clearly not enough. Private ownership is only one "legal form" for the power of the ruling class. The ruling class has certainly perceived this. It is high time the revolutionaries did too.

The more far-sighted sections of the ruling class are beginning to realize that only by introducing State ownership can they effectively rationalize their economics, overcome the old type of economic difficulties, and thus maintain their rule.*

At the same time the rulers have learned that they need the Labour bureaucrats to discipline the workers, to tie them ever more closely to the job. They need the traditional unions as an outlet for grievances. In parallel with the increased State intervention in the economy, the Labour leaders and the unions have become increasingly integrated into the political structure of capitalism.

For the worker, these developments have meant increasing domination from above, both in work and in leisure. More and more the employer tries to fashion his employees along the lines so accurately depicted by Charlie Chaplin in "Modern Times".

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Many other "doctrines", unquestioningly accepted by the "left" today, are equally contradictory. For instance some people pay lip-service to the idea that "the liberation of the working class can be achieved only by the working class itself." But the same people act and speak as if the working class is an unintelligent herd, incapable of achieving socialism without an "elitist" party, "steeled in struggle," "disciplined," "centrally controlled," a party which would lead the class to revolutionize society by capturing political power.

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* Bismarck and Churchill were advocates, in their time, of nationalisation. Even the Nazis put forward the following economic demand, in 1923: "We demand the abolition of unearned incomes and the abolition of the thraldom of interest. We demand the nationalisation of all industrial trusts". History of Nazi Germany, Pelican Books, p.199.

Socialism to us means the maximum freedom for the worker in all his activities. It is the very opposite of the massive bureaucratic control which has developed on both sides of the Iron Curtain. The germ of socialism, i.e. maximum participation of the workers themselves, existed in the Paris Commune of 1871, in the Soviets or Workers' Councils of 1905 and 1917, in Spain in 1936 and 1937, and for a few weeks in Budapest in 1956. What has happened to that germ?

Millions of words have been written about the "degeneration" of the October Revolution and of the Bolshevik Party. The writers invariably miss the crucial point, namely that the seeds of the degeneration lay in the dual (and typically capitalist) conceptions of an elitist party and of the authoritarian management of industry. These ideas -or rather this mentality- was to govern all decisions on political and economic questions.

The elitist theory finds its highest expression in the works of Lenin. In What Is To Be Done, written in 1902, he argues that the the working class is incapable of independently developing "socialist consciousness," which has therefore to be injected from outside. "Socialist consciousness," he wrote, "arose quite independently of the spontaneous growth of the working class movement. It arose as a natural and inevitable development of ideas among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia."*

From here it is a logical step to the overall conception of the ignorant herd of workers on the one hand, and the leading "cadre" of intellectuals on the other. The "cadre" do all the "thinking." The workers "test" the resultant "theories" in their everyday struggles with the boss. The division of labour between manual and intellectual, which capitalism developed, has now affected the ranks of the would-be "revolutionaries." Here is the ideological justification for bureaucratic politics.

Once these premises are accepted it matters little how opponents are fought, so long as workers "believe" the facts given them. In describing how one should deal with opposing factions (i.e. members of the same party) Lenin advocated "the spreading among the masses of hatred, aversion and contempt for the opponents." "The limits of the struggle based on a split are not Party limits, but general political limits, or rather general civil limits, the limits set by criminal law and nothing else."** Modern "Leninists" certainly seem to have learnt this part of the message!

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* What Is To Be Done, Foreign Languages Publishing House edition, p. 51.

** Lenin, Selected Works, Vol. III, Lawrence & Wishart, pp. 493 and 494.

In the field of production, this philosophy found expression in the doctrine of "one-man management," the militarization of labour and the determination to prevent the rank-and-file bodies from taking over the factories. It was presumed, in a typically bureaucratic way, that only those possessing technical knowledge were entitled to impose decisions concerning production. "In the interests of socialism, the revolution demands," Lenin wrote as early as 1918, "that the masses *unquestionably obey the single will* of the leaders of the labour process." Writing in *Terrorism and Communism*, Trotsky echoed: "The unions should discipline the workers and teach them to place the interests of production above their own needs and demands." Trotsky continued: "That free labour is more productive than compulsory labour is quite true when it refers to the period of transition from feudal to bourgeois society. But one needs to be a liberal to make that truth permanent and to transfer its application to the period of transition from the bourgeois to the socialist order."

These quotations show the contemptuous attitude held by the Bolshevik "vanguard" for the working class. It was to have disastrous results. It led for example to the bloody suppression of the Kronstadt mutiny in 1921, when workers demanded that the power stolen from the Soviets by the Bolshevik Party be returned to them. The mutineers were massacred by the Bolsheviks. Significantly both Lenin and Trotsky publicly claimed that it was a counter-revolutionary rebellion, led by Tsarist officers. They both knew this to be a lie, but truth did not matter. Political expediency did.

The culmination of these doctrines was the introduction of completely capitalist methods into Russian production: speed-ups, piecework, unpaid "voluntary" overtime, permanent labour control, time and motion study, and the open advocacy of a drive for "American efficiency." Engels could have been foreseeing modern Russia when he wrote: "The modern State, no matter what its form, is essentially a capitalist machine, the State of the capitalists, the ideal personification of the total national capital. The more it proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage workers, proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head."*

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"Being determines consciousness" is an oft-quoted marxist truism. Related to a bureaucrat it means that any man possessing power over others cannot fail but to see society through the eyes of a master. So long as political power exists, class society will exist. So long as a specific social stratum manages production, the ruler and ruled relationship will persist. The political power held by Lenin and his elite over the rank and file of the pre-revolutionary Bolshevik Party was simply transformed, by the October Revolution, into State power. The Party appointed the industrial managers. It opposed workers' management of production. Its members took up key positions in the State apparatus. The Party built a society in its own image.

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* F. Engels, *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, Foreign Languages Publishing House edition, Moscow 1954, pp. 105-106.

The trade union and Labour bureaucrat in this country plays the same role as his Russian counterpart. His prime concern is to maintain himself. This he has no difficulty to do as he is an essential cog in the whole edifice of bureaucratic capitalism. Socialism and workers' power would mean his extinction.

It is no accident that trade union and Labour bureaucrats, of every political colouring, instinctively and inevitably must oppose any form of rank and file activity. The bureaucracies are fully integrated into the structure of capitalism. Independent action by the working class is the greatest threat to their existence. To talk, therefore, of these leaders "selling out" the membership is absurd. There is no other way in which they could act. They differ with one another only in respect of the kind of class society they would choose: the Western, based to an ever-diminishing degree on private ownership, or the Russian brand, organized through total State ownership.

As capitalism develops the State bureaucracy "takes over" managerial functions to an increasing degree until it becomes the ruling class. The economic basis for this new bureaucracy is the enormous concentration of capital and power and the increasing intervention of the State in all economic transactions, and finally in every aspect of social life. The old "property-owning bourgeoisie," which characterized the capitalism of the days of Marx, is dying together with the era of laissez-faire. It now has to share its power with the new bureaucracy. It will eventually be eliminated altogether, either gradually and piecemeal (as in the West) or suddenly, as the result of a violent struggle (as in Russia and China). In this respect the only difference between East and West is that the former has already achieved total centralization in the hands of the State, while in the West the process still continues. It is a quantitative difference.....not one of quality.

In their attitude to rank and file ("unofficial") activity, the organizations of the "left" reveal most clearly their bureaucratic make-up. The great Frank Foulkes, then "Communist" President of the ETU, could say to the power workers (November 14, 1960) that "Unofficial bodies are not in the best interests of the industry." The Stalinist weekly World News devoted a major article, in May 1958, to attacking the "unofficial" attempts of sections of the London busmen to extend their strike. Even the ultra "rrrevolutionary" S.L.L. declares its policy in all strikes is to make them official.* This is a permanent call for workers to leave control of the disputes in the hands of the bureaucrats. It goes hand in hand of course with calls for "better leadership" (i.e. themselves).

(Concluded on next page)

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* Gerry Healy, letter to The Guardian, October 26, 1961.

LETTERS

The Rebel Worker is Sure Damn Good. I bought 3 copies of it at IWW Hall here....

Guy B. Askew
(Skidroad Slim)
Seattle, Washington

*

I visited General Hdqtrs. in February and talked to Carl Keller for some time about the Movement and the plight of migratory French-Canadian potato workers in Northern Maine.... I am an anarchist 1st, last and always; but I see the syndicalism of the IWW as one of the most practical ways of implementing anarchism. Direct action is the only action (I hate to sound doctrinaire, but....)

Bruce Elwell
Westbrook, Maine

*

Received and enjoyed reading the first issue of your well-edited rebellious Rebel Worker. Hope we can have another issue soon. With my best wishes and thanks I enclose $1 to meet the expenses that it took to give birth to this baby.

Abraham Wuori
Duluth, Minnesota

*

Here's a bit for your new IWW mag., The Rebel Worker. Needless to say, "I hope you make a great go of it.

George Slaychuk
(Syndicalist George)
Youngstown, Ohio

I was pleased to see your magazine The Rebel Worker, but I was more impressed by the organizational work you are doing.... Would you send me information about the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee of the IWW?

Hyatt Bache
Kensington, Maryland

*

The four-hour day, four-day week proposal of the IWW...would open up countless opportunities for presently unemployed workers to directly control their destinies at the point of production. The four-hour-day, four-day week slogan is as applicable today as in the 30's; I think it should be revived and propagated and implemented by the workers today. Let's not wait for the tomorrows of the politicians.

Bernard Marszalek
Chicago, Illinois

THOUGHTS ON BUREAUCRACY, concluded

Experience has shown that movements relying on leaders can achieve nothing of fundamental benefit to the working class. Bureaucratic parties can only build bureaucratic societies. Socialism cannot be built with capitalist tools. The only saviour of the working class must be the working class itself---a statement that must be taken in its most literal sense.

Bob POTTER

(Reprinted from Solidarity
Volume 2, Number 10)

STARVATION ARMY 1964

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

The IWW and the Salvation Army have always had rather conflicting philosophies. Nevertheless, these philosophies have often been directed at the same type of men: the unskilled and unemployed workers who rove the skid roads while waiting for another job. To the Salvation Army they've always been tramps, hoboes and bums who have gone astray, but might be "led into the light of Jesus and be saved." To the IWW they are, in Haywood's terms, "the elite of the working class," whose task is to lead the other workers on the path of revolutionary industrial unionism.

The most interesting example of this antagonism occurred in 1909 when the Spokane IWW branch hired Jack Walsh, a professional Socialist Party orator, to recruit members. His idea was to preach industrial unionism from the soapbox and take a 50¢ commission out of the $2.50 initiation fee of each new member.

Walsh soon drew large crowds and signed up hundreds of new members, but the Salvation Army and the Volunteers of America had objections to the IWW approach and proceeded to drown out Walsh with their bands. Not to be deterred, Walsh organized his own band and beat the evangelists at their own game.

Sparked by this idea, Walsh took his band and toured the northwest coast doing satirical take-offs on the Salvation Army and parodies of their songs. Joe Hill was later to write the most famous hymn-parody, The Preacher and the Slave:

> "And the starvation army they play,
> And they sing and they clap and they pray.
> Till they get all your coin on the drum,
> Then they tell you when you are on the bum:
>
> You will eat, bye and bye,
> In that glorious land above the sky;
> Work and pray, live on hay,
> You'll get pie in the sky when you die."

The following is an account of how the Salvation Army is faring in Chicago today.

T. F.

And who does Jesus save? The old gray head, the lame, the blind, the young man on the bum, the wino, the Negro, the Puerto Rican, the poor white, the Indian, the Mexican, the Oriental, the one who speaks with an "old country" tongue, the homeless, the jobless, the hungry, the sick... Poverty's children, that great American army of extraneous men...those who live mass lives of quiet desperation. JESUS! JESUS! JESUS! SWEETEST NAME I KNOW! Now clap your hands for God's Glory and MAKE A JOYFUL NOISE UNTO THE LORD! This is the Way, the Truth and the Light on the dark side of the American dream. Are you poor and hungry? Is your life a failure? Then be a success, feasting on the riches of the grave of Jesus. Services every night at seven..The Harbor Light Center of the Salvation Army. Vistors Welcome.

Already before seven over 200 men have assembled in the big chapel, while downstairs in the basement another 100 sit waiting for the Word of God to come from the loud speaker hung in the corner. It's rather dark down here where I'm sitting...underneath an air vent. The service begins but the sea of voices drowns it out. I offer my seat, one of the two together, to some late-comers. I want to get up front in order to hear better. There's an empty seat in the very front row. I sit down before a life-sized wooden cross, turned on its side and used as a hat rack by my neighbor on the left. On my right an old man sits reading his newspaper:

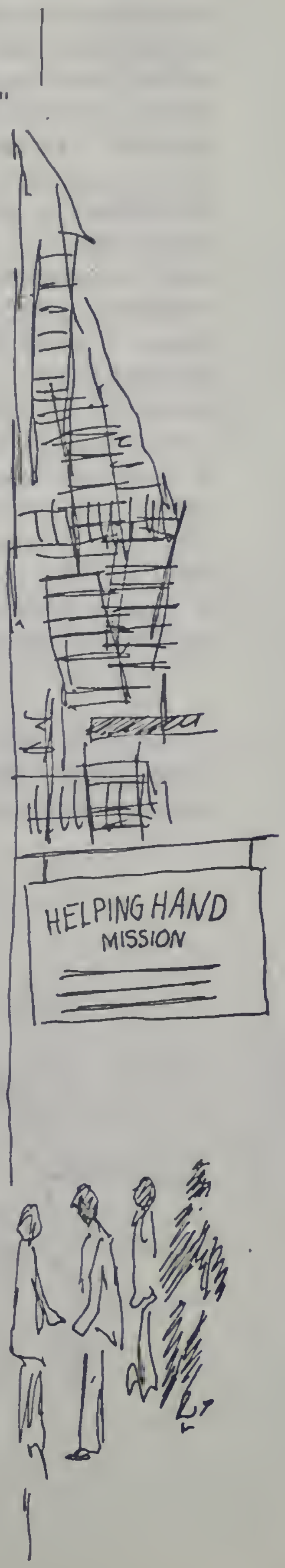
DALEY LAUDS LBJ
WAR ON POVERTY

Here and there a few are smoking. I light up and begin to take notes. I copy the Bible verse chalked on the blackboard in front. "The God of my Rock, In Him Will I Trust: He is my shield, and the Horn of my Salvation, my High Tower, and my Refuge, my Savior; Thou savest me from violence. II Sam. 22:3. A hand touches my shoulder, "Hey, bud, save me the butt." "Sure, here, take it." Almost immediately an attendant comes over. "If you want to smoke, get out." A sign on the door, "Your life is but a little while. Do your job with a smile. Remember the Lord. He remembers you." Cripples on crutches are coming in late. They're singing hymns upstairs now. A few down here make feeble attempts to join in but the majority just sit in silence or talk to their neighbors. An old black blindman sits tapping his cane. The Brigadier speaks, "Men, the Holy Spirit is moving among us. Life's changed, re-arranged. Souls saved." "Amen," says one brother. "Since Jesus came into this town, the Devil is wearing a frown." (I look around: a roomful of devils.) "Turn to number five. There's a melody within my heart." The Brigadier announces there'll be twelve witnesses, each giving an hour-long testimony. Moans and groans come from the flock. The Brigadier is in fine spirits and kids us along, "If any of you gentlemen have previous engagements, heh, heh, heh..." Actually a few get up to leave. I follow them upstairs. I want to get closer to our Brigadier. I'm hustled to an opening off a long hallway where about 25 men are seated. Meanwhile the witnesses are on. One after another they tell how Jesus saved them. "My wife died. I had no friends. I was lonely. I began to drink. I became a drunk. I lost my job. I was out on the street. I had nowhere to go, no one to turn to. Then Jesus came into my heart." "All you men know me...Al, I'm the one by the door, almost every night. That's how I serve Jesus and how I serve you. It's wonderful when you accept Jesus as your Savior." An old man, 86 years young, speaks in a singsong that sounds like "foreign tongues." He goes on and on into eternity. He sings out his 86 years of misery on this earth and his hope for a better life to come in the kingdom of Heaven. The witnesses are through and now an official is singing. Beside me sits a Negro who doesn't like it. "We ought to strangle that guy." I turn and look at him. "Not you," he assures me. "That guy that is singing," Naturally, I agree. The Brigadier is now telling a story. One day a member of his staff informs him there's a woman waiting in his office. "She's proably just drunk," he says. But the Brigadier ignores his assistant's crude remark and goes to talk to her. It's later discovered that the woman is dying of cancer. "You can never be sure when a person comes to you and says, 'I'm in trouble', whether he's lying or not, but a Christian must always be there, ready and willing to help. True, sometimes you must turn people away. Especially some people"(laughter). "But even then the Christian must be kind and do it with a smile." At that moment an attendant, a young skinny white man with a crew cut, is shoving an old Negro out the door. The old man is protesting, but loses the battle. The attendant comes back...smiling. The Brigadier announces that Mayor Daley has asked him to head a committee to study the woman alcoholic in Cook County. "These unfortunate women...something must be done for them. We need a hospital."

Two more latecomers are seated. One wears a black glove on his right hand. A Mexican, who up till now, had been religiously reading his newspaper, suddenly begins gesturing wildly. He's showing the man with the black glove his injured hand. He squeezes an invisible ball. Blackie takes off his glove. His hand lies dead. He just can't move his hand. This seems to make the Mexican squeeze his hand all the more frantically. There seems to me to be something obscene about all of this. Later the Mexican gives me strange, hostile looks and begins making weird noises. He abruptly goes back to reading but then starts sucking on his tongue. It sounds like someone cleaning his teeth after a meal. The Brigadier announces that on April 22 (Lenin's birthday, I think to myself) the wife of the late great Capt. Cedric will be there to speak. She's a wonderful woman and her departed husbnd, well, "There was never more saintly a man that walked the streets of Chicago than Capt. Cedric. God rest his soul." An old man behind me tells his younger partner, "He's right. Capt. Cedric was a great guy. He always looked out for the boys."

The Brigadier is now going into his sermon. The book of Daniel. The handwriting on the wall. The King shook in fear. We all act afraid in tight situations. Especially when we don't or won't listen to God. We must take his warnings and turn from our wickedness to Him before it's too late. The handwriting is on the wall, etc., etc. He reaches eloquent heights of pleading. I'm reminded of Billy Graham, and like Billy, the Brigadier reminds us this is our hour of decision...and that a collection will be taken up. The boys from upstairs, who have been practicing all afternoon, harmonize on a few hymns. An attendant comes out of a side door, walks hurriedly past us, smoke trailing behind him. The hymns over, an official is saying a prayer. I am wondering how I can get out of the collection, and if not, how much I should give. I'm also wondering how I can get into the big chapel. The Brigadier saves me. He's asking us to come forward and make our decisions for Christ. Someone gets up and I follow him into the big chapel. I sit down in a back row, but an attendant tells me I have to keep moving. I find myself up front with about 12 others. We're standing before a large stage. Its curtain is drawn. Below there are a few rows of makeshift wooden benches. We kneel down, fold our hands in prayer and put them on the benches. Suddenly a group of men come down from the stage. They kneel down before us and put their hands on ours. I get Bob, a graying Negro of about 45. I know his name is Bob because it says so on his recently laundered bowling shirt. He asks me what my problems are.. I tell him I just sort of got caught up in the current. No, I don't drink. He seems a little bewildered. Finally, he asks me to join him in prayer. He tells God I don't look like a drinking man. I look somewhat intelligent. "Maybe with your help, O Lord, he can learn a few more things. Through Jesus' name. Amen." He then rattle off the routine I'm to follow. He gives me a slip of paper which he says entitles me to breakfast. After that, all of us - the converts - go up on the stage behind the curtain. Others take our places below. We take our seats and wait. I ask a man next to me about the slip of paper. He says it's good for the 6 o'clock breakfast. "You don't have to wait in line with the others...just come right in." "It's your press card," a man behind me jokes. I ask them about their decisions for Christ, whether it has any meaning in their lives. "We told you you don't have to wait in line for breakfast." "But is 6 o'clock worth it?..." I ask. Then I ask what they serve. "You know, the same old shit...mush, sweet rolls, milk." "Yeah," another man joims in. "The same old shit. Two silver-haired old men with beards come in with the next group. They're engaged in a lively discussion. They sit down, one on each side of a third man. They continue their conversation, talking right through the third man. A civilian-dressed official takes our names and ages. A man next to me takes out his discharge papers. He thinks he has to show his ID. He's from some place, Wyoming. His hands are trembling. An officer comes in and tells some religious and routine information. He stops because of the talking and glares at the two young Negroes in front of me. Meanwhile the two old men are still talking furiously and ignore him completely. He reprimands the group, goes on, finally ending in a standardized prayer. We march downstairs. Half of the chapel is already there...in this large dining hall. There are about five rows of eight long tables. Each man is almost shoulder to shoulder and standing.

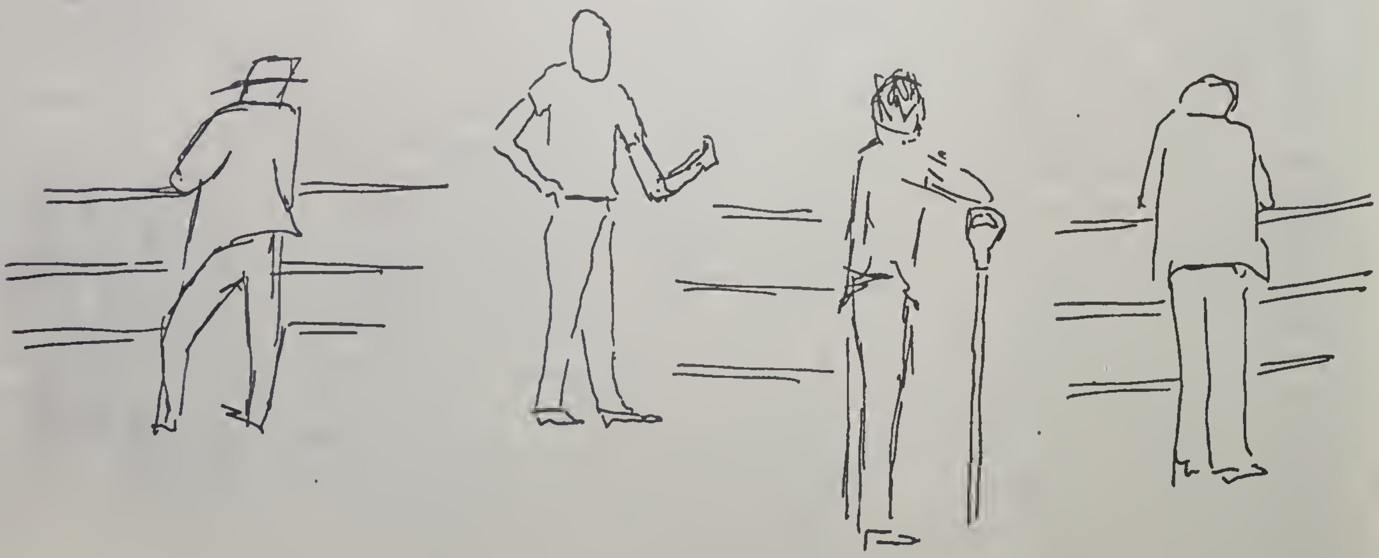
since there are no seats. There's a bowl of vegetable soup which I hurriedly gobble up. I haven't eaten all day. I break the cheese in half and taste a small piece. I don't like it. The bread and pastry look and feel stale. I don't try them. I drink the milk. It's powdered. I see some people have cake and pie but it's probably stale, too. I ask who wants the rest of my food and a hand from across the table snatches it away. The man next to me complains, "He's got too much already." I agree and take half of it back and give it to him. I look around and see surprisingly, a lot of full-headed, gray-haired old men. Everyone, I think to myself, is dressed like a scarecrow. I go around to take my dirty dishes to the kitchen crew. I've left my spoon in the bowl and so...get a dirty look. I take it out and give it to the next man in line. I walk out on the street and see a small Chinese man leaning against the Salvation Army truck. I ask him if he had attended the service. No, he's waiting for someone. I wait awhile, watching the men come out, light up, and disappear into the night. I decide the best thing to do is to wait in the bar across the street and get into a conversation with someone I may recognize. The first place has a long -about 60 foot- bar. It advertises the cheapest fish bowl in town: 17¢. It's crowded. I find a place and order. The beer is very stale. A group of Puerto Ricans are slapping each other and singing. A man behind me is imitating a saxophone player. A Negro fag is swishing around the bar. He's very popular with boys at the other end. They're constantly laughing and making good-natured jokes. A middle-aged white man is talking to the fag up front now. The fag keeps saying, "I have to pay the rent. I have to pay the rent." The white man says, "Don't put me on. That's too much." He sneers and leaves. The fag goes over and makes a phone call. The TV up above is blaring. There's some confusion involving the other Negro in the place. The man next to me who speaks with a foreign accent, says, "They ought to throw him out...he's a terrible trouble-maker." The man bar-tender, who has a big bandage over his left eye, tells the Negro to cool it. The Negro walks about giving everyone menacing looks. I think a fight may break out when he pushes someone, but it turns out to be his friend. Another bar-tender comes in with his left hand in a cast. I decide to try next door. I enter and sit next to an old Negro. I buy a blind robin. I tell the Negro I just came to town and need a place to stay. "I was at the Salvation Army but they don't put people up there." He's very friendly and constantly smiles. I ask him if he had attended the service. No, he hadn't been there in over a month. I



show him my slip of paper. Yes, he knows, he's been saved lots of times. We exchange information about our lives, our road experiences. He thinks Kansas City and Indianapolis are the best for missions. He's been hoboing since '28. He even went to a mission in Detroit, his home town. When they checked up on him and found out he had people living in Detroit, they threw him out. He says he's been in a mission in every big city in the United States except Seattle. He once lived and worked in Seattle and he told his woman he was going down to the mission "just to see what it looks like." She thought he was crazy and he got drunk and never did make it. No, he never took a woman to a mission. "There's two things I'll never do--take my family to a mission or take them on the road." We had both seen families on the road but never at a mission. Neither of us had ever seen a woman at a mission. "A woman can always make it somehow," he smiles. He's going back to Detroit when the weather changes. He hasn't been there since opening day last year (baseball). He never hitchhikes. He always rides the freights. He tells me about the mission situation in Chicago. "It's too late to get put up now... you have to be there lined up already in the afternoon. I tell him I have a friend here I'm trying to get in touch with by phone. He tells me he's working now (washing cars) and he's going to eat now. "If you haven't reached your friend and you're still here when I get back, I'll give you 40¢ for a hotel room. The same hotel I stay at." I thank him and he leaves. I wait awhile, then leave, too. I pass another mission. It has a neon sign saying JESUS and another saying
A
V
E
S

"Please stay out of the doorway." When I cross the street and head toward the Loop, a Wall Street Journal truck makes a sharp turn around the corner...

Daniel R. THOMPSON



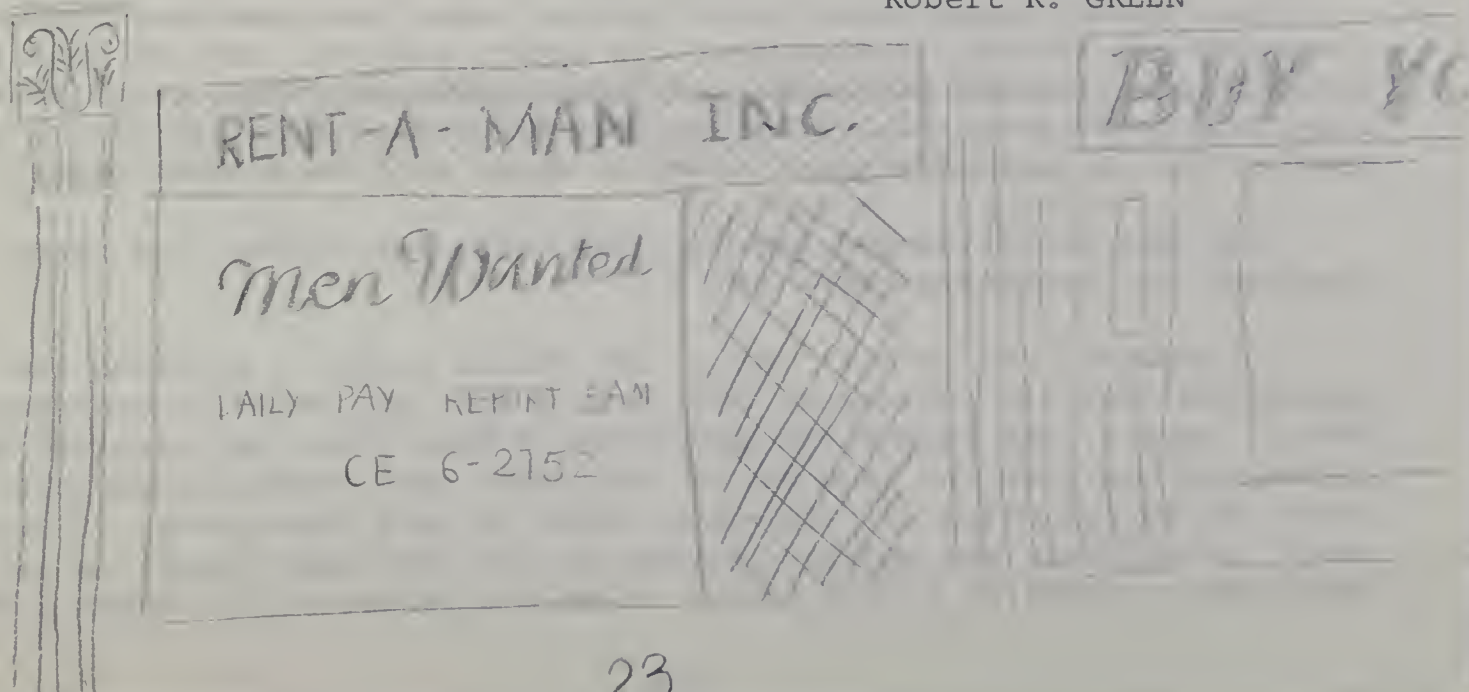
BARBARA

Barbara found herself unmistakably poor because her wants added up to more than her needs, and these wants were unattainable in the digit of three. The first was that the economic system under which she lived ignored her desires. The second was that the present social system feeds on the desires of those less deserving; and the third was that yet uninvented technology has not provided these things. "All of these things have unlimited power!" exclaimed Barbara, "But they can only have this power up to the point of peoples' control. I know," she cried, "because we're in the majority." Barbara thought over what Francis Hackett said: "I believe in materialism. I believe in all the proceeds of a healthy materialism--good cooking, dry houses, dry feet, sewers, drain pipes, hot water, baths, electric lights, automobiles, good roads, bright streets, long vacations away from the village pump, new ideas, fast horses, swift conversation, theatres, operas, orchestras, bands,--I believe in them all for everybody. The man who dies without knowing these things may be as exquisite as a saint, and as rich as a poet; but it is in spite of, not because of, his deprivation."

As Barbara herself put it so aptly, in the words of André Breton, "The idea that freedom, acquired here on earth at the price of a thousand--and the most difficult--renunciations, must be enjoyed as unrestrictedly as it is granted, without pragmatic considerations of any sort, and this because human emancipation--conceived finally in its simplest revolutionary form, which is no less than human emanciaption in every respect, by which I mean, according to the means of every mans disposal--remains the only cause worth serving."

It is regretful to say, however, that Barbara thinks she is the only one who thinks this way. Let's pass the word, fellow workers.

Robert R. GREEN



Poets and Pearls
a Rhapsody

Our poet came near landing another job today. He was walking along the street, wondering where we could raise the price of a Turkish Bath to match his cleanly rainment, when his eyes lit upon a sign:

"Dishwasher Wanted, Experienced."

Dear Reader, let me interrupt you while I tell you I can see the Editor's eye gleam BALEfully, as he anticipates the harrowing tale of his crack poet cracking dishes.

He will rise up in his sanctum, paw the air and distribute hands full of hair in the wastebasket---the mere thought of our poet entering the "field of art"---Spasms of suppressed Emotion will shake his frame and he will utter words no Mule Skinner need be ashamed of, even though the Editor may repent, and deny them later.

He will try to argue that a premier poet, with fine spelling and comprehensive punctuation, is frittering away his time diving for pearls in a restaurant when he might be making himself useful wheeling sonnets on a Construction Job.

But our poet will cite authorities to prove that former great poets have reached dizzy heights in the fertile plains of Art, on the verdant pastures of Science.

Robert Burns, the brilliantmost star in poesy's constellation, won greater fame as a wielder of the broom than our modest bard can ever hope to win---washing dishes.

"Dishwasher Wanted, Exp."

Here was my opportunity for a Turkish Bath. Our poet might enter the sweat-box kitchen, perspire to his hide's content, and get paid for it. Wash six thousand dishes for pastime, scrub the floor, compliment the cook, and while away the rest of the day discussing relative merits of chewing gum as essence piquant added to soup, with or without celery.

All this for $1.42 6-7 per day; and bath; and coffee, and beans, and comebacks and never-arriveds, etc.

I entered---in my best voice, and choice words, I informed the proprietor that his anxieties, from this moment on, would be banished; that I, even I, the inimitable immaculate T-Bone Slim, had resolved to emancipate him from the drudgery of the sink; that I would undertake to bathe his superb china (in the sweet water of Lake Minnetonka, if necessary), to maintain the spotless purity of the "hot-dog" joint, Le Par Excellence---would he kindly reveal to me the nature of the wages I would be honor'd with?

"Certainly, my friend," (I had won a friend already---though I hadn't touched the dishes), "Certainly," he says, "we are paying ten dollars a week and we furnish all the soap and water...."

"Why damn it, man, you don't want an expert dishwasher---what you want is a Common dishwasher"---I had reverted back to my mother tongue.

"Are you an experienced man?" he inquired.

"Why man alive," say I, "I've cracked rock on some of the leading rock piles all over the country." (This, of course, was a lie. Little indeed "moots" a lie when facing the realities of life; when a man wants a job; and a good sweat over a tank of dishes, little indeed.)

"Well, if that's the case," he says, "I'll give you Eleven dollars and a quarter."

"What in the name of benevolence is the quarter for?" I inquired. "Make it Eighteen dollars a week and free pie three times a day---I'll take it."

"Goodness Gracious!" he exclaimed, "Eighteen dollars a week---that would be 77 dollars a month; 800 dollars a year, Eight hundred dollars, just think---

"With Eight hundred dollars you would be able to support a family. No, no, this place cannot afford to support a family, excepting, of course, my own dear family---leave me," he pleaded, "We---we couldn't afford to let you eat any custard pie anyway. Good Day," he says, as he hit me in the eye with a fresh doughnut.

With my remaining eye I saw that if I prolonged the "conference" he would still hang on to his money (but lose his mind), so I went (as is a custom with great poets) down to the river---but, not to drown myself.

I'll get a chance to wash dishes yet---when the weather gets warmer....

T-BONE SLIM

A Contemporary Culture Document: Peter, Paul and Mary

Peter, Paul and Mary sing folk music. In your hands you hold their first album. But to be more accurate, you hold a bouquet of song still fresh as earth, and strong with the perfume of sincerity. For Peter, Paul and Mary sing!

There is nothing apologetic about their work. No ineptitude disguised as charm. No uninspired professionalism passed off as authenticity. Whatever they have thus far undertaken, Peter, Paul and Mary have done well, and with flair. And, obviously, with their whole hearts. The temptation is to run on in a riot of superlatives. Probably, you're either reading this instead of listening, or else reading and trying to listen at the same time. Either way, it's a mistake. The Truth is on the record. It deserves your exclusive attention. No dancing, please. Just look at their faces, listen to their songs, and hope that you have a chance to hear (and see) them in person.

These dynamic youngsters have been "together" almost a year now (by spring '62, when this is being written), and each day seems to bring new definition to that word..."together." The trio has elsewhere been described, visually, as "Two bearded prophets of the folk idiom in league with a bright, young blonde-and-a-half. And vocally, as "An angel, and two cellos playing guitars." Beyond such imagery, such facts as birthplaces, hobbies, ages, and last names are unimportant here. Their identities as artists, both individually and collectively, are emphatically established on the record inside. By way of rounding out the biography, lets just add that what they do in their spare time is sing.

More important than biography, there seems to be something optimistic, something encouraging about this whole musical experience. Peter, Paul and Mary's first album is bright with enthusiasm. No gimmicks. There is just something Good about it all. Good in the sense of Virtue, that is. And the news that something this Good can be as popular as this is can fill you with a new kind of optimism. Maybe everything's going to be all right. Maybe mediocrity has had it. Maybe hysteria is on the way out. One thing is for sure in any case: Honesty is back. Tell your neighbor.

(Liner notes for Warner Brothers album W1449.)

IWW LITERATURE

The Industrial Worker Bi-weekly IWW newspaper featuring world labor news, news of protest movements, labor history, book reviews, etc.	6 months $1 1 year $2 2 years $3

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IWW Songs: To Fan the Flames of Discontent Revolutionary songs by Joe Hill, T-Bone Slim and others. New 31st edition.	40¢
The IWW: Its First Fifty Years Fred Thompson's historical survey of the IWW is the best introduction to the subject	paper $2 cloth $3

A considerable number of IWW pamphlets are available in various foreign languages. A catalog of these will be sent on request.

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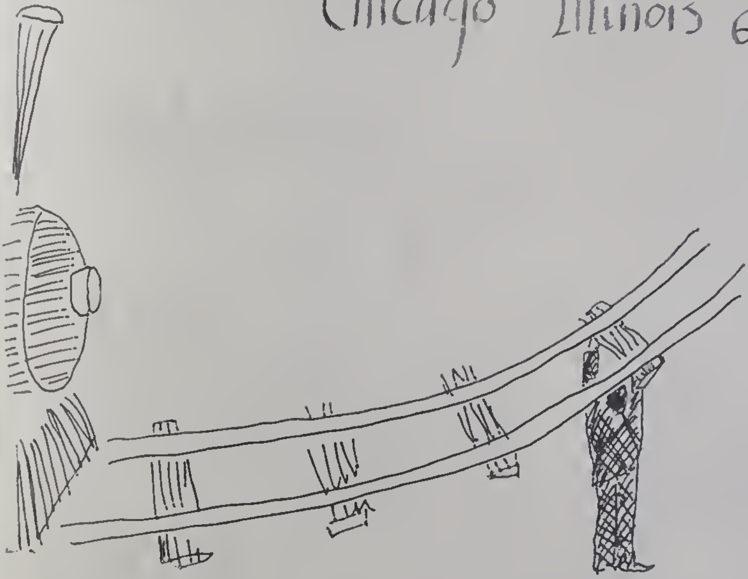

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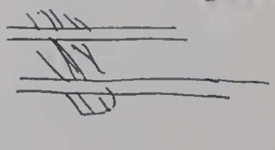


.... and watch for

BLACK CAT

an experimental IWW Review

write: Larry DeCoster
c/o Seattle Branch IWW
315 Yesler Way
Seattle, Wash.

cartoons by Topor

South Haven Daily Tribune
Serving Van Buren and Allegan
Counties Since 1899

Puzzle of
Saturday,
July 25,
Solved

4 Picketing Grower At Gr. Junction

Four blueberry pickers have formed a picket line in front of Hodgman's Blueberry Farm near Grand Junction following a walkout yesterday.

The four told Hodgman that they were going on strike where upon the grower told them to leave his property. Mrs. Hodgman said that the workers refused to leave until ordered to do so by state police. Early this morning the four pickers passed out letters to nearly all area farm workers and several businesses.

Claims

The letters claim that over half of the workers at the Hodgman farm are on strike and that the workers were forced to live under unhealthy living conditions on the farm. The letter is signed: Industrial Workers of the World — Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110.

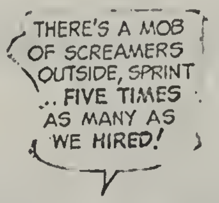
On Strike

The four pickers claim to be "out on strike for decent wages and healthy living conditions." They claim to have been forced to work for fifty cents an hour and to live in "good-for-nothing shacks", according to their letter passed out yesterday.

WANTED — Cherry Pickers. Small trees. 6 miles east on Phoenix Rd. Eldon Ruell.

The four pickers walked out yesterday when Hodgman refused to grant their request for an increase in pay. Hodgman told them that he was paying the same as other area growers and that the four had been aware of the wage scale when they took the job. The pay is 50 cents per hour.

Farm Strikers

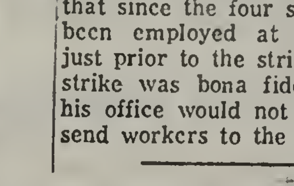

THERE'S A MOB OF SCREAMERS OUTSIDE, SPRINT ... FIVE TIMES AS MANY AS WE HIRED!

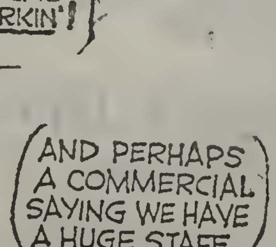
Two other pickers joined the picket line yesterday afternoon but left within a few hours to seek employment. The four strikers have been going to other picking camps in the area to recruit support for their strike. When asked what results they had had in the other camps, the strikers replied that they had had a good response.

Walk Out

The pickers, who claim to be members of the Industrial Workers of the World Union, walked out Tuesday after Kenneth Hodgman, owner of the farm, refused to grant them a pay increase.

Dale Hough, crop area supervisor from the Benton Harbor farm labor office and Henry Florian of the South Haven labor office investigated the strike yesterday. Hough said that since the four strikers had been employed at Hodgman's just prior to the strike that the strike was bona fide and that his office would not be able to send workers to the farm.


WELL, UNCLE JOE SURE SEEMS HAPPY WORKIN'!


AND PERHAPS A COMMERCIAL SAYING WE HAVE A HUGE STAFF OF HELP.

Pickers' Strike Continues With Tension Build-up

A picket line in front of the Hodgman Blueberry Farm south of Grand Junction is going into its second week with little change on either side, except an increase in tension.

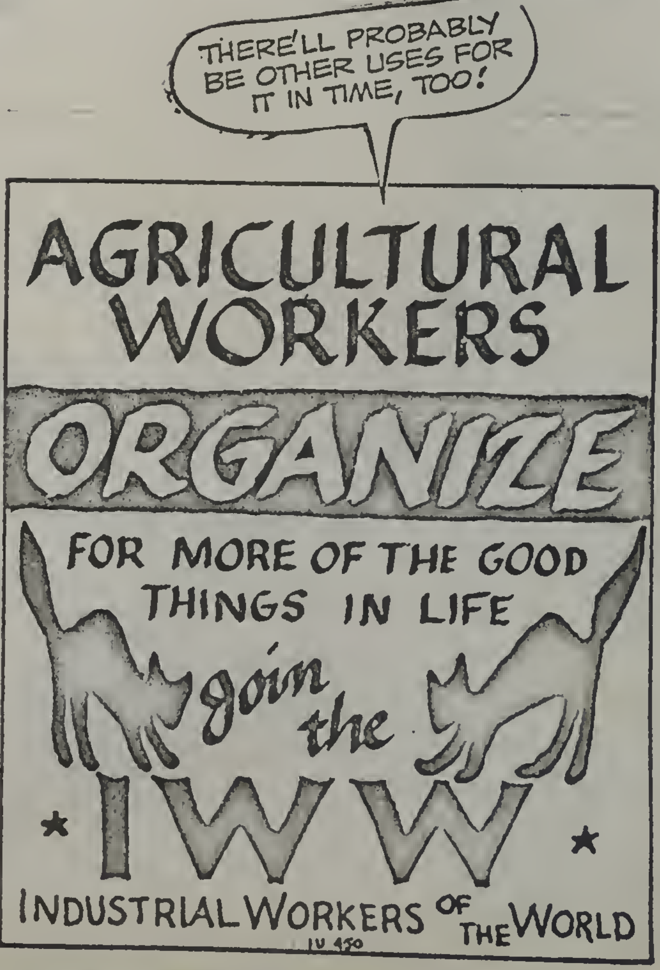
Letter To Workers

Union members put out a printed letter to area workers over the weekend urging them to organize and join their strike. They said to "Watch for our organizers in your camp."

However, despite the work done by the four original organizers, they seem to be making little gain with no farms reported organized. Three others joined the first four over the weekend but by this morning only one was still with them.

The pickers claim to be members of the Industrial Workers of the World union, a union that became known as the "Wobblies" during World War I. It reportedly is the same union that organized farm workers in California a few years ago.

July 27, 1964


THERE'LL PROBABLY BE OTHER USES FOR IT IN TIME, TOO!
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS
ORGANIZE
FOR MORE OF THE GOOD THINGS IN LIFE
join the
IWW
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
IU 450

The Rebel Worker

3

The Industrial Workers of the World

PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The Rebel Worker

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CONTENTS

Cover by Torvald Faegre

IWW Preamble 2

The IWW Here and Now 3

The Unfree Child by A. S. Neill 4

The Victims of the Benefactors of the Poor
by Torvald Faegre 8

Eygptian Trouble by Murray Steib 9

Harlem Journal, or Homage to Pandemonia
by Robert S. Calese 10

Heresy by T-Bone Slim 15

The Fleas of the Field by Benjamin Peret 16

Mods, Rockers & The Revolution
By Franklin Rosemont 17

Selected References on the Subject of the
Preceding Article 21

Conditioning for Bureaucracy
by Robert Green 23

Letters 24

Storming Heaven in Hungary (Book Review)
by Penelope Rosemont 26

The IWW is Dead! Long Live the IWW!
(Book Review) by F. R. 27

Wobbles 28

Anarchism as seen from an Ivory Tower
Through Opague Lenses (Book Review)
by Bernard Marszalek 29

Continued

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The Basic Question by Lionel Bottari 31

Youth for Freedom by Tony Gibson 32

Solidarity Bookshop: IWW Literature 33

Calligraphy by Torvald Faegre

Art-Work & Cartoons by Lester Doré, Dust,
Torvald Faegre, Bernard Marszalek,
Yves Tanguy and Topor

Readers of the Rebel Worker may be interested in these other excellent libertarian journals and newspapers:

Broadsheet: Box 3015, GPO, Sydney, Australia
Published by the Libertarian Society
at Sydney University (bi-monthly)

Direct Action: 34 Cumberland Road, London E.17, England
Published by the Syndicalist Workers' Federation,
British Section of the International Working Men's
Association (IWMA). (monthly)

Freedom: 17a Maxwell Road, London SW6, England
Anarchist weekly paper, the last page of which is
now devoted to industrial activity. $3 a year.

Industrial Worker: 2422 No. Halsted Street, Chicago,
Illinois, 60614. IWW tri-weekly newspaper. 10¢ a copy,
$2 a year. World labor news, book reviews, etc.

Resistance: 13 Goodwin Street, London N4, England
Bulletin of the Committee of 100. Vol. 2, No. 9
(still available) was a special issue on sabotage
and the peace movement. 10¢ a copy.

Solidarity: 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1, England
Subversive rank-and-file journal. 10¢ a copy. (monthly

Strike!: c/o Freedman, 2849 Mayfield, Cleveland, Ohio
Monthly libertarian socialist journal. 15¢ a copy.

Views & Comments: P.O. Box 261, Cooper Station, New York,
N.Y., 10003. Quarterly journal of the Libertarian
League. 10¢ a copy, $1 a year.

Wobbly: c/o Ellington, 1941 Oregon Street, Berkeley, California. Occasional journal of the Bay Area branches
of the Industrial Workers of the World. 25¢ a copy.

and coming soon:

Black Cat: c/o Solidarity Bookshop, 713 Armitage, Chicago
Illinois, 60614. Experimental IWW review, soon to publish its first issue on "Cinema and Revolution." 35¢
a copy. Two or three issues a year.

THE IWW HERE AND NOW

In our last issue we mentioned that we were working on the possibilities of recruiting younger workers and developing some action to meet their particular needs. This issue of the Rebel Worker is the result of many discussions on this subject, and presents several points of view on various problems of young workers today.

We're a bit late with this issue, but we haven't been idle. We've opened our new Chicago Branch Hall and the IWW Solidarity Bookshop at 713 Armitage and are presently preparing an illustrated and descriptive catalog of books, pamphlets and periodicals available. (See page 33.) Branch meetings are held there the first Friday of each month at 8 P.M. All wage-workers are welcome.

We're also working on several new pamphlets, primarily one for our forthcoming Agricultural Workers drive this spring, summer and fall, and another on restaurant work. These should be readyby April or so. Details on the plans for these organizational drives will appear in the next issue of The Rebel Worker and in the IWW tri-weekly newspaper, The Industrial Worker.

Several new IWW "silent agitator" stickers have been printed up by the Bay Area (California) branches, and are available at ten cents for a packet of fifty. These include a four-hour day sticker, one saying "Lay the Boss off, it makes more sense!;" a railroad workers sticker; and one with the IWW Preamble printed in bright red ink. Write to the Chicago Branch, 713 Armitage, Chicago, Illinois 60614.

STRIKE

Our fellow workers in San Francisco are presently engaged in a strike at the Cedar Alley Coffee House. They are fighting not only the bosses, but the reactionary AFL-CIO Culinary Workers Union (which came in to "organize" the place after the boss had broken his contract with the IWW, and which is now doing all it can to help break the strike with its hord of scissorbills and scabs), and also the capitalist courts (which are using every trick of anti-labor legislation to confuse and hamstring the strike and the IWW out of existence. Our fellow workers, of course, are in need of strike relief. Send contributions to: Michael Brown, San Francisco Branch, Industrial Workers of the World, 52 Dearborn Street, San Francisco, California.

We are planning for future issues of The Rebel Worker a large section on various revolutionary groupings in other countries, consisting of statements of these groups on important theoretical and practical questions, and also an issue on women.... We are also hoping to include several book reviews in each issue.

Our next issue should be out in April. See you then.

The Unfree Child

The molded, conditioned, disciplined, repressed child---the unfree child---whose name is Legion, lives in every corner of the world. He lives in our town just across the street. He sits at a dull desk in a dull school; and later, he sits at a duller desk in an office or on a factory bench. He is docile, prone to obey authority, fearful of criticism, and almost fanatical in his desire to be normal, conventional and correct. He accepts what he has been taught almost without question; and he hands down all his complexes and fears and frustrations to his children.

Psychologists have contended that most of the psychic damage to a child is done in the first five years of life. It is possibly nearer the truth to say that in the first five months, or in the first five weeks, or perhaps even in the first five minutes, damage can be done to a child that will last a lifetime.

Unfreedom begins with birth. Nay, it begins long before birth. If a repressed woman with a rigid body bears a child, who can say what effect the maternal rigidity has on the newborn baby?

It may be no exaggeration to say that all children in our civilization are born in a life-disapproving atmosphere. The time-table feeding advocates are basically anti-pleasure. They want the child to be disciplined in feeding because non-time-table feeding suggests orgastic pleasure at the breast. The nutriment argument is usually a rationalization; the deep motive is to mold the child into a disciplined creature who will put duty before pleasure.

Let us consider the life of an average grammar school boy, John Smith. His parents go to church now and then, but nevertheless insist that John go to Sunday School every single week. The parents had married quite rightly because of mutual sex attraction; they *had* to marry, because in their milieu one *could* not live sexually together unless one was respectable---that is, married. As so often happens, the sex attraction was not enough; and differences of temperament made the home a strained place, with occasional loud-voiced arguments between the parents. There were many tender moments, too, but little John took them for granted, whereas the loud quarrels between his parents hit him in the solar plexus, and he became frightened and cried and got spanked for crying for nothing.

From the very first, he was conditioned. Time-table feeding gave him much frustration. When he was hungry, the clock said his feeding time was still an hour away. He was wrapped up in too many clothes, and wrapped too tightly. He found that he could not kick out as freely as he wanted to do. Frustration in feeding made him suck his thumb. But the family doctor said that he must not be allowed to form bad habits, and Mamma was ordered to tie up his arms in his sleeves or to put some evil-smelling substance on his fingertips. His natural functions were left alone during the diaper period. But when he began to crawl and perform on the floor, words like *naughty* and *dirty* began to float about the house, and a grim beginning was made in teaching him to be clean.

Before this, his hand had been taken away every time it touched his genitals; and he soon came to associate the genital prohibition with the acquired disgust about feces. Thus, years later, when he became a traveling salesman, his story repertoire consisted of a balanced number of sex and toilet jokes.

Much of his training was conditioned by relatives and neighbors. Mother and father were most anxious to be correct---to do the proper thing---so that when relatives or next-door neighbors came, John had to show himself as a well-trained child. He had to say *Thank you* when Auntie gave him a piece of *chocolate*; and he had to be most careful about his table manners; and especially, he had to refrain from speaking when adults were speaking.

His abominable Sunday clothes were a concession to neighbors. With this training in respectability went an involved system of lying---a system he was usually consciously unaware of. The lying began early in his life. He was told that God does not love naughty boys who say damn, and that the conductor would spank him if he wandered along the train corridor.

All his curiosity about the origins of life were met with clumsy lies, lies so effective that his curiosity about life and birth disappeared. The lies about life became combined with fears when at the age of five his mother found him having genital play with his sister of four and the girl next door. The severe spanking that followed (Father added to it when he came home from work) forever conveyed to John the lesson that sex is filthy and sinful, something one must not even think of. Poor John had to bottle up his interest in sex until he came to puberty, and then he would guffaw in the movies when some woman said she was three months pregnant.

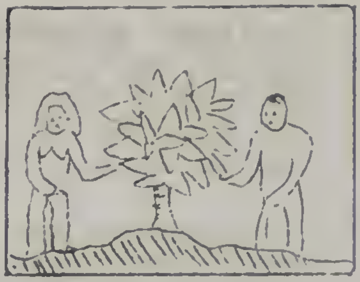
Intellectually, John's career was normal. He learned easily, and thus escaped the sneers and punishment a stupid teacher might have given him. He left school with a smattering of mostly useless knowledge and a culture that was easily satisfied with cheap tabloids, trite films, and the pulp library of crime.

John Smith's rich cousin, Reginald Worthington, went to a private school; but his development, in essentials, was the same as that of poor John. He had the same acceptance of the second-rate in life, the same enslavement to the status quo, the same negation of love and joy.

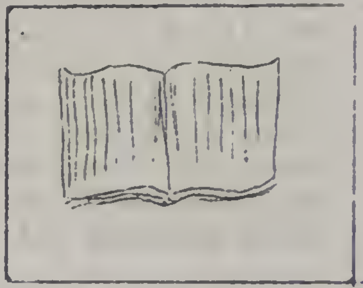
Are those pictures of John and Reginald one-sided caricatures? Not exactly caricatures, yet I have not given the complete picture. I have left out the warm humanity of both, a humanity that survives the most evil character conditioning. The Smiths and the Worthingtons of life are in the main decent, friendly folk, full of childish faith and superstitions, of childlike trust and loyalties. They are the people who decree that animals must be killed humanely, that pets must be properly cared for; but they break down when it comes to man's inhumanity to man.

Both are staunch supporters of the patriarchal state, even if neither ever heard of the term. They have been fashioned into a product the patriarchal state finds necessary for its continued existence. Their emotions tend to be crowd emotions rather than individual feelings. In psychological terms, they accept the father without constructive rebellion against him; and so the father-authority tradition is carried on for generation after generation.

To complete the portrait of John Smith I ought to give a short sketch of the life of his sister, Mary---short because, by and large, her repressive environment is the same as that which stifles her brother. She has, however, special handicaps that John does not have. In a patriarchal society she is



In Adam's Fall
We ſinned all.



Thy Life to mend,
This Book attend.

The Cat doth play.
And after ſlay

A Dog will bite
A Thief at Night.

The idle Fool
Is whipt at School.

a definite inferior, and she is trained to know it. She has to do house chores when her brother reads or plays. She soon learns that when she gets a job, she will get less pay than a man gets.

Mary does not as a rule rebel against her inferior status in a man-made society. Man sees that she has compensations, tawdry as they mostly are. She is the focus of good manners; she is treated with deference; a man will stand in her presence if she is not seated. A man will ask her if she will graciously marry him. Mary is subtly taught that one of her chief functions is to look as lovely as possible, the result being that many more millions are spent on dress and cosmetics than are spent on books and schools.

In the sex sphere, Mary is as ignorant and as repressed as her brother. In a patriarchal society, the menfolk have decreed that their women must be pure, virginal, innocent. Mary's grandmother, and probably her mother, too, were not supposed to have any sex until the right man came along and aroused the sleeping beauty. Mary has got away from that phase, but not so far as we would like to believe. Her love life is ruled by fear of pregnancy, for she realizes that an illegitimate child will very likely spoil her chance of getting a man.

One of the big tasks of today and tomorrow is the investigation of repressed sexual energy and its relation to human sickness. Our John Smith may die of kidney trouble and Mary Smith may die of cancer; and neither will wonder whether his narrow, repressed emotional life had any connection with his illness. One day humanity may trace all its miseries, its hates and its diseases to its particular form of civilization that is essentially anti-life. If rigid character training makes rigid human bodies---cramped and confined instead of being alive and pulsating---it seems logical to conclude that the same rigid deadness will prohibit the pulsation in every human organ necessary to life.

To sum up, my contention is that unfree education results in life that cannot be lived fully. Such an education almost entirely ignores the emotions of life; and because these emotions are dynamic, their lack of opportunity for expression must and does result in cheapness and ugliness and hatefulness. Only the head is educated. If the emotions are permitted to be really free, the intellect will look after itself.

I should like to quote a few Instructions for Expectant Mothers issued some years ago by a hospital of a women's medical college in Pennsylvania.

"The habit of thumb and finger sucking may be prevented by placing the infant's arms in a cardboard tube in order that it may not be able to bend the arm at the elbow."

"Private Parts. These should be kept scrupulously clean, to avoid discomfort, disease *and the formation of bad habits*." (My emphasis.)

I blame the medical profession for much of the wrong rearing of children. Doctors are not as a rule trained in child rearing; yet to many women, the doctor's word is the voice of God. If he says that a child must be spanked for masturbation, the poor mother does not know that he is talking through his own sex guilt and not through his scientific knowledge of child nature. I blame the doctors for prescribing the fatuous time-table feeding, the sucking deterrents, the stupid prohibition about playing with the baby, and about giving him his own way.

The problem child is the child who is pressured into cleanliness and sexual repression. Adults take it for granted that a child should be taught to behave in such a way that the adults will have as quiet a life as possible. Hence the importance attached to obedience, to manners, to docility.

Many a mother who treats her child fairly well at home will storm at him or spank him in public because she is fearful of the opinion of her neighbors. The child must from the start be forced to fit himself into our insane society.

Once, when I lectured in a seaside town in England I remarked, "Do you mothers realize that every time you spank your child, you show that you are hating your child?" The reaction was tremendous. The women shouted at me savagely. When later in the evening I gave my views on the question, "How can we improve the moral and religious atmosphere in the home?" the audience hissed me with great gusto. It was a shock to me, for when I go lecturing, I lecture mostly to those who believe what I believe. But here was a working-and-middle class audience who had never heard of child psychology. It made me realize how entrenched is the compact majority that is against freedom for children---and freedom for themselves.

Civilization is sick and unhappy, and I claim that the root of it all is the unfree family. Children are deadened by all the forces of reaction and hate, deadened from their cradle days. They are trained to say *nay* to life because their young lives are one long nay. Don't make a noise; don't masturbate; don't lie; don't steal.

They are taught to say *yea* to all that is negative in life. Respect the old; respect religion; respect the schoolmaster; respect the law of the fathers. Don't question anything---just obey.

The tragedy is that man, who holds his family in bondage, is, and must be, a slave himself---for in a prison the jailer also is confined. Man's slavery is his slavery to hate: he suppresses his family, and in doing so he suppresses his own life. He has to set up courts and prisons to punish the victims of his suppression.

Enslaved woman must give her son to the wars that man calls defensive wars, patriotic wars, wars to save democracy, wars to end wars.

There is never a problem child; there are only problem parents. Perhaps it would be better to say that *there is only a problem humanity*. That is why the atomic bomb is so sinister, for it is under the control of people who are anti-life---for what person whose arms were tied in the cradle is not anti-life?

There is a great amount of good fellowship and love in humanity, and it is my firm belief that new generations that have not been warped in babyhood will live at peace with each other---that is, if the haters of today do not destroy the world before these new generations have time to take control.

The fight is an unequal one, for the haters control education, religion, the law, the armies and the vile prisons. Only a handful of educators strive to allow the good in all children to grow in freedom. The vast majority of children are being molded by anti-life supporters with their hateful system of punishments.

Girls in some convents still have to cover themselves when they take a bath, lest they see their own bodies. Boys are still told by parent and teacher that masturbation is a sin leading to madness and all sorts of fearful consequences. Recently, I saw a woman spank a baby of about ten months for crying when it was thirsty.

It is a race between the believers in deadness and the believers in life. And no man dare remain neutral: that will mean death. We must be on one side or the other. The death side gives us the problem child; the life side will give us the healthy child.

A. S. NEILL

(Reprinted, slightly abridged, from *Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing*, New York, Hart Publishing Co., 1960)

LIARS SHALL HAVE THEIR PART IN THE LAKE
WHICH BURNS WITH FIRE AND BRIMSTONE.

THE VICTIMS OF THE BENEFACTORS OF THE POOR

Have you ever bought a newspaper from a ten year old youth on a school day? Have you wondered why he is working? After all, there are laws prohibiting work for kids under 16 during school hours. The fact is that it is good economics for the newspaper to hire kids--and that fact determines child employment as much as any law or regulation.

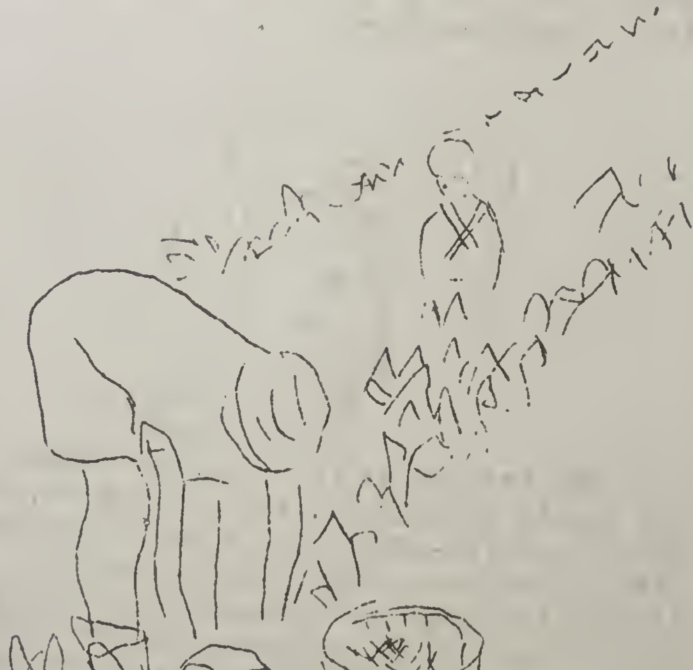
Child labor was an invention of the industrial revolution. As hand labor was replaced by machine production, children from 6 years and up provided a cheap and plentiful labor supply. As a result, the almshouses and jails were emptied of paupers and orphans. The employers advertised themselves as the benefactors of the poor.

At the turn of the century the first laws began to be enacted to prohibit the more brutal labor practices and at the same time, compulsory education became a nationwide law. Such laws continued to eliminate the worse ills--work at very early ages, sweatshop conditions, and work in hazardous occupations--but the effect was not a continuing decline in child labor.

The number of employed youth have always reflected the general labor market more than the law (economics precedes jurisprudence). The forced unemployment of the depression decreased the young labor force and increased school attendance. World War II greatly revived employed youths which reached a peak in 1945 of 3 million kids from 14 to 17 working full or part time. After the war there was a steady decline which continues today.

The supposed problem of the young worker today is the lack of a job, not his exploitation by the boss. The excitement today is over the school drop-out, not the young worker. This means that the on-the-job situation for youth is largely ignored. And because the bosses have the choice of many young workers, they can, and do fix wages and conditions to their own liking.

The real problem with the young worker is that he has no reccurse to action while on the job he is often payed the lowest wages of any worker today. His only "choice" is to quit and take another job if there is one, or no job which is more often the case. He has no union to represent him. He is a victim of the benefactors of the poor.



Torvald FAEGRE

EYGPTIAN TROUBLE

One day John Skelece got an airplane ticket to Egypt. he had been planing to go there for a long time. His brother, Tom, a scientist, wanted him to stay and help him in his work.

Finaly the time came for him to go. The trip would take four days. When the plane left there was a hurricane blowing up. The trip was rough and almost crash twice.

The land in a half-deserted area. All the people went to a city near there. Except for, for John. He staded. He wanted it to be a surprise to Tom, who thought he was taking a vacation. He was on a expodition.

Finally he was alone. All alone. Except for one, who wasn't discovered yet. The thing not yet discovered was something that was terrizing Egypt. Tom, his brother, didn't know about the thing.

The thing was undiscribible. It was so ugle and terribal looking.

One day John was working, doing some research when all of a suden he heard this noise. It was getting closer and closer, and A_____! Yes, he was dead. Well at least we thought so.

When his brother Tom heard this he ammidatly went to Egypt. Naturally he wasn't alone.

When they got there they found a not which he had written just before he was killed. Here's what it said:

Dear Tom
I have found the most ugle and deveis
"Thing" the world has ever known. Right now
there is something coming. The earth is shaking
like mad
The Thing

When Tom and the police found this they knew he was dead. But wait! Tom said. The plain went down in the hurricane. Then, all of a sudden, out of howhere, came John. Yes, it was John. John said he didn't have much time to live. He said if we don't stop testing bombs we would_________. He was dead before he could finish, said Tom. Now we might end the world he said.

Back home they found John's body at the bottom of the sea. They baried him before Tom got back.

One day Tom got permishon to dig up his grave. When he did he found him wrapped a mummy.

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HARLEM JOURNAL OR
Homage to Pandemonia

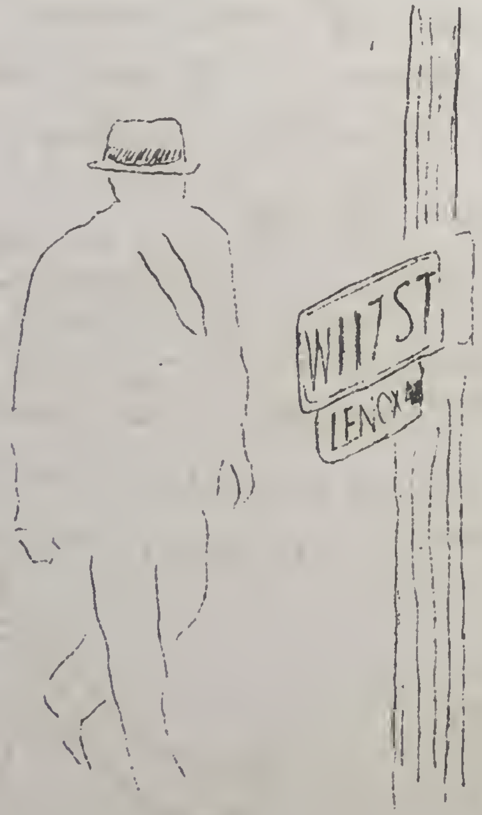
Sunday
July 19, 1964

Visiting friends. Learned that "riots" had broken out in Harlem the previous nite. Phoned CORE to see if they were doing anything about it. Informed, "There's a riot going on. That ought to be enough activity." Decided to go up and look around anyway. Live only 10 blocks away.

11:00 p.m.: Crossed 110th St. on 8th Ave. walking north into Harlem. Area strangely dark--resembled blackouts during war. Few pedestrians about, but lots of police cars and fire engines whipping around, sirens screaming. Progressed north. Area got ominously quiet...eerie. No police in evidence, streets dark and deserted, but bars going full swing on inside. Entered fish and chips place and ordered shrimp. Informed, "There's none left." Ordered fish. "Just sold the last order."

Went into bar, ordered beer. Received a few quizzical glances but most patrons didn't notice me at all. Bartender told me a gentleman wanted to buy me a drink. Turned out to be someone who thought he knew me. Couldn't place him but joined his party. Was asked: 1. What's your solution? 2. Are you a white liberal? Answered: 1. Didn't have any solution. 2. Didn't come up here to be insulted.

Left bar after a while and joined crowd of about 10 at corner of 125th St., Helped glare at police, visible for first time in large clusters. 125th St. blocked off by police barriers, though crosstown buses being allowed through along with police cars and ambulances. Whole block empty except for cops, mostly wearing aluminum helmets. (Usually they wear these only while turning off fire hydrants during the summer as kids throw bear cans at them for spoiling their fun.)



Ordered to move on by cop. Asked if could walk northward (barricades confusing). Was told yes. Went north a block or so, then started back meeting friends from bar. At 125th St. stepped inside barricades (had seen others do it) snd phoned home from sidewalk phone booth.

Walked homeward on 8th Ave., emerging south of 110th St. with great relief. Immediately encountered fight, however; two Negroes--a cab driver and passenger. Two white cops interceding rather ineffectually. Nearby Negro onlooker commented, "Man, them cops can't even fight." Slipped in plug for nonviolence pointing out that the cops would have been better off interceding without nightsticks in their hands. Weapons are often an impediment--especially if accompanied by humane feelings or reluctance. Started discussing race problem, but condemned both Abraham

Lincoln and recent Civil Rights Bill as equal farces, so middle-aged drunk took a swing at me. ("Son of a bitch, you don't want my people to ever have nothing.") Black Muslim warded him off and we continued discussion for an hour. Arrived home (100th St.) about 2:00 a.m.

* * *

Monday
July 20, 1964

Left work in Bronx at 9:00 p.m., furious that police could just take over a whole section of city like Nazi Storm Troopers. They were in the wrong--the kid didn't shoot the cop. Where was CORE?? Why wasn't anybody protesting?

Left subway at 135th St. and Lenox Ave.--pretty much the same scene as previous nite, except more people about. Decided to walk south on Lenox Ave. if allowed--police barricades were baffling. Asked fellow pedestrian. He didn't know either, though "swear to God" he'd tell me if he did. Started south tentatively--wasn't stopped--joined devout one. Was harrangued with complications of his love life after cavalier disposal of racial crisis. ("Don't know nothing at all about that shit out there.") Selected a bar--companion wouldn't recommend one lest he be suspected of complicity "if everything wasn't just right." Atmosphere much colder than bar of previous evening, bartender barely civil--resented being kidded about policeman's nightstick he was armed with. Companion mentioned unliklihood of a 15-year-old boy's being able to "whip the ass" of a grown man like Gilligan--evidently he did know something about "that shit out there" despite earlier disclaimer. Bar patrons glaring out window at cops lining curbstone glaring in. Behemoth approached us, eyed first me then my 1 1/4" pin. ("Blood Brother" over a black and white handshake.) Told him handshake was a SNCC symbol. He'd never heard of SNCC, but ceded my right to wear it if I believed in it. He went away but returned a while later with a bar stool for me to sit on.

Left bar and continued south, feeling effect of beers on empty stomach. Companion explained that if he returned to bar now he'd probably get beaten up for having brought me in. Also we might well "get our asses whipped right now" for walking dwn the street together. Pointed out that as a pacifist, wasn't taking my hands out of my pockets come what may. Little consolation to him.

Separated at 125th St. and ordered fish and chips at sidewalk counter. Teenager inside with head all bandaged. He'd arrived from Puerto Rico the day before and come to visit counterman, a former next-door neighbor. Waiting for a bus across the street he had encountered "law and order"--two cops came over and bludgeoned him on suspicion. Berserk cop had tried to club him, but missed, while he was in the act of loading another police victim onto a stretcher.

Cops lined curbstone at ten-foot intervals, radiating hatred. Made it difficult to eat fish with savoir faire. Young, very conservatively dressed fellow walked by police line. Carried a large poster with remarkable self-assurance: "Wanted For Murder/Gilligan, the Cop..." One-legged panhandler appeared--bought him some pizza. In front of building next door drunk with bandage—swathed head was heckling police.

Resumed course down Lenox Ave. acquiring Puerto Rican lady with three infants. Walked them to 116th St. where she mooched a quarter in parting. Arrived home about 1:00 a.m.

* * *

Tuesday
July 21, 1964

Determined to continue going into Harlem, though not quite sure why. Walked up 8th Ave. about 11:00 pm. Block after block deserted, still no street lights. Area seemed much more tense somehow.

Police barricades gone from 125th St. but whole block empty nevertheless, except for some teenage boys and girls in a doorway midway down. Police only at corners in clusters. Walked down 125th St. past teenagers, overhearing: "He wouldn't have come up here if the cops weren't here" (True.) and "He wouldn't dare walk down (unintelligible) street." Didn't stop. Wanted to locate CORE whose office used to be around corner in Hotel Theresa on 7th Ave. Got new address there, and turned back into 125th St. passing helmeted white news photographer, alone and unhappy in doorway.

Girl and three escorts, one wearing "Freedom Now--CORE" pin, walked right by without seeing me. Hailed them. Bizarre exchange: What are you doing here?... Farmer announced on radio that all white civil rights workers should stay out of Harlem because white faces might inflame Negroes...Get out quick before there's one dead CORE sympathizer...Ask nearest cop (!!!) to put me safely on bus. Exeunt CORE.

Decided to talk to teenagers and possibly offer to walk down street they'd mentioned linking arms with them. Never got there. Police cars careened by, sirens wailing. Older group appeared from nowhere, one guy leaping out into street screaming "Mother Fuckers" after them. Accosted him--"want to shake your hand!"--which surprised him a bit, but we shook. Group evaporated, light-skinned guy popped up and asked, "What's happening?" Usual answer is, "Nothing much, man," Didn't seem appropriate. Strolled down to 8th Ave. chatting with cat--pretty far out panorama.

Ordered root beer at outdoor counter and dug scene. Groups moving up and down street giving out "Wanted for Murder" posters--police everywhere--squad cars looping back and forth. Same CORE group came up. Girl: "I thought I told you to get out of here." Noncommittal response elicited, "Farmer said..." etc. Answered: "Look, Honey, I don't take orders from Farmer." Immediately pictured half of Harlem clobbering me for putting down Negro chick siding with cops against them. Another CORE group appeared, including Bayard Rustin. Chick ran over and pointed me out. He merely shrugged.

Left on next bus, getting home around 12:30 a.m.

~

Wednesday
July 22, 1964

Journal-American ran front-page exposee, "What Sparks the Rioters" with picture of the poster. Naturally it wasn't the murder of a schoolboy, it was "known Communists" and "outside agitators" who were "fanning the flames of fury." Noted address of Progressive Labor Movement, the "Communist splinter group" which published the poster.

Phoned Committee for Nonviolent Action and War Resisters League to see if peace movement doing anything about Harlem. Told that civil rights "leaders" had asked them all to stay away.

After work went to hall of Progressive Labor Movement and got large batch of posters, plus leaflets announcing protest march that Saturday. No charge, but contributed $2.00. Was asked to give them out anywhere outside of Harlem. Refused. Walked home holding up posters, but giving them out only when specifically requested. Half gone on arrival.

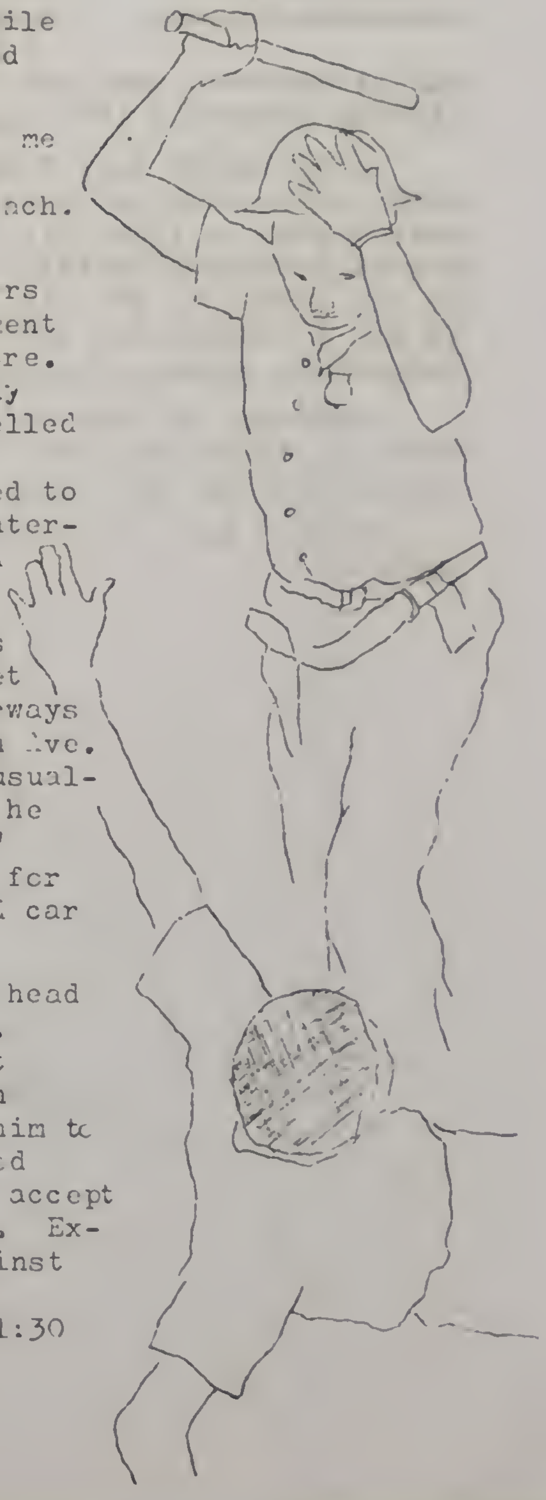
By now had evolved plan of action: nod and smile with open countenance at every one met. Many nodded or smiled back; most didn't notice me at all.

Phoned a few friends. Only one wanted to join me but was tied up at other end of Manhattan. However assured me that mine was "correct" nonviolent approach. Others' reactions mixed.

At 11:00 p.m. pinned "Wanted for Murder" posters on front and back of my shirt with Nuclear Disarmament pins (!) and set out uptown. Felt like William Moore. Everyone asked for posters and/or leaflets. One guy wanted an ND pin too. Around 114th St. two cops yelled "Hey, you." Figured it was all over but they just wanted posters. Game them leaflets also, then tried to shake hands. Was scornfully rebuffed. Woman at watermelon stand asked, "Is you from de CO'?" Refrained from giving opinion of "de CO'."

Leaflets gone by 125th St., but plenty posters left. Intended to join anyone agitating, but street completely empty except for cops sheltering in doorways out of drizzling rain. Walked from 8th Ave. to 5th Ave. and back on 125th St. giving out posters to cops, usually with statement about everyone having to do what he believes in. One replied, "I didn't say anything." Cop wanted a poster "to show my kid"; another, one for a souvenier. Was scared half to death when a squad car pulled up--they asked for ten!

Towards 8th Ave. met same drunk with bandaged head who'd been heckling cops Monday nite. Still drunk. Bought him root beer at corner stand. Learned that "cops"was right" when clubbed him because he'd been bugging them. Hung around for a while, then took him to nearby bar. Still wearing the two posters. Spilled some beer on another fellow's coat but he wouldn't accept payment for cleansing. Bought him a drink instead. Explained how companion seemed to have something against police clubs--bangs his head on them. Walked home letting rain soak off the posters. Arrived about 1:30 a.m.



Thursday
July 23, 1964

Learned a CORE demonstration at downtown Police Headquarters had been mobbed the previous nite. Local neighborhood people--mostly Italians (my compatriots). The friend who had wanted to join me was there. Towards midnite went up to Harlem again. Kept posters folded, not wanting to agitate if everything was quiet. It was.

Hung around 125th St. for a stretch. Saw two white men walk by--first ones not there in obviously official capacity. Later discovered another CORE protest had been mobbed at Police Headquarters.

* * *

Friday
July 24, 1964

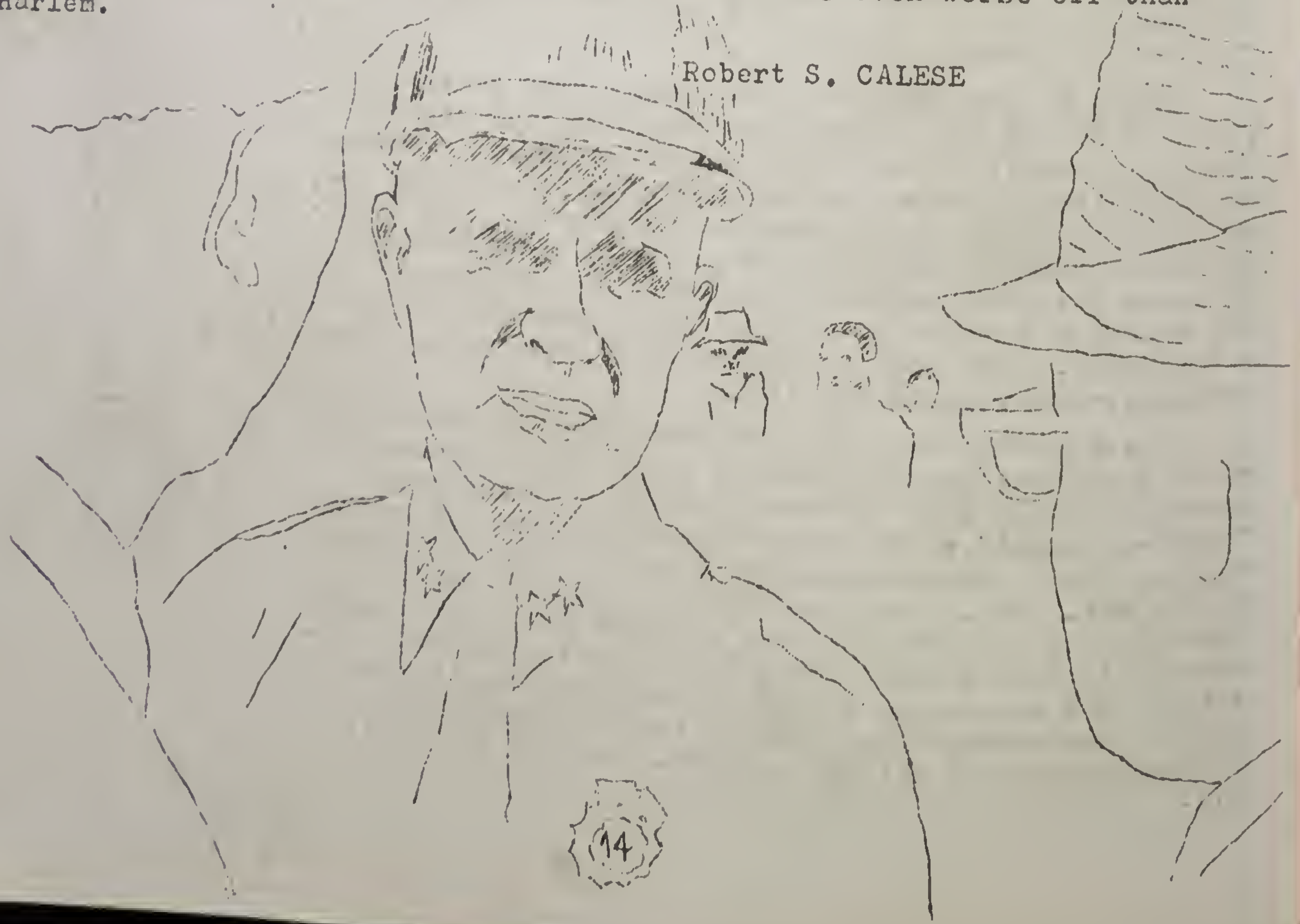
Went to Progressive Labor Movement's hall in afternoon for more posters. Few available--stock low, and being saved for protest march next day. Was asked why hadn't given posters out in Italian district instead of Harlem. Was told it wasn't "sound tactics" to have PLM literature given out in a Negro area by a white person. Also Harlem was already saturated (??) anyway.

About 11:30 p.m. walked uptown accompanied by musician friend. Area still quite dark and very quiet. Police outnumbered people. Stopped for soft drinks at 125th St., then started across towards Lenox Ave. Encountered Bayard Rustin--identified self with, "Met you in London." It was the truth! He was trying to get William Epton (of PLM) to call off the protest march; he had a forthcoming meeting with Mayor Wagner; and he was trying to get an injunction against the police's banning the protest.

Wandered by PLM, but hall was closed. Introduced friend to fish and chips at 125th and Lenox, then dropped by bar on 8th Ave. where bartender asked, "How are you tonight?"

Walked home discussing music business which is even worse off than Harlem.

Robert S. CALESE



HERESY

It is said that one of our substantial citizen-workers bankrupted three Hoboken saloons by eating up all their free lunch. No mercy and no consideration! Another, a pillar of panhandling recites that he has spent the past ten years in jail with practically no lost time between jolts.

The last time he was laying his ropes for a sentence a great hesitation afflicted him. "Finally," he says, "I picked a guy who was snoring heaviest in a chair and sent him head first into the corner. Of course they had to send out and get a doctor to stitch him up and I get six months." But you do not always have to go to such extremes to partake of government hospitality. You can bum the cop for a cigaret. This attracts his attention to you (youre a major attraction now). Very naturally his roving eye follows your footsteps and he struggles to determine if it's a habit with you or merely a flash in the pan.

Later however as the buxom dowager is digging into her purse as she enters a limousine, and hands you half a dollar, the cop is looking over your shoulder and says--"What are you doing; did you bum this lady?" You say, "Officer, you just tend your business and I'll tend mine."

"Come along," sez he, and you're good for 90 days and four bits for tobacco (if the cops don't frisk you).

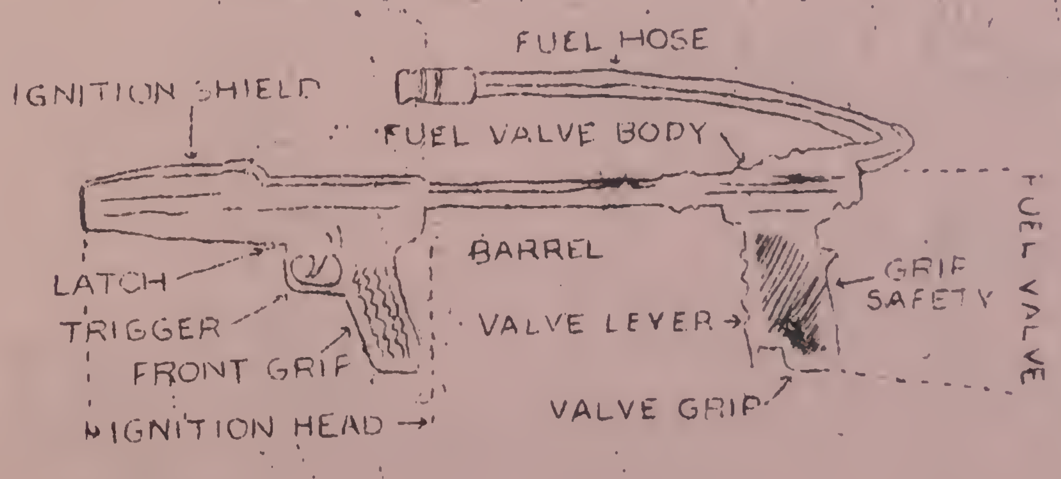
Dammit, they don't respect jail anymore!

All this would be unnecessary did the boys organize industrially and accept of the full product of their working years.

Other bums, economic tramps and intellectual half-wits, are trying to adjust the nation's economy to the proposition of dishing up millions to the few and pennies to the many.

Many choose jail.

T-Bone SLIM

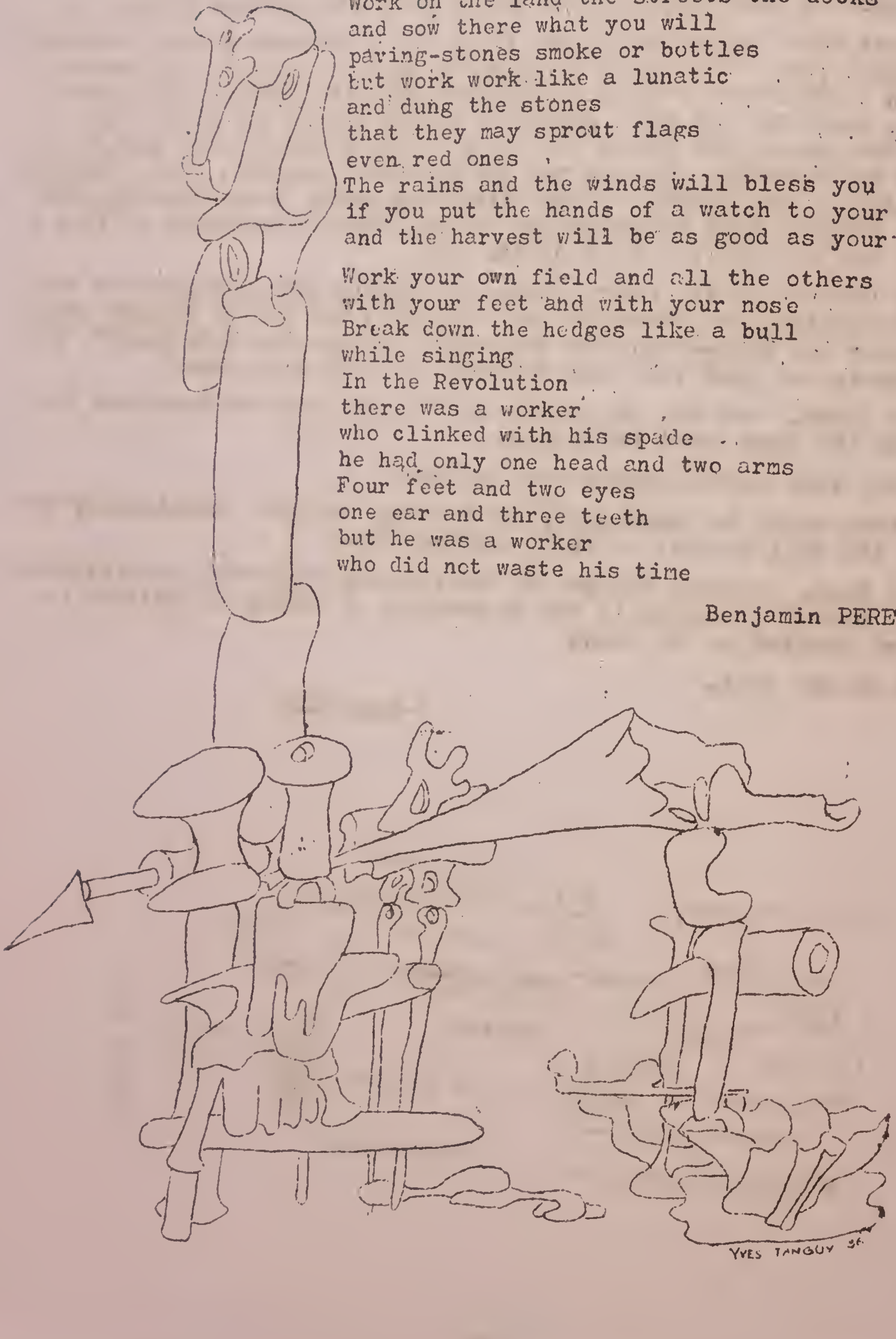


THE FLEAS OF THE FIELD

Work with all your strength
Work on the land the streets the docks
and sow there what you will
paving-stones smoke or bottles
but work work like a lunatic
and dung the stones
that they may sprout flags
even red ones
The rains and the winds will bless you
if you put the hands of a watch to your ears
and the harvest will be as good as your wife's stew

Work your own field and all the others
with your feet and with your nose
Break down the hedges like a bull
while singing
In the Revolution
there was a worker
who clinked with his spade
he had only one head and two arms
Four feet and two eyes
one ear and three teeth
but he was a worker
who did not waste his time

Benjamin PERET



Mods, Rockers & the Revolution

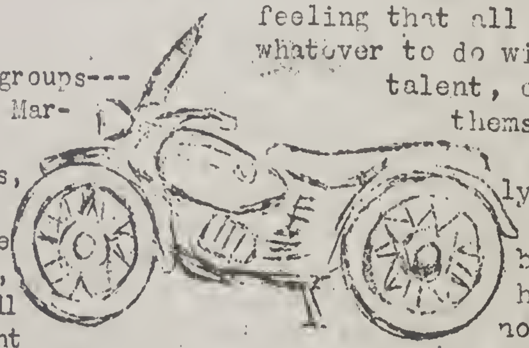
Wobblies, and true revolutionaries in general, are much less interested in the vague longings of college professors and Nobel prize-winners for a "better world" than in the day-to-day struggles of our fellow workers, not only the direct struggles against exploitation by the bosses, but the struggle to live some sort of decent life against all the obstacles presented by a society divided into classes. Thus it is essential that we concern ourselves not only with the job situation and economic questions (though those, of course, are the major issues) but also with more "superstructural," anthropological factors: working class culture.

In this connection, the significance of rock'n'roll, and popular adolescent culture in general, has for too long been ignored. That rock'n'roll is one of the most important working class preoccupations (among the young, at least) is clearly evident. That it has been ignored in the "Left" press is additional testimony to the isolation of the "socialist" intellectuals from the class in whose name they so often enjoy speaking. Certain unfortunate souls, including many of traditional "Left" orientation, have attempted to deny that rock'n'roll is really a workingclass phenomenon, even suggesting that it is *imposed* (!) on working class adolescents by Madison Avenue, etc., as a form of exploitation through cheap talent, record sales, and juke-boxes. To them rock'n'roll is a sign only of the "decadence" of contemporary capitalist society. They can neither take it seriously as a form of music, nor see in it anything other than a possible "reliever of tensions" which they feel might better be expressed in more constructive activity. Thus Marshall Stearns, in *The Story of Jazz*, thoroughly puts down rock'n'roll as a form of music but claims that by offering "release" to anxious kids it actually contributes to the decrease of juvenile delinquency. This rather uneasy, semi-intellectualized, patronizing, anti-rock'n'roll "theory" is, amusingly enough, shared by Stalinists, liberals, Presbyterians, conservatives, fascists, bourgeois sociologists, etc.

We must have done, once and for all, with this kind of evasive excuse-mongering, and look at the situation as it really exists. Rock'n'roll must be recognized not only as a form of music (which, for its players and its listeners, is clearly as "serious" as any other) but also as an important expression of adolescent preoccupations.

As music, rock'n'roll is certainly "primitive," but this must not be assumed to mean that it is therefore inferior. No one is less able than musicologists and other prisoners of academic limitations to situate this problem into its proper context. For the importance of rock'n'roll lies not only in the music itself

but even more in the milieu which has grown up with it. It is characterized above all by delirious enthusiasm, a frenzy which is no stranger to tenderness, which undoubtedly appears scandalous to the easily-outraged watchdogs of bourgeois morality. Much could be said for the influence of rock'n'roll on the emergence of a new sensibility (intellectual as well as erotic and emotional). Much could be said, too, of its unconscious quality, which, with its roots in automation (and thus in the class struggle) lends to it its "subversive" aspect. For rock'n'roll is, more than anything else, a latent cultural expression of automation. Indeed, a study of the psychoanalytical and anthropological implications of automation might well make rock'n'roll its point of departure. Witness the fact that almost all of the popular rock'n'roll groups are from the most highly automated cities: in the United States, Chicago and Detroit; in England, Liverpool, where one out of every fifteen "Liverpudlians" between the ages of 15 and 24 now belongs to a rock'n'roll group. As for those sad people who insist on dividing rock'n'roll into "white" and "Negro" varieties (which, like all oversimplifications, says nothing), I prefer to let them choke on their own banalities. That there are differences between Negro rock'n'roll (or rhythm and blues) and white rock'n'roll is obvious to even the most casual listener, but too often these categorizations are used to justify rock'n'roll for Negroes (because of its derivation from blues) and discredit it for whites (who are supposedly without "cultural foundation" in it). But rock'n'roll cannot be explained away in strictly racial terms. The influences of automation and an increasingly complex urban environment are far more significant.

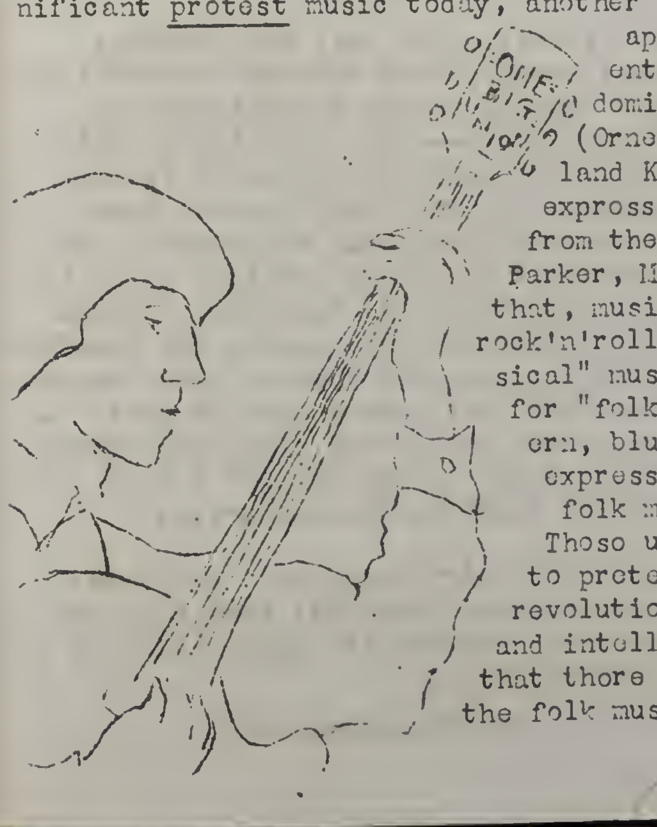


The best of the new groups---Martha and the Vandellas, Marvin Gaye, The Jewels, The Velvellettes, The Supremes, Mary Wells (all from Detroit), and The Kinks, The Zombies, Manfred Mann and, of course, The Beatles (all from England), have brought to popular music a vitality and exhuberance---and a rebelliousness---which it has never seen before. The Beatles, more than any other group, have brought the sociology and anthropology of rock'n'roll into the prominence they deserve. The Beatles are the most successful group in entertainment history. Their flippant replies to interviewers, their wild, raucous behavior, their riotous and insulting sense of humor remove them far beyond the pale of "respectable entertainers." Their first movie, *A Hard Day's Night*, will remain one of the greatest cinematic delights of 1964, a lone cry of uninhibited freedom and irrationality in a cold wilderness of "seriousness" and pretentiousness. The legendary quality, which can almost be called *mythical necessity*, of The Beatles, has not failed to attract the critical attention of some more perceptive commentators. Consider this judgement from the pen of Jean Shepherd, who interviewed The Beatles for *Playboy* magazine (February 1965): "In two years they had become a phenomenon that had somehow transcended stardom---or even showbiz. They were mythical beings, inspiring a fanaticism bordering on religious ecstasy among millions all over the world. I began to have the uncomfortable feeling that all this fervor had nothing whatever to do with entertainment, or with talent, or even with The Beatles themselves. I began to feel that they were the catalyst of a sudden world madness that would have burst upon us whether they had come on the scene or not. If The Beatles had never existed, we would have had to invent them. They are not prodigious talents by any yardstick, but like hula hoops and yo-yos, they are at the right place at the right time, and whatever it is that triggers the mass hysteria of fads has made them walking myths. Everywhere we went, people stared in openmouthed astonishment that there were actually flesh-and-blood human beings who looked just like the Beatle dolls they had at home. It was as though Santa Claus had suddenly shown up at a Christmas party."

Another British group, The Rolling Stones, has risen to popularity more recently, bringing with them a more disquieting, more sinister, more violent attitude into the rock'n'roll arena. The Stones are significant, too, because they are the first major British group to devote themselves entirely to the rhythm-and-blues side of rock'n'roll.

It is in England today where the adolescent revolt (of which rock'n'roll is only one, albeit the most important---culturally speaking---constituent element) seems to have assumed its largest proportions. In England the kids are categorized into two "tendencies:" Mods, fashionably (often bizarrely) dressed, and who are associated with motor-scooters; and the Rockers, who prefer black leather jackets, bluejeans and motorcycles. In both cases the boys wear their hair long, considerably longer than in America, and (according to a New York Times writer from Britain) "the word in London and Liverpool is that male hair is going to get longer and longer." (The girls' hair is usually straight and worn down to the middle of the back.) The hair itself deserves comment, particularly since long hair is growing in the United States as well as in England and elsewhere in Europe. The social implications of hair fashion have been inadequately studied, if studied at all. Some psychologists and sociologists have confined themselves to brief, unexplained remarks on "sexual confusion," "identity problems," and the like, which help very little. Others, it is true, have gotten a little closer to the heart of the matter, but without by any means being thoroughgoing in their analyses. Thus the New York Times writer referred to above mentions that "the sociologists, always a pessimistic lot, look on our jungled tresses and prophesy a future filled with indulgence and rebellion." For it is an undeniable fact that short male hair has always been a characteristic of submission to authority. The police, prisons, the army, schools, and employers are all in agreement in insisting upon short hair and regular haircuts. Also, crew-cuts are the symbol, almost, of the Goldwater menagerie. Before making unfounded judgements on the "identity problems" of today's kids, one might consider the problems of a culture so obsessed with keeping male hair short.

The riots and brawls of the Mods and the Rockers have also called attention to another aspect of the rock'n'roll revolt: that rock'n'roll represents the only significant protest music today, another reason why it deserves study and sympathetic appreciation by revolutionaries. Jazz has entered the colleges, become respectable and academic. Developments in jazz of the last few years (Ornette Coleman, Eric Dolphy, Charlie Mingus, Roland Kirk, etc.) are evolving into a form of musical expression (the so-called "Third Stream") far removed from the obvious protest character of, say, Charlie Parker, Monk and Coltrane. (It is useless to point out that, musically, jazz is ten thousand times superior to rock'n'roll: this is not the point.) Contemporary "classical" music is strictly limited to the academies. As for "folk" music and its derivatives (country-and-western, bluegrass, etc.) these have become the official expressions of today's college fraternities. (Real folk music is primarily of historical interest.) Those unhappy souls of the traditional "Left" who try to pretend that the "folk revival" has some sort of revolutionary content reflect only their sentimentality and intellectual superficiality. I do not mean to imply that there is not much that is beautiful and important in the folk music tradition, and certainly it deserves serious



study. But it can no longer be assumed to have anything to do with the contemporary working class. At any rate, working class kids are bored by it.

The rise of the Mods and the Rockers indicates to some degree a rise of young rebellion everywhere. (One could mention the "new youth" of Tokyo, Berlin, Moscow, etc.) This inevitably provokes innumerable journalistic treatises on "new parents, teen crises" which appear monotonously and repetitiously in various Sunday supplements. These articles, of course, contribute nothing of importance to the understanding of the contemporary adolescent, though they do shed a little light on the problems and preoccupations of adults. Often more repressed adults, attempting to analyze younger people, merely project their own problems. Afraid themselves, for instance, to participate in uninhibited dancing, they approach the question with their repressed presuppositions that there is something *wrong* with this kind of dancing, that it must be rooted in deep emotional anxiety, etc. I do not mean to say that these dances are expressions of "freedom" in any absolute sense (in particular, the lack of physical contact between dancing partners is problematical and deserves further investigation). But we cannot advance one step in our understanding of these problems if we begin by saying that the kids are wrong.

There can be no doubt that the present development of rock'n'roll, and the milieu of young workers in which it thrives, is more consciously rebellious than it has ever been before. But to be *revolutionary*, of course, is to be more than rebellious, for a revolutionary viewpoint necessarily includes some sort of *alternative*. And popular adolescent culture is pregnant with revolutionary implications *precisely* because it proposes alternatives (although crude, undeveloped and unconscious) to the ignoble conditions now prevailing. Songs like "Dancing in the Streets" by Martha and the Vandellas and "Opportunity" by The Jewels show that the feeling for freedom and the refusal to submit to routinized, bureaucratic pressures, are not confined to small, isolated bands of conscious, politically "sophisticated" revolutionaries. They are the almost *instinctive* attitudes of most of our fellow workers in industry. Presently these feelings are to a great extent repressed, and are sublimated into bourgeois politics, baseball, television, etc. It is our function as disrupters of the capitalist system and union organizers to heighten consciousness of these feelings, to encourage rebellion, to do all we can to liberate the intrinsically revolutionary character of the working class. Rock'n'roll, which has already contributed to a freer attitude toward sex relations, can contribute to this liberation. I must point out that I refer to the more raucous, "primitive" rock'n'roll (as performed in the U.S. generally by ghetto Negroes) rather than the lukewarm, diluted versions of discotheque and of older professional musicians who feebly try to play it.

There is no use being overly romantic about all this. I do not, for example, think that adolescent hangouts and record hops will provide very fruitful recruiting grounds for the One Big Union; at least, not right away. But what revolutionaries must consider is that many younger workers---rock'n'rollers---are discontented with existing society, and are seeking and developing solutions of their own. If traditional revolutionary politics hasn't appealed to them, it's probably because those politics haven't been as "revolutionary" as their protagonists like to pretend, and once again we notice the utter bankruptcy of traditional socialist politics among the workers. We in the IWW are not tied to theoretical traditions and immovable dogmas. We are rising today because we are free to seek new solutions and develop new tactics to meet new situations. If we are going to keep growing, we will have to turn more to the problems of younger workers. It might be noted that jobs most common to kids (stock work, filling station work, store clerking, etc.) are almost completely unorganized and offer us a splendid opportunity to channel the "youth revolt" into a consciously revolutionary movement. The sooner we get started, the better....

In any case, we cannot go on assuming that the rock'n'rollers are a helpless, ignorant, reactionary mass; that their problems are not our problems; that they are somehow "irrelevant." We must recognize that they, too, despite the hesitations of a few "socialist" puritans, are our friends and fellow workers.

Franklin ROSEMONT

SELECTED REFERENCES on the Subject of the Preceding Article

"The Beatles are avowedly non-political. But their music, and the craze that they have started, is blatantly subversive. On the surface it is brash, and by our conventional standards, uncivilised. But it revels in gaiety and abandon. If the Beatle people have rejected the drab world of adult responsibility and obscure political squabblings, it is because they have formed for themselves--in the dance halls, at parties and even just singing in the streets--a revoluntionary alternative to this world. If they can find laughter and enthusiasm on their own, even for just one evening a week, then the efforts of the politicians become irrelevant."

Richard Mabey
(Peace News, 20 December, 1963)

"You'll never be able to convince the Beatleboys that some cities in America aren't police states, for they were in them. You'll never convince them there's no such thing as police brutality, because they saw it. If you talk about news censorship to the Beatleboys, they can recall complete news blackouts covering some cities, with authorities making pacts with deejays and news editors to keep news from Beatlefans."

(Teenville, January, 1964)

"In Bournemouth 1000 Beatlefans stormed the Winter Gardens to get tickets. In Carlisle 600 beatlefans started a baby beatleriot and smashed windows. In Hull 2000 beatlefans swept aside police and crush barriers in a beatleriot and in Cambridge 2000 beatlefans took up the full width of the road and started throwing bottles through church windows. Two nights later the Beatles themselves were amorously assailed on stage in Stockholm and 7000 Newcastle beatlefans held another beatleriot.

"We should be beyond consoling ourselves that the Beatles and their fans are neo-fascists or sub-human twits; we should be beyond putting them away in the back of our minds with the teddy bears and forgetting them an peripheral to our ideas. The point is that they are not peripheral. The beatlefans, the mods, the rockers, the ton-up kids are people with ideas of their own. If anarchism has nothing to say to them it has nothing to say at all."

Charles Radcliffe
(Freedom, 16 November, 1963)

"...(The Rolling Stones') appeal is in the symbol they represent: a teenage rebellion against society, authority, convention and parenthood. Stated Variety, 'The Rolling Stones decidedly is not a bunch of cleancut youngsters out to make a buck from innocent kids. ...this group is tapping a Freudian vein of savagery and malignancy.... In Cleveland...their appearance...resulted in a call for police reinforcements to help get the group out of the studio. Pebbles (Rolling Stones fans) were everywhere! They literally came out of the radio station's woodwork, having hidden out hours before in the ladies' and men's rooms, under stairways, in cleaning closets, between buildings, on fire escapes. It was a human stampede of Pebbles that was as surprising as it was exciting to see. Cleveland broadcasters had never seen anything like this in their entire history! Hurrah for teen rebellion! Hurrah for the Rolling Stones!

(Teenville, January, 1964)

"There was a party (celebrating the Beatles' return to England) in the Dorchester Hotel, and the princess came. So did Brian Jones and Keithe Richards, two members of the popular new quintet called the Rolling Stones. The party was formal, with gowns and black ties, but Jones and Richards were wearing turtleneck shirts. "Isn't this the greatest party crash of all time?" said Jones. The Rolling Stones latest record, It's All Over Now, had just hit the top of the British pop-record charts, and the Beatles came to congratulate them with a glass of champagne. A society orchestra was trying to play rock-'n'roll, but not even the dancers were listening to its eviscerated beat. An elderly woman came up to John and said, "You're simply darling.'

"Can't say the same for you, Luv," John replied. Later, as the party broke up, he told her, "Good night, Mrs. Haitch. We'll dance again some Somerset Maugham," Meanwhile a crowd of begowned autograph hunters were besieging the Rolling Stones. Brian Jones was still signing his name when the orchestra began playing God Save the Queen. "Stop it.."a diamond-necklaced woman at his table commanded sternly. He kept on signing. "Stop it!" she commanded again, this time with the fury of the empire in her voice. Jones stopped signing and picked a woman's scarf which was lying on the table in front of him. Slowly, to the solemn tones of the music, he wrapped it around his neck. When the orchestra came to the final verse, an off-key voice at the front of the ballroom shrieked out the word "save" from God Save the Queen. It was John Lennon (of the Beatles), and what he actually had sung was, "God s-a-a-ve the cream."

Alfred G. Aronowitz
(Saturday Evening Post, 8 August, 1964)

They don't even say that they play Rhythm and Blues, in fact, the purists will say they don't. But what they play is a wild, valid defiance of convention and society.

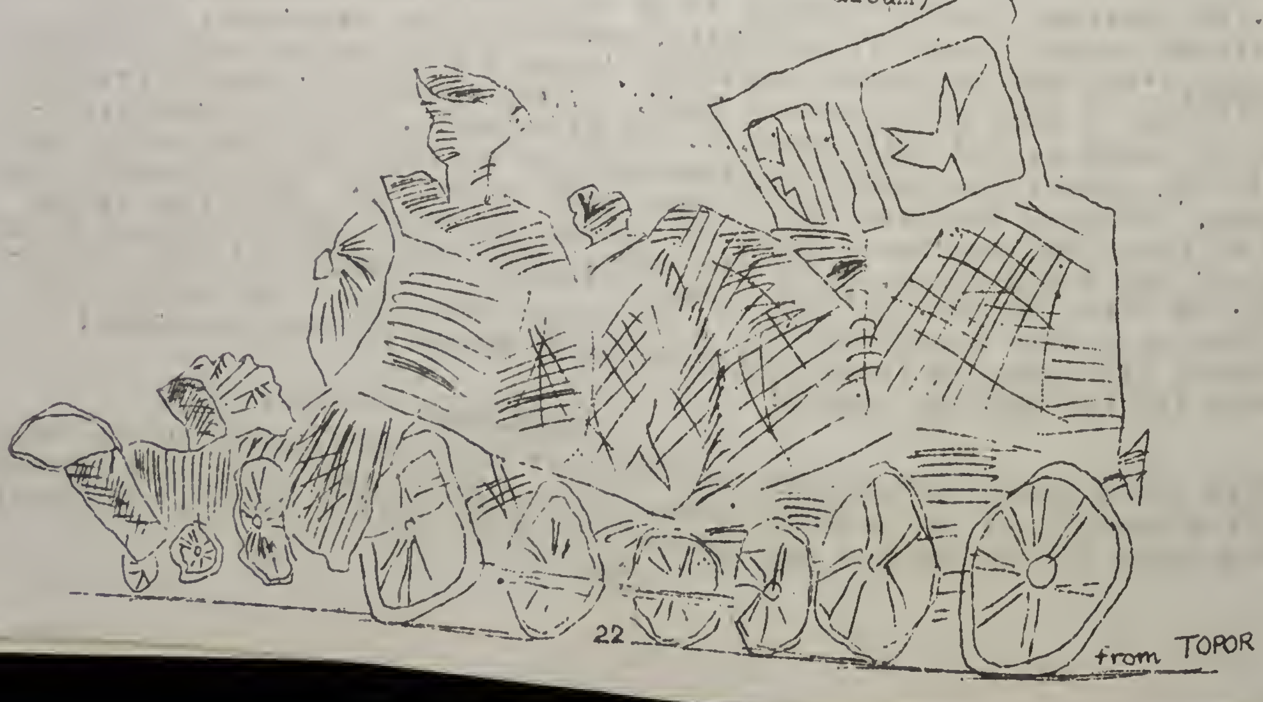
"Parents are beginning to like us now. We'll have to be a bit more repulsive. But that's not so hard for Keith," said Brian.

Whenever they come on stage, most people evacuate the seats and charge to the front. You can never tell if they're Stones' fans trying to get a better view or Stones-haters trying to get the cops to stop the show.

(The Crazy World of England's Rolling Stones
No. 1, Summer, 1964)

The Rolling Stones are more than just a group. They are a way of life.

Andrew Loog Oldham
(Liner notes from The Stones' first album)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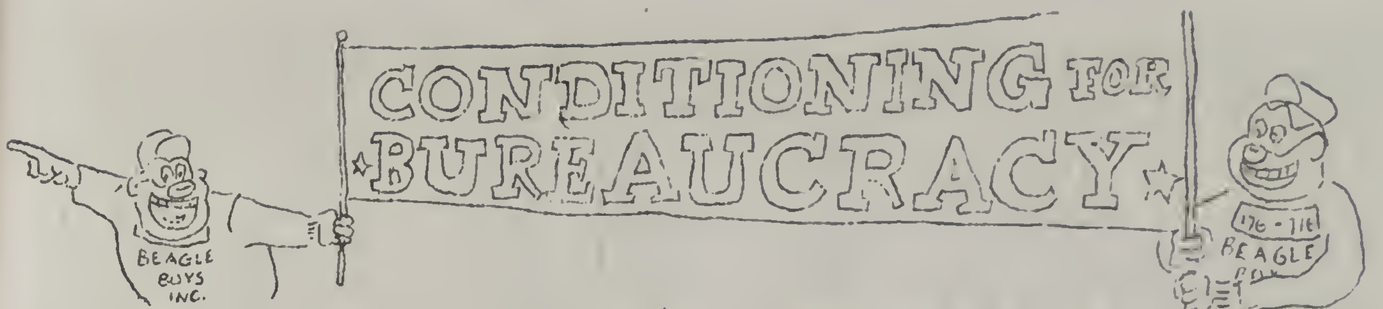
CONDITIONING FOR BUREAUCRACY



It is the dilemma of all children coming into a society that is highly structuralized, bureaucratized, segmented, and regimented, to find their place, feel they belong, satisfy their need to change, re-evaluate themselves, understand their world and feel comfortable in their relationships with others. Max Weber pointed out it is the ideal of every bureaucracy to have each individual performing assigned duties in an efficient, machine-like manner as set forth in a table of organization. Perhaps there may be an informal organization which modifies and runs counter to the formal organization, but still when a person joins a given organization, much of his behavior is defined and proscribed. Unless he conforms, at least within limits , he will not be able to retain his position. A nation's way of governing its people is translated down into distinct influences on individual human behavior. Such is the case when a child joins a "boys club."

The main purpose of boys clubs is to condition children to a regimented bureaucracy. Nowhere else is this so evidently the case.

A club consists of a director, an activities director, an assistant activities director, and instructors for gym, arts & crafts, wood shop, and the games rooms, in that order. It is the job of each of these officials to supervise and control the particular area to which he is assigned, since the club is separated into distinct units or areas.

When a child comes into the club, he is asked to fill out a long questionnaire (usually assisted by the secretary of the director), asking questions about his age, religion, race, family background, health, etc. He then receives an identification card with the instructions to wear it around his neck. (This makes him feel as if he belongs.) He is then assigned to a group according to his age & sex, i.e., Rangers, Props, etc., with preassigned times for preassigned activities for preassigned days. When his time has come for arts & crafts, no matter where he is or what he is doing, he is forced to run to his new activity as quickly as possible. He is not to eat his lunch until a preassigned time. He has one hour for this activity but if he finishes early he must sit and wait.

If he wishes to play a particular game during "game time" and there are not enough games to go around, he must sign a list to determine his turn, and is given a specific amount of time to play when that time comes.

In arts & crafts, wood shop and gym he is allowed to do only the assigned task for the day. If he does not cooperate he is sent out of the club with instructions not to return until he is willing to cooperate.

The summer brings new activity and the days are designated "beach day," "trip day," "park day," "show day," etc. Transportation to these activities usually involves walking or taking a hired bus. Walking procedure is done in this fashion: First the kids are divided into two's in the gym which involves separating the "trouble makers" and placing them in more controlled positions closer to the instructors (or, as they are called, "leaders".) They are then marched in two's to their destination. At a given time they eat and after each piece of paper is picked up and the grounds are inspected they are allowed to go about the assigned activity. A whistle sounds to indicate "home time" and they march back to the club begins in the same fashion.

The decisions as to where the kids will go and what they will see and do is entirely decided by the activities director who is responsible to the director who is responsible to the board downtown. The director's position is dependent upon three factors: the amount of money he brings into the club, the number of mem-

continued on p. 25

LETTERS

Labor is entitled to the machinery

The Rebel Worker is not only Damn Good; it is excellent. It should be on newstands and in libraries all over the country. It's good to see the old black cat back, but let's not forget the good old wooden shoe.

Guy B. Askow
(Skidroad Slim)
Seattle, Washington

*

*

I have just finished reading your great journal The Rebel Worker. We in England have possibly an easier task in obtaining "left" literature than you in the U.S., owing to our lack of McCarthyism, which I understand still lingers in the States.

The journal is fresh and hardhitting; like Solidarity it is no respecter of "the traditional Left" and bricks are more often thrown than bouquets. More power to your elbow.

I personally would like to read more about the Negro struggle for equality and the U.S. Left's opinion of the Black Muslims & why such an obscenity as Goldwater has been spewed up.

Tom Hillier, AEU
(Amalgamated Engineers Union)
London, England

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I bought the first two issues of The Rebel Worker when I was in Chicago, and I think it's great! I think you could really get a big circulation---I have no idea how many people read it now---because it's about the only thing around with a good viewpoint that is really well done.

Judith Kaplan
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

We read your Rebel Worker with interest and have forwarded to you copies of our own Broadsheet, which we will continue to send. Your letter coincided with our annual camp at the beginning of September, and received wide circulation. At present we would be able to distribute copies of the Rebel Worker ourselves, if you would care to send on a few of each issue.

The radical movement here is considerably fragmented. A strong anarcho-syndicalist influence has persisted in a few trade unions, notably the wharfies and seamen; however, other pressures are growing stronger and only a week ago the Communist secretary of the Seamen's Union, in return for a substantial wage award increase, relinquished the right of the union to man ships. However, in the Waterside Workers' Federation, job control is flourishing. Many other unions are frankly right-wing, out for wage increases at all costs. Official Communist Party policy is to defend the arbitration court (from which militants in the WWF, Seamen's Union and Building Workers Industrial Union want to de-register) and counsel moderate attitudes so as to "influence" the moderate unions for purposes of solidarity. Hence the defection of the Seamen's Union leadership.

There is a lot of interest among students and young people in CND, anti-election campaigns and so on, but the society as a whole is complacent.

Ian Bedford
(for the Libertarian Society)
Sydney, Australia

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Received #2 of The Rebel Worker. In reading it we noted with pleasure the revival of activity of the IWW. We wish you a good continuation in this course.

(Continued on next page)

CONDITIONING FOR BUREAUCRACY (CONTINUED)

bers he is able to obtain and statistics as to the number of activities in his particular club. When on one occasion a staff member organized a union consisting mainly of teenagers to make decisions about their own activities, this staff member was immediately fired because it was claimed he was "making trouble."

However, the effectiveness in conditioning these children for bureaucracy is somewhat questionable. In the summer when it's possible for kids to find enjoyment without this structure the membership drops to about one-third. But there are other indications that the effects could be greater than can be judged by the membership rate alone. Some kids tend to develop a driving lust for power and control. This may take the form of working hard to be accepted into the "junior leader" program, or of pushing other kids around when one feels he can safely do so.

Many more things could be said pertaining to the system of the club and the incidents which go on every day; and much more could be said about the effects that all this has upon the individual child. In the case of the boys club even more than in school children are every day subjected to a bureaucracy through manipulation of the activities they enjoy most. The effect tends to be stronger because they do not hate the "club" as they do the school and they adjust and condition to it much more voluntarily. The club is associated with play whereas the school is associated with forced work; thus the former is more desirable than (and even a relief from) the latter. Even in cases where the kids do not voluntarily come to the club, it is often the case that parents in their own struggles with the present system find it convenient to send their children to the boys club for free babysitting.

The inherent danger of such an organization cannot be easily overlooked. A system that has found it necessary to control and regiment the behavior of its adults has now realized the necessity of training for this control long before adulthood.

Robert R. GREEN

LETTERS (CONTINUED)

...the revolutionary movement in the United States is a question which is very little known here and would certainly interest ourmilitants and our readers.

Marc Prevotol
Federation Anarchiste
Paris, France

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Enclosed find the STRIKE loaflet (of the recent Berkeley Student Strike); we do not know who the author was; however, when it hit the streets, Gov. Brown called in an army of police and announced that he would not tolerate ANARCHY in California as long as he was Governor. Nearly 800 students, teachers and workers were arrested in a desperate attempt to smash our General Strike at the Education Mill. The Governor's move boomeranged. IBM machines ground to a halt. Classes were cancelled or empty. 12,000 students and workers manned the picket lines, collected funds, coordinated, directed and won the greatest victory over the combined forces of State authoritarianism in anyone's memory.

Among the arrested were two IWW organizers and several rank-and-file members. IWW tactics and slogans (notably: "An Injury to One is an Injury to All") were tried, tested and proved true.

The Chancellor and the Regents, stunned by the demands for student and faculty control of "their" university, were completely routed. The powerful academic senate (composed of the entire professorial staff) voted overwhelmingly to support the student demands. The Regents are in a tough spot. They must either concede to the student & faculty demands...or face what Gov. Brown claims is Anarchy. The Strike goes on.

The activities of the IWW in the Bay Area including our participation in the General Strike at the University of California have brought us into increased prominence. The SF city jail is once again covered with Wobbly stickers. The daily press slanders us. The bosses jail us. The scabs & finks fear us; but most important, spirited, rebellious, and responsible students and workers are JOINING our movement. The American labor movement is being rebuilt.

Alan Graham

Berkeley, California

STORMING HEAVEN IN HUNGARY

What actually happened in Hungary in 1956 is not known to the majority of American workers. Those who read the average daily voice of the employing class probably have the impression that the Hungarian Revolution was bourgeois-democratic and that the Hungarians fought to gain "freedom" in the capitalist sense of free enterprise. Meanwhile, Stalinists have found it necessary to "prove" that the Hungarian Revolution was "fascist inspired." In the Solidarity Book Hungary 56, Anderson explains both these points of view in terms of the ideological necessity from which they grew. It was essential to their own preservation that the capitalist countries conceal the nature of the Revolution. And the best answer to the Stalinist's silly charge is provided by the satirical humor of the Hungarian workers themselves in the form of crude posters: "Ten million counter-revolutionaries at large in the country!" and "Former aristocrats, land and factory owners, Cardinals, Generals and other supporters of the old capitalist regime, disguised as factory workers and peasants are making propaganda against the patriotic government and against our Russian friends." Anderson's book is the only one available which allows the reader to see the Hungarian Revolution as it was--a spontaneous revolutionary uprising of the working class.

In the first 18 pages Anderson describes the situation prior to the demonstrations of October 23, beginning with the East-West agreement at Yalta and the Russian domination of Eastern Europe. He then gives a clear account of the specific events and demands of the workers during the days of the Revolution. He explains why the Kremlin crushed the Hungarian workers, and why Hungary received no aid from the West. The Hungarian Revolution should be distinguished from all other revolutions of the past and also from those presently occurring in Africa, Latin America, and Asia because it occurred in a modern industrial country dominated by a bureaucracy. The Hungarian Revolution was the rising of the workers against the exploitation of the bureaucratic state. The functioning of the bureaucrat "elite" was halted by the formation by the workers of workers' councils, followed by a general strike. "From the first day of the revolution, a truly proletarian movement had expressed itself ... These councils, partially isolated by the Red Army, immediately sought to federate. By the end of the first week...only their authority meant anything. The Government...had no authority whatsoever."

Students and intellectuals played a significant but somewhat confused role. The Revolution began essentially with the government rejection of student demands for reform. However, the workers realized much sooner than the students that bargaining with bureaucracy is impossible and took the iniative in organizing councils. The Hungarian Revolution failed to receive aid from the West or concessions from Russia because its demands of workers' management of production threatened the bureaucratic and class-divided foundations of both. It "was far more than a national uprising or than an attempt to change one set of rulers for another. It was a social revolution in the fullest sense of the term. Its object was a fundamental change in the relations of production..." Hungary 56 is a book which everyone ought to read, especially those who still believe it possible for the working class and the employing class (even if the "employing class" disguises itself in socialist rhetoric) to have something in common.

Penelope ROSEMONT

Hungary 56 by Andy Anderson. A Solidarity Book. Paperback; 48 pages. 75¢

The I.W.W. is Dead! Long Live the I.W.W.!

Rebel Voices is a large (9" x 11"), 419-paged, profusely illustrated anthology of manifestoes, editorials, magazine articles, songs, poems, anecdotes, photographs and cartoons culled from fifty-nine years of the Wobbly press. All in all it's a very enjoyable book, and every IWW member can certainly spend quite a few pleasant hours reading through it.

...

Probably the worst thing about the book is its price, which automatically places it beyond the reach of the very people at whom the Wobbly revolutionary message has always been directed. I doubt if this book is going to find its way into many working class libraries. For the most part it's made-to-order for folkheaded liberals who get all sentimental about the IWW ("Oh, yeah. International Workers of the World.") and amuse themselves singing "Solidarity Forever" over their bourbon on New Year's Eve. In a way, the publication of this book, and the "fashionableness" of the Wobblies of which it is indicative, is just another way of burying the truly revolutionary (and contemporary) significance of our union. Whoever would have thought it possible that employing class writers and publishers could make a profit on a book about the IWW?

The book is not without other faults. It is, of course, almost totally nostalgic-historical in its approach. The IWW is a thing of the past, etc. A nice old thing and all that, but now just a relic, a "cantankerous curio," as a New York Times Book Review critic wrote in his review of this book. Etc., etc., etc. It's significant, I suppose (if one wants to be ironic) that at the time this book is being put into the bookstores, the country is witnessing a reanimation of IWW activity that has already resulted in two strikes, the opening of a new hall and IWW bookshop in Chicago, the appearance of two IWW journals (and a third---Black Cat---soon on the way), and in appreciable recruitment and agitation in various industries all over the country. If we're dead as an organization (and Rebel Voices pretty much gives that impression), then we're surely the most active and growing dead group around.

The selections are mostly very good, and the editor's biographical and historical prefaces and annotations are usually helpful. I would have personally have preferred to see a little more by T-Bone Slim (certainly the greatest of the Wobbly writers), as well as something by Mary E. Marcy, a revolutionary economist whose articles often appeared in the IWW press. Throughout the anthology the emphasis has been on IWW activity rather than theory, and there is nothing particularly wrong with this. Two of the greatest IWW strikes ---Paterson and Lawrence---are covered in detail in separate chapters. There is also a chapter on the Free Speech Fights, and a selection of works by Fellow Worker Joe Hill, including a beautiful article, "How to Make Work for the Unemployed," which we hope to reprint either in The Rebel Worker or in some sort of "direct action" anthology. There are also chapters picturing IWW organizational activity in various industries: agriculture, lumber and mining, though for some reason there is no chapter on the marine transport industry, in which the IWW made some of its greatest efforts and still serves as an active influence. Such an omission is not so bad in itself. But it's somewhat misleading, to say the least, to imply that the IWW functioned as a union only in non-urban industries (as Miss Kornbluh does by her selections). We need only mention IWW organization in the metal machinery industry (particularly in Cleveland); the automobile industry (in Detroit); restaurant work; the railroad industry; packinghouse work; and also the

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Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology, edited, with introductions, by Joyce L. Kornbluh. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1964. 419 pages. Cloth bound. $12.50.

IWW Unemployed Unions organized in major U. S. cities during the Panic of 1929-35, to dispel any illusions about the so-called organizational "failures" of the IWW -- among urban industrial workers.

I also feel that no work calling itself "an IWW anthology" can present our union in its proper perspective without at least offering a sampling of its influences and activities in countries other than the U.S. IWW unions were organized in Australia, South Africa, Mexico, Chile, Sweden, Great Britain, Canada and other countries. Some of these, it is true, were skeleton organizations with minimal popular support, but it is no less true that others (in Australia and Chile, at least) were real mass movements which united the revolutionary aspirations of thousands of workers in their struggle for emancipation from wage slavery. (Small IWW branches, it might be noted, still exist in Australia, Sweden and Canada. Who knows...they too may once again experience a rebirth of activity as the IWW continues to spread its influence.)

Also, in this connection, more should have been said and anthologized by Miss Kornbluh of the numerous IWW foreign language branches and publications existing in the United States. Immigrant workers, customarily ignored or spurned by the reactionary AFL craft unions, found in the IWW a real union, fighting for the best interests of all workers, and poured into it the heart and soul of their collective resources. To have omitted a detailed discussion of these international aspects of the IWW is to misrepresent it as a national organization, confined to the boundaries assigned by the U.S. State Department.

Miss Kornbluh, however, can hardly have been expected to be too objective about these matters. The Jacket of Rebel Voices tells us that she "has written for the CIO News and the AFL-CIO News" and (best of all) "the CIO Political Action Department." (!) Perhaps her experience in the official "labor movement" is also what caused her to omit from her anthology any critical discussion of the CIO from the IWW point of view. The IWW press of the time contained innumerable articles on this subject, republication of which might prove embarrassing to our "labor leaders."

In spite of these deficiencies and omissions, Rebel Voices remains a valuable and much-needed work. Some day soon I hope we can put out our own Wobbly anthologies for a dollar or two. Till then there's this one, and if you can afford it (or look it up in the public library) it's quite nice to read through. But it would be a hell of a lot nicer if you could get a copy without putting money into the hands of the exploiting class.

F.R.

JOIN THE I.W.W.

WOBBLES

"I never went on a strike in my life, never ordered anyone else to run a strike in my life, never had anything to do with a picket line.... In the final analysis, there is not a great difference between the things I stand for and the things that National Association of Manufacturers leaders stand for. I stand for the profit system; I believe in the profit system. I believe it's a wonderful incentive. I believe in the free enterprise system completely."

George Meany, addressing the NAM, December, 1956

*

"Piece-wage is the form of wages most in harmony with the capitalist mode of production...it served as a lever for lengthening the working day and the lowering of wages."

Karl Marx (Capital)

*

"Piece-work is a revolutionary system that eliminates inertia and makes the laborer hustle. Under the capitalist system loafing and laziness are fostered. But now, everyone has a chance to work harder and earn more."

Scanteia
(Rumanian Communist Daily,
January 13, 1949)

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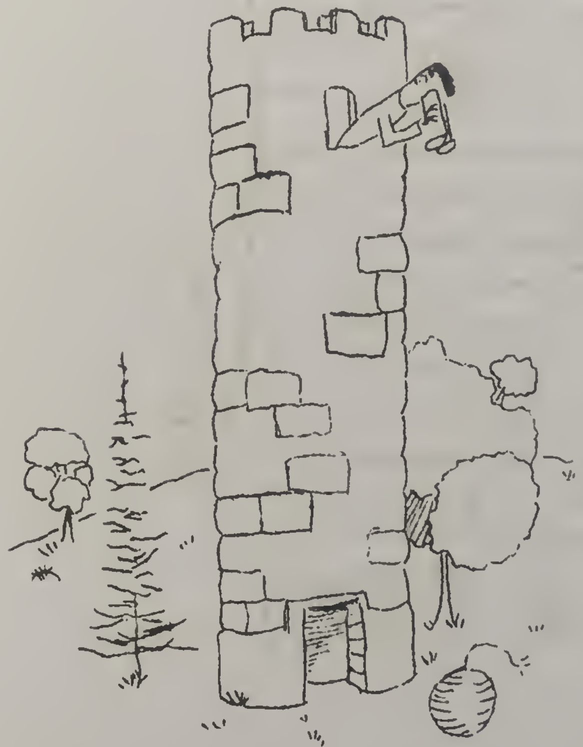
ANARCHISM as seen from an IVORY TOWER through opaque lenses

Anarchists, unfortunately, are in no position, financially, to re-publish rare anarchist classics or to publish inexpensive paperbacks for mass distribution. Until that day arrives we must be saddled with the likes of The Anarchists*: Irving Horowitz's recent anthology of writings by anarchists and about them and their accomplishments. What makes the volume deplorable is not that Horowitz doesn't have an intellectual grasp of anarchism, but that he lacks an incisive view of the state of present society, wanting this he is blind to the relevancy of anarchism.

The selections are fair; historically, anarchists from Godwin to Goodman are represented--all one would expect. But besides the classics, there are several pieces that one must applaud the entry of: Samuel Yollan and Gerald Brenan's Histories of anarchists in the U.S. and Spain and Berkman's eyewitness account of the Kronstadt massacre. Yet Horowitz does manage to include a great deal of garbage; for instance, Berkman's Kronstadt commentary is sandwiched between Woodcock's Latin American historical fantasies and Hugh Thomas' apology for the Spanish Republicans. And Conrad, Dostoyevsky, and Camus share Section Two: Anarchism as a Style of Life (and Death?), with Tolstoy, Goldman, and Sacco and Vanzetti!

It is usually fruitless to belabor the omissions in anthologies, for though the omissions constitute their notorious weakness, the editors may be excused for purely technical reasons, like lack of space. Sadly, this is not the case with Horowitz, for his omissions definitely leave the reader with the misconception that anarchy has no significance in a highly complex, technological world. Horowitz' whole condescending approach to anarchy stems from his (purposeful?) inability to appreciate its contemporary relevance beyond its pertinence as a "posture" for intellectuals.



Two very recent articles, one by Herbert Read, the other by Karl Shapiro, typify, according to Horowitz, current anarchist writings. The Shapiro article, mistitled "The Revival of Anarchism", desperately attempts to distill anarchism from Gandhism in order to make anarchism comfortable with some heavenly, sugar-coated world of brotherly love. He altogether overlooks the real revival of anarchism within American radical political thought and direct action. Read in his essay from Reconstruir, No. 19 (July-August, 1962) reprinted here, pathetically searches for anarchism in the kibbutzim of Isreal and the Chinese communes, but he ignores the Committee of 100, the Spies for Peace, and the recent British industrial disputes, all of which have been influenced by anarchists.

Moreover, where Horowitz touches on anarcho-syndicalism, the most obviously relevant strain of anarchism, his discussion is sterile and completely devoid of any exposition of the syndicalist truths, slowly but definitely being realized by the workers throughout the world, that the boss can reside in the union hall just as surely as he does in the executive john. The realization on the part of the workers that they must fight bossism in the unions can have radical consequences not only for future union structure, but for society as a whole. Nowhere does Horowitz mention, much less explain, the revival of syndicalist thought among radicals throughout the world. This is doubly strange (and likewise more unforgivable) because his teacher, C. Wright Mills, was a part, though one must admit a small part, of this revival.

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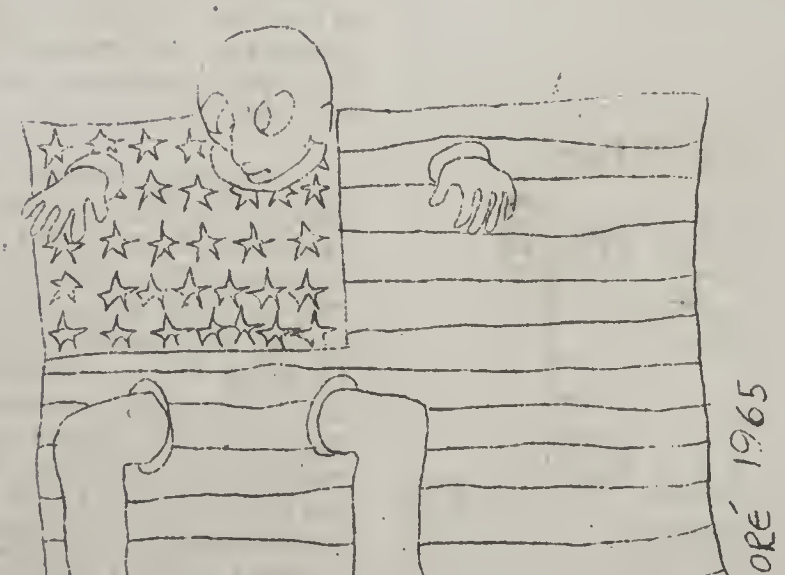
*The Anarchists, Edited, with an Introduction, by Irving Horowitz, Dell Publishing Company, New York, .95¢.

This paperback will be purchased in drugstores across the country and read by people who imagine anarchists as cloaked, bearded, bomb-throwers; Horowitz has done his academic best to destroy that conception and replace it with that of a toothless, palsied codger feebly and absurdly flaying the wind with incoherence. Even an anarcho-pacifist would prefer the former image, with all of its falsity, to one that relegates anarchism to the dustbin of history, there to remain undisturbed except by the journey of an occasional scholar in the pursuit of professional recognition. But we must not be too severe, for after all, academicians are the last group in society to recognize change. Iam thoroughly confident that the sparks of truth ignited by the true anarchist selections in The Anarchists are not about to be extinguished by the rancid syrup of a vapid academicism.

Bernard MARSZALEK



AMERICA FIRST

THE BASIC QUESTION

Recently, there has been a great deal of discussion concerning the Havinghurst and Hauser reports, which both more or less concern themselves with the concept of "cultural deprivation." Loosely defined, these two terms refer to the condition of the child who is beginning his education without those necessary skills, normally learned in the pre-school experience, that would enable him to learn things at the level that is demanded of him in the first years of school. Now, the controversy concerned itself mainly with the fact of the Chicago Negro ghetto and its naturally detrimental and degrading effect on the mentality of those individuals imprisoned in it, but there is also some interesting findings and commentary in the reports concerning things like "low socio-economic neighborhoods."

Havinghurst states that "the three schools with the highest proportion of over—age pupils are all in low socio-economic neighborhoods, but two are practically all-white and the other is practically all-Negro." A few pages later, he goes on to state that "there is a good deal of useful research that shows that children from many low-income families suffer an intellectual deprivation which puts them at a severe disadvantage when they come to school." We see, then, that it is not so much an exclusively ghetto or "race" factor (as some diseased minds would maintain), as a question of not having any money, and thereby, by the ethics of "our" society, no value. To be poor in a society where it is universally believed that no one who really is worth anything is poor makes the state of being poor a crime, as if one chooses to be poor, as if the poor are guilty of a crime. This is reflected in Havinghurst, who says "the central city is sick. Its increasing proportion of low-income residents means it has decreasing tax potential...," and "present trends lead to a decrease of middle income people and a decrease of whites in the central city. The task is to change these trends." Shall the city become "healthy" by "cleansing" itself of this guilty and vari-colored lower class, whose crime is that they cannot support the graft-grabbers of the city bureacracy in the style to which they have accustomed themselves? If the central city is sick indeed, one need merely cut out the cancer that is sapping its strength--geographically located downtown, in city hall.

It is quite plain that, save for proposals like taking children away from their parents and having others raise them (Havinghurst: "there is abundant scientific evidence that infants from poverty-stricken parents develop into adults with average or superior intelligence if they are taken from their true parents and raised by educated people."), nothing will be done to relieve the social causes of "cultural deprivation; there are not enough opportunities open to the poor to gain employment that is in any way meaningful, or, for that matter, any employment at all, and there is at the same time an "ethic" which condemns the poor. Along with this there are laws which discriminate against the poor (anti-sex, anti-drunk, anti-vagrancy, and anything else the copsscan incorporate into their sadistic fantasies), and things like "urban renewal" projects that alleviate "slum" and "ghetto" (which is any place where poor or Negro people have to live) conditions by tearing down the only housing open to the poor and erecting, as can be seen in the Hyde Park and Prairie Shores areas (where good, easily renovated buildings once stood) buildings intended only for the middle and upper class.

Society wishes to prevent poverty, so it makes it impossible to be poor and live like a human being. People aren't poor if they are in jail or dead.

Lionel BOTTARI

Youth For Freedom

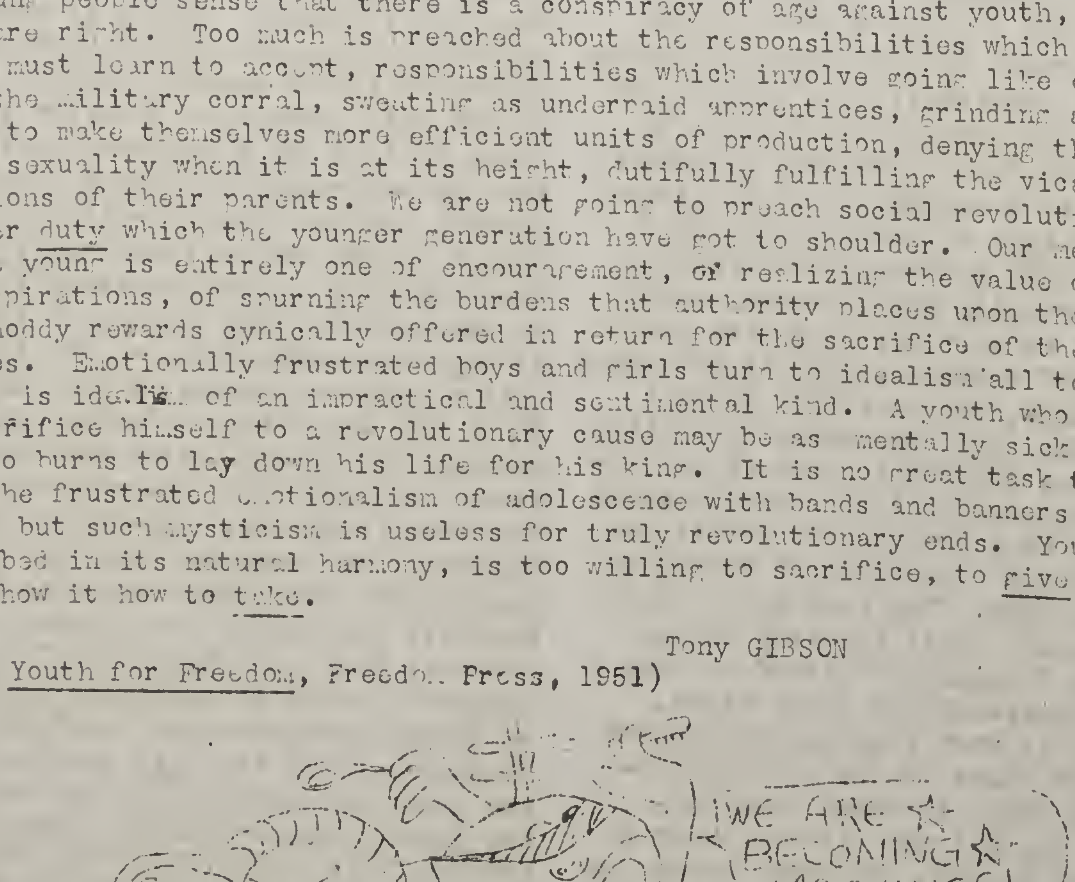
The grimness of the social reality to-day, and the terrible future which may be its outcome, gives all our propaganda a very sombre note. This is not to be avoided if we are to adhere to an honest policy; we do not underestimate the problems which confront us, nor have we any interest in painting a rosy picture of the future. This general bleakness is not likely to attract adolescents to throw their energies into something that looks like a movement of Jeremiahs, for, quite naturally, the oppression of society on them makes them react by shunning all that is sombre, and seeking all possible gay diversion from the grimness of the schools, the workshops and the city streets, and from the drabness of family life. Adolescents are not ignorant of the evils of modern society; in a confused way they know these evils only too well in the direct impact on their own lives. Their impulse, therefore, is to fly these evils, to shut their minds to them, rather than to harp on them, dissect them and even glory in them, as some revolutionaries do.

But anarchism is not a dreary messianic cult; it is a thing of life and vigour, a rising against life-denying forces of our time. The positive aspect of anarchism has much to appeal to the adolescent; it realizes the need of realizing all his potentialities to the full, now in the present. We do not seek to fob him off with pie in the sky, with present toil and careful restraint in the interests of well-being in the problematical future. We point out that the only sane road to healthy living, both personal and social is through present happiness.

Young people sense that there is a conspiracy of age against youth, and they are right. Too much is preached about the responsibilities which adolescents must learn to accept, responsibilities which involve going like cattle into the military corral, sweating as underpaid apprentices, grinding as students to make themselves more efficient units of production, denying their lusty sexuality when it is at its height, dutifully fulfilling the vicarious ambitions of their parents. We are not going to preach social revolution as another duty which the younger generation have got to shoulder. Our message to the young is entirely one of encouragement, of realizing the value of their own aspirations, of spurning the burdens that authority places upon them and the shoddy rewards cynically offered in return for the sacrifice of their own natures. Emotionally frustrated boys and girls turn to idealism all to easily, but it is idealism of an impractical and sentimental kind. A youth who burns to sacrifice himself to a revolutionary cause may be as mentally sick as the one who burns to lay down his life for his king. It is no great task to capture the frustrated emotionalism of adolescence with bands and banners and songs, but such mysticism is useless for truly revolutionary ends. Youth, disturbed in its natural harmony, is too willing to sacrifice, to give; we must show it how to take.

Tony GIBSON

(From Youth for Freedom, Freedom Press, 1951)



solidarity bookshop

...is run by members of the Chicago Branch of the Industrial Workers of the World, to present to American workers a wide selection of radical libertarian books, pamphlets and periodicals. A descriptive catalog of forty or fifty pages (profusely illustrated) is in preparation and should be available in a month or two for 25¢. Contributions of old radical books and periodicals and new bourgeois money are needed and welcome. Thanks.

IWW LITERATURE

The Industrial Worker Tri-weekly IWW newspaper featuring world labor news, news of protest movements, book reviews, etc.	6 months: 1 year 2 years	$1.00 $2.00 $3.00
The Rebel Worker Official quarterly journal of the Chicago IWW branch	1 copy 6 issues (Sub)	$..25 1.00
One Big Union An introduction to revolutionary industrial unionism		$ .35
The IWW Reply to the Red Trade Union International (1922) An important document in revolutionary history criticizing the debilitating influence of Bolshevism on the working-class movement		$ .75
The General Strike		$ .25
IWW Songs: To Fan the Flames of Discontent Revolutionary songs of the "Rebel band of Labor" by Joe Hill, T-Bone Slim, Richard Brazier and others; new 31st edition.		$ .40
The IWW: Its First Fifty Years A succinct account of the revolutionary industrial union movement in the U.S. by Fred Thompson	paper cloth	$2.00 $3.00

YOUNG WORKERS

Summerhill: A Radical Approach to Child Rearing By A. S. Neill	paper	$1.95
Anarchy 11: The World of Paul Goodman (Freedom Press)		$ .30
Anarchy 39: The Legacy of Homer Lane (Freedom Press) A libertarian approach to delinquency		$ .30
Anarchy 43: Parents & Teachers (Freedom Press)		$ .30
Sexual Freedom for the Young (Freedom Press) by John Hewetson		$ .35
An Appeal to the Young (Resistance Press) by Peter Kropotkin		$ .10
Les Manifestes du Surréalisme (French text only) by André Breton		$1.25
The Sit-Ins: The Students' Approach (Congress of Racial Equality		$ .25
The Battle of Berkeley Campus (Solidarity Pamphlet No. 18)		$ .25
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BOOKS OF OTHER PUBLISHERS

The Workers Opposition in the Russian Communist Party By Alexandra Kollontai. Discusses the workers' opposition to Bolshevik domination of the Russian Revolution. (Solidarity)		$ .45
What's Wrong With The Unions (Syndicalist Workers Federation) By Tom Brown		$ .10
Freedom Riders Speak for Themselves (News & Letters)		$ .25
Negroes on the March by Daniel Guerin		$1.00
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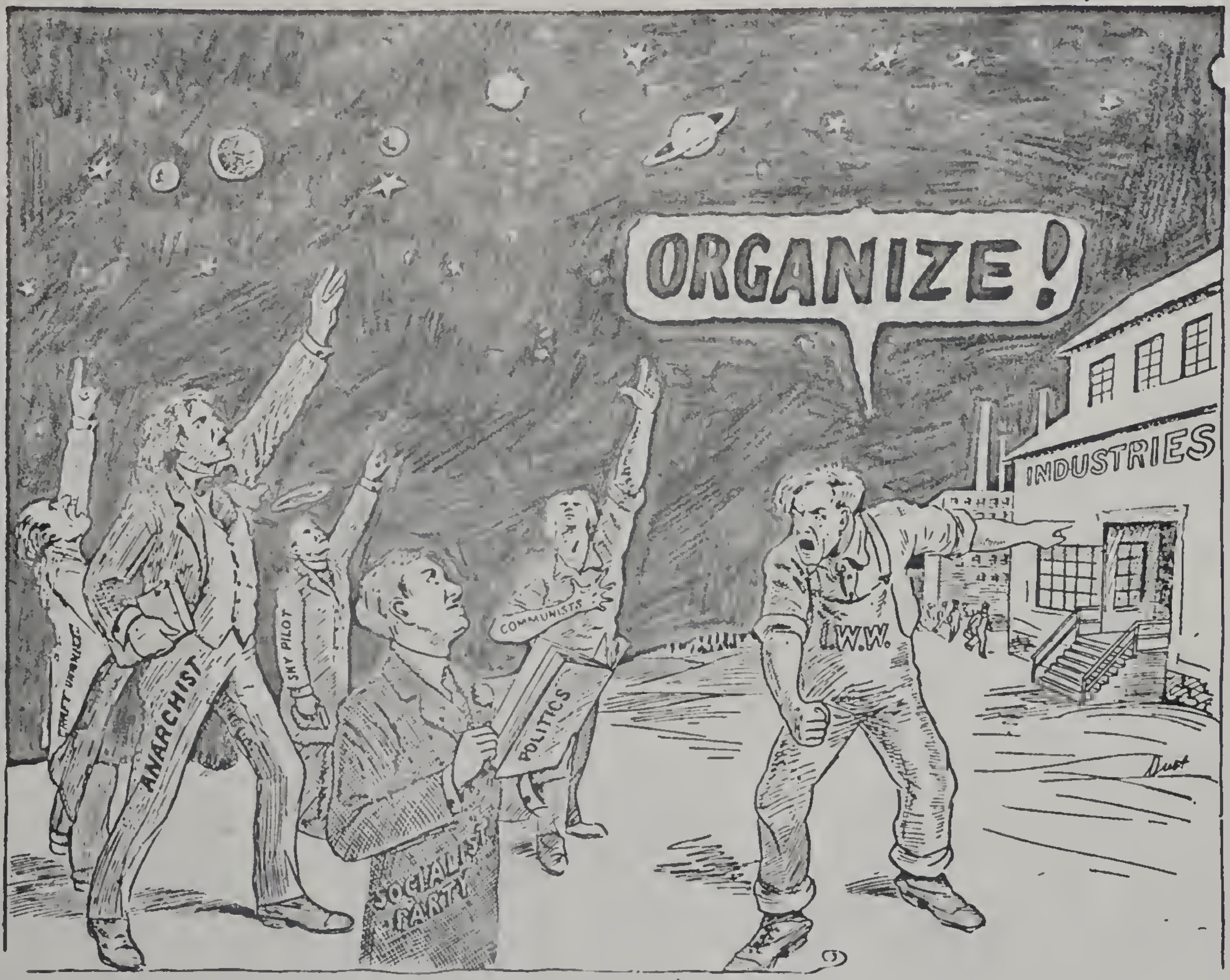

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Knowledge, like energy, is power only when it is put to work to get results.

All together, the working class knows how to make everything, how to do everything, how to create abundance and the necessary conditions for happiness for us all. But to put that knowledge to work requires organization. To get the full results that can come only from using all of it, requires organization as a class—One Big Union.

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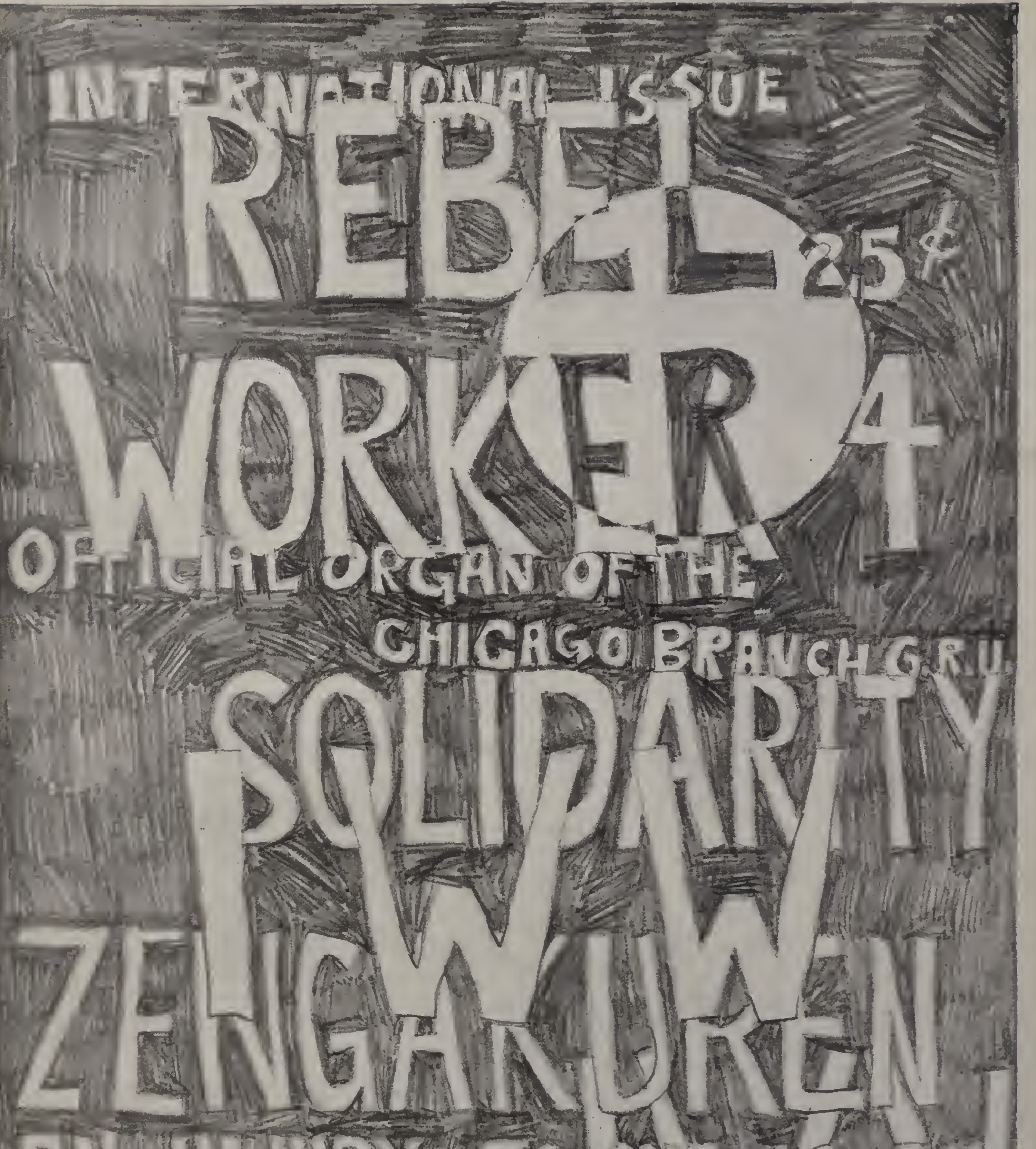

INTERNATIONAL ISSUE

REBEL WORKER 4

25¢

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE
CHICAGO BRANCH G.R.U.

SOLIDARITY

IWW

ZENGAKUREN

AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN
INJURY TO ALL

IWW

IWW PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

The Rebel Worker

Journal of the Chicago Branch of the General Recruiting Union of the Industrial Workers of the World.
25¢ a copy   6 issue subscription $1

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number 4

Cover by Lester DORÉ

IWW Preamble 2

Internationalism 3

How to Make Friends and Influence No One 3
by Craig T. BEAGLE

Modern Capitalism and Revolution 4
(Synopsis of the new book by Paul Cardan)

Toward a Renewal of Libertarian Researches 8
by René FORAIN; translated
by Dorothy DeCOSTER

Miraculous Noon by René CREVEL 10

Perspective of the Revolutionary
Movement of Japan: ZENGAKUREN
by Joji ONADA and Torum KUROKAWA 11

The Class Struggle in the City
of Brotherly Love by Bruce ELWELL 14

Roots of Revolt by Ben COVINGTON 15

T-Bone Talks by T-Bone SLIM 17

Inaugural Break: Declaration of the
International Surrealist Movement 19

Song in Time of Drought by Benjamin PERET 20

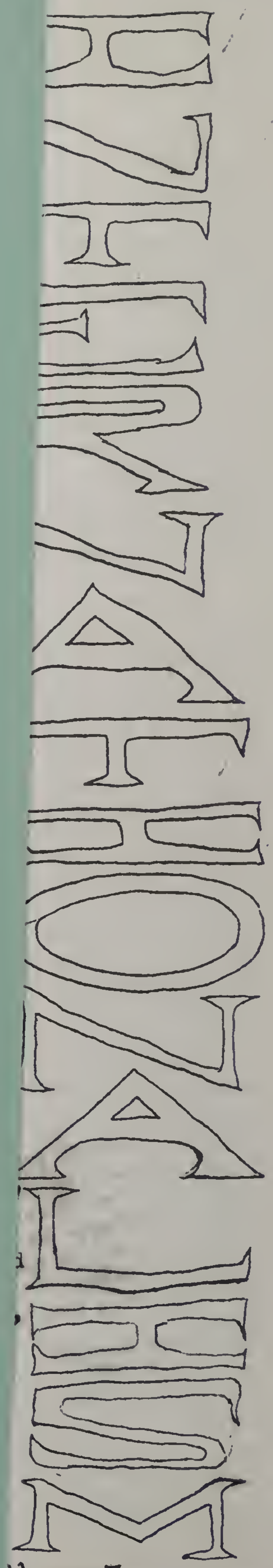
Scots Against War by Ian SUTHERLAND 21

LETTERS 23-24

Letters from an Organizer
by George C. UNDERWOOD 25

News from Spain by Frank B. GOULD 27

What is What in the World of Labor? 28
by DUST



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Notes On the World Revolution of Youth 29
by Franklin ROSEMONT

Berkeley Was Only the Beginning 31
Book Review by Penelope ROSEMONT

Everything Must Be Made Anew 32
Book Review by F.R.

Malatesta 33
Book Review by Bernard MARSZALEK

SOLIDARITY BOOKSHOP 35
Books &Pamphlets

Calligraphy & Art-Work by Lawrence DeCOSTER, Lester DORE, Torvald Faegre, Bernard MARSZALEK and Franklin ROSEMONT

In Rebel Worker #3 we listed a number of other libertarian publications in which our readers would probably be interested. Here are some more:

Anarchy: Freedom Press, 17a Maxwell Rd. London SW6, England. Monthly anarchist theoretical journal. 30¢ per copy.

The Anarchist: Care of Peter Neville, 12 S. Grove, Erdington, Birmingham 23, England. Mimeographed and occassional.

Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review: 283 Gray8s Inn Road, London WC1, England. Fortnightly, anarchist journal of art and literature.

España Libre: 231 W. 18th St., N. Y. 11, N. Y. 2pages in English; one of the best sources of information on current labor activity in Spain. 10¢ per copy.

Glasgow Solidarity: Care of McLeod, Flat 76, 60 Kingsway Court, Glasgow W4, Scotland. Subversive socialist journal.

Resurgence: Care of Solidarity Bookshop, 713 Armitage Ave., Chicago, Illinois. Publication of the Resurgence Youth Movement. 25¢ per copy.

News and Letters: 8751 Grand River, Detroit, Michigan. Marxist-Humanist monthly paper. 10¢ per copy.

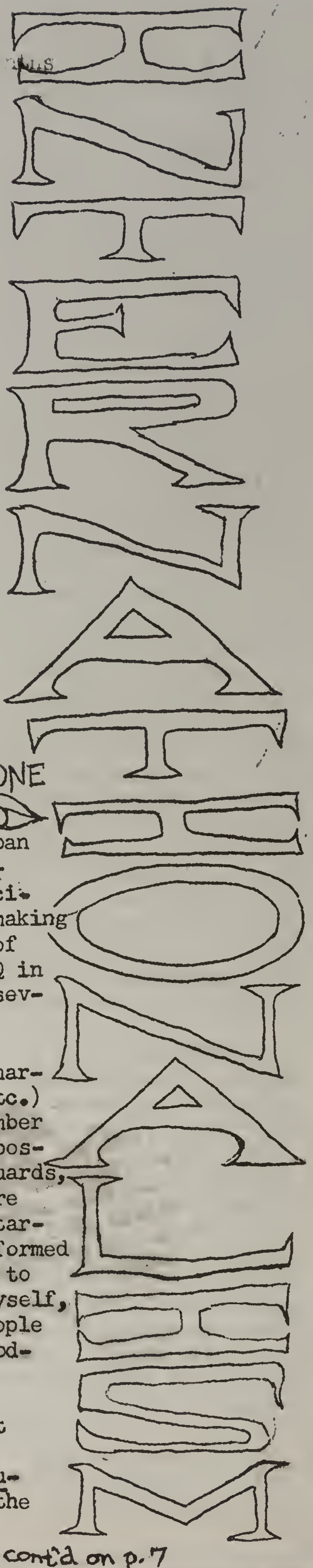
Socialist Leader: 197 King's Cross Rd., London W. C. 1, England. Weekly paper of the Independent Labour Party. 10¢ Per copy.

This is the fourth issue of The Rebel Worker, fourteen months after our first (which appeared on May Day 1964). The first and second issues are entirely sold out; a few copies of #3 are still available. In the future we are going to try to bring out slightly smaller issues, but more frequently: every two months. There'll still be six-issue subs for $1, and copies will be 25¢ each.

This is an "International Issue"---with articles and letters from and/or about a half-dozen or so foreign countries. One of the tasks which the Industrial Workers of the World are taking up is the rebuilding of a true internationalism; toward this, it is of great importance to consider the problems and perspectives of our comrades and fellow workers in other countries. We hope this issue of The Rebel Worker is a step in that direction.

We'll be bringing out our first pamphlet, Mods, Rockers & the Revolution (a collection on rock'n'roll, youth and the revolutionary movement; see ad in this issue) in the next couple of weeks, in time for the Beatles concert here in Chicago. Advance single and bulk orders are welcome: 15¢ a copy, 8 for $1.

We'll be seeing you again sometime around mid- or late September. In the meanwhile, we still need correspondents and contributors. Why don't you send in an article?



HOW TO MAKE FRIENDS and INFLUENCE NO ONE

A REPORT ON THE ANARCHIST-PACIFIST YOUTH CONFERENCE

Friday, June 11 was as beautiful a day as any for the urban marxist-anarchist-syndicalist synthesizers to meet their homesteader friends and neighbors, except that visitors from the cities sweat more. Anyway, on that day began a far-from-epoch-making Anarchist-Pacifist Youth Conference in the rural hinterlands of [illegible] Maryland. It was sponsored by the School of Living (HQ in Ohio), The Mutual Aid Fellowship (in East Chicago, Ind.) and several independent fellow-travelers and passersby.

From most points of view, including several of my own (anarchist, pacifist, IWW, CNVA, Junior Woodchuck, motorcyclist, etc.) it was a failure. About [illegible] or 50 people showed up. Quite a number were "marxists" of various kinds, on the scene to get anyone possible sected, carded and catalogued into their factions, vanguards, splinters and fronts: i.e., the traditional Left! A number were homesteaders and back-to-the-land Green Revolutionaries, vegetarians, etc. These were mostly sincere and surprisingly well-informed people with whom I felt quite sympathetic, but some came only to recruit others into various communities. A few people, like myself, came mostly to see what was happening and to meet some new people with new and original ideas. These last, I can say with all modesty, were the most interesting people there.

Of the sessions held, some were of very little or at best mild interest, others were quite good. Mildred Loomis of the School of Living (publishers of A Way Out and The Green Revolution) gave what was actually a pretty interesting account of the economic theories of Henry George, once widely known and accepted, but now [illegible] forgotten. Her p[illegible]

cont'd on p.7

Modern Capitalism & REVOLUTION

A prolonged political apathy of the working class seems to characterise modern capitalist society. This contrasts with the activity of the masses in "backward" countries. Since Marxism is above all a theory of proletarian revolution in advanced countries, one cannot call oneself a marxist and remain silent on this problem. What does the modernisation of capitalism consist of? How is it linked with the political apathy of the masses? What are the consequences of all this for the revolutionary movement today?

New and lasting features of capitalism should first be described and studied. The ruling classes have achieved greater control over the level of economic activity and have succeeded in preventing major crises of the classical type. Unemployment has greatly diminished. Over a period of several decades real wages have been rising, both more rapidly and more regularly than in the past. This has led to an increase of mass consumption which has become indispensable to the functioning of the economy and which is by now irreversible. The unions have become integrated into the whole system of exploitation: they negotiate the docility of the workers in production in return for wage increases.

Political life is almost exclusively limited to specialists. Ordinary people are uninterested in it or frankly contemptuous of it. In no important country are there any political organizations whose members are mainly industrial workers or which is capable of mobilising the working class on political issues. Outside of production, the proletariat no longer appears as a class with its own objectives. The entire population is drifting into a vast movement of private living. It attends to its own business. The affairs of society as a whole seem to have escaped its control.

Prisoners of traditional schemas would have to conclude that there is no longer any revolutionary perspective. Traditional marxism saw the "objective contradictions" of capitalism as essentially economic ones The total incapacity of the system to satisfy the economic demands of the workers made of these demands the driving force of the class struggle.

Although the classical analysis corresponded to certain manifestations of capitalism, at a certain period of its development, it must be re-examined in the light of contemporary experience. The "objective economic contradictions" disappear with the total concentration of capital (as in countries controlled by the Stalinist bureaucracy). But even the degree of state intervention found today in the West is sufficient to confine within narrow limits the spontaneous imbalance of the economy.

Wage levels are not determined by "objective economic laws" but by the actions of men. The class struggle plays a crucial role in this respect. It has its own dynamic which modifies the actions and consciousness of both workers and bosses. Wage increases, provided they do not exceed increase in production, are quite feasible under capitalism.

The traditional socialist view of capitalism is also false philosophically. Objectivist and mechanistic, it eliminates the actions of men and classes from history, replacing them with an objective dynamic and "natural" law. It makes of the Proletarian revolution a simple reflex against hunger, lacking any clear connection with a socialist society. But it has even more serious implications. It sees the understanding of capitalist economy and of its crises as a task for specialised technicians (the revolutionary elite). The solution to such problems then becomes a question of economic transformations to be performed from above, needing no autonomous intervention of the proletariat. The working class is reduced to the role of infantry at the disposal of revolutionary generals. This approach is, has been, and can only be the foundation stone of bureaucratic politics.

If the fundamental contradiction of capitalism is not to be found in the "anarchy of the market" or in its "inability to develop the productive forces," where is it to be found? It is in production, in the labor process itself. It is in the alienation of the workers. It lies in the necessity for capitalism on the one hand to reduce workers to simple executors of tasks, and on the other hand, in its impossibility to continue functioning if it succeeds in so doing. Capitalism needs to achieve mutually incompatible objectives: the participation and the exclusion of the worker in production—as of all citizens in relation to politics.

This is the real contradiction of contemporary society and the ultimate source of its crises. It cannot be alleviated by reforms, by increasing the standard of living or by eliminating private property and the market. It can only be eliminated by establishing collective management of production and society by the collective producers: the working class in the course of production. This is the only possible foundation of a socialist consciousness. It is what gives the class struggle under capitalism its universal and permanent character, whatever the level of production.

Such conceptions provide a framework for understanding the history and development of capitalist society, which is nothing else than the history and development of the class struggle. Such a dynamic is historic and not "objective" for it constantly modifies the conditions of its own development. It modifies the adversaries themselves. It gives rise to collective experience and collective creation. The class struggle has more and more determined the evolution of technology, production, economy and politics. It has imposed on capitalism the profound modifications of its structure which we see today.

There are few patterns of thought more "unmarxist" than those which attempt to explain contemporary economy and politics in terms of "laws" governing an entirely different phase of capitalist development. Equally "unmarxist" is the assumption that these "laws" are absolute, like the laws of gravitation, and cannot be profoundly modified by the actions of men.

At the subjective level, the modifications in capitalism appear in the accumulation of class struggle experience among the ruling classes, and in the new policies they accordingly adopt. Marxists used to regard capitalist policy as impotence, pure and simple. It was dominated by the ideology of laissez-faire, limiting the role of the state to that of a policeman. Today, however, the more far-sighted of our rulers recognize the state's potential and constantly seek to enlarge its function. They assign to their state certain objectives (such as full employment and economic development) that were once left to the spontaneous functioning of the system. The ruling class today tends to submit more and more spheres of social activity to state control; society thus becomes increasingly totalitarian.

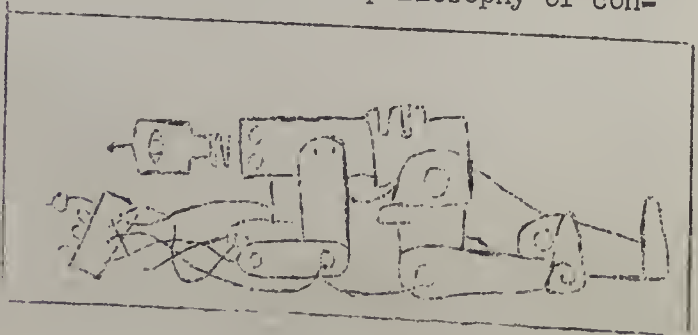
At the objective level, the transformation of capitalism is expressed in increasing bureaucratization. The roots of this tendency are in production, but they extend and finally invade all sectors of social life. Concentration of capital and statification are but different aspects of the same phenomenon. And in their turn they significantly modify the functioning of the economy as a whole.

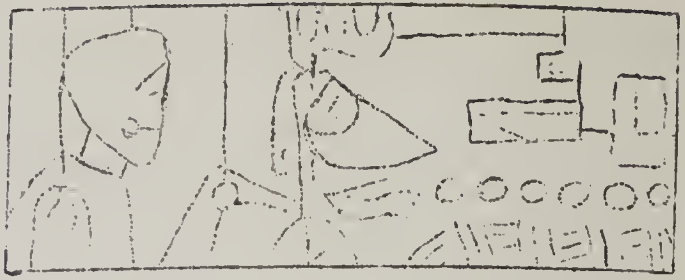
Bureaucratization implies the "organization" and "rationalization" of all collective activity from the outside. To the extent that it succeeds, it completes a process started by an earlier phase of capitalism: it renders all social life meaningless. It produces mass irresponsibility. Individuals begin to seek private solutions to social problems. This is the inevitable corollary of bureaucratization.

The inherent objective, the "ideal tendency" of bureaucratic capitalism is the construction of a totally hierarchic society in constant expansion, a sort of monstrous bureaucratic pyramid where the increasing alienation of men in labor will be "compensated" by a steady rise in the standard of living, all initiative remaining in the hands of the organizers. Anyone who cares to look at contemporary social reality can easily recognize this tendency. It coincides with the ultimate objective of the ruling classes: to make the revolt of the exploited fail by diverting it into a personal pursuit of the standard of living, by breaking up working class solidarity through hierarchy and differentials, and by preventing all atempts at collective action from below. Conscious or not, this is the real aim of bureaucratic capitalism and the real meaning of ruling-class action.

The bureaucratic drive must fail. It cannot overcome the fundamental contradiction of capitalism, as we have defined it. In fact, bureaucratic capitalism multiplies this contradiction manyfold. The increasing bureaucratization of all social activities only succeeds in extending into all domains the conflict inherent in the division of society into order-givers and order-takers. It scatters everywhere the intrinsic irrationality of the bureaucratic management of production. It is for this reason that capitalism cannot avoid crises (that is, periodic breakdowns in the normal functioning of society), which vary in kind and stem from very different immediate causes. The inherent irrationality of capitalism remains but now finds expression in new and different ways.

Only the class struggle can give the contradictions and crises of modern society a revolutionary character. The present situation is peculiar in this respect. In production the struggle shows an intensity formerly unknown. It tends to raise the question of who will manage production, and this in the most advanced countries. But outside of production the class struggle hardly shows itself at all, or only distorted by bureaucratic organizations. This political apathy of the working class has a dual significance. On the one hand it represents a victory of capitalism. The bureaucratization of their organizations drives the workers away from collective political action. The collapse of traditional ideology and the absence of a socialist program prevent workers from generalizing their critique of production and transforming it into a positive conception of a new society. The philosophy of consumption penetrates the proletariat. But this apathy also has potentially positive aspects. Working-class experience of the new phase of capitalism could lead it to a criticism of all aspects of contemporary life, a criticism far more profound and total than anything attempted in the past. And from this could arise a renewal of the socialist ideal in the proletariat, at a much higher level than witnessed hitherto.





The "ripening" of the conditions of socialism continues. This does not mean a purely objective "ripening" (increase of the productive forces, increased centralization, increasing "contradictions"). Nor does it mean a purely subjective "ripening" (accumulation of experience in the proletariat). It means the accumulation of the objective conditions of an adequate consciousness. The proletariat could not eliminate reformism and bureaucratism before having produced them as social realities and experienced them in everyday life. Today, large numbers of people can grasp as profoundly real and relevant the idea of workers' management of production, and can reject as inadequate the capitalist values that see production and consumption as ends in themselves.

This new type of analysis will demand profound changes of the revolutionary movement. Its criticism of society, which is essential to help workers to evaluate and generalize their everyday direct experience, must be completely reoriented. It should seek to describe and analyze the contradictions and the irrationality of the bureaucratic management of society at all its levels. It should denounce the inhuman and absurd character of contemporary work, the alienation of people in consumption and leisure. It should expose the arbitrariness and the monstrosity of the hierarchical organization of production and of contemporary relations between men.

The central element of its program of demands should be the struggle around the organization of labor and life in the factory. It should oppose everything which tends to divide workers (wage differentials, piecework, etc.). But it should do more. Under modern capitalism, the essential problem is how to pass from the struggle at factory level to struggle against the whole pattern of society. The revolutionary movement will only succeed in this respect if it ruthlessly denounces all equivocations and double-talk on the idea of socialism, if it mercilessly criticizes the values of contemporary society, if it presents the socialist program to the proletariat for what it really is: a program for the humanization of labor and of society.

The revolutionary movement will only be able to fulfill these tasks if it ceases to appear as a traditional political movement (traditional politics are dead) and if it becomes a total movement, concerned with all that men do in society, and with their real daily lives.

(The above "Synopsis" of Modern Capitalism and Revolution by Paul Cardan was sent to us for this issue of The Rebel Worker by Bob Potter of the London Solidarity Group as a statement of their revolutionary perspective.)

HOW TO MAKE FRIENDS & INFLUENCE NO ONE, cont'd.

claimed, but now nearly forgotten. (Her presentation was more interesting---and I hope more representative of the facts---than the unsigned ridiculous rave review of this conference which appeared in the latest issue of The Green Revolution.) By far the best discussions were on the subject of psychedelics, which interested nearly everyone there.

One thing should be noted: hardly any girls showed up. This is significant, isn't it? Why doesn't the revolutionary movement attract women? This is a subject that needs a closer look than I can give it here. But I think it's important. As Joe Hill said:

"We've had girls before, but we
need some more
In the Industrial Workers of the
World,
For it's great to fight for freedom
With a Rebel Girl."

The conference closed, after founding a loosely-defined (perhaps only semi-existent?) Mutual Aid Society and calling for a second conference to be held, presumably in New York, some time in August. For further details write to The Rebel Worker. If you can't make it there, see the next issue for a report. Meanwhile, let us hear from you.

Craig T. BEAGLE
X761167

Sermon

From TRIBUNE, Labour's Independent Weekly

"It is clear from the present day writings which are couched in the old terms that the IWW have forgotten nothing---nor learned anything new. Their greatest achievement surely lay outside their own organisation. The rise of the Congress of Industrial Organisations (CIO) and its industrial unions, which today are so powerful in America are the direct result of the early struggles of the Wobblies. Workers are practical people, and if they can achieve their aims through the CIO why continue to support the IWW?

"It is clear to me that the IWW will never be revived, Its great days are part of history, and have become part of our labour heritage. It is now essential to move forward, to create and refurbish the organisation necessary in modern terms for social change. Let us on this May Day salute the old warriors of the IWW. Let us try to emulate their [illegible] self-sacrifice and idealism. Let us uphold the idea of building a new society. Let us pay homage to them, while criticising their faults and mistakes. They were brave men and women, their vision of a new world continues to light our path."

Eric Heffer, M.P.

(30 April 1965)

NOTE: Ben COVINGTON, author of "Roots of Revolt" (p. 15) is a British anarchist writer and music critic, a frequent contributor to Freedom and Anarchy. He has been active in the Committee of 100.

Toward A Renewal Of Libertarian Researches

It is hardly easy to delimit at the onset the worlds which must be explored... taking into account the general lines "toward a renewal of libertarian researches". Too many of the questions have remained uncertain, too many new roads have been opened in the domain of the sciences, both human and social. One is not able to envisage, much less to establish, an order of priority. In the plan of work proposed here, it will remain to each to deal with the problems which cut across his own preoccupations, experiences, and his past studies.

At the same time, if this program appears too ambitious for our immediate possibilities, it does not intend to be exhaustive; it merely acts as a beginning which must also permit a practical classification by spheres of interest, the notes of which we will later be able to consolidate.

The plan of study of "libertarian researches" can be articulated in the following way:

Theoretical Basis: To restudy the history of libertarian thought, following simultaneously the evolution of the problem of liberty in the history of philosophy, taking liberty in contemporary thought as a point of resolution; also to clarify the philosophical positions which orient the attitudes facing the promblem of liberty: rationalism, materialism etc.

Libertarian Anthropology: The Problem of liberty in the "sciences of man". Is one able to define the hypotheses and the libertarian methods in psychology, in sociology, in history? Will one learn the sciences on the road to liberty.

The State: Is there a "static structure" permanent under all the diverse forms which the state hasttaken in history? What are the rapports between the State and the social classes, more generally social life, society? We will have to restudy and remake a psychology of work, disengaging the complex relations which exist between will to power and will to submission. We will have to take up again the great debate on the suppression or the disappearance of the State, the "dictatorship of the proletariat".

War: To study the reality of the State is also to analyze its phenomena like nationalism, imperialism, war. The role of economic factors in the causes of recent wars has been often debeloped. But has anyone reflected enough on the psychological and social conditions (other than the strictly economic ones) which push a society towards war? Must such a tentative "polemologie" (Bouthoul) renew pacifism reborn of new forms of conflict against the danger of war? On the other hand it will have to be disengaged from the particular characters of "the wars of liberation", the rapports, too often affirmed or denied, between nationalism and revolution.

Industrial Society and Bureaucracy: Under which forms does the "conflict of classes" manifest itself in industrial society? It is necessary to clarify the rapports between modern capitalism, the State and the bureaucracy; the role of the bureaucracy in the organization of work; to analyze the fundamental conflict between the followers and the leaders, the contradictions of the heirarchial structure, opposition and competition in work. We will inevitably pose the question of integration and of the bureaucratization of workers' organizations. More generally we will analyze the "methods of conditioning and manipulation" used in work to control the daily life: psychotechnical propoganda and publicity. Such an analysis will launch a "critique of daily life" (Lefebre), and by examining the different forms of opposition to different forms of alienation.

Leisure, Artistic Activities, Education: The problem of industrial society is itself involved in mass culture and conditioning by the "mass media". In the bureaucratic organization the individual is reduced little by little to passivity, the "spectacles" of all types which are organized for leisure leaves one paralyzed in the attitude of a spectator, a watcher. In such a predicament will the divers forms of artistic activity develop the separation between active organizers and passive consumers? Will there be a revolutionary art, and under what conditions? We have been told that this is the "era of leisure": an era which promises the expansion of libety both individual and collective, but is it not actually the contrary: the systematic manipulation of amorphous crowds by the "organization of leisure"? Anarchism has always affirmed the emancipating function of "popular culture", however, the extant organizations of "popular education" are more or less controlled, created and led by the State. How to react? How can one formulate a libertarian action on a cultural plan? And how to find correct information in making a judgement as to what is actually a good education; we will have to study the pedagogial methods to be able to promote a libertarian education.

The Organization of the Socialist Administration: The constitution of active cultural unities and non-conformist responses to the problem of "decision" and "collective responsibility" we have already mentioned. Anarchism accords a fundamental importance to the "group": The actual development of the psychology of the "dynamic of groups" etc. Are we able to study these questions more methodically? Libertarian socialism has behind it all a series of experiences (co-operatism, community of production, anarcho-syndicalism). We must study this "micro-social experiment" without making explicit reference to our theories. All these researches will eventually be replaced by the rapport of the global society which will pose the questions of federalism, democracy, reformism, integration into the capitalist society.

Personal Realization: Conflict for a socialist society implies a free and creative sourse of personal existence. Which of the many value systems of free existence shall we follow? Is it possible to elaborate, to experiment with techniques of liberation, of indivuation? Reflection on liberty, sociological and psychological researches, and daily experience will have to converge here towards a libertarian "art of life."

Revolutionary Action: Most of the points envisaged in this plan spring from the problem of revolutionary action. It is necessary to examine the cohesion and the ways in which different forms of revolutionary action complement one another in the present context; and where are the forms of organization which imply such action?

It is to reinstitute the fundamental themes of anarchism in the actual society, and in re-examining in a libertarian perspective the methods of the human and social sciences that this plan is directed...

---Rene Forain
translated from LE MONDE LIBERTAIRE, May 1965

Note: At the last congress of the Anarchist Federation during the inevitable discussions on the actualization of libertarian ideas, a certain number of participants became aware of the necessity of a group of researches. The above article is the second in a series discussing these researches.

Miraculous Noon

O THEN, what a miraculous noon, after the long moveless morning. You are quite alone before the mirror. Your ears are too pretty for you to show them both. You shake your hair and, with one motion, tumble the whole mass to the right. On the left a pink transparent shell rests on a bed of flamboyant sea-weed. Then, satisfied, you go toward the house where there is no light but the flamboyant caprice of fish behind the glass.

Balloons of hope, stars of foliage, bushes of hatred, rainbow bubbles, orchids of love, lisnes of traitresses, rumblings of thirst, sea-fruit and flowers of waves, diaphanous doves, birds of sky and sea, what an aurora at the bottom of the sea they have painted, these pearly acrobats. In their meshes unknown suns have left such rays that in seeing them, Cynthia, you have become radiant for life. Slide, eels, O you desended from the mountains where you were serpents, to desend to the depths of the Sargasso sea to knot yourselves to one another. Mauve mouths of mute singers beat against the panes. The center of a monstrous onyx lights up with the magnificent conflagration, although on the dust of its exterior facets little apes of nothing at all force the jibers to stop laughing and to recognize their proudly human agonies. But cinocephaloids and their handfuls of satisfied desires were not made for your amusement, stroller. And likewise what have you to do with their giant brothers who have no other games than to make delicate flowers out of banana-peels?

In the middle of the day, in the greatest capital of Europe, you feel your strength growing. The grass is green, the sun is round, and simpler than the roads of the fields are the paths going across the botanical gardens to the animals. You go, ashamed of a part of the world which must ask the rest for its wild beasts and of whom no member could now yell with the long tearing cries of the forest. A jungle of roughly-painted iron, with central heating, in vain attempts to imitate Africa; it is a furtive grumbling of exiles, instead of the raucous, free singing. Fetid incense of giant tortoises, cobras too pliant to be trusted, feigned sleep of crocodiles, Cynthia,---you will never forget the cages and the aquarium in the midst of the greensward, but since neither these exceptionally flat fish, nor this octopus, nor this ocelot, is to determine your destiny, you leave this Zoo without returning.

That same evening at seven o'clock, you will be in a capital on the other side of the Channel, and you will accept a whole family because of a too-handsome son-in-law, whose eyes seem to you the very color of the sky, a Havana sky which would not be at all blue, but tobacco. Owing to the gift of the faceless man, this azure chestnut will be metamorphosed little by little into yellow metal. Thus twice praised be he who, having operated on your virginity, makes you in addition a present of a satchel of dreams. You travel with your paradise and, on all your days, have hours in an oasis of immobility.

Now, here, is the moment to halt. You have walked through the streets of flesh. For the child becoming woman, you have spoken. But it is late, mysterious one. You are the passer-by. One must say farewell. Tomorrow you leave once more for your original mists. In a red and gray city, you will have a colorless room, with silver walls, with windows open even to the clouds, whose sister you are. It is in open sky that the shadow of your face, the gestures of your fingers, must be sought.

Legs apart, a city falls asleep, naked on the phosphorescent sea.

(From Babylone; Kra, Paris 1926) Rene CREVEL

Perspective of the Revolutionary Movement of Japan

ZENGAKUREN

The political and theoretical position of ZENGAKUREN today has been attained through many years' hard struggle in the midst of the class struggle of Japan in recent years.

ZENGAKUREN eight years ago was under the strong influence of the stalinist party. We had been known as the "leftist and militant wing" of CP through our incessant struggle against the government since the establishment after the war.

The revolt of the Hungarian proletariat in 1956 was the beginning of the transition period of ZENGAKUREN from stalinist dominated movement to the revolutionary movement against both imperialism and stalinism.

There broke out a heated discussion over the suppression of the rising Hungarian workers by the tanks of the "red army," yet there were very few students at that time who supported the uprising of the Hungarian proletariat against the stalinist oppression, It has, however, given rise to the criticism of the existing state of the USSR and other so-called socialist countries and the distortion of Marxism by the hands of the stalinist bureaucrats and it has gradually combined itself with the partial and tactical disagreement with the Japan CP that had existed before that.

Two years after that passed in the deepening conflict between ZENGAKUREN and CP, and in 1958 many communist students were excluded from CP because of the "leftist adventurism."

The Ampo struggle (struggle against the amendment of Japan-USA mutual security act) 1959-60 was a stage of open conflict between CP and us. We opposed the policy of CP, according to which the struggle should be fought as that of the "patriotic and democratic" power against the "supporters of USA." For our part we insisted to concentrate our struggle against the Japanese capitalists who tried to strengthen their domination over us to prepare for the imperialistic aggression based on the accumulated power that they attained through the "development" after the war.

On the tactical problem we emphasized on the militant demonstration combined with the industrial action of the working class, while CP together with SP tried to confine the struggle in the "peaceful march" for petition to the members of the Parliament, being afraid of the vital energy of the workers and students ready to explode against the ruling class.

The conflict took place in every sphere of the struggle. When there was a demonstration around the Diet, for example, and ZENGAKUREN wanted to join the demonstrating workers, the officials of CP came in haste and made a "cordon" between the workers' demonstration and that of the students, saying that they were defending the workers from the "provocation" of the ZENGAKUREN as a duty of a "vanguard party" of the proletariat. CP even formed a picketline in order to "defend the policemen from the 'violence' of the ZENGAKUREN."

When the angry workers and students at the massacre of a girl student by the brutal policemen in the demonstration rushed against the Diet in which the act had been passed, the role of CP was to persuade the demonstrators to refrain from "provocative action" and to go home to sleep in the daily order of life, Moreover CP excused themselves to the government that they had no intention of "disturbing" the society but it was ZENGAKUREN that tried to "violate the order."

Many workers and intellectuals saw CP together with SP suppress not only the demonstration of ZENGAKUREN but also every struggle when it took a militant character against their expectation. As a result, after the defeat of the Ampo struggle CP lost support of the workers and students who fought the struggle and experienced the suppression of the "vanguard" party.

In the general assembly after the struggle in 1961, we discussed over the problem which was sharply posed through the struggle, especially about the character of the existing leadership of the labor movement and found that its degeneration is connected with the policy of the so-called socialist countries. We also examined the history of our struggle during the period since the revolt of the Hungarian proletariat and through the criticism of our own experience adopted the fundamental line that we should fight against all kinds of suppression, whether it be capitalistic or stalinistic, with our own power and that the student movement should be closely connected with the struggle of the rank and file workers to overcome the false leadership of the labor movement today.

Anti-war struggle of the ZENGAKUREN has been possible only through this discussion and we have been able to develop our fundamental line through actual struggle against the American and Russian bombs together with the young workers and in the international solidarity. Thus a new era has begun for the Japanese student movement to be anti-stalinist revolutionary mass movement.

* * * * * *

The period starting in 1956 is characterized by the rapid rationalization and modernization of Japanese capitalism, and at the same time, by the heavy resistance of the proletariat against the mass discharge and aggravation of the working conditions accompanied with the process of the drastic transformation of Japanese capitalism. Especially the workers of railway, post office and coal mines fought the most militant struggle but they were compelled to surrender to the attack of capital under the pressure of the conformistic leaders of the trade unions.

In the railway workers strike in 1957 against mass discharge, CP which is the minority in the labor movement assisted the socialist leadership in giving up the strike against the fighting will of the workers. Many communist workers left the Party on that occasion.... In this situation the independent struggle of ZENGAKUREN drew keen attention of the militant workers and in the Ampo struggle there were certain co-operation between the rank and file workers and the ZENGAKUREN. In the anti-war struggle the co-operation was developed further and resulted in the "Anti-war Assembly of Workers and Students."

The whole process of the ZENGAKUREN from left-wing opposition in the stalinist party to a revolutionary wing of the Japanese proletariat for self-emancipation has been strongly influenced by the activity of an anti-stalinist revolutionary organization, the JAPAN REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST LEAGUE (JRCL). This organization, established after the Hungarian Revolution in 1956, has the support of militant workers through its uncompromising struggle in the factories against management and labor bureaucrats at the same time, through denouncement of the Japanese Communist Party based on the sharp and exhaustive criticism of the distortion of communism and Marxism in the USSR, China and other so-called socialist countries. The JRCL has influence not only in the workers but also in the students and intellectuals, and the recent struggle of ZENGAKUREN has been developed through the concentrated discussion of stalinism suggested by JRCL.

Threatened by this situation unfavorable to the stalinist bureaucrats who had long pretended to be the only "vanguard party" of the proletariat, CP is trying to destroy the movement of ZENGAKUREN. Their attempt of building up another student organization outside ZENGAKUREN and abusing by the demagogy such as "ZENGAKUREN are paid by American imperialists," etc., is confronted with the strong criticism of the majority of students.

(ZENGAKUREN is composed of self-governed body of the universities and committees are elected by all the students in the university. The activities of ZENGAKUREN are practiced through discussion in the class room of the university and the success of the struggle depends on the contents and method of the discussion.)

Besides, ZENGAKUREN is confronted always with suppression by the government not only by the direct attack of the brutal policemen during demonstrations (against this we have developed the unique tactic of linking arms of the demonstrators and the sit-down), but also by juridical forms. Thus, we ZENGAKUREN are surrounded by many difficulties and the hardest thing is our struggle against the general tendency of the Japanese labor movement to go after the reformistic and collaborative policy of the labor bureaucrats of the Western countries.

We regard the present stage of ZENGAKUREN as very important, for now through the exposure of the false character of the Moscow-Peking conflict we can clarify the fundamental problems and the perspective of the revolution in the world today.

We do not choose between Russia and China. Neither do we choose between East and West. These alternatives only mean to choose between different kinds of alienated class society. Our problem is not to adapt ourselves to the existing societies, but to create a new society which adapts to us. Russian and Chinese stalinists force us to admit either of the two stalinist societies as "communism"---the one is relatively developed, while the other is underdeveloped, both of which are dominated by the priveleged bureaucrats just as the western societies are ruled by the monopolizing capitalists. Thus the working class of the whole world is deprived of political and economic powers and is reduced to passive object in both West and East.

Communism means, however, essentially the abolishment of class and private property through combining the powers of production of all the world by means of the international struggle of the proletariat against the oppressors who possess all means of production in their hands.

The Russian and Chinese "communism" is far from communism. "Communism" that is dominated by bureaucrats! "Communists" that fight each other over their "national interest!"

The emancipation of the working class and human beings can be attained only through overthrowing the capitalistic and stalinistic domination by the power of people's own.

We are convinced that we are combined with the revolutionary struggle of the Japanese working class and with the struggle overseas for the same purpose.

Joji ONADA
General Secretary of ZENGAKUREN

Torum KUROKAWA
International Secretary of ZENGAKUREN

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The Class Struggle
IN THE CITY OF BROTHERLY LOVE

June was a rough month for the anti-working class elements in our society (whether boss, politician or labor bureaucrat); and Philoadelphia, the "City of Brotherly Love", had to contend with a king-size dose of "irresponsibility" on the part of its wage-earners. Along with the New York and Chicago cab strikes, the Philadelphia Teamsters wildcat proved that the class struggle is not dead (no matter what sociologists try to tell us). The 12,000 members of Teamsters Local # 107 declared a "holiday" in support of four men from the Roadway terminal fired for refusing to load a truck alone when they considered the work dangerous without a helper (or at least would not scab on the first of their group who refused to load on those grounds).

The dynamics of the situation include the aggravation of Teamsters in 107 over the dehumanizing work conditions that Hoffa and the "Teamster leadership" continually sanctioned in negotiations. (Example: Loaders at the Roadway terminal must ask permission of a foreman before they can use the john.) The Roadway sackings were the direct cause of the walkout of all workers there and the following local-wide holiday, but they were not the only cause. Another dynamic of the situation involves the particularly well-developed local bureaucracy, led by the "Voice of the Teamsters" group, the former "political party" (sic) in the local that won most of the offices and business agents positions in the last election. They won because they, like the workers, were anti-Hoffa. While the immediate goals of the Voice group and those of the rank-and-file were the same, the Voice group was as far from real rank-and-file control as any Hoffa, Carey or Dubinsky.....as the members now know.

As soon as Roadway walked out, Judge Weinrott, Philadelphia's judge who handles all labor cases--that's ALL, from injunctions against strikes to assault cases arising during strikes, issued an injunction against it. It was ignored. Ten days later when the local voted its support "holiday", Weinrott was there again with his injunction. The papers and the local government joined immediately, echoing Weinrott's cries of "anarchy". Headlines blared, "Gangs Roam City" (and indeed they did).

One particular incident, related by a revolutionary-minded participant, deserves repeating because of its beautiful Marx Brothers-like quality. This particular teamster was not a member of the striking local, and so could not join the strikers without definitely threatening his job. He could and did, however, drive slightly out of his way in order to encounter the aforementioned gangs which were stopping trucks. He was stopped and deserted his truck "to avoid personal injury". This happened on a divided expressway near the Sears warehouse. The cops drove up immediately and starting backing part of the striking marauders (including the trucker "avoiding personal injury") into the Sears parking lot, while the others seemingly ran off. Seemingly because as one cop looked around he saw the runaways on the other side of the expressway again stopping trucks! Off went the cops to get them, and the ones in the Sears lot returned to getting business done on their side of the divider. This went on for an afternoon.

But like all local wildcats, this one finally collapsed after one week. The

(Continued on page 18)

Roots of Revolt

Although the formal libertarian left is dormant in Britain, there are signs that it is not yet dead. The stupor of the entire left here is easy to understand. There were those people who had glibly assumed, despite the evidence which increases every time it happens, that the return of a Labour Government would make significant changes to the nation's political and social stance, even to its military alliances. Harold Wilson's kow-towing to Johnson over Vietnam--despite the patently obvious risk of this ugly effusion of international militarism degenerating into an all-out East-West nuclear crisis--the gradually increasing arms bill and the obvious inability of the Government to offer the left even the vaguest sops of satisfaction (although Left Labour papers like Tribune are attempting to stage-manage some signs of intelligent understanding between the 'hard' left and the Government) will inevitably lead to disillusion. Whether the peace movement and the libertarian alliances will be able to mobilize this disillusion, as they did the dissatisfaction of the last years of the Tory malaise, remains to be seen. The other major factor militating against the establishment of a hard-headed, unsentimental libertarian movement in Britain is the general feeling of tiredness and ineffectiveness arising from apparently futile years of public action. The younger libertarians are, after all, of that generation which felt, in the early '60's, that it had the power to rid England of its nuclear defence and establish in its place a society in which the people had a real and genuine control of the government and governmental agencies. It was an impossible aim; but it was nonetheless genuine.

The British peace movement came up against the most confident, dedicated and pragmatic ruling class in our recent history. Its pragmatism enabled it to deal with large numbers of dedicated and active opponents without, except in rare cases, resorting to the mailed fist. The authorities have almost always been able to adjust their position in the face of public pressure, leaving the protestors shoving against a wall which no longer serves any function. The issues around which the post-Korean war left in this country centred itself were more clear-cut than they are now and small movements are almost always more able to cooperate for clear ends and despite doctrinal differences than the large popular movements, of which the English peace movement is probably an example (at least by British standards). The peace movement split into its natural component parts but the smaller groups were rarely able to act as effectively on their own as they had been in larger groupings and the disillusion which kept many of the older generation aloof has now seeped through to younger people, leaving them doubtful of even their most cherished beliefs.

The turning point of the British peace movement came during the Cuba Crisis in October 1962, when all the pressure we were able to make quite obviously had no effect on the course of the crisis, nor on those people who were indulging their power paranoia through it. Only Bertrand Russell remains under the illusion that he was able to do anything about the situation. Cuba laid the seeds of what is by now known as a notion fixé that nuclear war is in itself such an instant phenomenon that no protest movement can possibly prevent it. Even those people whose anarchist attitudes enabled them to see the limitations of both the Parliamentary-oriented CND and the naively-idealistic Committee of 100 now suffer from the sheer emotional frustration and exhaustion of five or more years of apparently fruitless activity. The testing time might be if conscription were to be re-imposed; but it is hardly worth looking forward to that, just to analyse the results on those people who have been associated with the peace movement! This is a depressing atmosphere in which to attempt any form of constructive action; I may be overstating my case--this is an occupational hazard of trying to convey an ambience rather than hard facts--and there are one or two more encouraging signs.

I would like to detail these encouraging signs briefly though I hasten to add that any predictions based on them may prove to hopelessly optimistic. Not being personally involved in industry I find it difficult to assess whether there has been any change in the feelings of young workers towards their 'social function' though I suspect that over the last decade there has. The recent Kodak affair, still not over, where the police obviously acted in collusion with Kodak snoopers to secure the dismissal of two men attempting to give Kodak some sort of union protection can hardly fail to produce scepticism in anybody about the ways in which industry is organized and the degree of collaboration between industry and authority in general. There are also signs that apprentices in various industries long ignored by the official unions are organising to make demands. It is difficult to draw any conclusions from this; but, even at its least-promising level, it means that younger people in industry are rather more bloody-minded than they used to be. Generally I would say there is a widely different attitude to authority from young people today than, say, ten years ago.

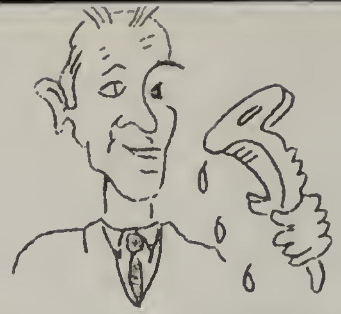
By a large proportion of the deeply-alienated youth of this country--not only those young people who make up the parallel teenage cults of the Mods and the Rockers--the police are viewed with a scepticism amounting to contempt and, more rarely, a fear amounting to hatred. This may only be a healthy trend insofar as it is an expression of something deeper, but one has to start somewhere and contempt for the police is probably as good a place as any. Indeed, one of the few occassions on which the libertarians have badly damaged the authorities was the case in which an unprepossessing fuzz, Det-Sgt. Harold Challoner, had the bad fortune to misplant a brick on a singularly intelligent individualist-anarchist called Donald Rooum after the July,1963, demonstrations against the Greek royal visit. This case had the authorities scuttling into war records as a justification of poor Challoner and ended in an almost open admission that police do frame innocent people, by giving free pardons to other Challoner victims. The police do, of course, still frame people high, wide and handsome and if anyone pretends otherwise they are usually jumped on by innocuous and ordinary people whose cynicism about the police is bolstered almost every day by some new evidence public or personal.

At present, the Bristol anarchists are giving wide publicity to another obvious frame-up--this time a raid on a public house which ended in various people going to prison for possession of dangerous drugs (the usual harmless marijuana of course). The point is that cases like these effect many people, mostly people young enough to be easy victims of the sort of casual delinquency which marks a good police force. The young club goers in London and elsewhere, the rhythm 'n' blues (local variety for the most part, unfortunately!) enthusiasts and the folkniks, know that the police are as likely to plant evidence as not, and, among all these people, you will be lucky if you find a single one who will admit anything less than dislike of the police. Obviously it becomes increasingly difficult to imagine that the police fulfil a valuable social function if to do so involves them in imprisoning the innocent. The real breakthrough will be when people object to them jailing the guilty as well, but in the meantime the fact that the traditional working class distrust of the police is finding a wider public is very encouraging.

There have been other cases of small libertarian groups getting together with other people to put pressure on the authorities. The Cardiff anarchist group recently helped caravan tenants to resist eviction or rent increases--despite rather shoddy treatment by the Committee of 100 groups (a rare example of internal friction between the various groups which now constitute a loose anarcho-pacifist alliance.

(Continued on page 22)

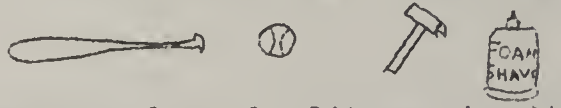
T-BONE



Harvester Co., Chicago, goes in for profit-sharing. Steel declares a dividend in "common"-- money rolling in like nobody's business. 1/4 million was added to army of unemployed as of February last and -- get this - -- attendance at the ballgames is expected to drop. Displacement of labor continues apace -- one man "tends" 2.000 ton boat in New York harbor. Night and Day. No, you don't have to organize? You can go on relief and learn to sing communist hymns -- recently Pittsburg commies were brought up with a round turn for using the name of FDR. Hm, I once knew a man who thought himself --Napoleon. Nothing serious; just a bit of hysteria.

FDR JFK LBJ FDR JFK LBJ FDR JFK LBJ FDR JFK LBJ FDR LBJ JFK LBJ FDR JFK JSHITFLBJ FDR JFK LBJ

Darn this world anyhow -- can't sleep and read at once... can't sleep because the boys are fighting the war all over again; second-seeing the errors, terrors and tragedies a of the past. If I lay down those race-horses might step on me. Or, I might get beaned by a base-ball.



Where you find injustice, the proper form of politeness is attack. As Patrick Henry truthfully groaned: Shall we gain strength by lying on the flat of our shoulder blades until we are bound hand and foot?

Tis easier to sit down when you have la grippe -- you go down -- Kerplunk! all in a bunch. This morning when I glanced at the mirror I decided I better not go to heaven right now looking as I do. We can't all die looking young and beautiful and I'm afraid if they don't have a rejuvenating process over there I would look like a holy fright even with a clean shave. A new suit of clothes wouldn't help me out much and even a set of wings would still leave me looking like John Farmers gargoyle scarecrow in his Sunday best. Most of those who die are in pretty dilapitated condition, racked by illness or the parasites system (which is all the same) and the angelic expression is far removed. Possibly, however, when they get over these they start growing young and wind-up with a pair of wings and a pair of diapers.

How's that for fantasy?

But we are living in realities and the unemployed army of 10 million plus is growing -- And the gallon and half of stew the Pearl Street restaurant dumped in the swill-barrel didn't last five minutes... No wonder the pigs are plowed-under and the dogs have a far-away look in their eyes -- even the police-dogs neglect to grab us by the shanks -- wont even get up to sniff our pants to verify the high emprise of our social standing. They don't seem to give a damn who we are -- or possibly they have lost confidence in us and fear they will wind-up in a stew-pot. Stranger things have happened. You wouldn't call that fantasy or imaginings of a cracked writer? Two meals a day seems to be the rule (breakfast is composed of several groanings in bed) and, if I do say so myself, the bed and the meals doesn't look any better than the man himself.

There is no remedy other than organization. Organize as you are. You cannot gain strength by waiting. Strength can be gained only by organizing.

Wait long enough and you'll be too homely to go to heaven. Let us not lose sight of the fact that we are at grips with "the noble white man" that made agony both ingenius and scientific and relegated life's possibilities to the select few...and life's "garbage" to the many. Production is now years supply

TALKS

ahead and still we are in want.

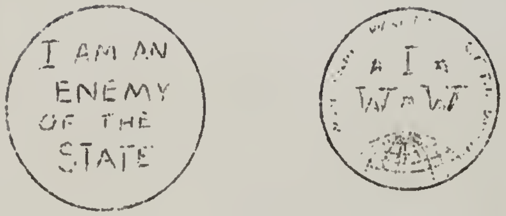
It's rotten---the system---and recently the great State of New York could not accept as a gift the mansion and lands of The Greystone from the Untermeyer Estates because the acceptance presupposed an expenditure of $75,000 a year for maintenance.

This minature paradise of the Hudson has to go begging.

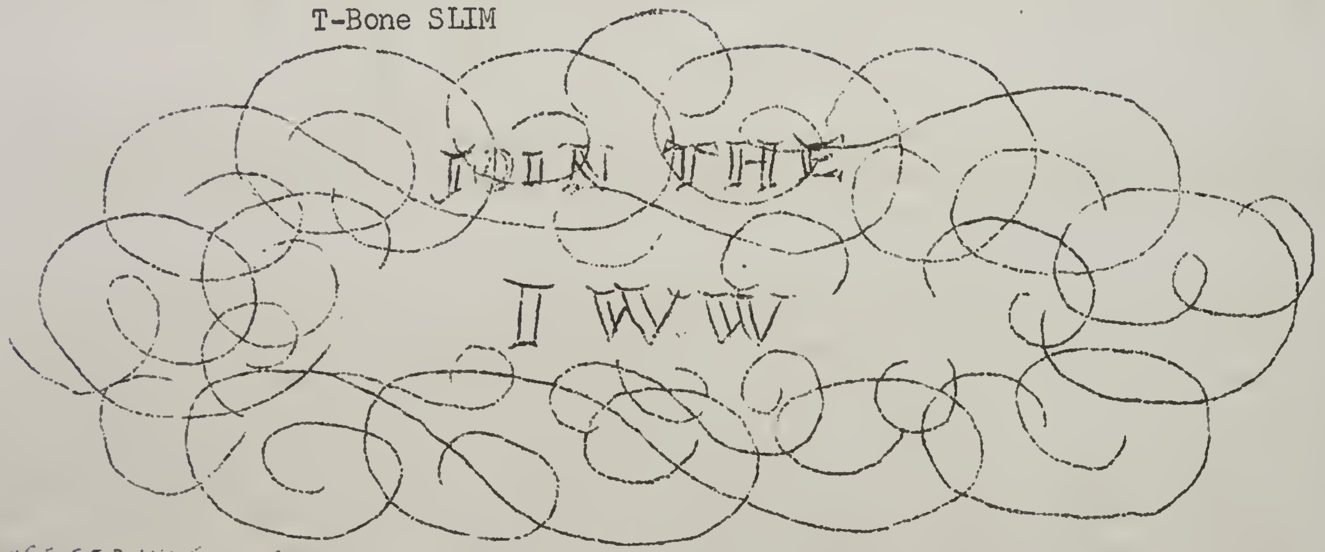
Could a system be more rotten?

T-Bone SLIM

Subversive Pins
25¢ each


I AM AN ENEMY OF THE STATE
I W W

from: Solidarity Bookshop
713 Armitage
Chicago, Illinois
60614



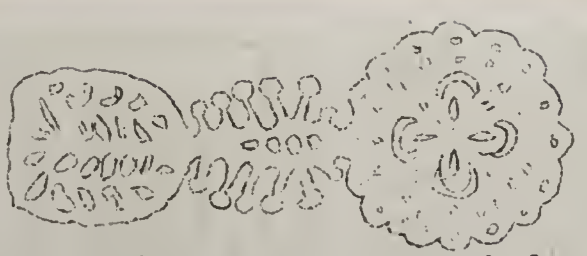
CLASS STRUGGLE CONT.

food retailers and wholesalers, the cops, the courts, the local NAACP and Hoffa all fought the strike. And the strikers valiantly fought back, releasing their resentment by overturning trucks and picketing City Hall (three or four thousand strong). But the "Voice" group leadership, the "rank-and-file's friend," finally capitulated under court threats against their pocketbooks. Michael Hession, 107 Secretary and "Voice" leader, called a general meeting and ordered the workers back to their jobs. The papers reported mixed cheering and booing; truckers report that most everyone is just plain pissed off....

But before the city could recover, other disputes erupted. Non-professional workers at hospitals in Camden, N. J. and Chester, Pa. struck for recognition of their union and against discrimination in hiring practices. Philly's trashmen didn't get a raise when firemen and cops did, so they "slowed down" and "worked to rule" for a week (time-honored Wob tactics), raising havoc with trash collection in the entire city. Another Teamsters local (the warehousemen) called a wildcat, which Judge Weinrott immediately declared illegal until the national Teamsters contract runs out in 1966. They kept striking.

Now the class struggle has quieted in Philadelphia, but it will erupt again soon with more workers aware that bureaucrats as well as bosses are their enemies. And these workers will be aware that the IWW is again on the scene with an answer. Only the other night, the papers reported the extent of class consciousness in a small item about about a cab driver who was robbed by a man who wanted only "the company's cash. Keep your own money." The proletarian bandit told the cabby, "You know how it is, I've got to eat."

Bruce ELWELL

Inaugural  Break

After twenty-five years of uninterrupted expansion, surrealism does not flatter itself that it has advanced beyond a preliminary stage, or that it has contributed anything more than a consciousness of the need for a new collective sensibility. Its confidence in the perfectibility of man's lot is, today as yesterday, the corrective with which it mitigates the disheartening spectacle of the world. Though this perfectibility may depend on economic factors, surrealism maintains that it is still more intimately bound up with the elimination of the conflicts blocking the way to freedom, such as those of dream and action, the marvelous and the contingent, the imaginary and the real, the expressible and the inexpressible, candor and irony, the fortuitous and the determined, reflection and impulse, reason and passion, that is, particular cases of an even wider antinomy opposing for man's greater misfortune, desire to necessity. It is because surrealism has never despaired of eliminating these conflicts that it very quickly exhausted the patience of those who expected of it only pretexts for eluding the problems which, to be sure, it has not solved, but whose data it has circumscribed and which it poses every day with increasing rigor.

Surrealism, concerning which so many, both on the right and on the left, ostentatiously speak in the past tense, is undoubtedly not so sure of its course as its detractors are of theirs. We say right and left advisedly, for it must be admitted that if the countless recent attacks launched against surrealism had been part of a concerted plan, things would have been no different. Had surrealism been willing to recant to the point of gravitating blindly into the orbit of the Communist Party, and in doing so renounced everything that justifies its existence, it would have thereby found favor in the sight of M. Sartre; its conduct, in his eyes, would have been that of a viable movement. Thus it is just as awkward to be the only one to betray as to be the only one who doesn't. Here we need only charge up against M. Sartre, in its tasteful wrappings, the following brilliant consideration: Surrealism's opposition to the Communist Party will be accentuated, M. Sartre tells us, "when Soviet Russia and, consequently, the French Communist Party have entered upon the phase of constructive organization." We are well acquainted with the recently formulated "constructive opposition" of M. Thorez. And now we are favored with an even more flattering terminology. However, we rather think that this "phase of constructive organization" took place somewhere around 1934-1935 and corresponds to the beginning of the Communist Party's collaboration with that same bourgeois class which M. Sartre reproaches us with working to consolidate. Previously, M. Sartre had taken pains to tell us that, in his opinion, "literature is, in its essence, the subjectivity of a society in permanent revolution." It would be nice to know what there is of permanent revolution in Soviet society. But with all his contradictions, M. Sartre is not yet capable of founding a dialectic, and if tomorrow Parisian existentialism were to enter into an alliance with the Communist Party---despite the ill temper of Pravda---it

(Declaration of the International Surrealist Movement.

would be the better to prove that two deviating ideologies do not make one accurate idea.

While its adversaries of the right and left obey, as if spellbound, rather dismal tactical considerations or cut their own throats with short-range calculations, surrealism forges ahead, both protected and exposed by the passion which gives it life and which remains its first, its chief constant. This passion, concerning the nature of which there can be no uncertainty---a subversive passion, in fact, and not a sacrificial one, intended for the unchaining of man and not for his hypocritical and infamous "redemption"---has never for a moment been inconsistent, whatever the ordeal, and it guarantees better than any long phrases the part that surrealism undertakes to play in the permanent revolution of men and things, from which it is inseparable.

To the extent to which it asks the Revolution to include the whole of man and not to conceive his liberation in any one respect but rather in all its aspects at one time, surrealism emerges as the only doctrine qualified to throw into the balance the forces of which it was first the prospector and then the marvelously magnetic conductor---from the child-woman to black humor, from objective chance to the will to myth. The chosen ground of these forces is the unconditioned, overwhelming, mad love which alone permits man to live expansively and to evolve according to new psychological dimensions.

Once prospected and given the possibility of joining together and stimulating one another, there is some chance that these forces may finally reconcile human finality and universal causality. They are the corollaries and participants of the progress of the most advanced intellectual disciplines of our time to which we owe a non-Euclidean geometry, a non-Maxwellian physics, a non-Pasteurian biology, a non-Newtonian mechanics---disciplines which, in turn, are solidary with a non-Aristotelian logic and with that evolving non-Mosaic moral code whose authority we instantly invoke to avert the unlivable.

The response evoked by Rimbaud's outcry with regard to life, by Marx's injunction with regard to the world,* is assuredly no new thing in the heart of man. But ever since the reasonable and rational developments of consciousness took precedence over the passionate developments of the unconscious, that is, since the last myth hardened into a deliberate mystification, men seem to have lost the secret which permitted them to know and to act---to act without alienating the acquirements of knowledge. The hour has come to promote a new myth, one that will carry man forward a stage further towards his ultimate destination.

This undertaking is specifically that of surrealism. It is its great rendez-vous with History.

It is in the nature of dream and revolution to agree, not to exclude each other. To dream the Revolution is not to renounce it but to pursue it doubly and without mental restrictions.

To avert the unlivable is not to flee life, but to throw oneself into it totally and irrevocably.

SURREALISM IS THAT WHICH SHALL BE.

The above declaration of the International Surrealist Movement was extracted from the pamphlet Inaugural Break, issued on the occasion of the International Surrealist Exhibition, Paris, 1947.

SONG IN TIME OF DROUGHT

Policeman sky, is it going to rain?
if it rains you'll have a donkey
unless it rains skunks

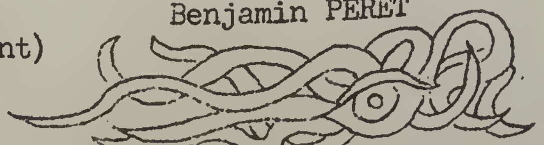
Parson sky, is it going to rain?
if it rains you'll be butchered
if it doesn't rain you'll be burned

Sewer sky, is it going to rain?
if it rains you'll have a flag
if it doesn't rain a crucifix

Is it going to rain, sky of ashes?

Benjamin PERET

(fragment)



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* Reference to the words of Rimbaud, "to change life," and of Marx, "to transform the world."

SCOTS against WAR

Scots against war first appeared on the May 1963 "Peace Ship" demo. at the Holy Loch. Hundreds of demonstrators on the boat were given copies of a leaflet called, "How to subvert, disrupt and sabotage the Warfare State."

Press, police and Peace Committee reacted in typical manner. The "People" headline ran, 'Sabotage call to CND'. The Home Office agreed that the leaflet was seditious. Gradually, however, the bally-hoo declined and SAW it seemed had returned to their cellars.

But not for long. Back they came on the 1964 May-Day Rally in George Square, Glasgow, handling to infuriated Labourites and mystified coppers, a leaflet addressed to the armed forces. "We are inciting you to mutiny and desertion, we are asking you to disobey your officers and set up your own authority." SAW claimed that the leaflet had been sent to serving soldiers, sailors and airmen abroad, using the trick of collecting names from those announced on BBC 'Family Favourites'. The Special Branch began to take notice.

Later that spring, Cdr. W. Jester of Edzell Polaris Communications Base, near Dundee, opened a small brown envelope. So did 50 of his men. The envelopes contained a message from SAW, "Refuse to fight for the politicians of East or West. We know that you would rather be home with your people, leave the U.S. Navy... NOW!" SAW had struck again.

But SAW really became notorious (hunted high and low, by the Special Branch and Scottish CND) during the Faslane march of June 27-28 this year. Soon after the march left Glasgow Green, hundreds of copies of a 3-page pamphlet, "Is sabotage the Answer?", were circulated among the marchers. CND were furious, who were they, why had they done this to our march? At any rate from that moment on, the march became, not only a protest, but a THREAT.

Another 3-page pamphlet was circulated, "The set-up for military rule on Scotland's East Coast". Mainly concerned with Civil Defence around Aberdeen, Dundee and Perth, it also located the massive shelter (for the commander), near the Edzell base. Telephone numbers, names and accounts of breakins to official property were given! This was published by another militant group, "Workers against the Bomb."

The sabotage pamphlet gave details of how to put anti-setting agents in cement, how to introduce dry rot spores on building sites and ended with this, "We may not be right, but who'll be left to say we were wrong?" The Special Branch weren't interested, or so it seemed.

A couple of months later, somebody must have thought sabotage was the answer. The site offices and huts at Faslane were burned to the ground, The SB swung into action, People were followed, offices and housed watched, telephones tapped. Then came the shock. Ardnadam pier, which had been sat on and sung about, went up in a sheet of flame. As dawn broke, detectives wrapped up chunks of incinerated pier and sent it to the forensic labs. in Glasgow. After careful scrutiny, the experts gave their decision...beyond all doubt the pier had been burnt.

The police searched around for someone to blame, while the sabotage rumours grew stronger. At last...they produced a story appealing for a priest, who had been seen near the area in a yacht, to come forward. The elusive cleric failed to appear. Whether the Vatican was called in to help the police I can't say. When this one wore thin, they decided that the fire could have been caused by a spark from the funnel of a wee puffer. There is no truth in the rumour that MI5 are looking for Para Handy!

SAW never allowed the SB time to get over their burnt offering. Within two months, the Army information offices in Glasgow had been attacked with bricks and bottles. The Army office in Sauchiehall Street had five smashed front windows and two at the back..Between the Army and Navy offices, damage was estimated, by an army spokesman, to have reached £1,700.

Who can tell what the anonymous Scots will do next? Certainly not the Special Branch, whose illegal activities, telephone tapping, etc., are getting worse, nor the Labour Party-oriented Scottish CND. This has been the strength of Scotland's underground gnomes, they have broken the first rule in the political leader handbook. They don't have a leader. I can only wish the Special Branch 'Good Hunting'. And don't get into your car without looking for bombs under the bonnet. --Ian S. Sutherland (Reprinted from FREEDOM)

SABOTAGE

(FREEDOM 10 April 65)

On the night of March 27 and 28 we broke into Faslane--a Polaris Base near Garelochead. We then immobilised a truck and a pneumatic compressor which works the cement silo. We removed 50-100 wooden levels (this means the whole of the new road will have to be replanned.) Our purpose was to halt or to slow down building of the new road for as long as possible and to be as much of a nuisance to the building of the base as possible. We will continue to do this for as long as we can.

Yours, SCOTS AGAINST WAR

Roots of Revolt

(CONT'D FROM PAGE 16)

The most interesting tendency and, I think, the most valuable in the long run has been the increasing concern of people within the anarchist movement with education. There are even signs that young people are more aware of the function of education in authoritarian society. When the London County Council education Committee attempted--and they will probably still succeed--to close down the libertarian oriented Risinghall school, a part of the LCC educational complex, it was pupils, not outside agitators who organised a protest march through London to the Prime Minister's Downing Street residence to demand the school stay open. At many schools anti-election campaigns were originated to coincide with mock-elections so that the anarchist and anti-militarist case could be put. The number of spoilt ballots--usually less frequent in school elections where it is all an exciting game anyway--exceeded all expectations. In a number of cases the distribution of anti-conscription leaflets to senior schoolchildren has caused a furor largely because these leaflets stated a good case well and had a large effect on more intelligent students. Recently young anarchists in Essex wrote a leaflet describing to pupils the functions of authoritarian education and pointing out ways in which this could be resisted by pupils. The publicity received--which could only in the long run help the anarchists--was tremendous, the local press howling with dismay. There has been no Berkeley here yet but the various incidents mentioned above may be the early signs of producing the sort of young people who will not tolerate being crushed by anonymous corporate identities.

At present the biggest question mark here is the color problem. The politicians are already attempting to ride the tide of racial mistrust and the three major parties are united in their approval of immigration control. Deserted by any human imagination they see no alternative to the ghetto but the unthinking and blinkered prevention of any coloured immigration, oblivious to the fact that this is in itself liable to create intense distrust amongst our coloured community and a ghetto mentality. The West Indian population, the largest and most confident of Britain's coloured minorities, does not seem unduly perturbed by the growing political racialism, partly because it has in any case been forced to become more or less self-contained and partly because of its traditional political apathy. Without putting too strong a point on it, this community with its spontaneity, exhuberance, and distrust of authority is possibly the most basically libertarian in the country though this does not stem so much from political bias as from the situation in which they find themselves here. It is difficult to see where we go from here but I think it possible that within the next few years the libertarian movement here is going to find itself facing a concrete, day-to-day problem the like of which it has rarely, if ever, faced before. The obvious starting point is that immigration should be unrestricted and there should be a full-blooded effort to point out to those people, whose bigotted attitude--the result of mental idleness rather than intransigent fascism--bedevil the solution of this issue, that the West Indians have as much to offer us as we have to offer them, that our national life can either be enriched by our patience and mutability or it can be permanently blighted.

Obviously in this country at present there does exist the basis for a new pacifist/libertarian movement, less ambivalent in its attitude to authority that the last one and less idealistically inclined to take for granted its own powers of persuasion. It remain to be seen whether it will be mobilized. --Ben COVINGTON

LETTERS

Just recently a copy of your magazine The Rebel Worker came into my possession. I am very much a member of the working class---my father is a miner in the Rhondda and I am a quarryman in a remote village in West Wales, Consequently, your magazine expressed a lot of my own politic opinion (if that is the right word to use).

Could you inform me how it is possible to get further copies of The Rebel Worker? Also, is it possible to get a copy of IWW songs, there are some flames of discontent in the quarry where I am employed and occasionally working.

Deri SMITH
Llandysul, Cardigan, Wales

*

We sold most of the 45 copies of Rebel Worker #3 which you sent us at a CORE & an anti-war-in-Vietnam demonstration. Those 45 disappeared in 3 days and we haven't even gone around to bookshops yet. Send 50 more. It's really a great issue. Except for the mimeographing.

Barton STONE
Berkeley, California

*

We liked Rebel Worker #3 very much. Those we had were snapped up like hotcakes. I think the format which you have adopted is the best one as it gives you room to deal with subjects on a serious basis. Workers today are no longer physically hungry, but they are hungry for information, and not only about industrial matters. One of the greatest condemnations of most "radical" papers is that their attitude to workers is analogous to cheerleaders at a football match (American style not soccer). They first of all deal with struggle itself in a most primitive manner ("rahrah strikes are good") when what is needed is information and analysis so that when workers do fight they fight on their own ground and they fight to win. Secondly, the average radical paper treats the worker as if he is as the boss would like him to be, a philistine, without interest in art, education, psychology, history, etc. etc. Thus the socialist movement itself has contributed to the debasement of working class life. They treat him (and believe him to be) the object of history not the subject.

The reason for this attitude is obvious. Leninism, Fabianism, etc., etc., all preach that the ordinary bloke cannot understand society and that this is the role of the elite who, armed with the sacred texts, will lead him unknowing into the promised land. It is this attitude which separates libertarians from authoritarians.

So keep up your broad coverage in The Rebel Worker although as you develop I would like to see more description of what modern industry in the US is really like, more reportage (inside news if possible) and analysis of new managerial techniques and workers' resistance and offence.

If we in England can help you in any way or if you see anything which you want us to cover just let us know.

Ken WEILER
London Solidarity Group
London, England

*

Please send us The Rebel Worker, official quarterly journal of the Chicago Branch IWW. We wish to receive The Rebel Worker from its first issue. We have strong interest in the emancipation of workers in the age of automation.

I. Shigeo
The Three-Penny Review
Nagano-shi, Japan

*

We have to have some way to contact the younger generation to get them interested in the class struggle or it won't be long before the IWW will go out of existence. So it is up to you young fellows to devise ways and means to get the IWW back in the industries where it belongs, so that workers will get some benefit of their struggles and have a goal to drive at such as the six hour day to do away with unemployment. We all know it was the struggle for the 8-hour day that put the IWW on the map in years gone by....

O. N. Peterson
Branch Secretary, IWW
Seattle, Washington

LETTERS, cont'd

I received The Rebel Worker a few days ago. What impresses me most about it is that it deals with all sorts of questions which the traditional radicals consider "non-political" but which are actually of the greatest concern to most ordinary people (such as rock and roll and child-raising) and it does not treat of these things from the point of view of the "superior" intellectual decrying the ignorance or backwardness of the masses. The test of a revolutionary publication is very often much more what questions it concerns itself with rather than its formal political "line" in the narrow sense. I have, however, I must confess (despite the fact that we publish a mimeographed bulletin ourselves) an antipathy toward mimeographed magazines intended as popular organs. But I suppose mimeographing is the inevitable consequence of being poor.

Martin GLABERMAN
Facing Reality Publishing Committee
Detroit, Michigan

*

I enjoyed Rebel Worker #3 very much, especially the article called "Mods, Rockers and the Revolution." I was also glad to see the excerpt from Summerhill—the fact that you printed it shows that revolution has to be in every sphere, and we have to examine everything we do, because no area is free from the influence of our sick society. Your conception seems to be opposite that of the traditional groups: they concentrate on the political area and call themselves revolutionary, but in every other area they are quite conventional. This has probably been their greatest hindrance to growth—who except a schizophrenic will accept a philosophy which calls for revolution in one sphere and reaction in another? You seem to be revolutionary in everything, hurray!

Judy KAPLAN
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

NOTICE

The Rebel Worker is growing in circulation and influence. To continue growing we will need more and more the increased participation of our readers. In a more than rhetorical sense this is your journal. Send us your articles, letters, comments, drawings, cartoons, suggestions, government secrets, job information, clippings, news of "unofficial" strike and slow-down actions, demonstrations, sabotage, etc., etc.

- ARE THE BEATLES (not to mention THE HELLS ANGELS) SUBVERSIVE?
- WHY DO COPS & BOSSES HATE THE ROLLING STONES?
- WILL THE YOUTH REBELLION LEAD TO REVOLUTION?

MODS, ROCKERS, & the REVOLUTION

Rebel Worker Pamphlet #1

contains: MODS, ROCKERS, AND THE REVOLUTION
by Franklin Rosemont
(from REBEL WORKER #3 but revised + enlarged)

POP GOES THE BEATLE
by Charles Radcliffe
(from FREEDOM)

TWIST AND SHOUT
by Richard Mabey
(from PEACE NEWS)

ILLUSTRATED

12p * I * W * W 15¢

* 9d

Letters from an Organizer

15 July 1965

I'll endeavor to tell you of some of the conditions existing here in the Yakima Valley as compared with the Wenatchee. There is no soft fruit here this year and approximately a 40-45% apple crop. These growers have treated the workers so miserably on the wages and living conditions that year by year the workers are bypassing Yakima and are heading North to the Wenatchee area. The cabins here are nothing but shacks, not fit for pigs. The majority of the farmers do not have any cabins. When they need you they can be nice to you; when they don't need you then it's "get out of town, you bums!" The police tolerate the jungles during the summer and fall months but when the last apple is picked they go down to the jungles and burn them out and shoot holes in their stew pans and tell them to hit the road.

As soon as the work opens here in the spring they raise the rent on flophouse rooms $2 or $3 a week. Groceries go up, meals in the restaurants go up--everything goes up except wages, and they go down.

If pickers should happen to have a 10-dollar bill and come out of a tavern they are promptly picked up by the police, and there goes their last money and they have to hit the road. There have been industries that have tried to establish in Yakima but the Chamber of Commerce will not permit it as they want cheap labor for the farmers, canneries and warehouses. The pickers starve during the winter months so they have to go to work in the spring at whatever wage they can get.

The growers are worried about getting pickers for their 45% crop this year--what will they do when they have a full crop?

The day is rapidly approaching when these growers will have to change their attitudes toward the workers and realize they are men and not animals.

In regards to the Wenatchee area: they have the heaviest apple crop in the history of this valley extending from Wenatchee to the Canadian border--a distance of about 100 miles of nothing but solid apples. At picking time (approximately Sept. 15) they will need thousands of pickers to harvest this crop. I have a Wobbly up there now distributing papers and pamphlets for the IWW.

The conditions in the Wenatchee area are greatly improved over the Yakima area. This does not mean that they cannot stand improvement; they must be improved. They do pay 2 or 3 cents more per box for picking and their living conditions are much improved over this area.

I encourage all workers to head North this fall for the harvest...

25 July 1965

Well my old car finally broke down. While I was down in the lower valley the 22nd, looking at a propping job, the transmission went out and I had to be shoved all the way to Yakima. I am junking it and am keeping the wheels and tires as I can use them. I am on a good deal to buy a '55 Oldsmobile for $200. I will get it tomorrow if the loan goes through. I am sure I'll get the car. I must have one to drive to work and also to continue with the organizing for the IWW.

Yakima is a Ghost Town. Yesterday I went downtown and I think you could have shot a cannon down main street and not hit anyone. I looked around and took a survey of the cheap hotels, rooming houses and flophouses (of which there are many). Every one of them had a sign out, "Rooms for Rent." In an ordinary year when we have peaches and pears you cannot find a vacant room anywhere. Yakima has a population of 50,000 and when you see it so deserted as this it gives you an eerie feeling. This is the worst I have seen it---in all the years I have been here.

The Spokane area is a large area covering the Columbia Basin with thousands of acres of sugar beets. We should have an IWW branch in Spokane, also the border town of Lewistown, Idaho, but both these towns are over 200 miles from Yakima. This winter when I'm not busy I will try to go to these towns and other towns in Northern Idaho and Eastern Washington. Of course to make any good connections a person will have to spend about 10 days on such a trip. If my finances permit I will go this winter and try to line up some delegates in these towns.

Now for some facts about the sprays that you may not be aware of. They are making the sprays stronger each year as each year the bugs grow immune to the sprays being used. Two years ago a hop field by Toppenish was being sprayed by plane. This spray drifted and then settled over a Mexican family's home, putting four of them in the hospital with two of them in a serious condition for a long time. In a field adjoining the Mexican home was a pasture in which there were cattle. A large number of these cattle died from the spray. I read in the paper the other day where the spray company paid for the loss of their cattle, but there has been nothing said about the injury to these people --no settlement offered. The value of the slave's life is very cheap.

This is one of the hottest days we have had this year--it must be 100 degrees. Hope this finds you in good health.

I remain,

A worker,

George C. UNDERWOOD

The preceding letters were written by Fellow Worker George Underwood who has lived and worked in the apple country of the Northwest his entire life. He signed up only seven months ago and already has spread the seeds of discontent for hundreds of miles around. His work stands as a tribute to what one man can do--but now his organizational drive requires a great deal of outside help. Though f.w. Underwood has never pleaded for money, we believe that this drive needs funds and helpers to sustain it through the picking season. We encourage all those Wobblies who can, to go North, as Underwood says. And if you can't directly participate, then send a contribution to National Headquarters.

If you are a student, then write to the Chicago Branch, 713 Armitage for a leaflet describing the Wobbly Northwest Organizing Drive and distribute them around your campus. ---editor

News from Spain

On February 23 Barcelona workers struck for a minimum daily wage of $3.36 (the national average is 85¢ a day), free unions, and the legal right to strike. Under the direction of the ASO, the Workers' Syndicalist Alliance (which includes the CNT and the UGT), 3000 strikers demonstrated in front of the government-controlled "Workers' Union" building, where they were attacked and dispersed by cops, although not before the doors and windows of the TU were broken.

5000 students at the University of Madrid demonstrated on February 24 after a series of lectures on Christian Democracy was banned. After the guardians of law and order attacked the demonstrators and arrested a large number of them, including the foreign newsmen present, protest demonstrations took place in Universities in the entirety of Spain. Franco was forced to permit freely elected student unions, amnesty for all students, and freedom of speech and political action. Foreign observers consider these demonstrations the most serious student opposition to Franco yet.

In Mieres, a town in Austurias, 1000 demonstrating miners demolished the local fuzzhouse on March 13 after fifteen of their number were arrested. Fuzzes had to be imported from the provincial capital to bring the miners under control.

On April 7, 8000 engineering workers in Madrid demonstrated for a $1.94 minimum wage, free unions, and the legal right to strike. In Barcelona, 3000 workers struck on April 30; the demonstration lasted more than two hours despite attempts by the cops to break it up by violence.

At the Nicolas Pit of the Mieres Co., in Asturias, workers struck in protest of the suspension of thirty-five miners for digging insufficient quantaties of coal. At the Ensidesa Mine in the same area, miners struck in protest of the failure of the owners to give a legally required pay raise. Both of these strikes began on May 25 and, according to latest reports, are still in progress.

6800 blast furnace workers went on strike for a bonus increase near Valencia on May 31. As far as is known, the strike has not yet ended.

On May 31, 3000 workers at the Sestao shipyards near Bilbao struck in protest against the lack of safty precautions and demanded compensation for those involved in an explosion on a ship under construction on May 29, in which three workers were killed and six injured. On June 8 they returned to work when the management agreed to their demands.

Due to the slowness in getting labor news out of Spain and the voluntary censorship of all Spanish political news in the Free American Press, we have no information on more recent events in Spain.

Frank B. GOULD

What Is What in the World of Labor?

The Capitalist's
♡
Is in his pocketbook
And he uses the
♧
Over you so he can wear
♢
By organizing right we
can give him a
♤
With which to earn an
honest living.

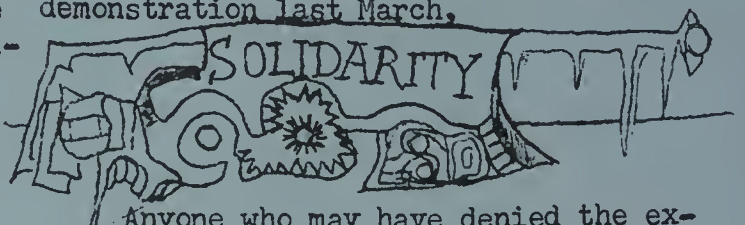
notes on the world revolution of youth

Some members of the Chicago IWW Branch issued a leaflet for high school students, explaining the class basis and authoritarian character of official education and urging kids to drop out and join the IWW. This controversial leaflet has resulted in considerable publicity (mostly locally, although the right-wing National Review covered it in a department called "The Week," 13 July 1965, p. 578) and several new members, mostly dropouts. Branch members hope to issue another leaflet urging collective action, solidarity, disruption and "unofficial" protest in schools.

"Dropouts appear with the regularity of automobiles rolling off the assembly line. Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz describes them as 'the outlaw pack' who are 'unemployed today and will be for the rest of thrir lives at a cost to us of $1000 a head a year...' Michael Harrington calls them 'The New Lost Generation' and James B. Conant's more strikingly descriptive phrase 'social dynamite'is enough to pull every citizen up sharp. J. Edgar Hoover, in a report on the outbreak of violence in nine Northern communities, pointed his finger at the dropout, rather than racists or communists, as Public Enemy Number 1." (Advertising copy from the University of Michigan Press for The Dropout: Causes and Cures by Lucius F. Cervantes.)

Details of recent developments in the "World Revolution of Youth" (this is the slogan, by the way, of a New York kids' gang) can be found in Resurgence #2, publication of the Resurgence Youth Movement in New York. IWW organizer Bruce Elwell, presently in Philadelphia, is editing a special issue of Way Out devoted to youth revolt. A mildly interesting though somewhat pessimistic article on the British rhythm-and-blues scene appeared in Anarchy 51. (All these are available from the Solidarity Bookshop at 25¢. 50¢ and 30¢ respectively.)

A group called Mods Against the Bomb turned up at a CND demonstration in Glasgow, Scotland, in early Spring. They were criticized by a writer in Freedom, also (apparently) by some members of the Independent Labour Party, and defended by members of Glasgow Solidarity. I have no details on what happened. Meanwhile, in Chicago, several members (including an organizer) of the Rolling Stones Fan Club showed up for an end-the war-in-Vietnam demonstration last March.



Anyone who may have denied the existence of a youth revolt quickly abandoned his illusions on the Fourth of July, when riots of young people erupted across the country. Consider this item from Time magazine (16 July 1965, p. 78-9):

"In Rockaway Beach, Mo., 3000 visiting youths were incited when police arrested and jailed a drunken boy for giving a friend a piggyback ride on his motorbike. As word of the arrest spread along the beach front, kids in madras shorts and sweatshirts began to crowd onto the main street, chanting 'Let him out! Let him out!' Hundreds climbed to the roof of a nearby dance hall, began to pelt the police below with bottles, cherry bombs and rocks. Others broke in the windows of nine stores, turned over a patrol car. When 125 policemen from neighboring counties arrived and began to search nearby tourist cabins, they discovered, among other things, a room that contained 42 people, including four nude girls."

I found nothing of any interest which attempted to relate these riots with the revolutionary movement, even by implication. As far as I can tell, the traditional Left hasn't said a word about them. The Chicago American, however, a cheap daily in the tradition of yellow journalism, printed an editorial calling the riots "insurrections" and demanding that the rioters be treated like any other insurrectionaries.

"A Leningrad Soviet Communist Party official demands tougher compulsory education laws to cope with Russia's growing dropout problem. Yuri Lavrikov, a secretary of the Leningrad City Communist Party Committee, wrote in the newspaper Pravda that too many pupils were dropping out of school. Citing evidence strikingly similar to Western studies, Lavrikov said school dropouts are more likely to get into trouble with the law and make inferior workers." (Clipping from a Philadelphia paper)

The extreme Right has developed its own line on youth: the Beatles, for instance, are part of---guess what?---a Communist plot! It seems that the CP, through its clever use of mass hypnosis in the music industry, is preparing American youth for riot and revolution. It's all described in minute detail, complete with 159 footnotes, in a 26-paged pamphlet called Communism, Hypnotism and the Beatles, published by the Christian Crusade.

Students at Hyde Park High School rioted on two different days over a dispute with the administration on the handling of their graduation ceremonies. It was kept out of the papers for the most part, though considerable damage was done, particularly in the cafeteria. It is a predominantly Negro high school, and one of the key points in the youth rebellion in the Chicago area.

"The vast majority of motorcycle outlaws are uneducated, unskilled men between 20 and 30, and most have no credentials except a police record. So at the root of their sad stance is a lot more than a wistful yearning for acceptance in a world they never made; their real motivation is an instinctive certainty as to what the score really is. They are out of the ball game and they know it---and that is their meaning; for unlike most losers in today's society, the Hell's Angels not only know but spitefully proclaim exactly where they stand.

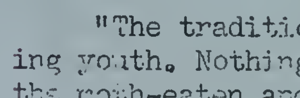
"I went to one of their meetings recently, and half-way through the night I thought of Joe Hill on his way to face a Utah firing squad and saying his final words: 'Don't mourn, organize.' It is safe to say that no Hell's Angel has ever heard of Joe Hill or would know a Wobbly from a Bushmaster, but nevertheless they are somehow related. The IWW had serious plans for running the world, while the Hell's Angels mean only to defy the world's machinery. But instead of losing quietly, one by one, they have banded together with a mindless kind of loyalty and moved outside the framework, for good or ill. There is nothing particularly romantic or admirable about it; that's just the way it is, strength in unity." (Hunter S. Thompson, in The Nation, May 17, 1965; p. 523-4.)

"...the student has been depersonalized, dehumanized, alienated from himself. That's what the student revolts are about. When students 'senselessly" ripped apart a New Hampshire resort town, it was their target that was senseless, not their revolt." (A college student in Philadelphia, quoted in The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution.(News & Letters, p. 33.)

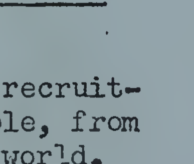
es

"The traditional organizations of the 'left' succeed less and less in recruiting youth. Nothing separates these organizations, in the eyes of young people, from the moth-eaten and rotten institutions they meet on coming into the social world. The revolutionary movement will be able to give positive meaning to the immense revolt of contemporary youth and make it the ferment of social revolution if it can express what youth is looking for and can show young people effective methods of struggle against a world they reject." (Paul Cardan, Modern Capitalism and Revolution; Solidarity, pp. 94-5.)

Resurgence #3 has just been published, reprinting the Chicago IWW high school leaflet and other articles on education, revolutionary theory, etc. A Chicago issue will probably appear forthwith.



Franklin ROSEMONT



BERKELEY WAS ONLY THE BEGINNING

Recently students have begun to emerge from the so-called post-war political apathy---a development, by the way, not particularly welcomed by the very same bourgeois critics who lamented that apathy, Through increasing interest and participation in the civil rights struggle students have begun to develop a consciousness of themselves and an understanding of their own situation, along with an understanding of this odious system that becomes increasingly oppressive.

Far from being only the "attention-seeking protests of children against parent-substitutes" (as Prof. Lewis S. Feuer, amateur psychologist, would have us believe); far from being a "Communist plot of Maoists and Castroites," etc. (as Feuer, now posing as a political analyst, again missed the point); far from being instigated by "non-students," "Bohemians" and outside agitators, the rebellion at Berkeley last fall was the manifestation of an indigenous revolution, conscious in its opposition to the "benevolent bureaucracy" of Clark Kerr and all that stands with it. Needless to say, the forces of reaction---the police, the politicians, the press, the state, and the businessmen---came to the aid of the administration. Even the few papers who gave somewhat favorable (or accurate) coverage managed to explain away the significance of the revolt by attributing it to the "bigness" of the university, thus obscuring the main accusations made by the students against the university: that the administration had ceased to treat them as human beings, and instead treated them as commodities; that the universities had become "factories to produce technicians" to fit the requirements of industry; that the university administration is totally allied with the "status quo."

These students, according to a writer in the NY Times Magazine, were not "political in the sense of those student rebels in the turbulent thirties; they are too suspicious of all adult institutions to embrace whole-heartedly even those ideologies with a stake in smashing the system. An anarchist or IWW strain seems as pronounced as any Marxist doctrine." (14 Feb. 1965; p. 25).

Two excellent pamphlets* have recently been published on the Berkeley revolt and are available at the Solidarity Bookshop in Chicago. Students in Revolt is a Solidarity pamphlet containing a narrative of the events last Fall, and a review of Hal Draper's pamphlet The Mind of Clark Kerr, itself a review of two books by University of California President Kerr, in which his reactionary ideology is exposed. The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution was published by the Marxist-Humanist group News & Letters, in Detroit. It contains articles on the student revolt itself ("Berkeley Fall" by Mario Savio and "Inside Sproul Hall" by Joel L. Pimsleur, "the only journalist to spend 12 hours in Sproul Hall when the students were arrested..."), and articles relating the Berkeley revolt with the Negro Freedom struggle, In Raya Dunayevskaya's article is included a brilliant critique of the views of Kerr and Feuer (spokesmen for the faculty minority who opposed the student strike: scabs).

The Berkeley revolt and strike united thousands of students who proved that they could run their own university and run it well, without a bureaucracy. They disowned the bureaucratic machine, what it stood for and what it wished to make of them---unthinking parts for an automated giant corporation. Along with this they realized how profoundly bureaucracy (as well as automation) has affected our society, and how their own destiny was bound up with that of the worker.

The Berkeley Revolution was only the beginning of the student revolution, and the student revolution is only part of the revolution of youth, who threaten the survival of the system which refuses them the right to themselves.

Penelope ROSEMONT

*Students in Revolt; Solidarity, 30 p. 15¢. The Free Speech Movement and the Negro Revolution, News & Letters, 53 p. 50¢.

EVERYTHING MUST BE MADE ANEW

It does not take more than average perceptiveness to realize that the traditional Left is dead (more or less), in theory and practice, and that a new and vital revolutionary movement is gradually emerging. But this raises at least two important questions which have been insufficiently discussed in U.S. radical papers: why and how did the traditional Left lose its relevance, and how is the new revolutionary movement fundamentally different?

It is useless, it seems to me, to attempt to answer these questions from any standpoint other than that of a complete revaluation of all revolutionary values. Young radicals today are, for the most part, undogmatic, experimental, free, looking for solutions to problems that the traditionalists don't even know exist. (Witness, for example, the condescending approach of the traditionalists to the problem of alienation.) The traditionalists see very little (although they are good at pretending) of what is happening in the world today. How could they? They use their opaque marxism (and sometimes anarchism and syndicalism) to shut themselves off from anything in the real or surreal world that might challenge their cherished, archaic beliefs. They wave their hands in the darkness and pretend they possess the light. They have, with their dogmatism, sectarianism, lack of imagination and general inability to see what's happening, cast a dark shadow over what should have been the brilliant and unfettered development of radical thought.

Paul Cardan* has brought a sort of Diogenes' lamp into this political darkness. Modern Capitalism and Revolution can perhaps best be "reviewed" by reading its synopsis, reprinted in this issue of The Rebel Worker (pp. 4-7). It is the latest of several excellent publications of the London Solidarity Group, with whom we are in rather close contact and in nearly complete agreement with their analysis of contemporary bureaucratic capitalist society and with their revolutionary perspective.

The book is described in a brief introduction as "an attempt to describe the main features and to analyze the dynamic of modern, fully industrialized, capitalist societies from a revolutionary socialist point of view." This Cardan does with a conciseness and yet a thoroughness which the hurried or casual reader with no fondness for searching through huge tomes in remote libraries should find gratifying. It also presents the clearest, deepest and most thorough-going critique of the traditional Left available today. Finally, it offers a perspective for today's revolutionary movement. It is, as far as members of the Chicago Branch are concerned, an IWW perspective.

> "Meaningful action is whatever increases the confidence, the autonomy, the initiative, the participation, the solidarity, the equalitarian tendencies and the self-activity of the masses and whatever assists in their demystification. Sterile and harmful action is whatever reinforces the passivity of the masses, their apathy, their cynicism, their differentiation through hierarchy, their alienation, their reliance on others to do things for them and the degree to which they can therefore be manipulated by others----even by those allegedly acting on their behalf."
>
> from Modern Capitalism and Revolution

Modern Capitalism calls into question everything that socialists have been supposed to take for granted. And its attention is always focussed on just what it is that makes socialism worth fighting for. "Socialism is not fundamentally about production.... It is about freedom." (p. ii)

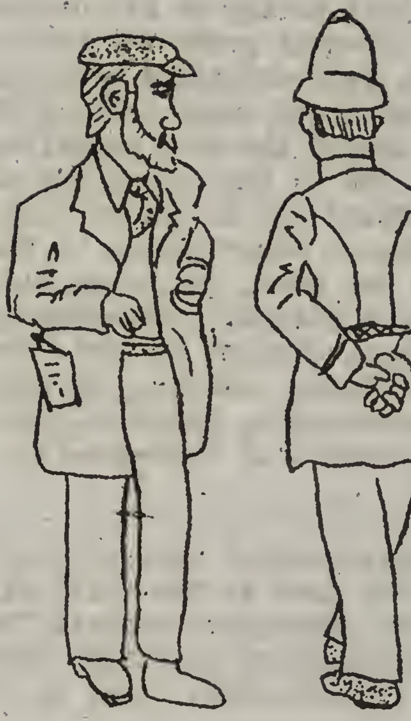
But read the synopsis. Read the book. And buy extra copies for your friends.

F.R.

---

* Modern Capitalism and Revolution by Paul Cardan. Solidarity 1965. 107 p. paper $1

Malatesta



Errico Malatesta was born in Santa Maria Capua Vetere in the province of Caserta, Italy on December 14, 1853, met Bakunin when he was only seventeen years old, was exiled from Italy when he was twenty-five and returned several times only to be exiled each time within a year for his radical activities. At the age of sixty he strongly took issue with Kropotkin over the latters support for the Allies during the War. He returned to Italy in 1919 to stay until he died in 1932. This is about all that most historians know, or care to know, about Malatesta.

To set the picture straight, Vernon Richards compiled his book*, which stands as undeniable proof that Malatesta was more than an untiring anarchist activist, he was a superb writer and theoretician. Better than half of this book is devoted to Malatesta's extensive writings most of which Richards translated and compiled according to twenty-seven topics, ranging from "Anarchism and Violence" and "Money and Banks" to "The Workers and the Intellectuals." The book is rounded out by a short fifty page biography and an essay of equal length entitled "Malatesta's Relevance for Anarchists Today."

This arrangement makes the book an excellent introduction to the anarchist case, for Malatesta's writings are lucid and free from pettiness. But Richards does not see his book as another volume to be added to the small shelf of anarchist tracts already in print. His reason for publishing is based on his belief that Malatesta is relevant for our age as are none of the classic anarchists. For him Malatesta is a bridge to us, because his anarchism is firmly grounded in the same industrial society we live in. And because he possess two highly esteemed qualities of the Industrial Revolution--pragmaticism and realism.

In his approach to anarchism Malatesta was pragmatic, for he was an anarchist because it "corresponded better than any other way of social life" to the kind of life he wished to live. And he was realistic in his approach to politics, in his un-apocalyptic view of the revolution and in his non-sectarian views towards participation with others in common struggles.

But these aspects of Malatesta's thought don't make him any more relevant than any one whose ideas are lucid and free of trivialites. Malatesta is not ome of those rare individuals who seems to speak to two generations in the future . He dealt with the people and and the events of his time and he did that quite effectively. But we today have to face very different problems. We can no longer pretend that capitalism has changed only insignificantly since the twenties. Capitalism since the twenties would be unknown to Marx, much less Malatesta. And when Richards maintains that the problem remains the same for us as Malatesta, and then claims that the problem is one of authority, he is merely begging the question.

What we must face squarely is the fact that under capitalism the methods of exploitation have changed and along with them the tactics of defense employed by the exploited. Exploitation is more subtle: the ruling class having at its disposal the entire gamut of mass media and the cornucopia of consumer goods with which to entice the proletariat into the most hideously stupid, self-defeating behaviour. But even dullards eventually realize that they have exchanged their freedom for a bucket-seat, and when this dawns upon them they can devise the most magnificent schemes to beat the credit and installment syndrome. And in this way these assumed sheep protect themselves and in the process revolutionized the defensive tactics traditionally associated with the oppressed. For instance never before in history have so many people used the system to beat it at its own game, and never before have they so effectively defended themselves from such a distinct anti-organizational basis. Direct-action demonstrations, wildcat strikes, student boycotts are all kinds of protests which are outside the rules of established society. No wonder that every petty, drivelling bureaucrat, whether in government, business, the unions or in school administrations, screams "FOUL" at the prospect of rank-and-file direct action.

---

* Malatesta, His Life And Ideas, edited by Vernon Richards (Freedom Press, 1965) 309p cloth$5.00 paper $2.00

The affluence of modern capitalism and its bureaucratization individually are responsible for these two changes; and collectively they lead to the third major development of modern society, the metamorphosis of the lumpenproletariat. The lumpens can no longer be relegated to the dank, black forces of reaction, they must be correctly seen as the most oppressed and the most revolutionary force in our society.

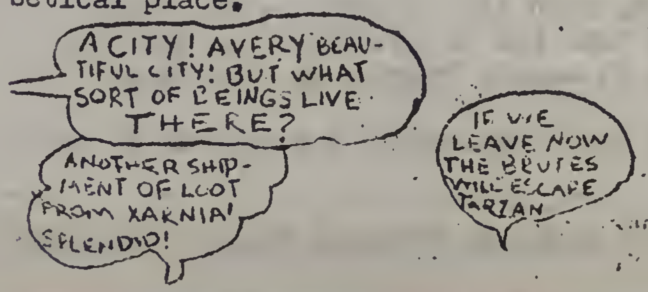
Malatesta is relevant to anyone of these tradition shattering developments in only the sense I mentioned previously, that is, in his clear thinking. What he says about unionism for example highlights the most serious defect for the radicalization of the lumpenproletariat. Malatesta saw unions as "a means whereby workers can begin to understand their position as slaves, to want their emancipation and to accustom themselves to the solidarity of all the oppressed in the struggle against the oppressers." This latter point, class consciousness, has not yet been evoked in large segments of the lumpen.

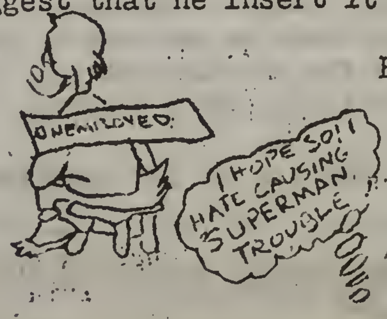
Though the lumpens become radicalized individually by evermore increasing bureaucratic rationalizations, in the same manner as union men do through the machinations of their "leaders," they along with the workers will require somekind of organization to give them a sense of community, of solidarity. What kind and how it will arise remains to be seen. This is an impasse we must face. To maintain that Malatesta speaks to us with more relevancy than the classic anarchists may be true , but for Vernon Richards to believe Malatesta can contribute significantly to the radicals perspective in modern society is dangerous, because the prospects for relevancy are not to be found in his writings, but in the new society emerging.

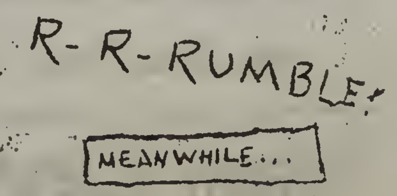
Knowledge to further the revolution will be found struggling with people and witnessing them evolve their unconscious radicalism into a mode of expression, as they will, as have all oppressed peoples throughout history.

The activist among the dispossed and exploited would do well by reading the writings of anarchists and libertarian socialists for they all contain important lessons that the traditional Left has never learnt. And now can be added one more volume to his list, but I would suggest that he insert it in its proper alphabetical place.

Bernard MARSZALEK


A CITY! A VERY BEAUTIFUL CITY! BUT WHAT SORT OF BEINGS LIVE THERE?
ANOTHER SHIPMENT OF LOOT FROM XARNIA! SPLENDID!
IF WE LEAVE NOW THE BRUTES WILL ESCAPE TARZAN


UNEMPLOYED
I HOPE SO!! I HATE CAUSING SUPERMAN TROUBLE


R-R-RUMBLE!
MEANWHILE...

SOLIDARITY BOOKSHOP

......The only radical libertarian bookshop in the United States, ~~is run~~ by members of the Chicago Branch of the Industrial Workers of the World. The following list is a brief selection of available material. An extensive, descriptive catalog will be issued shortly for 25¢.

The Industrial Worker Monthly paper covering world labor news	one-year sub single copy	$1.00 .10
The Rebel Worker Quarterly journal of the Chicago IWW Branch	6-issue sub single copy	1.00 .25
IWW Songs: To Fan the Flames of Discontent 31st edition of this labor classic; songs by Joe Hill, T-Bone Slim, Richard Brazier, etc.		.40
The IWW: Its First Fifty Years by Fred Thompson Wobbly history summarized from 1905 to 1955	paper cloth	2.00 3.00
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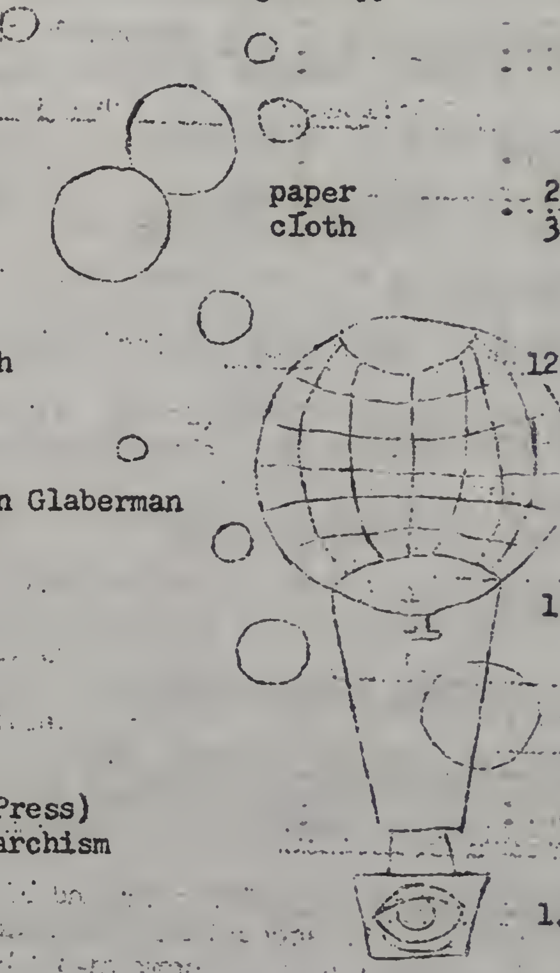
Marxism and the Intellectuals by J. R. Johnson (Facing Reality)		.25
ABC of Anarchism by Alexander Berkman (Freedom Press) Clearest and best exposition of communist-anarchism		.40
Les Manifestes du Surrealisme by Andre Breton French text		1.50
Nadja by Andre Breton English translation of one of the most important surrealist works		1.95
Apologies to the Iroquois by Edmund Wilson A study of the American Indian nationalist movement		3.75
The Mass Strike, the Political Party and the Trade Unions Rosa Luxemburg's important libertarian Marxist classic		.80
The Accumulation of Capital by Rosa Luxemburg (Monthly Review Press)	paper	3.95
Peret's Score: Twenty Poems by Benjamin Peret Seeds of surrealist subversion	paper	1.75



Modern Capitalism and Revolution by Paul Cardan (Solidarity) Important critique of the traditional Left		$1.00
Students in Revolt: The Battle of Berkeley Campus (Solidarity) Best pamphlet on the Fall 1964 student revolution		.15
Errico Malatesta: His Life & Ideas, edited by Vernon Richards Selections from, and a study of, the Italian anarchist agitator and thinker (1853-1932)	paper cloth	2.50 5.00
Poems of Humor and Protest by Kenneth Patchen (City Lights)	paper	.75
The Welsh Political Tradition by Ioan Bowen Rees (Plaid Cymru)		.25
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Direct Action by April Carter (Peace News)		.25
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Lenin and Workers' Control by Tom Brown (Syndicalist Workers Federation)		.35
Punching Out by Jack Kramer (Facing Reality) The American working class today		.20
Workers Battle Automation by Charles Denby (News & Letters)		.25
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Indignant Heart by Matthew Ward Autobiography of a Negro production worker		.50
Anarchy 51: Blues, Rhythm and Blues, Pop Folk		.30
Leninism or Marxism? by Rosa Luxemburg (Independent Labour Party)		.15
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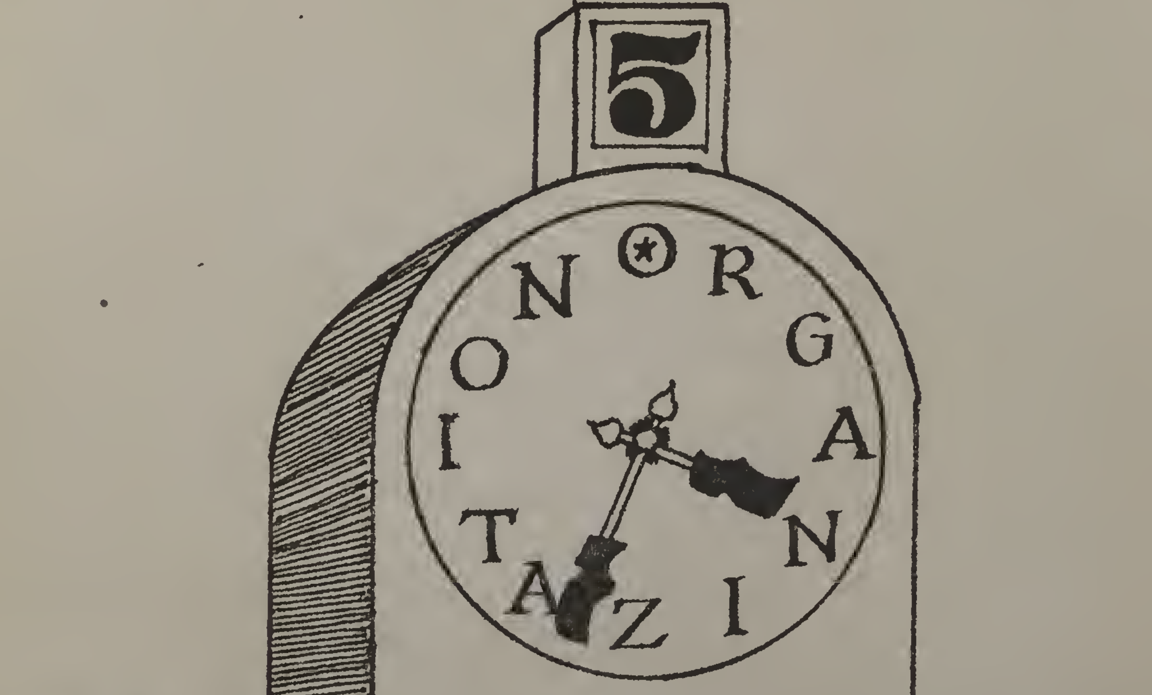
THE REBEL WORKER


5
ORGANIZATION

WHAT TIME IS IT? *TIME TO ORGANIZE.*

The Rebel Worker

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number 5

Cover by Tor Faegre

Editorial Comment 1-8
Cartoon by DUST 2
Watching the War by Tor Faegre 8
On the Unwholesomeness of Honest Toil by Louise Crowley 10
Black Intervention in America's Dreams by Peter Allen 14
Popularly Appauled and Sciolistically Obfuscated - Book Review by B. Marszalek 18
5 O'Clock World by Jim Evrard 21
Letters 24
How To Make Work for the Unemployed by Joe Hill 19
The Rebel's Toast by J. Hill 20

Calligraphy and Art-Work by Tor Faegre

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For those who would like to read more of Louise Crowley's Essays, write to:
The Seattle Group
1815 18th Avenue, Seattle
Washington

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Learn About the Farm Workers' Strike in California Read:

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WHAT'S HAPPENING

Who really tolerates dissent? Few really tolerate it, but most have no way of implementing their intolerances. This winter we found out how a few did succeed...

It concerns the Solidarity Bookshop: Several patriotic groups wandered in and declared their dislikes. They treatened our removal. Some brought in the police, a few of which felt it their unofficial duty to harrass our landlord. Suddenly we were told to move. Ah ha, we said, cause and effect! We were wrong, however; neither the cops nor our neighbors were guilty of the act.

Our real crime, it turns out, was that we were feeding bad ideas to innocent young minds. The bookshop was directly across the street from a high school and the board of education decided that was too close. (Admittedly we had leafleted the school, invited in and talked with many students.) The authorities banished us from the vicinity. Happily, we now have a new shop not far from our old location which is even better for our needs (low rent).

During this melee we managed to turn out our bookshop catalog and now another Rebel Worker (trust that the next will be sooner). We hope to come out with some more R. W. pamphlets and have hopes of having a printed Sabotage Anthology out in the spring if we can get printing costs.

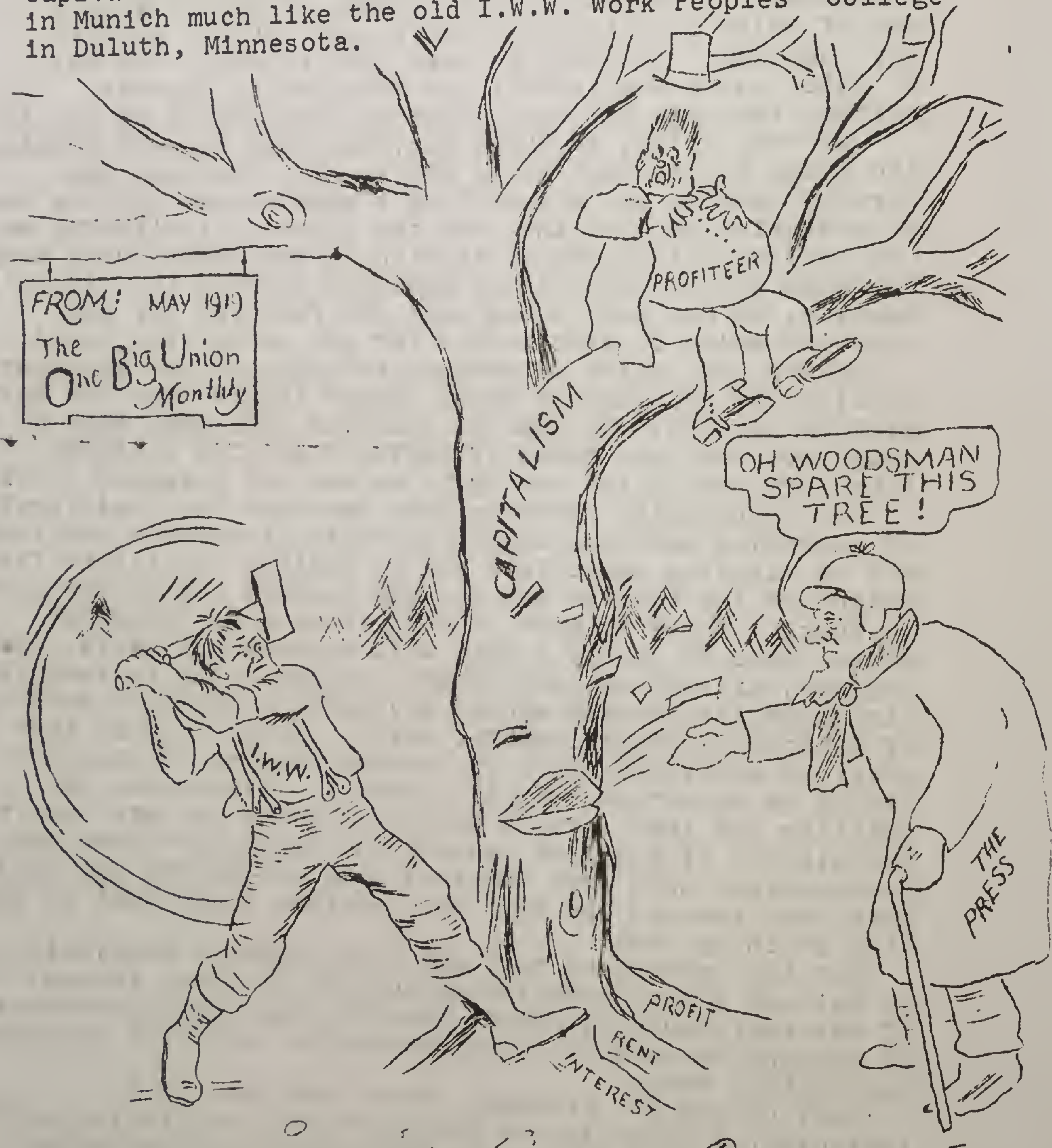
One encouraging trend we note has been the proliferation of anarchist and libertarian oriented literature published not by starving anarchists but by wealthy capitalist firms. Anarchism (as marxism has already become) has become good business. There is hope, though, that many hitherto unavailable or costly tracts will be made available. Sociologists, historians, and others are beginning to take the view that libertarian minded movements constitute material of historical and scientific merit. There is word that the physical anthropologists are making studies of anarchist skulls to determine cranial capacity. Historians are pointing out that certain anarchist ideas may have influenced the history of the 19th century and the Pleistocene Era. Sociologists have even admitted that anarchists and socialists beat them to the idea that workers spend most of their time avoiding work.

But the anarchists have not been standing passively by. In Chicago a new anarchist group has just been formed. One of our contributors, Louise Crowley, has been instrumental in setting up an anarchist-libertarian socialist aggregation, the Seattle Group.

Many of you are probably aware that the I.W.W. Agricultural Drive in the Northwest will be picking up this summer. The time for such a drive could not be better. George Underwood, our man in Yakima, has been organizing in the I.W.W. for two years now. He is a farm worker and has signed up many Yakima members. Further south in California, the grape strike is still on. This is the first time in too long a time that a large group of farm workers have stood together against the bosses. Farm workers everywhere are thinking union and are determined that things are going to change. Fellow worker Underwood is going to open an office this spring. He urgently needs help. This summer will be the most important one in 30 years. Pitch in and join us.

Peter Allen, making his first appearance, minus his Capuchin monkey, in the Rebel Worker with this issue remains an active Chicago revolutionary.

Jim Evrard is a contributor to SOLIDARITY who thinks Capitalism Stinks and who is active in a working-class school in Munich much like the old I.W.W. Work Peoples' College in Duluth, Minnesota.


FROM: MAY 1919
The One Big Union Monthly
PROFITEER
CAPITALISM
OH WOODSMAN SPARE THIS TREE!
I.W.W.
THE PRESS
PROFIT
RENT
INTEREST
DUST

$$$ Money not!!! counseling

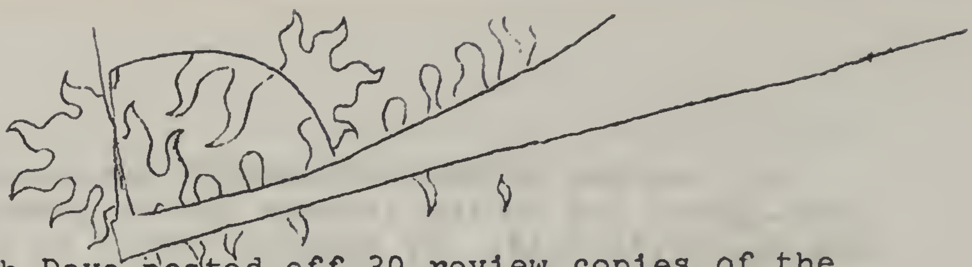
The Chicago Daily News has been running a series on how the war on poverty "works" in one Chicago neighborhood. The concluding article had this to report:

> The trouble with Chicago's war on poverty, according to the people of one neighborhood, is that too many of them are still poor.
>
> "There's nothing they can do for somebody like me," says Roy Howard, a tall, rangy, gray-haired man who speaks in the twangy tones of the West Virginia hills.
>
> "Oh, yeah. Welfare projects. Heck, I don't need no counseling. I need money."
>
> One of 25,000 Southern whites who have moved to Chicago's mid-north Uptown area since the end of World War II, Heward has a wife, four children and no job.
>
> Two years ago he was laid off as a freight handler for the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy R. R. and since then has supported his family by showing up every morning at one of the day-labor agencies sprinkled around the Wilson-Broadway elevated station.
>
> "They send you out to some freight yard or factory, and pay you $1.25 an hour," he says.
>
> "After they deduct for meals, you come away with maybe $8 a day.
>
> "They say the four-eyed jokers who run the places keep $10 for every $8 they give us. And if you get hurt on a job, forget it. Next time they tell you, 'We don't want to see you around here again.'"
>
> But the antipoverty program's Uptown Urban Progress Center says it has a fulltime, semiskilled job for every able-bodied man. Why doesn't Howard get one?
>
> "And what do we eat while I try to get It?" he asks.
>
> "See, you can't turn loose from day labor to take a good job. They got you.
>
> "That You-bain Progress Center, I went there and a man wanted to send me out to apply for a job that paid $3.21 an hour. And I said no.
>
> "The first paycheck wouldn't have come for two weeks. When I don't bring home my $8 every day, we don't eat.
>
> "Iasked the man, 'Can you tide me over until the first check comes?' He said "What do you think we are, the Salvation Army?'
>
> "So I said forget it."

The Golden Convolvulus

When the 1959 Obscene Publications Act came along, it was hailed as a liberalising measure. Material was "obscene" only if it tended to "deprave or corrupt" those who were likely to, "read, see or hear" it. Presumable depravity was the "depravity" of erotic stimulation; corruption - the "corruption" of an antisex ethic. If experts could show in court that the publication of material was for the "public good" or "in the interests of science, literature, art or learning," the publishers would not be convicted. Work, such as "Lady Chatterley", that was approved of by the literary establishment, could be let through the net - but woe betide those who did not endear themselves to acknowledged experts, a conviction could mean a fine, up to three years in prison or both.

The Direct of Public Prosecurtions was allowed to give a warrant to the police enabling them to seize (using force if necessary) material that was considered obscene and published for gain. They could also seize documents relating to the "obscene" material (and a relationship can be pretty obscure). Several amusing test cases cropped up, that made an ass of the law, so in 1964 the powers of police and justice were extended. Stencils, plates and negatives could be seized, and, if a conviction was obtained, they could be destroyed. Most important of all, a person could be prosecuted if he was found in possession of material that was obscene, if he intended to get it published "for gain." He did not have to get the material published before being prosecuted. Intention was enough. Writers, artists, editors and photographers were laid open to prosecution. The law still stands, and in spite of parliamentary assurnces that it was intended to prevent the spread of pornographic photos, it can be used against all literary and political magazines that offend antisex prejudices. These misgivings are confirmed by recent happenings in Blackburn. Dave and Tina Cunliffe run a small literary press; their thick, duplicated magazine "Poetmeat" is a prominent mouthpiece for the young and unestablished poets in England. Standards are becoming high, and poets, both here and in the States are enthusiastic about the magazine. Dave and Tina also bring out small booklets of poetry and anthologies on various themes. The latest of these was "The Golden Convolvulus"; an anthology of eroticism ranging from modern poetry to press cuttings, from comments on censorship to childrens' songs and graffiti (I was pleased to see 'the shit-house poet strike again'). The booklet was intended to offend a few prejudices, to protest against and ridicule sexual repression; it printed a few "fucks" and "cunts" but (unfortunately) provided no sexual stimulation.



On July 13th Dave posted off 30 review copies of the "Convolvulus"; the G. P. O. intercepted these, seized them and complained to the Balckburn police. On July 27th plain clothes police visited the Cunliffes and took sample copies of all their publications, which they forwarded to the Director of Public Prosecutions. They were very insistent on getting the addresses of the editor, and the printer of the covers, but Dave and Tina refused to divulge these.

On August 10th the police returned copies of all the books except the "Golden Convolvulus", which the Director of Public Prosecutions is still considering. Dave gave assurances that he would distribute no more copies of the erotica anthology until the case was over, and he has kept to his word.

Not content with this the police returned on August 19th brandishing a search warrant, and proceeded with a thorough probe. They seized ALL copies of "Golden Convolvulus" and issues of the periodical "Poetmeat" and an inoffensive collection of Tina's poems. They took the stencils and original manuscripts, not only of the "Convolvulus" but of the latest issue of "Poetmeat". Worst of all, they took all the Cunliffe's files, mailing lists, invoice records, etc., thus making it impossible for them to carry on with any of their publications. Dave and Tina quoted the law to the police, telling them they were only entitled to seize material that could be considered "obscene and publixhed for gain". The reply - "If someone reads it you've gained a reader." So much for liberal safeguards.

--LLOYD (Resistance Vol. 3 No.8)

* * *

On Friday, December 4, 1965, prosecuting counsel aaid that 'merely to reprint writings from lavatory walls is hardly of any literary merit because any male can see it without reading the book', and defence counsel considered it 'nonsense to say that a person who knows and uses certain four letter words will have his life changed by seeing them written down'. In his summing-up speech the Assistant Recorder said that 'you may think some of it is dirt for dirt's sake.' but you must judge the book as a whole...

The jury finally reached a decision that I was not guilty of publishing an obscene book for gain, not guilty of sending a postal packet containing obscene literature but that I am guilty of sending a postal packet containing indecent literature. The Assistant Recorder said he'd decided not to send me to prison but fined me £50 with three months in default of payment.

So, now the GOLDEN CONVOLVULUS can be sold in bookshops, news-agents and on the streets but it cannot be sent through Her Majesty's Mail. My deepest thanks to all those witnesses who waited but were never called...and to...the others who gave moral support.

Literary freedom has won a resounding victory in a samll provincial town.

--DAVE CUNLIFFE (Freedom Dec. 11, 1965)

An american foot-note: Ed Sanders, editor of Fuck-You--A Magazine of the Arts, was arrested on January 2 at his bookshop, the Peace Eye Bookstore in New York, on charges of possessing obscene publications for sale.

Scots Against War

As we left the Scots Against War in our last issue they were merrily displacing wooden levels marking a proposed roadway at Faslane, a Polaris Base in Scotland. Since that time they have been successful in converting the Armed Forces information offices in Glasgow into brick proof fortresses, stink-bombed an Army exhibition which had expropriated a beautiful portion of Scottish country-side, and on May Day poetically expressed their disgust with labour leaders like George Brown all over Scotland along with many other rank and file militants.

Later in May SAW raided, in the warming rays of the naked sun, a large Civil Defense shelter at Portlethan, five miles south of Aberdeen. The documents they removed contained a great deal of information about CD preparations in Scotland. These documents relating to CD preparations in England were sent to peace militants in Yorkshire. A few days later several Aberdeen anarchists were arrested and questioned but on proving their alibis, were released. Weeks later painted slogans appeared on the Headquarters of the Royal Officers Corps. And several days later the Portlethen CD shelter took on the appearance of a three dimensional testing area for the wearing ability of paint.

This brings us up to date and we quote from the January 22 issue of Freedom:

> On January 7 at about 9 o'clock four SAW supporters made their way back to Portlethen Civil Defense HQ. The previous raids had been hasty and they wanted to do a thorough search and also render the bloody place useless.
>
> The entry was very difficult, more so because the drill broke, but finally the bolt of a cast-iron grille was sawn through and the lock of the door behind sawn off. Before the entry at about 10.20 the cables to the radio mast were cut.

Inside various good maps of installations were found but the filing cabinets (to which they had the keys) were practically empty.

The radio and telephone equipment were then put out of order, and one of the telephones must have set off an alarm, for they were surrounded after about half-an-hour heading for Aberdeen by a back road. Two police cars drew up and what followed convinced the four that they must eventually triumph over the State, because, Christ they're stupid. There they were with sacks of tools and stolen maps, in the dead of night, four suspicious characters, and they only took their names, saying there'd been an incident back on the road, then they drove off. When they were seen coming back 10 minutes later, the SAW people managed to hide a good part of the stuff before being driven to Bucksburn County Police HQ. There efficientcy reigned supreme once more.

The accused were sent to different rooms and Ian Mitchell tell me he had time to stuff the keys to Portlethen which he had got during the raid, and other incriminating evidence up a ventilator. They were then interrogated for a couple of hours.

I must however make one thing clear. There was no violence, there were no threats. New police methods you see, take a long time to get to this part of the country. The detectives were quite goon mannies and one of them was nearly converted to Anarchism.

The impression they gave was that they watched 'Z-Cars' too much.--'Ever been in trouble before?' 'No.' 'Youre in big trouble now' and 'Listen, I'll come clean with you' also 'I make no deals...' and 'I give the orders around here'.

They asked them to confess, saying it would go easier. But they didn't appreciate the humour of the suggestion that the sackful of tools and maps plus the fact that the SAW agents were there at the time were only circumstantial evidence.

Finally they were charged with 'theft by housebreaking' and 'malicious damage of property to the value of £750, belonging to the Scottish Home and Health Department'. What the hell have these places to do with homes and health!

They appeared in Stonehaven Sheriff Court on Saturday and pleaded guilty then were remanded for background reports. The sentence is on January 19 at 10.30 am.

When the accused got their property back they found that proposed leaflets, etc, for the Scottish Easter YCND demonstration had been taken and also letters and an Aberdeen YCND agenda. 'This,' as one of the police said, a free country'. There was nothing important taken, so good luck and many worried sleepless nights to them.

The sentence was two adults fined ₤120 each. Juveniles: one ₤50 fine and one two years probation. Appeal being lodged. Funds necessary.

Watching the War

"War is the health of the State. It automatically sets in motion throughout society those irresistible forces for uniformity, for passionate cooperation with the Government in coercing into obediance the minority groups and individuals which lack the larger herd sense. The machinery of government sets and enforces the drastic penalties, the minorities are either intimidated into silence, or brought slowly around by a subtle process of persuasion which may seem to them really to be converting them..Of course the ideal of perfect loyalty, perfect uniformity is never really attained. The classes upcn whom the amateur work of coercial falls are unwearied in their zeal, but often their agitation, instead of converting, merely serves to stiffen their resistance. Minorities are rendered sullen, and some intellectual opinion bitter and satifical. But in general, the nation in war-time attains a uniformity of feeling, a hierarchy of values culminating at the undisputed apex of the State ideal, which could not possibly be produced through any other agency than war. Other values such as artistic creation, knowledge, reason, beauty, the enhancement of life, are instantly and almost unanimously sacrificed, and the significant classes who have c-nstituted themselves the amateur agents of the State are engaged not only in sacrificing these values for themselves but in coercing all other persons into sacrificing them."

-- Randolph Bourne THE STATE

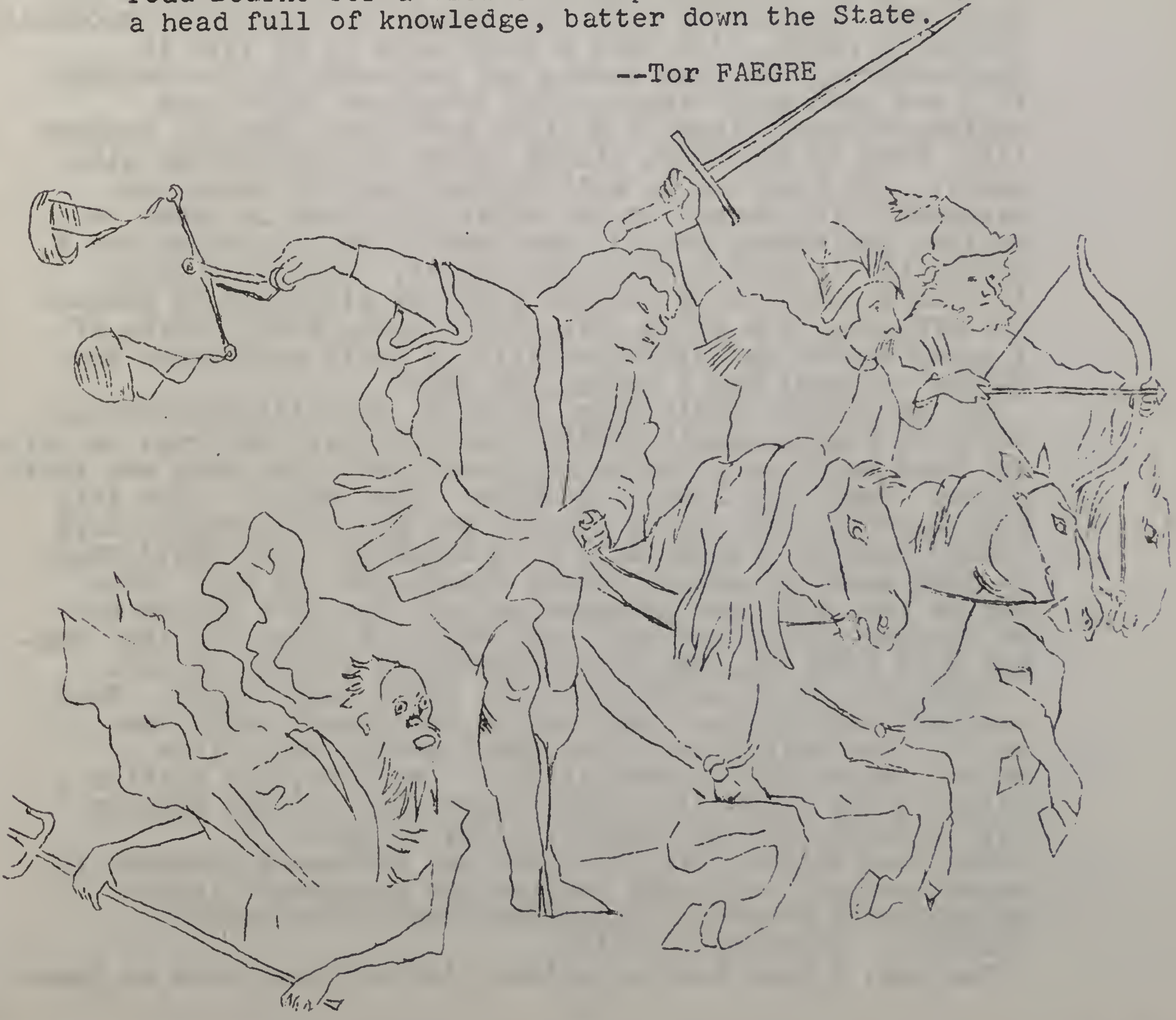
Bourne doesn't ring true anymore. His State was too obvious, too open. It sentenced objectors to the firing squad, jailed them, or had vigilante squads run them out of town. Viet Nam isn't World War I, but one still expects a little more of the old style suppression, news blackouts on American "mistakes", and a crescendo of enemy atrocity stories -- it hasn't happened, not yet anyhow. The machine no longer seems to need the old rationalizations. It can admit the war is a mistake, the issue a hoax, the whole thing a fraud and yet go right on cooking. Why bother wasting time stiffling dissent? Spend the time fighting the war. There is less patriotic fervour, but then there is less needed.

It all makes for a frustrating experience. Some suggest blowing up tanks. Others would sit in front of them. No one has a clear idea of how to stop the war. But if we are to end this mess we had better begin by understanding it: Then like a hungry dog we will look for the weak points, grab by the neck and hang on.

The Solidarity Group has started us on the way to understanding with a short but excellent pamphlet on Vietnam (Bob Potter: VIETNAM, Solidarity Pamphlet No.30 15¢) It claims a "dispassionate analysis...detrimental to all parties concerned." For Solidarity (and for us) the battle cannot be viewed simply as a peasant guerrilla war against bad imperialist aggressor. Viet Nam must be seen in the context of the world situation -- a world where the giant economic powers...are struggling for supremacy."

The pamphlet traces the history of the two Vietnams and how the people of both have been used. That the Vietnamese peasants are sincere revolutionaries is unquestioned. But how this dedication is used by Hanoi, Peking, and Moscow is an altogether different matter. "It is not the first time in the history of communism that bureaucracies have been founded on the sacrifices of millions of dedicated revolutionaries." Read the pamphlet. Go back and read Bourne for a view of our past troubles. Then, with a head full of knowledge, batter down the State.

--Tor FAEGRE



On the Unwholesomeness of Honest Toil

Last November, an article my husband and I wrote was printed in MONTHLY REVIEW. REgularly published writers may smile at our naiveté, but nothing like that had ever happened to us before, and we hadn't the slightest idea what to expect. As it turned out, we got almost everything from anathemas to praise; but of all of it, what confused me most were the honest workmen who rose indignatly to defend their addiction to work. Mostly, they came to us in a spirip of good will, sincerely puzzled that we could defend anything as indefensible as sloth, and condemn anything as laudatory as industriousness. Their sincerety merits a thoughtful answer.

Yet confronted in person, I always found it hard to give one. That work -- i. e., the labor one is constrained to perform in order to "earn" the right to food, shelter, and clothing -- should be a good-in-itself is a concept impodsible for me to grasp; I've sold a great deal of my life in eight-hour slices, anc always got the worst of the bargain. If I had been more highly paid, or worked under less unpleasant conditions, I'd still have been cheated, because life, even by the hour, simply cannot be cmmpensated with money. All that can be said is that lack of money can terminate life sooner in our societ, so that in order to prolong our years, we sell our days -- no; no matter how I phrase it, it just doesn't make sense, Whether a life is sold in toto on an auction block or piecemeal in personnel offices, it's still life that's being sold. Maybe if I accepted the aalability of life, I could comprehend the virtue of work; but I don't, and can't.

But if people didn't have to work, our diligent critics tell us, they wouldn't do it. That may well be true, we agree and they smile in satisfaction, confident they have won their point. Then it's I who's puzzled: what point? That idle people would waste their lives? but how can lives be more wasted than in a steel mill or a laundry? What could they do that would be worse? Watch television all day? That may be bad, with the programs we get, but it's not as bad as feeding punch-presses. Get drunk? but they do that anyway when they can, and with desperation instead of joy.

Maybe the point is that society needs their labor. That has been true in the past, but at the moment, with over 40,000 jobs being lost to automation each week, it's a rather anachronistic proposition. Besides, our critics s seldom argue society's need; their fear is that society will demonstrate tha dispensibility of their labor, any minute. If that fear has decreased somewhat in recent months, it's only because the government is now thoughtfully providing make-work jobs in the murder industry. That can't be it.

You see, I have been thinking, And defining work as labor performed under the duress of economic need or social custom, I cannot find any valid defense for it except as a dubiously necessary evil. For pay, the human workman degrades himself into an adjunct to an inanimate machine or into a brute beast of burden; and that act is a prostitution of his humanity.

There is, however, a thoroughly plausible explanation for this proletarian devotion to the cult of Work: it's a pathological condition, an industrial disease, one of the more malignant manifestations of that endemic Time-clock syndrome with which the modern working class has been inoculated...

The nineteenth-century socialist did not fall victim to this madness, by then as rampant among the working class as consumption and rheumatism. They recognized clearly enough that love of work was a monstrous perversion of the worker's human instincts, and they took the proletariat of their day roundly to task for allowing itself so to be corrupted. Note this, from Paul Lafargue's THE RIGHT TO BE LAZY (1880):

> And meanwhile the proletariat, the great class embracing all the producers of civilized nations, the class which in freeing itself will free humanity from servile toil and make of the human animal a free being -- the proletariat, betraying its instincts, despising its historis mission, hwas let itslef be perverted by the dogma of work. Rude and terrible has been its punishment. All its individual and social woes are born of its passion for work.

"Shame on th proletariat!" he added; and went on to propose a three-hour workday as the maximum compatible with human health and welfare, and entirely feasible given France's level of productivity in 1880; but to be reduced as new machines were invented:

> Our machines, with breath of fire, with limbs of unwearing steel, with fruitfulness, wonderful inexhaustible, accomplish by themselves with docility their sacred labor. And nevertheless the genius of the great philosophers of capitalism remains dominated by the prejudice of the wage system, worst of slaveries. They do not yet understand that the machine is the savior of humanity, the god who shall redeem man from the sordid arts and from working for hire, the god who shall give him leisure and liberty.

Engels noted the corruption of the British proletariat, but the housepainter-writer Robert Tressel described it best:

> In May, as the jobs increased and the days grew longer, they were allowed to put in overtime; and as the summer months came round, once more the crowd of ragged-trousered philanthopists began to toil and sweat at their noble and unselfish task of making money for Mr. Rushton. Papering, painting, whitewashing, distempering, digging up drains, repairing roofs, their zeal and enthusiasm were unbounded. Their operations extended all over the town. At all hours of the day they were to be seen going to or returning from jobs, carrying planks and ladders,

paint and whitewash, chimney pots and drainpipes, a crown of tattered Imperialists, in broken boots, paint-splashed caps, their clothing saturated with sweat and platered with mortar, The daily spectacle of the workmen, tramping wearily home along the pavement of the Grand Parade, caused some annoyance to the bettercclasses, and a letter appeared in *The Observer* suggesting that it would be better if they walked on the road. When they heard of this letter most of the men adopted the suggestions and left the pavement for their betters.

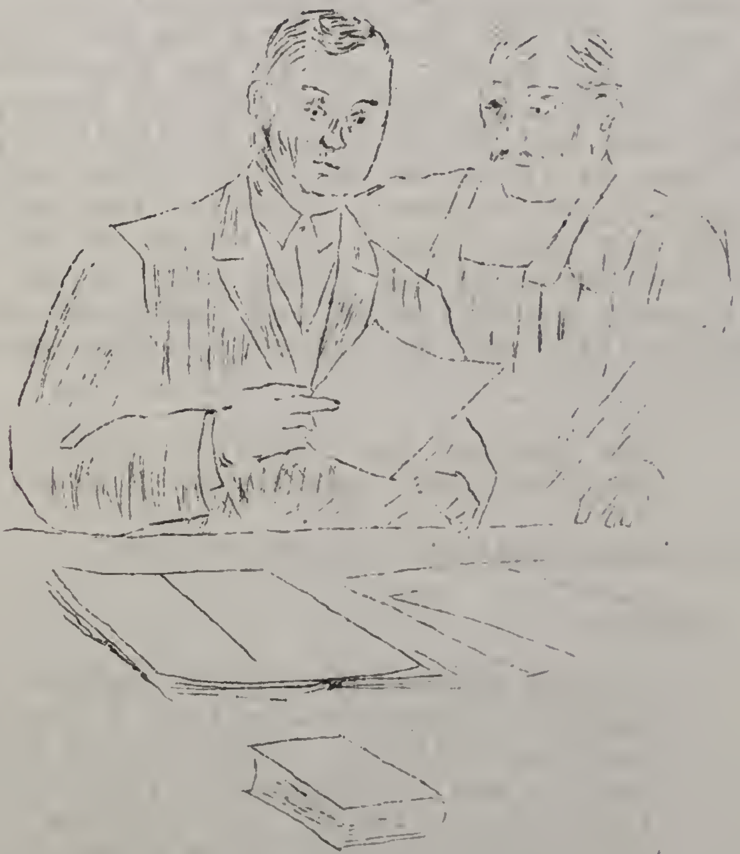
In America, the Wobblies had a word for such workers, and they spat it out with utmost scorn: Scissorbill!

Yet even socialism's resistance broke down, when after the Soviet Revolution of 1917 it was exposed to a new and more virulent form of ourgomania, the pathological addiction to work. Contrary to expectation, socialism had come first to a backward, agriculture-based nation, and the urgent need of the new socialist state was development of an industry that could hold its own in competition with the capitalist countries. Of necessity, work became the order of the day. If it seems a bit ridiculous that the poor devils who had fought a revolution to lighten their labors found themselves toiling harder than ever to sustain their revolution -- well, ourgomania is a madness, by definition. At any rate, it happened; and as capitalsim's necessity had been elevated into a GOOD, so too did socialism's. In the Soviet Union, diligent scissorbills got Stakhanovite medals. Glorifying the working class, Soviet idelogists found themsleves glorifying Work itslef -- they had to, for their heroic working class must continue to work, else descend to hoolinganism and bourgeois decadence, and fall prey to the capitalist enemies that ringed it round. So the cult of work was sold to socialist workers too, and soon they surpassed all others in their zeal. Working like piss-ants, they consolidated their socialist society, caught up with capitalism both industrially and militarily -- and have become so addicted towork they now strive even harder, aiming for a twenty-percent advantage. When they get it they'll undoubtedly raise the ante, become unable to conceive a life free from toil.

Indeed, they suffer from the most fearful depression at the very suggestion of it; and any ral threat to deprive them of their work, or even to reduce thehours of its duration, is quite likely to bring on hysteria andmay precipitate suicide. That itis fear of idleness and not that of payless which so obsesses the burgomaniac is demonstrated by his desperate resistance to all proposals for his emancipation, even those which carry with them provisions for the continuance of his income. He clings tenaciously to outmoded methods of production, that he may work the harder. Fearful that is a moment of unwonted clarity he may be tempted to revert to his natural inclinations, he often sets up elaborate precautions, enmeshing himself in debts for no other reason than to reinforme his need to work. In one serious form of the malady, the ouromanic whose job does not reduce him to the utter nothingness he apparently craves may remove himself to a distant suburb, in order to lengthen his unsatisfactorily short workday by several hours of strenuous freeway driving, and add yardwork to his extravocational chores. The advanced case (most often a childless worker with relatively well-renumberated skills, who least needs the additional pay) seelks another job, and moonlights. When this occurs the crisis may follow quickly, and the worker who escapes death revovers with a high degree of immunity.

The more spphisticated worker is apt to exhibit somewhat different symptoms. He claims that he himself would welsome his freedom from work, and it quite certain he could use it wisely and well, yet suffers from the delusion that he is alone, or nearly so, in his capacity for living. Others, he feels, would surely find a workless life unendurable, and be only corrupted thereby -- blindness to their present corruption, and his, being a universal concomitant of the disease.

LOUISE CROWLEY
The Seattle Group



"So our hero found himself at nineteen the editor of an old established paper."
[from: Risen from the Runks by Horatio Alger 1908]

BLACK INTERVENTION IN AMERICA'S DREAMS

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One hundred years later: white agricultural slaveholders still fighting white urban-industrial wage-slavers over style for sustaining black labor force. (Klan rightly shooting and beating mostly white northern christians not ourlocalniggers.) So northerners are winning and are bigger and southerners want northern escape-from-unions new factories and are giving in. But the black man thinks Our King is winning.

One hundred years later: he still waits Something to be Done About rotten high-price food and flimsy easy-credit furniture and quarter-meter television and $20 more rent no maintenance apartments or live in projects and uninterested personnel offices and "social workers." (And that's only beginning of it and everything else is included and someone else can break out but you can't.)

And he waits change in northern toughcop and misidentification in court (if you disobey you may get caught. or someone else may get caught. and if you obey someone else may get caught. or they may get you anyway.) Cops obey higher cops and you stay out of their way or obey them. Cops don't think and with Whites and (sometimes) middle-class Negroes, maintain law and order and thank you for your help. But blackman law is Enforced and crime Prevented and youth can't stand on street corners (where every family has had young uncle, cousin, brother in jail) and no protection for anyone against cops lies.

One hundred and one years later and again one hundred and two, people get pissed.

Which seems thank-God healthy. Where problem?

Whites

Hungry editors at end of second season of (dogdays August) newspaper-selling riots assign reporters to keep on writing. Paperinches of Well-informed long-quotes and "analysis" columns again (as if they hadn't said it all year before) lie: people have no reasons and cops are absolved. Dumbcop humiliating mother and manhandling youth at start in L. A. is disbelieved or ignored (afterall, Alleged drinkingdriver pleaded guilty...rather than get bigger sentence.) Sameway with Chicago: firetruck drunkmurder is just routine "freak accident" news.

(But later white Opinion thoughts are confused (silent) when murdered turn out to be colored and facts are not like newsflash (police) reports. Whiteman "nearly killed by mobs" gets first aid and lives. Snipers never hit anyone. (Possibility of New Year's Eve style shooting in air, ignored.) Bullet marked cars are there but they all belong to colored people (maybe rioters.) At first TV says rioters are all young; but, like radicals, older rioters are slower and get caught or shot for funfear.)

Reactionary cops, soldiers release deeper hates (from not knowing and not belonging there) than the festive rioters. And politicians and machines no longer have contact and leave get-people-off-streets talking to christians. (All the king's precinct workers and All the king's clergy men couldn't put riots forgotten again.)

Blackmasses' frustration in hurting Whitey becomes his (blackman's suffering) demonstration (like non-violence) (but not civil rights movement which defends eternal Constitution law and order and so sit-ins are more urban American middle-class than Klan and win.) Liberals left say causes and correction and amelioration. More important, in '64 Goldwater hate-votes don't show in north and instead bad-conscience "Poverty" money (but still no real works and little hope.)

Negroes

America's Twenty Million("There's always been a lot of Negroes. But before 1960, Opinion writers weren' leafing through census summaries muttering 'How many Negroes are there?, anyway'.") colored people weren't shocked.

Radicals

Revolutionaries thought (somewhere got) the revolution is foretold; or thought hoodlums. Political types don't see rioters state (when explanation is demanded) "make Whitey listen" reform goals. No one thought "the young people have sensed the mood" and angriest, looking for manaction youth (not ivy kids who mostly guess rewards for propriety but others who sense "Boy" bullshit being rewarded) for a while chase and/or divert confuse cops and people celebrate their temporary freedom in their own community.

No one sees all-important expect it to end fatality and no one thought anthropology festivals and community license or saw implicit nothing-to-lose-but-chains values or remember our American own holiday youthriots. And old revolutionaries who are American Left without a revolution and are content or moving right-- see only Hoodlums, VIOLENCE!.

Anarchists (and psychologists) don't look for (even though horrible breakdown of all law) order; no reports of rape or group whitemurder. No radicals miss spontaneous voluntary organization which was not there. Marxists say "It could as easily be any poor." recognizing historical inevitability but not historical fact; Black people, not of white society, do not think to control it (or even attack whiteworld homes and powerlines) but -- like Quebecois -- only seek to control own community within.

But bottom teengang leaders do negotiate with upper spokesmen and even with satan cops and bring soldiers out of whiteworld jobs and don't give in. And masses do destroy pawn debt tickets and "your rent is late" realestate records and loot "fruits of their labor". So revolutionaries at best (better than newspapers) see this: Expropriation!, and proclaim the prophecy, promised land.

(Always "What does this historical event mean for Vanguard, us" never first what does it mean.) And so, planning and plotting history (That's what Lenin spent his time doing and he made it.), can't get into it; with or without black and whiteboy American-given skins. Can't get together without first planning to hustle something (of one's personal own) on everyone else. (Always selling The Way It Must Be Done door-to-door.)

All left agrees U.S. out of Viet Nam and no capitalists in the White House and no nationarmies should march across our continents and live friends-in-blue in our cities but can only think Workers or poor people and never other race american, human motivation non-workers.

Problems

All men are created equal; but, growing up different, live in 2 races. Someone said (in midst of leftwing changing party-line 1940's) "There is no Negro Question. The Negroes are right." America's White problem continues.

Whites grow up in culture of Big Future Ahead of You. Others (Negroes, Indians) do not. Don't see Johnsonpromise of Great Society or any other. Black man, unlike early 1900's immigrant, has 3 centuries acquaintance with promise land. As each child grows into member, again unlike melting-pot minorities, parents are not found to be old-country unfit. And besides, he gets tired of being black for whitefolks

So, blackman (with different background, different futures) continues black separate (sub-) culture. As if in some science-fiction "Space-Time Warp", in same spot at same instant as Other America. (There are not, of course, two America's. Newspapers and Michael Harrington who see only one half, glimpse the other occasionally as assorted problems.) And job, income, cars, home, vacations with pay great american promise goes to fewer; while population -- him -- increases. (and then some white kids don't want American dream he (blackman) can't get and think he's Hip for ignoring it so long.)

Peter ALLEN [October 1965]

Just Out!

REBEL WORKER PAMPHLET Nº 2

BLACKOUT

· BY ROBERT CALESE ·

Our man-in-New York describes what it was like to live under the momentary cloak of BLACK ANARCHY. Find out what really happened in the subway tunnels & the elevators, & why many regretted it when the lights were turned on again...

★ 15¢ from the SOLIDARITY BOOKSHOP ★

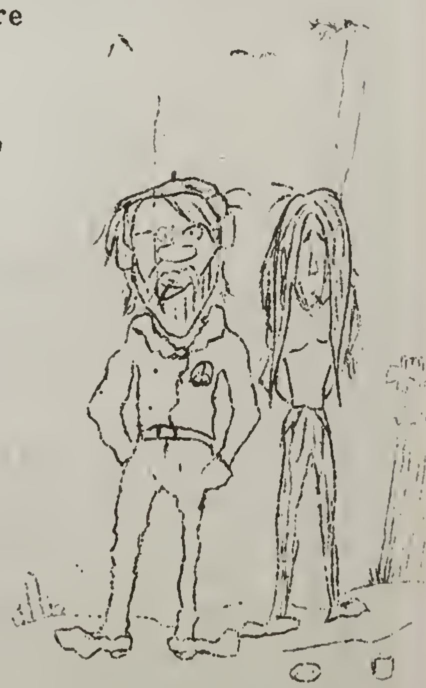
POPULARLY APPLAUDED and SCICLISTICALLY OBFUSCATED

Berkeley: The New Student Revolt by Hal Draper (Grove Press) 246p $.95
Revolution at Berkeley edited by Michael V. Miller and SusansGilmore
(Dell) 348p $.95
The Berkeley Student Revolt edited by Seymour Lipset and Sheldon
S. Wolin (Anchor) 585p $1.95

The "revolution" these three books are about is one gigantic and odorous crock of shit. No one can deny that the act of taking over the Berkeley campus was truly revolutionary, but everything since the tremendous Sproul Hall sit-in has been singularly lacking in ardor, revolutionary or otherwise. The events therefore taken as a whole cannot be termed revolutionary. To do so is journalistic hyperbole, misleading by its superficiality. What has come out of the Berkeley controversy besides a fantastic legend is a place in the young radicals' vocabulary of "student-faculty control", "Free Universities" and so forth. This is certainly significant, though one should keep in mind that the reforms that have grown-out of the Berkeley Disturbances have been just that--reforms. Nothing revolutionary has happened anywhere else; in fact nothing as simply colorful as the tar and feathering of professors that took place in this country during the 19th century!

The Free University of New York, the School in Chicago, the Swathmore Society and other educational experiments aren't anything to crow about, one can hardly entice a yawn. If this is "revolt" god help us. Yet on another level the events at the Berkeley campus are revolutionary, just as are "wildcat" strikes and draft dodging, but the authors of these volumes aren't talking about that for to do so requires a larger view of this sick society than they wish to admit to. To them "revolt" is merely an "in" concept and something which will grap the public. A concept of course that does have an element of truth in it.

The student revolt that does exist is smaller than the Luce corporation's imagination would make it, but in terms of activists it is a little larger than the much less publicized student "rebellion" that thrived during SPU's heyday in the early Sixties: larger because firstly of the immediacy of the War; secondly because of the complacent myths shattered in many youth by the U.S. intervention in the Dominican Republic; and thirdly because the bureaucratic trends of this society have become even more pronounced and many more are getting the shaft. All of these reasons for growth of the Left have resulted in a qualitative difference comparable to a generational one for students only three years apart on the academic ladder. The vast anti-Americanism evident on the "new left" is proof of this, as is the mark-



ed lack of enthusiasm for sitting around discussing the fine points of foreign and domestic policy exhibited by the young people in YPSL and SPU. Today's New Left wants action. They want a commitment to a purpose--a pity that that is the easiest fulfilled of desires, much like "getting religion." The point is, where do we go from the commitment?

The New Left is receiving all kinds of advice in that regard. Draper wants them to politize their communities; Goodman wants them to communalize their politics.* Draper deplores the lack of clear ideological thinking among the students and posits that this deficiency as the reason the FSM didn't persist thru the spring semester. Goodman doesn't exhibit despondency over this, he rather is stimulated by the community he found in Berkeley during his Spring visit. He bases his alternative advice on this experience.

He beleives that the wonderful dynamism that the FSM possessed, and which Draper freely admits grew out of FSM's political naivete, should be directed toward developing better communications among the young students and the faculty, and creating a real community from which politics can emerge in a meaningful sense. Furthermore Goodman understands the significance of the "social revolutionaries" at Berkeley, the hashish-users and the "Filthy Speech Movement," whereas Draper remains utterly blind to their relevancy. He in fact reduces himself to hysterical name-calling in refering to these people as nihilists! Goodman on the other hand must be commended for his insight into the need for a New Left, one that is more than just a political expression of a superficial ideology.

Yet those who perceive the frivolity of Draper's traditionalist approach grow impatients with Goodman's reflections. Berkeley and many SDS and SNCC centers of activity are communities for the particpants, but isn't there the possibility of moving beyond these centers to the disaffilated elsewhere? The dynamism of the movement is providing the outside world withthe fruits of the labors of these groupings, but when that dynamism is dissapated one fears that the movement will fall apart as the erstwhile "peace movement"did after the signing of the Test Ban Treaty, Or will this movement remain and transform itself into a few insular, scattered communities of dissent? And will it leave the field open to the stalinists to again drag out their frail, shrivelled tit of a program that they always have ready with the pathetic expectancy that the masses will suckle at it? This is the saddest and most terrifying of possibilities.

PET
EVAPORATED
MILK

Problems and opportunities must be met with understanding now! We can't wait. We have to build a truly revolutionary movement by reaching out to people on their terms. This means we talk to students about controlling their schools directly and not school boards or,worse, city halls. When they begin to smash their teaching machines we will know that we are getting someplace. With workers, we must understand their distrust of bureacracies and the overriding pride they take in that part of the job they can control; obviously we have to encourage them to extend this control. When they start smashing their time clocks we shall know that the revolution is around the corner. The most myopic prejudice that the New Left will have to dispense with is that only the most dispossed are worthy of identification. Both on the job and in school and in their everyday life, people are beginning to verbalize the major problems of this society as the suppression of their alienation, through unlimited cultural escapism and consumption and the increasing division of people into order-givers and order-takers.

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*Those interested should read Draper's book, it's filled with advice and also the best description of what happened. Goodman's views are contained in both the Dell and Anchor books, but probably best in the former which has a reprint of his Dissent article (Spring'65). The Anchor book, a testament to Goodman's statement that the FSM was the best re- — researched and documented movement in history. Among the reams of boring analyses it contains one worth reading, Henty May's "Impressions" of the students and non-students (the community) around the campus.

All of these workers and others--students and the unemployed, experience our society in bsically the same way. No matter who they are, they are ordered about and constantly humiliated. Its not impracticable to express to them the arbitrariness and cruelty of heirarchies both in factories as well as in welfare agencies and schools and their total superflousness. Nor is it difficult to explain that the basic problems of society are not solved by a rise in the Standard of Living but in fact are hidden by it. And that this is the whole purpose of the "Great Society"--to obfuscate the real issues about who will control this society, the people or the bureaucrats.

Its not absurd to advocate a radical change, its imperative! Any genuine New Left must do just this; otherwise what's the use of wallowing in self-righteous parlance? Yet the New Left won't be able to do a damn thing until it sees beyond the various surface "issues" to the basic contradictions of modern capitalism.

Though I have rambled to some extent all of this does relate to Berkeley, for there in one of our finest institutions of learning who was benefitting? Not the students. Nor the faculty. The basic problems of a meaningful teacher-pupil relationship increased with the university's budget. Just as a worker's real problems increase with his paycheck. The students and faculty took action to cut through the bureaucracy and get on with their purposes. Workers also wildcat. The students and faculty haven't suceeded, they took only one step. They actually won't succeed until the workers do; when the people who work in factories and offices run them then the students and faculty will run their schools.

Berkeley was one battle in a war more and more people are waging against an absurd, regimented, and sanguinary system. In this sense and only in this sense was there a "revolution"on Berkeley's campus last Fall. But none of these books see it this way. A pity, for their authors are in for a shock.

Bernard MARSZALEK

5 O'CLOCK WORLD

People are always talking about advertising, propaganda, and manipulation of public opinion in general, but they rarely get specific. I would like to take the concrete example of a concrete popular song about the five o'clock world to illustrate some aspects of the techniques of manipulation to which we are constantly exposed.

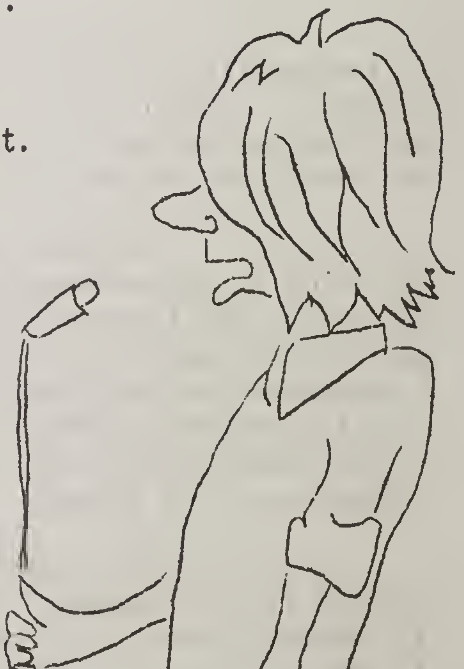
But first a word of clarification. This talk of manipulation is often brought up by smug, pseudo-sophisticated individuals who think they themselves are exempt, who think propaganda is effective only on the "peasants" below them. These people think that responding to manipulation techniques is a matter of insufficient intelligence, naivete, "human weakness", or letting yourself be taken for a sucker. If there were only fewer "stupid" people in the world, they pretend, the problem would be solved.

This approach is fundamentally wrong. It is rather the fact of not responding to their techniques that would indicate there is something wrong with you. One of the most basic techniques they use is made possible for them by the lousy condition of "our" capitalist society. In this miserable society of ours, many of our most fundamental needs and wishes are constantly and systematically frustrated. Modern psychology has discovered methods whereby this condition of frustration can be exploited by offering us partial satisfaction in the form of surrogates, that is substitutes of inferior quality.

Let's exemplify this on the basis of the text of the song. It begins by indicating how miserable our work day is, using the phrase "another day down the drain." What human being who has ever worked for his living in our society would not respond to that statement? You don't need to be "stupid" to respond to that one. You only need to have to work for a living. Under the inhuman conditions of work in our sick society, work time is in fact time cut out of your life, another day down the drain. Up to this point then a song like this one fullfills one of the functions that folk songs used to fulfill in the past, namely to help people alleviate their sufferings by giving expression to them.

Then comes the verse: "But in the five o'clock world, when the whistle blows, no one owns a piece of my time." What working person hasn't felt that? When you work, you don't own your time anymore. The company does. "You may own your soul, but the company owns your body." As far as your boss is concerned, your work power is a commodity which you sell on the "labor market" as the economists call it. (As you know the slave market has been abolished.) And what you've sold, your friend the boss puts to good use in his own interest, regardless what human misery this may cost you.

No propaganda yet. Up to here, it could even be the beginning of a revolutionary song. You can imagine how the text should go on: "Take over the work day. Take over the factories and manage them yourselves. Don't let anybody own a piece of your time before five o'clock either.



But here comes the twist. Up to now, if you are a normal working person, the text of the song has said "Yes" to some of your profoundest human strivings. If you are a normal human being, with normal human feelings, wishes and sorrows, your emotional response has been positive. You have been "softened up for the sale." Not because you are "stupid" or "weak", but because the text up to now *really does* correspond to your needs and wishes. *This is an important point for the understanding of manipulation techniques*. It always starts out by offering partial satisfaction for a genuine human need. You are now ready for the message.

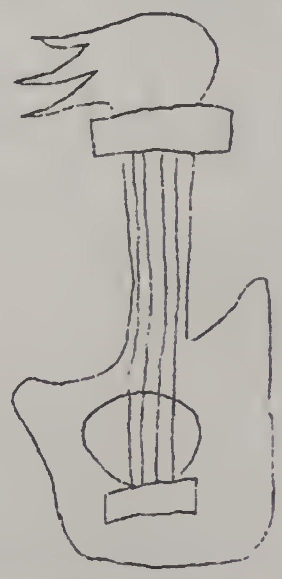
And what is the message? Find yourself a fair-haired girl after five o'clock, who will make you forget the misery of everyday existence in our society (until tomorrow morning at eight o'clock). How sweet! And the girl? What does she get out of this? As you know, in real life, relationships between people built upon a basis like this dry up in a matter of weeks, or months at best. So the message offered by the song turns out to be first rate establishment propaganda.

For three reasons (at least).

First, it suggests we seek the answers to a real problem in an unreal world. There is a whole collection of pop songs, movies, radio and television programs whose basic tendency is the suggestion to escape from our miserable real life into a dream world, instead of taking active steps to change the real world. In this song, it takes the form of a dream girl waiting for me at five o'clock to make me forget my misery by attending to all my frustrated wishes of the day without having any needs or demands of her own. (Nice role for your girls, isn't it? But don't fret; our loving entertainment industry is busy creating dream boys for you.)

Second, it suggests an individual solution to a social problem. The problem of inhuman working conditions can be solved only in the factory or office itself by collective workers' action, not by each individual going home and overtaxing his wife or girl friend.

Third, it suggests we accept a surrogate for a fundamental human need, a surrogate in the form of sexuality. Don't get me woong. I am not putting sexuality down. As an activity in its own right between two people who dig one another, it is one of the best things mankind has discovered yet. But as a substitute for eight hours afday of my humanity? No, Thanks! As a matter of fact, this tendency we develop in this sick capitalist world of ours, to make too many demands of sexuality, is another of the things that creates human misery, because it inevitably leads to disappointment. Sex is wonderful, but it is a wonderful thing in itself, not as a substitute for the many frustrations and miseries our inhuman society causes in us. If we demand the latter of it, it will disappoint us. (And then we blame it on our partner.) The frustration caused by inhuman working conditions cannot be solved except by changing these working conditions. All suggestions that we seek surrogates instead of making work human are propaganda for they imply the suggestion not to take action to solve the basic problem, an inhuman social order.



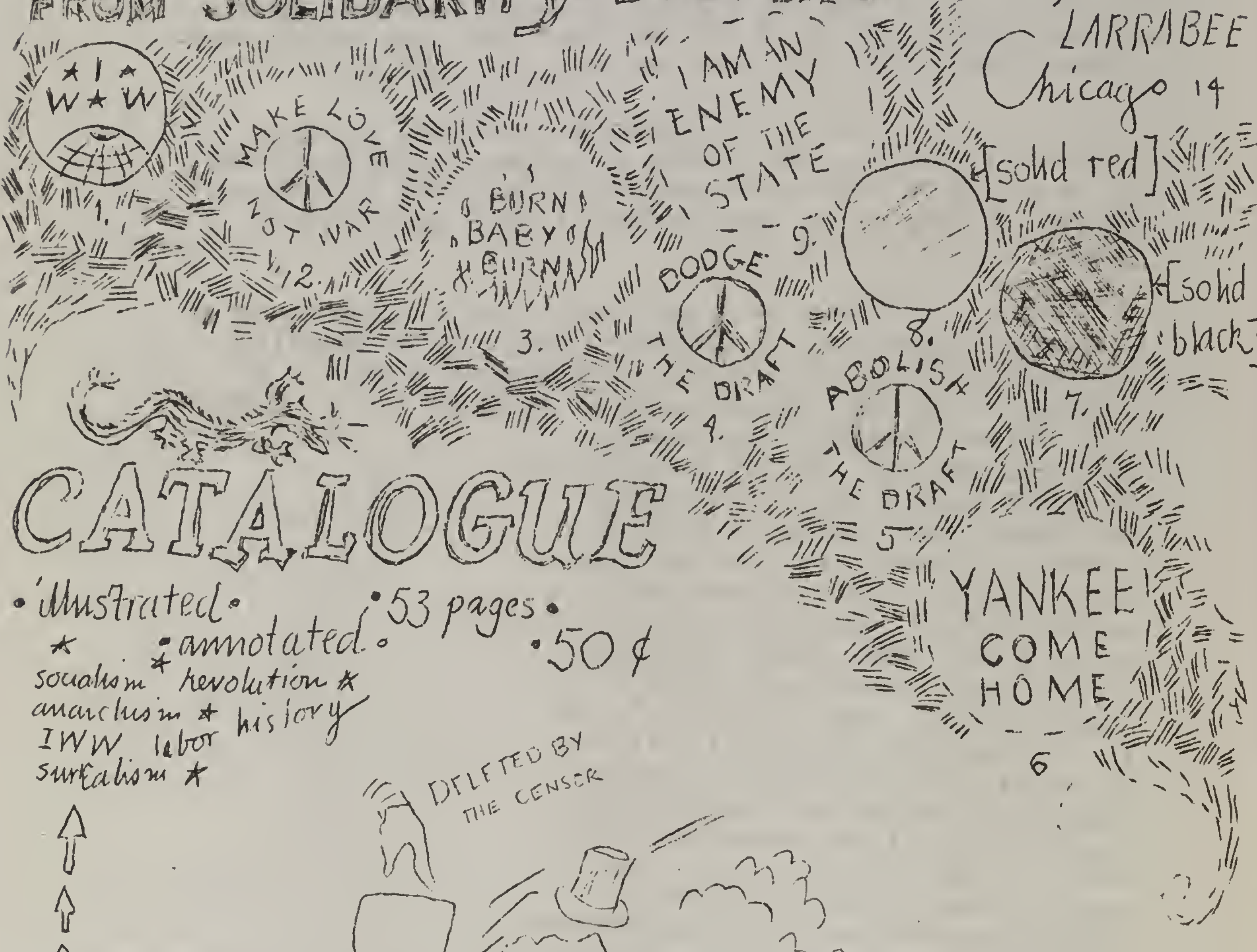
This type of argument is often misunderstood. It does not imply that you should stop digging pop music. You can sing a lousy text to swinging music. You can go on dancing to the music and ignore the text. Furthermore, this argument does not suggest that song writers are conscious propagandists for capitalism. As individuals, they themselves may be as much victims of brain washing as anyone else.

The point is, we can go on digging pop arts, but we can at the same time keep our eyes open for the propaganda hidden in them. The heart is not the natural enemy of the head. It is only the miserable conditions of our society that make it seem so.

Jim EVRARD

BUTTONS

FROM SOLIDARITY BOOKSHOP 1947 NORTH
LARRABEE
Chicago 14


1.
I W W
2.
MAKE LOVE NOT WAR
3.
BURN BABY BURN
4.
DODGE THE DRAFT
5.
ABOLISH THE DRAFT
6.
YANKEE COME HOME
7.
[solid black]
8.
[solid red]
9.
I AM AN ENEMY OF THE STATE

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★ socialism ★ revolution ★
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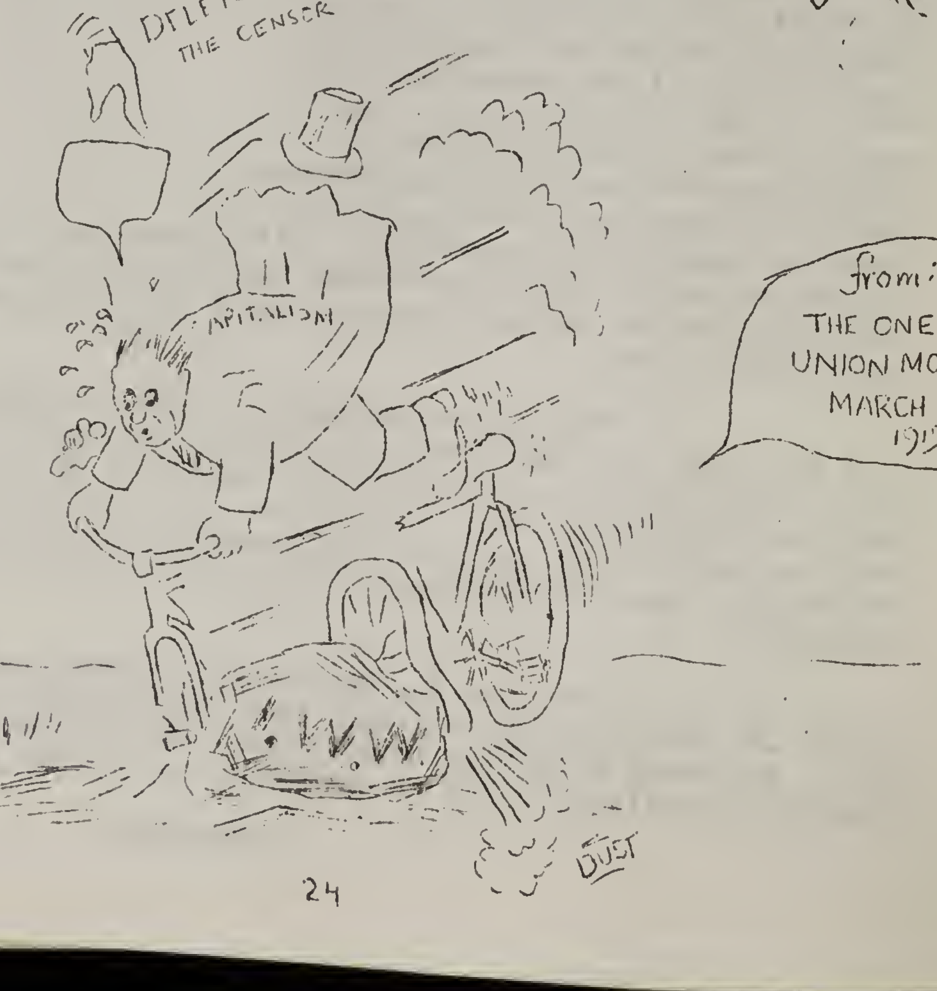

DELETED BY THE CENSOR
CAPITALISM
I.W.W.
DUST

from:
THE ONE BIG
UNION MONTHLY
MARCH
1919

WINDY CITY EMERGENCY

Laughable Unlaughables
Unborn wailing night children
Dropped like coal flakes
                    singing
In earth's sullen furron of the new world they were all looking at
Redeemed in a hurricane
(The eye hovering this spring)
Risen on ten thousand legs at various places
On multiple artillery torch helicopter thoughts
Shattering clattering on new horizons
Floating insurrection motions
After the wheels across iron unconscious pastures
Sing out brothers and sisters
Earth Air Fire Water

Mentionable Unmentionables
Witches and warlocks : vietcong street gangs
Unembraced save in red and black magic
Afternoon alchemy
Dust will not burn nor melt, must be submerged
Stone will not burn nor melt, must be smashed
Hate will not burn nor melt, must be swallowed
   By ten thousand timeless laughing antichrists

The year of the beast, the fire horse
With hooves of solid oak

Touchable Untouchables
Suddenly, or with all appregations possible
Remember : if it all unfamiliar, this is the Change
                                        It Is Now

Will bends and sinks
Lead guilt soaked nastiness of straight and crooked crosses
Burning crosses and double crosses
A five pointed star
A six pointed star
A seven pointed star
A star with ten billion points that
Has become a circle
Turning : the revolution

(continued)

The All spinning out from the center to the freedom of perimeter
Come tomorrow : here it is

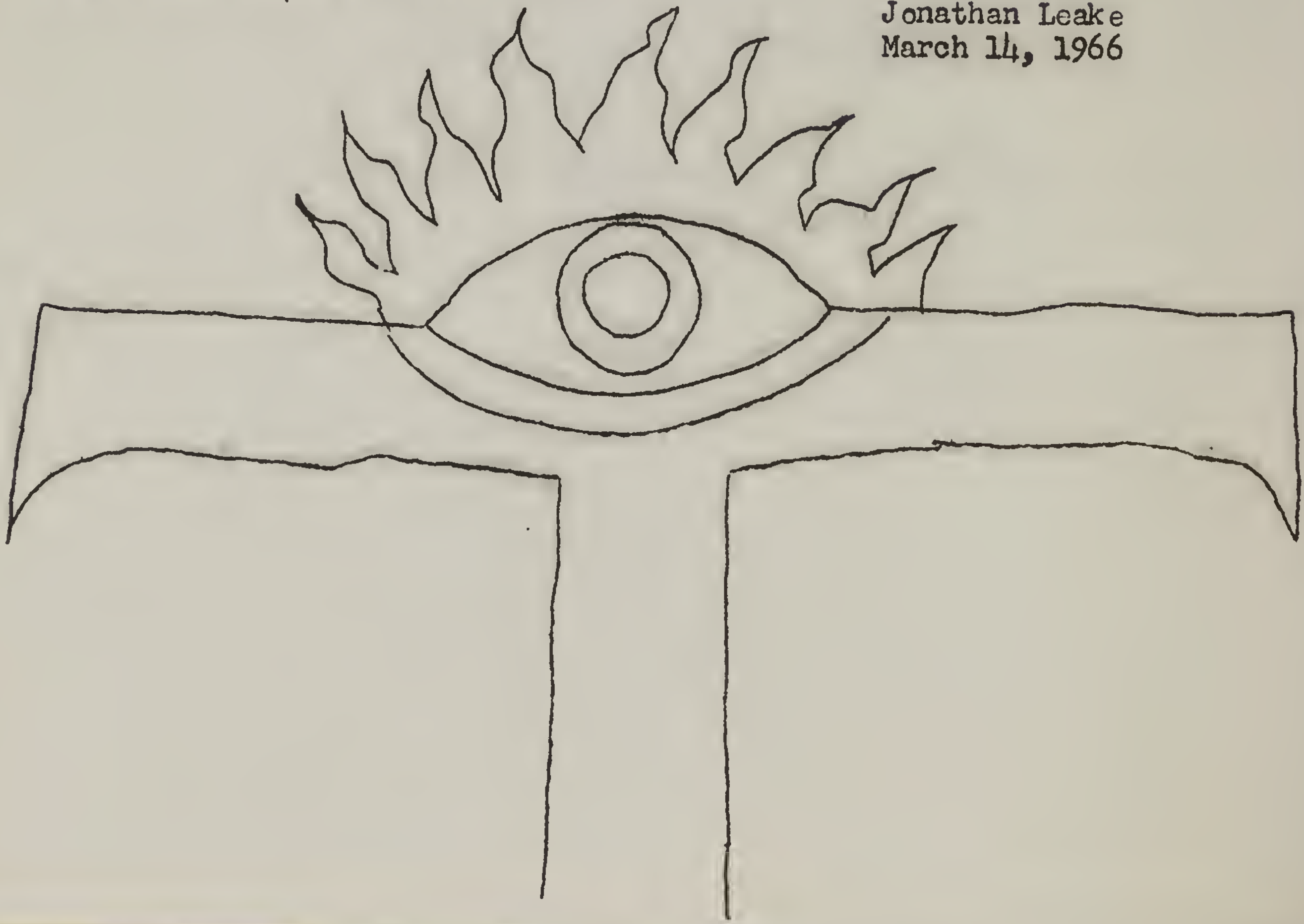
Here, the Haymarket labor truth, labor saints, labor devils
Labor revolution world
Black revolution world
Youth revolution world
world revolution world
word
revolution
world

Here, wobbly dillinget died in our allies alley
Reborn under a million breakfast tables
Here, the machine gin criminals crucified
Here, on the grey lake
Here ! Here ! Here!

Forge your green and black and red ranks
The single fist opened to sky and oceans (inside, without bottom)
A moment of conjunction
Equinox : Emergence : Emancipation
Five planets : three stars
One billion hands : One mind

We are all one
and in this dawn of the phoenix, the sphinx,
the Coming Dawn of good loving
the rough beasts, beautfful high
Reborn on plateaus, jungles of caution
At this moment, here, now,
The only Poem is Revolution.

Jonathan Leake
March 14, 1966



LETTERS

I dug the hell out of your number four. I was impressed by the varities of different points of view you've united under one cover. It should be possible for me to tell you in a discussion "You're wrong you're all wrong, you're completely wrong, you're talking thru your assholes!" and then go on working with you together on what unites us. Unfortunately, throughout most of the history of the traditional left this has not been the case.

Your criticism of "revolutionary" groups without women is good. If they're not faggots, there's something wrong with them.

I was glad to see an article stressing among other things the need to consider the theoretical and philosophy foundations of a radical position. The doctrine that the head is the natural enemy of the heart is integral to Anglo Saxon culture. Whereas this doctrine on the continent remains more exclusively associated with facism and the right in general, in America and England it affects the radical left as well. It is an inhuman doctrine, and should be exposed as such, in all its subtler forms as well.

I second Ken Weller's request for more reportage on industry, with analysis. Students and intellectuals like myself in fact have different troubles and needs from industrial workers, but any intellectual who thinks he can be free in an unfree society is off his rocker.

Yours for solidarity,
Munich Jim Evrard

Dear Editor,

As a new york wob, and a female, i'd like some more information on the upcoming anarchist-pacifist youth conference to be held here this month. i saw it mentioned in issue 4 of the rebel w worker, which by the way, was rea-ly beautiful.

i can't agree with craig beagle that there are hardly any rebel girls (i know many myself) but i think that the number of women involved in politics has always been proportionately lower than the number of men. i don't think the proportions any different among the radical groups than anywhere else.

yours for the revolution
judi sigler
NEW YORK IWW BRANCH
x323596

Dear Friends,

I am taking my sophomore year at the Rome Center of Loyola University of Chicago. I think THE REBEL WORKER is a tremendous publication. Could you please start me a one-year air mail subscription, figure out how much it will cost, and bill me? Also, could you send me several sample copies? I would like to see if I can get more people to subscribe.

Sincerely yours,
Brooks Lewis Erickson

Dear Friends,

Thanks for the REBEL WORKER which we think is a good paper. I read most of the items with great interest. We hope you will continue to send it to us, and we in turn shall send you our DE VRIJE in return.

Fraternal greetings, for
DE VRIJE anarchist monthly
Arthur Mendes-Georges
Rotterdam
The Netherlands

Dear Friend,

Despite the date of your letter we only received it yesterday so i guess somebodys reading... we got the copies of mods rockers and revolution and the latest r.w./excellent as ever. i still think that its the best political magazine being produced anywhere at present - of the ones i've come across, of course.

The highpoint of public popularity of blues is now probably over -- the days when wolf's smokestack lightning crawled into the top thirty and john lee hooker crawled into the top twenty for a tail-end dice are past. however th residue remains and its possible now to write seriously on the subject for jazz magazines as well. (viz Jazzmonthly - to which Mike Rowe and I contributed the first of a two part epic we are doing on chicago blues) certainly this year's blues fest will be a sell out, whereas count basie won't be and ornette coleman, my vote for the most lyrical of all alto-ists presently working an avant garde vein, wasn't. we have jimmy lee robinson, buddy (yeah, yeah), shakey horton, fred mcdowell, roosevelt sykes, jb lenoir et all coming and this year's should be the one to end them all. my rough guess is that big mama willie mae thornton's going to go thru this year's audience like a knife. no one's really expecting anything from her because no ones heard me 'n' my chauffeur.

i like r. w.'s insistence on the revolutionutricional value of rock but i think its a sight too optimistic, at least applied to this country. our censors get much less steamed up about rock than about eve of destruction type shit. the trouble is that big mods rockers thing needs explanation would you like an article? promise it will be factual and not overly pessimistic. the big rocker-mod crisis is almost certainly passé. it began just pre-beatles and seemed to disintegrate, at least as far as open manifestations were concerned as the beatles stormed to popularity (viz Pop goes the beatle). as the beatle-fad subsided the crisis came out into the open once again. the mods, as described in my pice, dress-wise, began to seek victums. the rockers, whose name came simply from the fact that they went on digging rock via records, juke boxes etc, after the craze had died down and ballads came back (trad jazz uggh), never manifested any open hostility towards mods and what offended the mods who were much more overtly rebellious (ie rockers will usually say that we're doing no harm, just enjoying youth before we settle down in a suburban nest) was the rocker's insistence on ultimate reppectibility and their constant endeavours to anaesthetize opposition, by organizing charity drives, church rocknroll, etc. the rockers were much more interested in motorbikes than rebellion per se. the mods picked on them and for their part were interested in largely aimless rebellion per se. now the whole thing seems to be submerged. only one mod rock group here, the brilliant Who who do create a real storm of sexuality and rebellion (my next song is going to be anti-bosses, anti-war, anti young marrieds!

LONDON

Charles Radcliff

How to Make Work for the Unemployed.

Much has been written lately about various new ways and tactics of carrying on the class struggle to emancipate the workers from wage slavery.

Some writers propose to "organize with the unemployed;" that is, to feed and house them in order to keep them from taking the jobs away from the employed workers. Others again want to organize a Gunmen Defense Fund to purchase machine guns and high-powered rifles for all union men, miners especially, that they may protect themselves from the murderous onslaughts of the private armies of the master class. Very well; these tactics MAY be perfectly good, but the question arises: Who is going to pay for all this?

Estimating the unemployed army to be about five millions in number and the board bill of one individual to be five dollars a week, we find that the total board bill of the whole unemployed army would be twenty-five million dollars per week.

The price of a machine gun is about $600 and a modern high-power rifle costs from $20 to $30. By doing a little figuring we find that fifty million dollars would not be sufficient to buy arms for the miners, let alone the rest of the organized workers. Every workingman and woman knows that, after the bills are paid on pay day, there is not much left to feed the unemployed army or buy war supplies with.

What the working class needs today is an inexpensive method by which to fight the powerful capitalist class and they have just such a weapon in their own hands.

This weapon is without expense to the working class and if intelligently and systematically used, it will not only reduce the profits of the exploiters, but also create more work for the wage earners. If thoroughly understood and used more extensively it may entirely eliminate the unemployed army, the army used by the employing class to keep the workers in submission and slavery.

In order to illustrate the efficacy of this new method of warfare, I will cite a little incident. Some time ago the writer was working in a big lumber yard on the west coast. On the coast nearly all the work around the water fronts and lumber yards is temporary.

When a boat comes in a large number of men are hired and when the boat is unloaded these men are "laid off." Consequently it is to the interest of the workers "to make the job last" as long as possible.

The writer and three others got orders to load up five box cars with shingles. When we commenced the work we found, to our surprise, that every shingle bundle had been cut open. That is, the little strip of sheet iron that holds the shingles tightly together in a bundle, had been cut with a knife or a pair of shears, on every bundle in the pile—about three thousand bundles in all.

When the boss came around we notified him about the accident and, after exhausting his supply of profanity, he ordered us to get the shingle press and re-bundle the whole batch. It took the four of us ten whole days to put that shingle pile into shape again. And our wages for that time, at the rate of 32¢ per hour, amounted to $134.00. By adding the loss on account of delay in shipment, the "holding money" for the five box cars, etc., we found that the company's profit for that day had been reduced about $300.

(cont'd on following page)

So there you are. In less than half an hour's time somebody had created ten days' work for four men who would have been otherwise unemployed, and at the same time cut a big chunk off the boss's profit. No lives were lost, no property was destroyed, there were no law suits, nothing that would drain the resources of the organized workers. But there WERE results. That's all.

This same method of fighting can be used in a thousand different ways by the skilled mechanic or machine hand as well as by the common laborer. This weapon is always at the finger tips of the worker, employed or unemployed.

If every worker would devote ten or fifteen minutes every day to the interests of himself and his class, after devoting eight hours or more to the interests of his employer, it would not be long before the unemployed army would be a thing of the past and the profit of the bosses would melt away so fast that they would not be able to afford to hire professional man-killers to murder the workers and their families in a case of strike.

The best way to strike, however, is to "strike on the job." First present your demands to the boss. If he should refuse to grant them, don't walk out and give the scabs a chance to take your places. No, just go back to work as though nothing had happened and try the new method of warfare.

When things begin to happen be careful not to "fix the blame" on any certain individual unless that individual is an "undesirable" from a working class point of view.

The boss will soon find that the cheapest way out of it is to grant your demands. This is not mere theory; it has been successfully tried more than once to the writer's personal knowledge.

Striking on the job is a science and should be taught as such. It is extremely interesting on account of its many possibilities. It develops mental keenness and inventive genius in the working class and is the only known antidote for the infamous "Taylor System."

The aim of the "Taylor System" seems to be to work one-half the workers to death and starve the other half to death. The strike on the job will give every worker a chance to make an honest living. It will enable us to take the child slaves out of the mill and sweat-shop and give their unemployed fathers a chance to work. It will stop the butchering of the workers in time of peace as well as in time of war.

If you imagine "Making Work for the Unemployed" is unfair, just remember Ludlow and Calumet and don't forget Sacramento where the men who were unable to get work had their brains beaten out by the Hessians of the law and were knocked down and drenched to the skin with streams of ice-cold water manipulated by the city fire department, where the unemployed were driven out of the city and in the rain only to meet the pitchforks of the farmers. And what for? For the horrible crime of asking the governor of California---for a JOB!

This is the way the capitalist class uses the working class when they can no longer exploit them---in the name of Law and Order. Remember this when you MAKE WORK FOR THE UNEMPLOYED!

Joe HILL

The preceding article was originally published in the International Socialist Review (December 1914). The poem below was first printed in the IWW paper Solidarity (June 27, 1914).

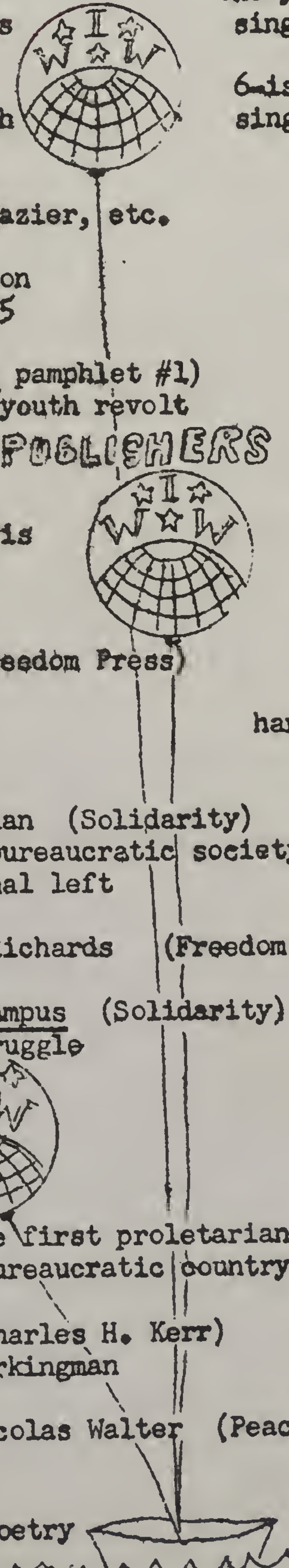
The Rebel's Toast

If Freedom's road seems rough and hard,
And strewn with rocks and thorns,
Then put your wooden shoes on, pard,
And you won't hurt your corns.
To organize and teach, no doubt,
Is very good---that's true,
But still we can't succeed without
The Good Old Wooden Shoe.

Joe HILL

SOLIDARITY BOOKSHOP

...The only radical libertarian bookshop in the U.S., is run by members of the Chicago Branch IWW. The following list is a brief selection of available material. For a more complete list, send for our 53-paged ANNOTATED CATALOGUE....



IWW PUBLICATIONS

The Industrial Worker Monthly IWW paper covering world labor news	one-year sub single copy	$1.00 .25
The Rebel Worker Quarterly journal of the Chicago IWW Branch	6-issue sub single copy	1.00 .25
IWW Songs: To Fan the Flames of Discontent Songs by Joe Hill, T-Bone Slim, Richard Brazier, etc.		.40
The IWW: Its First Fifty Years by Fred Thompson Wobbly history summarized from 1905 to 1955	paper cloth	2.00 3.00
Mods, Rockers & the Revolution (Rebel Worker pamphlet #1) Three articles on popular culture and the youth revolt		.15

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(March 1966)

THE REBEL WORKER

6

The Rebel Worker

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CONTENTS

Cover by Charles RADCLIFFE

IWW Preamble 2

Freedom -- The Only Cause Worth Serving 3
(Collective Preface)

A Very Nice, Very Respectable, Very Useless
Campaign by Charles RADCLIFFE 4

Souvenirs of the Future by Franklin ROSEMONT 5

Humor or not, or less, or else!
by Penelope ROSEMONT 9

Consciousness at the Service of Desire
by Pierre MABILLE 11

The Haunted Mirror (Surrealist text)
by Franklin and Penelope ROSEMONT 12

Crime Against the Bourgeoisie 13
by Ben COVINGTON

I am not Angry;I am Enraged!
by Archie SHEPP 15

Money by Karl MARX 17

I Hate the Poor by Kenneth PATCHEN 18

Letter from Chicago (Excerpts)
from Bernard MARSZALEK 18

Lobster by Benjamin PERET 19

SOLIDARITY BOOKSHOP (Revolutionary Literature) 21

Secrets 22

Free-hand lettering by Charles RADCLIFFE, sitting in
for Torvald Faegre who is on vacation in Peru

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RADCLIFFE
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Notes

Pierre MABILLE was a leading surrealist theoretician of the 1930's and 1940's, author of La Conscience Lumineuse, Egregores, Le Miroir du Merveilleux, etc. Another excerpt from this last work ("The Destruction of the World") will appear in the forthcoming Rebel Worker pamphlet Surrealism & Revolution.

Karl MARX was a 19th century socialist whose works have exerted considerable influence on the revolutionary movement.

Kenneth PATCHEN is an un-American poet exiled in the United States.

Benjamin PERET was a surrealist poet and theoretician who fought in the ranks of the C.N.T. during the Spanish Revolution; author of Mort aux Vaches and many other works.

Archie SHEPP is a poet, playwright and one of the major tenor sax voices amongst the current jazz avant-garde. He has a number of albums available both in England and the U.S. -- Fire Music (Impulse A86) is particularly recommended.

This is the first English "edition" of The Rebel Worker. Everyone who wants to put out further issues in England, and/or is interested in helping to do so should write to the address below. We would also welcome letters and comments on this issue, as well as addreses of bookshops and individuals who wish to distribute copies of The Rebel Worker.

Charles RADCLIFFE
13 Redcliffe Road
London SW10

Anything appearing in The Rebel Worker may be freely reprinted, translated, or adapted, even with out indicating its source, and we reserve the same freedom for ourselves regarding other publications.

Freedom is grassroots utopianism

IWW

LOST WHISPERS

This is the Chicago printing of Rebel Worker 6 (June,'66), originally published in London on May Day, exactly two years since our first issue. Response to the London issue has been encouraging, both in terms of sympathetic letters, subscriptions, and offers of future collaboration as well as the outcries and disdainful comments of traditional radicals and liberals. (One English cat said it was the first revolutionary paper which actually frightened him. Another, a member of the Young Communist League, said he would have none of these "little sects," adding that he at least, belonged to a "well-organized group"!) Let us note here that the London Solidarity Group are graciously distributing 100 copies of the London printing for us; this is the group which publishes Solidarity, one of the best revolutionary periodicals in the world today,--write to Bob Potter, 197 King's Cross Road, London W.C. 1; sample copies are available from us for 15 cents.

Charles Radcliffe, our London soul-brother, has written to us that further issues of an incandescent-carbonated journal sharing similar scandalous preoccupations with the Rebel Worker will appear there with the name Heatwave, adding its own delirious lucidity, vengeful humor and millenarian sensibility to the revolutionary movement in England. Heatwave #1 shall appear in 3-4 weeks--for details write to Charles Radcliffe, 13 Redcliffe Road, London SW 10. Copies will, of course, be available from us at 25 cents each.

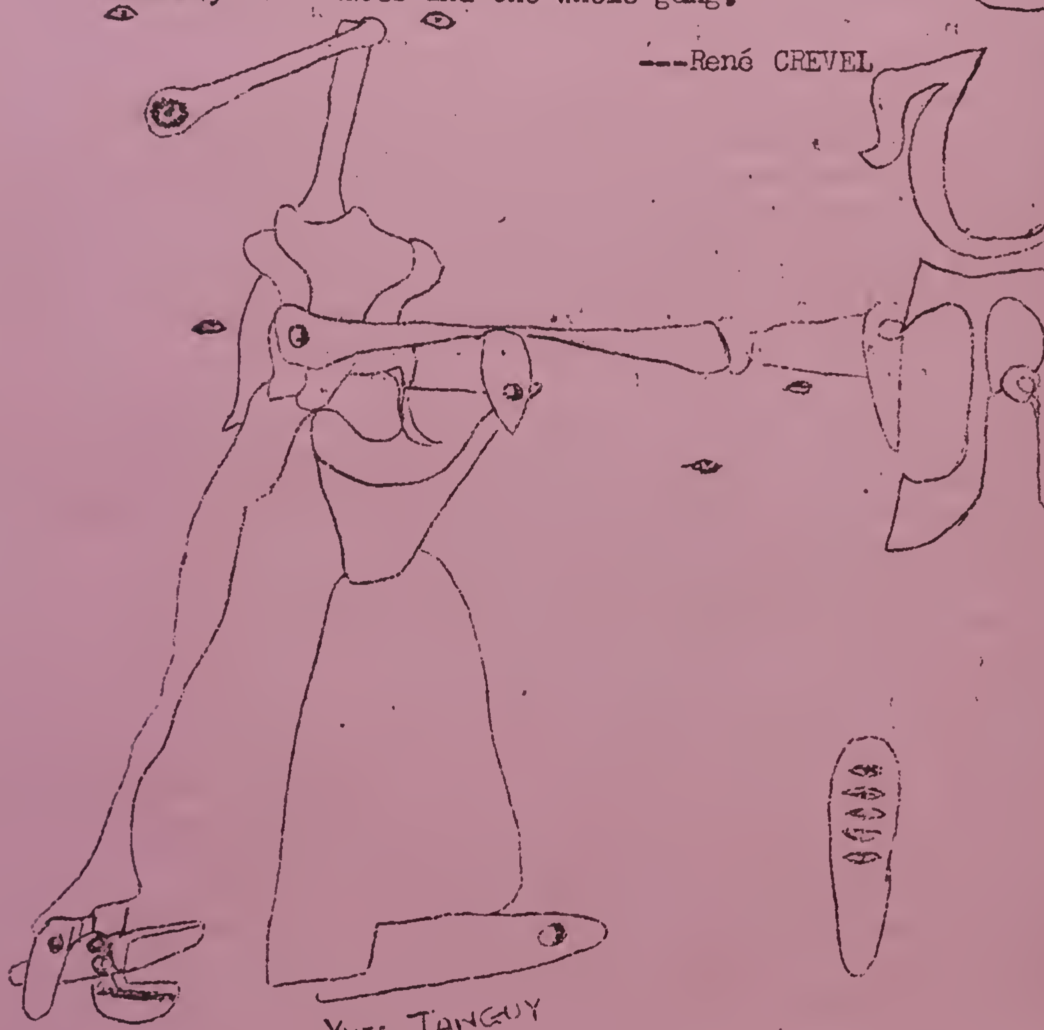
The London printing carried a last-minute-type cover, hastily prepared by Radcliffe portraying a bearded bomb-toting anarchist in a ballon; we have decided to use here, instead, an engraving ("The Temptation of St. Anthony") by Radcliffe's distant relative, the Flemish anarchist Pieter Bruegal the Elder. H. Arthur Klein, in his Graphic Works of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (Dover Books, paperback) writes about this particular engraving: "In its drastic criticism of the conditions of both the Church and State, this may well be the most 'outspoken' of Bruegel's graphic works. Corruption and decay beset both the State (the one-eyed head below) and the Church (the rotting fish above)." (p. 268) This engraving is for us a pretty accurate presentation of contemporary reality, although we feel that the curious figure in the lower right-hand corner (who happens to be St. Anthony) is now historically and poetically outmoded, to say the least, and would perhaps be replaced best today by a passionate saboteur, armed to the teeth with mad love and the uncontrollable desire to be free.

On the back we have reprinted the text of a leaflet issued by The Anarchists of Chicago (April, 1966). The only other additions to this issue, aside from the cover, are this page of notes and the message from René Crevel on the other side.

AU GRAND JOUR

The time is coming when seas of boiling rage will reverse the icy current of rivers, overflow and fertilize, fathoms deep, a crusted, petrified soil, tear away frontiers, uproot churches, clean the hills of bourgeois complacency, decapitate the headlands of aristocratic insensitivity, drown the obstacles the exploiting minority set in the way of the mass of the exploited, restore humanity to its future by freeing it from outdated institutions, religious fears, jingoistic mysticism and all that constitutes and consecrates the evils of the majority for the benefit of the two-legged sharks, their mates and the whole gang.

---René CREVEL



YVES TANGUY

FREEDOM

This sixth issue of The Rebel Worker is being produced in London, several thousand miles from its customary home in Chicago. We hope this issue, and subsequent ones, will help give our ideas a wider audience than they have had so far in Britain.

The Rebel Worker is an incendiary and wild-eyed journal of free revolutionary research and experiment devoted principally to the task of clearing a way through the jungle of senile dogmas and aiming towards a revolutionary point of view fundamentally different from all traditional concepts. We believe that almost all political propaganda is useless, being based on assumptions which are false and situations which do not exist. We are tired of the irrelevant concepts and the old platitudes. The revolutionary movement, in theory and in practice, must be rebuilt from scratch.

Many of us around The Rebel Worker are members of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), once one of the largest and most powerful rank-and-file revolutionary organisations the world has ever seen. We have joined the IWW because of its beautiful traditions of direct action, rank-and-file control, sabotage, humor, spontaneity and unmitigated class struggle.

It is these principles that constitute our editorial basis, but our task is not limited to mere recruitment. Our role is to promote "Whatever increases the confidence, the autonomy, the initiative, the participation, the solidarity, the equalitarian tendencies and the self-activity of the masses and whatever assists in their demystification".* We want and support revolutionary direct action on every level -- in the factories, on the docks, in the fields, in schools, in colleges, in offices and in the streets. But this is not enough. Revolutionary action should be accompanied by theoretical understanding. The Revolution must be made by men, women and children who know what they are doing. Consciousness and desire must cease to be perceived as contradictions.

The Revolution, for us, cannot be limited to economic and political changes; these are urgent and absolutely necessary, it is true, but we see them as a beginning rather than as an end; we see social liberation as the essential prerequisite, the first steps, in the total liberation of man.

the only
cause
worth
serving

It is especially to young people -- young workers, students, drifters, draft-dodgers, school dropouts -- to whom we address ourselves and our solidarity: you are one of the largest and most oppressed sectors of our society, and it is you who must make the Revolution.

What we want, and what The Rebel Worker is about, in short, is Freedom -- "the only cause worth serving."**

Ben COVINGTON Charles RADCLIFFE
Franklin and Penelope ROSEMONT
Nat TURNER Emiliano ZAPATA

*Paul Cardan, Modern Capitalism & Revolution (Solidarity) **Andre Breton

A very nice very respectable very useless CAMPAIGN

When the anarchist poet Jeff Nuttall spoke at the final rally of this year's CND easter march, he added new dimensions to the usual ritual, just as did the giant political puppet theatre which showed politicians as they really are -- not just without conscience but small, grovelling men, sustained only by the persecuting knowledge of their own vacant treason to their humanity. By calling for the destruction of the Ministry of Defence Jeff Nuttall gave intention to an affair which had none of its own. By speaking he let it be known that any number of people saw in CND and its charmless entourage of parliamentary vipers nothing so much as the sell-out of a once genuine popular movement against nuclear war to the so-called immediate imperatives of political relevance and political advance.

Since the CND leadership made public its refusal to challenge society -- after the Spies for Peace revelations in 1963 -- the Campaign has lived on borrowed time. The complex manoeuvres to present a libertarian image while denying to anarchists the right to speak at the rally, the dummy-protests and the dummy- Members of Parliament are not going to save it. CND is doomed. It is time for a young movement which addresses the contemporary reality, a movement which will challenge every tiny aspect of our war-sustained society, even unto the last public utility, which will militarise the dissatisfaction of almost every young person in this country. For dissatisfaction is not confined to politics; it extends into every street, club and classroom. It must be encouraged in its every aspect; its active expression may be welded into a revolutionary weapon which will strike fear into the deepest recesses of our society. Imagine briefly: if every time the police decided to victimise young people they were faced with the united fury of such people, if young people were to turn on their attackers with all the venom their frustration could muster. Then we might talk of protest.

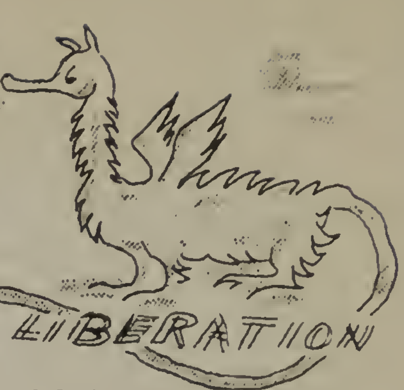
Such a movement would support the emotional eruptions of all youth; would learn to sanction the outrages of youth recognising in them a kindred spirit -- albeit a bolder one -- in the rejection of the spiritual death of a society which has attempted too long and too successfully to postpone the irrefutable logic of its indifference -- destruction. This society, if we will it, can drown in its own corrupted blood. It can die in its tracks -- on the streets, in the clubs, in the factories. The new revolution may be obscene and blasphemous; it must deface the power structure when it cannot destroy it; the criterion is defiance not discipline.

The new revolution must support every last insurrection of the mind and body againt this bloodfed society -- our movement is symbolised by the bomb-thrower, the deserter, the delinquent, the hitch-hiker, the mad lover, the school drop-out, the wild cat striker, the rioter and the saboteur.

This year 500 anarchists caused a 'near riot' in Trafalgar Square, until the 'platform' capitulated to their demand for a speaker. Significantly it was Nuttall who spoke on their behalf, rather than an

(cont'd p.16)

SOUVENIRS OF THE FUTURE



PRECURSORS of the THEORY & PRACTICE OF TOTAL LIBERATION

It is clear that man has lost his comfortable foothold in the provincial, one-dimensional flatlands where bourgeois society originally built its little mental world. The peace-loving resident of the suburbs, for instance, used to looking outside and seeing only his overfed neighbor or somebody's excuse for an automobile, now sees through his window only the most terrible darkness, the most violent natural calamities, the most permanent insurrections. He may try, fond as he is of wearing a heavy overcoat of ignorance wherever he goes, to lose himself before his television set, or in an uninspired affair with his best friend's wife; he may even succeed in utterly exterminating the last traces of the free play of his imagination by utilising any of the various means lying conveniently along a well-trod path of emotional and intellectual exhaustion: golf, for instance, or watching baseball. But such efforts are useless. Every scream of protest and genuine anger, every signal of true resistance, whether expressed in wildcat strikes, in certain strains of pop music, in violence against the police on anti-war demonstrations, in ghetto uprisings, in the blues, in jazz, in poetry or in guerilla warfare against the state -- wholehearted revolt in any and every form -- gives the lie to the fat and hypocritical complacency of those who cower in fear behind locked doors, afraid of the people in the streets, afraid of their own children, afraid of everything that gets in the way of their stupidity, afraid above all of any vestige of a human being concealed within themselves.

It is also clear, however, that the presently emerging movement of protest is too little conscious of the implications of its actions, too unsure of whence it came, where it is going and why. Certainly one of the most important tasks of a revolutionary journal is to expand, broaden and deepen this consciousness. The motives, inspirations and aspirations of the present movement, of which The Rebel Worker constitutes one of the more adventurous forces, cannot be understood properly without a complete revaluation of revolutionary values as well as a vast reassessment of the whole revolutionary tradition, necessarily involving research into, and reinterpretation of, all levels and all varieties of past struggles. This requires the complete repudiation of those pitiful "radicals" who look to history only to justify themselves and their actions with the "sacred texts," and who thus demonstrate only their weakness and blindness in confronting the reality of today. It goes without saying that we reject, absolutely, both those who choose to hide themselves in the past, or attempt to impose the past upon the future (reactionaries of all traditional varieties) and those who manipulate the past to conceal or distort the true nature of the present (liberals, social democrats, elitist "socialists," conservatives, etc.). "In matters of revolt," as André Breton once said, "one should not need ancestors." It is no less true that we must redefine the past according to the needs of the future determined by the situation of the present.

If there are a few people of the past whose words are still meaningful for us today, it is obvious that they cannot be the same ones presented to us for our admiration in school. Teachers, after all, in class society, are usually little more than cops, and who can respect the same things as a cop? The most relevant voices of the past are not the ones sanctified in the bourgeois mausoleum of heroes. The degree to which they are acceptable to this society is the degree to which they are useless to us. Nor can we hope to find most of them in the genealogy cherished by the traditional left, whose dogmatism, sectarianism, humorlessness, elitism and myopia we reject here as in everything else. The revolutionary movement, presently rebuilding itself from scratch, will have to re-envision its history from scratch as well. In particular, I think it is necessary now to give special consideration to precisely those past revolutionaries who have been most consistently ignored by the traditional left. It is also essential that we do not seek from them exclusively political or economic or even sociological revelations. "In periods of political inactivity," as fellow worker Lawrence DeCoster wrote not long ago, "the greatest hope of revolutionaries lies in non-political activity." (Of course we must also work like hell to revive serious rank-and-file political activity, primarily on the shop-floor level and in the streets where it matters most.) Today, with the resources of psychoanalysis, surrealism, anthropology, the physical and biological sciences being placed increasingly at the service of the revolution, we know that certain allegedly "non-political" works of the past are more thoroughly subversive, more liberating, more revolutionary than the most obviously "political" works of the same period. Every effort of man to realize his dreams in total freedom is revolutionary. But politics, by itself, no matter how revolutionary, remains a partial truth.

Let us note here a few of those whom we can unhesitatingly affirm as precursors of our own theoretical and practical activity, a few desperate enchanters whose magical lucidity still burns in our eyes today, a few lone soul brothers of whom we can still speak in connection with freedom. Academic and journalistic parasites may attempt to obscure them with their false elucidations, or ignore their work through the ignoble "conspiracy of silence," but nothing will stop us from pouring into the crucibles of the revolution these splendidly subversive inspirations and implacable dreams:

Lautréamont

It was Aragon who, before his Stalinization, observed that just as Marx had laid bare the economic contradictions of society, and Freud the psychological contradictions, so Lautréamont threw into a dazzling new light the ethical contradictions: the whole problem of morality, not to mention such other problems as the animalization of the intellect and the purpose of literature, assume with Lautréamont an excruciating significance next to which most of the philosophical babbling of his contemporaries seem to us today as nothing more than a handful of lies. The importance of Lautreamont on the ideological development of surrealism is second to none. His work has been called "a veritable bible of the unconscious;" the validity of many of his discoveries and revelations were subsequently demonstrated by Freudian psychoanalysis. It can probably be generally agreed that the liberal-humanist pantheon has, in the last century and especially during this century, crumbled to ruins; and it is Lautréamont whose criticism of it was most thoroughly, most devastatingly to the point, and who, moreover, best indicated a way out of the morass of confusion by rallying around the "reality of desire" which, theoretically elaborated by surrealists, remains the key to our most revolutionary aspirations.

Fourier

The traditional left of the 20th century has almost invariably consigned the many so-called "utopian socialists" to a position amounting to historical irrelevance, assuming them to be of interest exclusively for their influence on Marx and Engels, or Proudhon and Bakunin. Critical re-examinations of utopians by revolutionaries have occasionally appeared, and sometimes they are very good (see, for instance, Marie-Louise Berneri's Journey Through Utopia which discusses not only the best-known utopians, but also Winstanley, Diderot, Sade, William Morris, etc.). But much more still needs to be done. In particular the fantastic and visionary works of Charles Fourier (whose delirious cosmology and "passional psychology," no less than his penetrating social analysis, intrigued Marx and later Trotsky as well as many anarchists) deserve sympathetic and serious study. Fourier, more than any of the other utopians, pioneered many of our own preoccupations. He was very aware, for instance, of the central problem of love and the crucial role of human passions in social life. He insisted on the necessity of completely changing the very fabric of life to meet the needs of desire. The implications of his theory of analogy suggest a possible new development in revolutionary theory. His importance, in any case, cannot be limited to the experimental rural phalansteries (Fourier's name for communes) of his disciples---which are important too, of course, but in a very different way---nor to his most immediate influences on later socialists: it is above all Fourier the poet and seer who interests us today.

Sade

The theoretical and imaginative work of the Marquis de Sade, along with the practical efforts of the celebrated Enragés, can be considered, from the revolutionary point of view, the highest points reached during the French Revolution (and the so-called Age of Reason). The rising bourgeoisie was anti-feudal, anti-monarch, anti-superstition: but its talk of liberty and reason soon reduced itself to platitudes to be carved by the State above the doors of prisons -- it was a limited freedom, freedom defined to meet the needs of only one comparatively small class of exploiters. The Enragés struggled for a deeper revolution, representing the class needs of the proletariat: this effort was to receive its theoretical analysis and justification later, first in certain workers' papers and eventually in the monumental contributions of Marx and Engels. Sade, too, realized the inherent weaknesses of the revolution (see particularly his Frenchmen! One More Effort If You Wish to be Republicans which was, incidentally, reprinted as revolutionary propaganda in the struggles of 1848). He was aware of the social conflict -- the class struggle -- but brought to his analysis a consciousness of other problems (love, sexuality, desire, crime, religion, etc.) which were not to receive systematic exploration until surrealism. His works, which have at various times been reduced to providing tea-party chatter for senile litterateurs, and are currently enjoying a paperback revival (doubtless for being "classic pornography"), should now be read by everyone struggling for a revolution which will not end in a new set of chains.

BLAKE

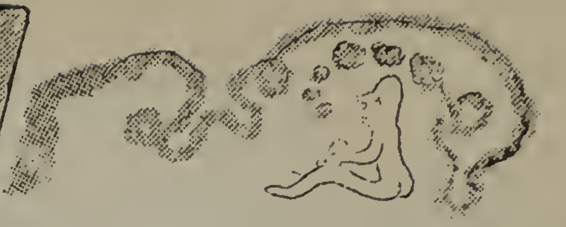
The editions of his own works printed by William Blake are highly-prized by cretinous bourgeois rare book collectors (let us spit in their faces and note in passing that everything he wrote spit in their faces too). Probably the greatest poet in the English language, most radicals seem to know nothing about him in connection with revolutionary politics other than the fact that he hid Thomas Paine who at the time was wanted by the British government. It is insufficient to add that, in England at least, his poem "London" has become a "socialist" hymn: for Blake's importance lies far beyond any isolated minor work which can be unfairly harnessed to the anti-workingclass needs of the Labour Party. Let us note only that Blake was, for a time, associated with the circle that included William Godwin and Mary Wollstonecraft, and that he and his works are thoroughly imbued with the revolutionary ideas of his epoch. But Blake saw much farther than any of the other English radicals of his time, and his works -- which are only now really becoming active influences on the revolutionary movement -- bear witness to the extraordinary depth of his perception and the prophetic surreality of his vision. The Revolution, too, will become "non-Euclidean:" common sense, already abandoned in almost every significant contemporary thought current (non-Euclidean geometry, non-Maxwellian physics, non-Newtonian mechanics, probability theory, psychoanalysis, general relativity theory, surrealism, etc.) must give way in revolutionary politics, as well, to less limited points of view, to superior methods of knowledge. Blake cut through the superficial rationalism of his day with the axe of poetry and vision. It is true that the semi-religious symbolism he often employed has detracted somewhat from the truly subversive, anti-religious and liberating message of his works; but compared to his contemporaries -- and that was a revolutionary age! -- Blake was the brightest star in a cloudy, moonless night.

The Gothic Novelists

Professional literary critics and academics today are practically unanimous in their rejection of that extraordinary profusion of works of the late 1700's and early 1800's usually known as "Gothic novels." These tales of haunted and crumbling castles, apparitions in the night, maddening lust, pacts with the devil and bleeding nuns are quite evidently not suited to the refined tastes of our numerous literature experts, who dismiss the entire genre as "musty claptrap" or with some such other derisive appellation. Like most matters of interest to us, the academics put them down, utterly missing the point. These works, like the real meaning of the revolution, are simply beyond their understanding. What makes the Gothic novels of special importance is both the immense popularity they enjoyed at the time of their publication (they were the best-sellers of their day) and also the great influence they exerted upon some of the most brilliant and critical minds of the younger generation: Shelley, Byron, Coleridge, Sade, Hugo, Baudelaire, the Bronte sisters, etc. Very few works of any period enjoy this double privelege: it was,

(to page 20)

HUMOR or not or less or else!



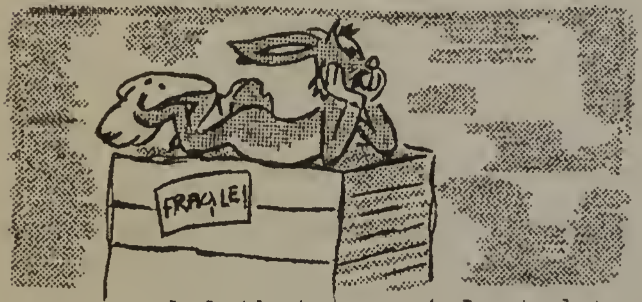
Humor, which has long been neglected by many so-called revolutionaries in their attempts to prove to themselves that their intentions are altogether noble and serious (no doubt, also, because of the desolation and barrenness of their thinking), ought to be given the recognition it has long deserved and regain its rightful place in the revolutionary struggle.

> "Humor is not resigned; it is rebellious. It signifies the triumph not only of the ego but also of the pleasure principle...."
>
> ---FREUD

The Wobblies have long been recognized for the humor they have contributed to the class struggle, for instance their use of humor as a means of lowering the boss's self-esteem to a minus one, often expressed in acts of collective sabotage such as the planting of cherry trees upside down with their roots blowing in the wind. Another famous incident in the history of revolutionary humor occurred when IWW construction workers, whose pay had been cut in half, reported for work the following day with their shovels similarly cut in half. (The pay was raised.)

"Sabotage is the soul of wit." (Solidarity, 1913-15).

Besides these examples of on-the-job humor there is the Little Red Song Book containing such songs as "The Preacher and the Slave" which mocks the famous religious hymn "In the Sweet Bye and Bye" used by the Starvation Army when it tried to sell its "pie in the sky." And the telegram which Joe Hill sent before he was legally murdered in which he asked his fellow workers to come get his body because he didn't want to be "caught dead" in Utah... And aside from being the greatest of the IWW writers T-Bone Slim is also one of its greatest humorists. (Watch for reprints of his writings as well as previously unpublished material in forthcoming issues of The Rebel Worker.)

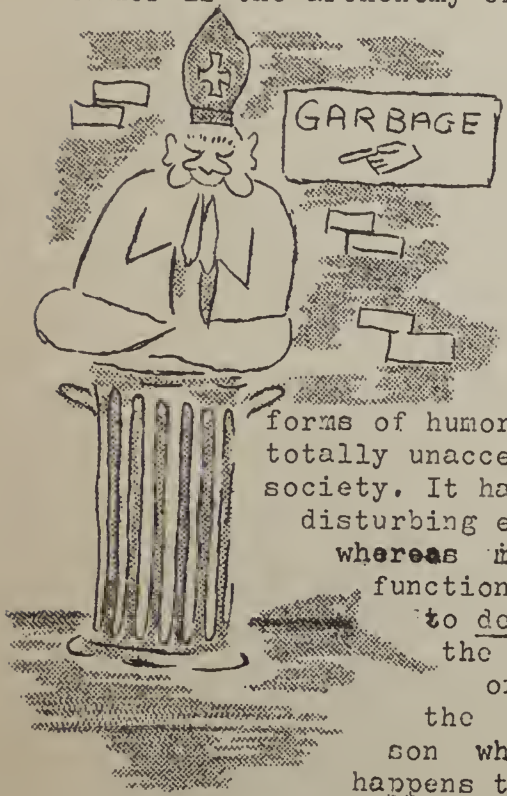


Humor has vast, as yet only partially realized, powers as a polemical weapon. Its users can with the least possible effort pull the keystone out of any argument leaving his opponent standing stunned amid a pile of bricks. Solidarity, for instance, one of the outposts of revolutionary humor today, once recommended that non-violent demonstrators "go limp and refuse to bleed."

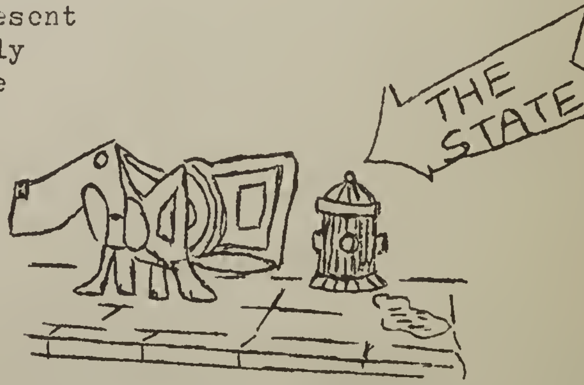
The movies of the Marx Brothers, Charlie Chaplin, Bugs Bunny are all implicitly dangerous to bourgeois society; they express their bitterness and aggression in humor. They attack society and everything it holds dear, and if you do not leave the movie theatre and destroy the nearest squad car, it's your fault, not theirs.

> "Beautiful as the fortuitous encounter, upon a dissecting table, of a sewing-machine and an umbrella."
>
> ---LAUTRÉAMONT

Potential potentates are notorious for their lack of humor and their total inability to cope with it. The entire functioning of a bureaucracy depends on the fact that it is taken seriously. The bureaucrat as an individual usually has little control over the violence which is at the command of the state. This is functional in that it serves to absolve him of any guilt which might result from the use of this violence, for in a bureaucracy as in a firing squad no one really knows who has the live bullet. Bureaucrats have at their disposal little more than the prestige, respect and all the trappings of their position. They take themselves and their positions utterly seriously, and because of this it is possible to utterly demolish both them personally and also the sacristy of their office. Humor is the archenemy of prestige!



The most violent and extreme form of humor, known as black humor, has found its greatest expression in the work of Lautreamont, Alfred Jarry, Jacques Vache and Benjamin Peret. A popular, if diluted, variety of black humor is found in the elephant jokes and "sick" jokes (What is black and white and lies in the gutter? ---A dead nun). An example of proletarian black humor which originated during the Spanish Revolution of 1936 is the saying "hang the last politician with the guts of the last priest." Unlike other forms of humor, black humor is totally unacceptable to present society. It has an extremely disturbing effect because whereas milder wit functions merely to deflate the ego of the person whom it happens to be used against, black humor threatens it and devastates it. It surveys reality, sees through it and exposes it. Black humor releases all the power of unconscious desire.



Through the adoption of humor as a conscious attitude we can assert ourselves over the confines of environment, reality, and in effect topple the whole structure and reassemble it as we wish, thus revealing a glimpse of the pride which the Revolution will restore to man. Revolutionaries must be the enemies of reality -- they must be poets and dreamers with uncontrollable desires that will not be repressed, sublimated or sidetracked. They must be willing to be ruthless. The economic change brought by the Revolution is only the first of our demands: we will not be content with anything less than the total annihilation of existing reality and the total triumph of Desire.

Penelope ROSEMONT

CONSCIOUSNESS at the service of DESIRE

He who wishes to attain the profoundly marvellous must free images from their conventional associations, associations always dominated by utilitarian judgements: must learn to see the man behind the social function, break the scale of so-called moral values, replacing it by that of sensitive values surmount taboos, the weight of ancestral prohibitions, cease to connect the object with the profit one can get out of it, with the price it has in society, with the action it commands. This liberation begins when by some means the voluntary censorship of the bad conscience is lifted, when the mechanisms of the dream are no longer impeded. A new world then appears where the blue-eyed passerby becomes a king, where red coral is more precious than diamond, the toucan more indispensable than the cart-horse. The fork has left its enemy the knife on the restaurant table, it is now between Aristotle's categories and the piano keyboard. The sewing machine yielding to an irresistable attraction, has gone off into the fields to plant beetroot. Holiday world, subject to pleasure, its absolute rule, everything in it seems gratuitous and yet everything is soon replaced in accordance with a truer order, deeper reasons, a rigorous hierarchy.

In this mysterious domain which opens before us, when the intellect, social in its origin and in its destination, has been abandoned, the traveller experiences an uncomfortable disorientation. The first moments of amusement or alarm having passed, he must explore the expanse of the unconscious, boundless as the ocean, likewise animated by contrary movements. He quickly notices that this unconscious is not homogeneous; planes stratify as in the material universe, each with their value, their law, their manner of sequence and their rhythm.

Paraphrasing Hermes' assertion that "all is below as what is above to make the miracle of a single th ing," it is permissible to assert that everything is in us just as that which is outside us so as to constitute a single reality. In us the diffuse phantoms, the distorted reflections of actuality, the repressed expressions of unsatisfied desires, mingle with the common and general symbols. From the confused to the simple, from the glitter of personal emotions to the indefinite perception of the cosmic drama, the imagination of the dreamer effects its voyage, unceasingly, it dives to return to the surface, bringing from the depths to the threshold of consciousness, the great blind fish. Nevertheless, the pearl-fisher comes to find his way amid the dangers and the currents. He manages to discover his bearings amid the fugitive landscape bathed in a half-light where alone a few brilliant points scintillate. He acquires little by little the mastery of the dark waters.

But the mind is not content to enjoy the contemplation of the magnificent images it sees while dreaming, it wishes to translate its visions, express the new world which it has penetrated, make other men share therein, realize the inventions that have been suggested to it. The dream is materialized in writing; in the plastic arts, in the erection of monuments, in the construction of machines. Nevertheless, the completed works, the acquired knowledge, leave untouched, if not keener, the inquietude of man, ever drawn to the quest of individual and collective finality, to the obsession of breaking down the solitude which is ours, to the hope of influencing directly the mind of others so as to modify their sentiments and guide their actions, and, last and above all, to the desire to realize total love.

Pierre MABILLE

From *Le Miroir du Merveilleux*
(Excerpt reprinted from the surrealist review *London Bulletin*, June 1940)

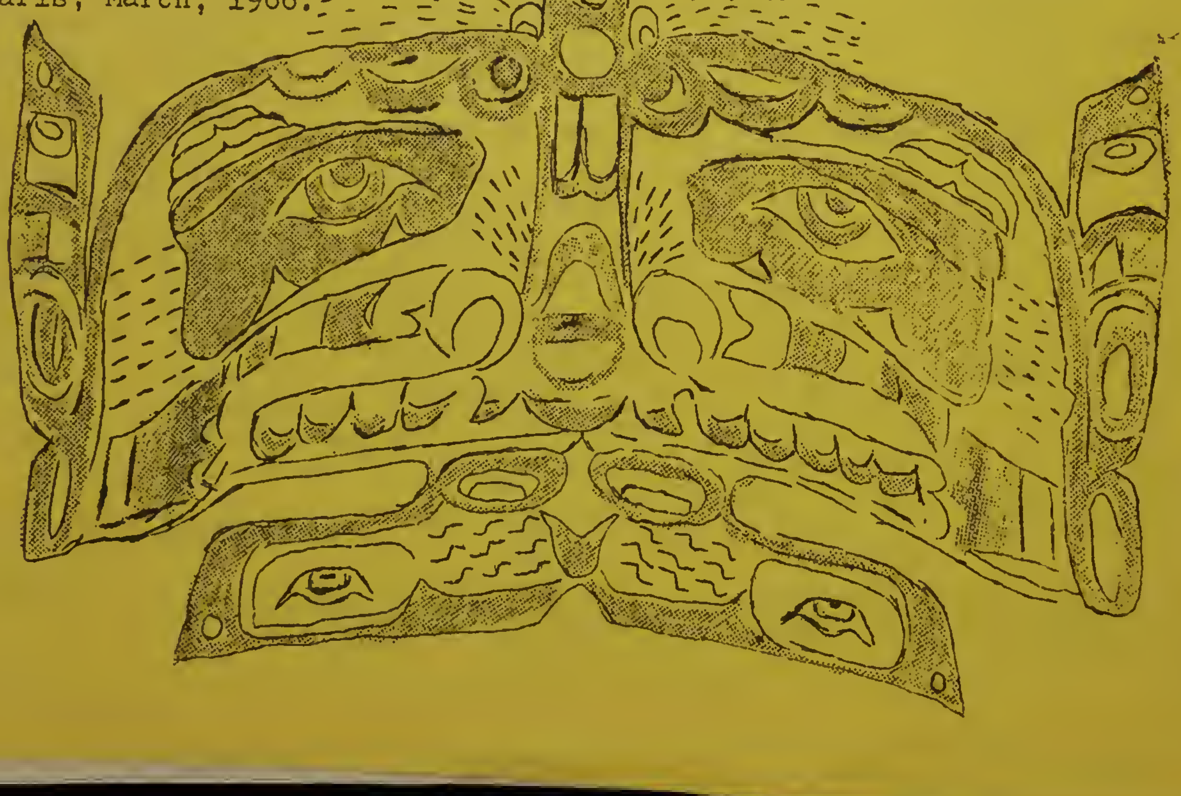
THE HAUNTED MIRROR

The gray pillow decorates the omnivorous moon, upsetting the wizard's organ of the electric sidewalk. Later, the silence grows sinister and delinquent. The old women run frequently, and the monkey loses track of the crisp cathode. There is a striped squirrel on the roof, and a staircase on the bridge or bog. The night is as spacious as a sacrificed mirror, and all I know is that I love you because goldfish are cavernous and the sea is as singular as a rose.

Meanwhile, the cliffs overlook the visible waves, and the trees are black with ostriches. The automobiles entice the chairs in the desirable rain, as if the pedestrians had all recalled their spiral doorbells. The streets are full of rugs and windows; the shopwindows full of waves. Who knows what the thunder will be like tomorrow, or the day after? The wheels are forlorn like the sleeping finger, or the tigers running loosely on the shore, observed only by the prickly scorpion, who sleeps with one eye open as wide as a paper and always keeps another eye bearded next to his winding ear.

Finally, the woman cuts open the resourceful pendulum. There are the usual uncanny screams, the bloodstains on the sky, astonished limits in the dimly-lit ocean. The wolves are rheumatic. The house burns foolishly like a sacrificial accordion. The deceptive goat lies in the osteopath's bed. Every door leads to a new thief; but the blind adjectives own all the pencils. Every old winner is an alphabetical loser, every red table a letter of white sugar. Fallacious pipes are always rare, and I love you as madly as the sky is contagious.

Paris; March, 1966. Franklin and Penelope ROSEMONT



Crime against the bourgeoisie

I first heard about The Who before they were The Who; just another mod r 'n' b group, playing one of Central London's most fiercely mod clubs, but apparently doomed to remaining unknown outside a small circle of fans, despite their defiantly hip name - the High Numbers. I didn't hear any more about them for nearly two years, when suddenly a rash of posters appeared in Central London advertising a new group -- The Who. The posters were superb -- heavily shadowed, crudely dramatic and featuring The Who lead guitarist, Pete Townshend, his arm raised in an arc over his head, his guitar barely visible. A few months before they had been unknown, under the new name, outside the Shepherds Bush area but gradually the news spread that the Marquee Club -- whence came, among others, the Rolling Stones, the Yardbirds, the Moody Blues and Manfred Mann -- had a fantastic new group. They were taken up by Melody Maker, the hippest British music weekly, and shortly afterwards by Record Mirror.

Despite the enthusiasm of the fans -- the musical press, for the most part managed little more than perplexed astonishment -- The Who's first record, "I Can't Explain", one of the best pop records of 1965, didn't really move nationally at first though it created enough interest in the group for their explosive views about pop to gain some attention. More people went to the Marquee. Provincial fans carried back the news. The record took off, finally making the top ten. When The Who made their second record, "Anyway, Anyhow, Anywhere", they were again able to go almost into the Top Ten. The weird feedback sound effects, the carefully cultivated Pop Art image -- the wearing of jackets made from the Union Jack and sweat shirts embroidered with the free-form sound effects of American comics, as well as military insignia -- and later their championship of autodestructive pop guaranteed them attention in a world where long hair was becoming more a recommedation for respectable employment than a mark of depravity.

The Who's stage act is a shattering event. They start off quietly but providing the audience is with them they soon turn on the special effects. The singer, Roger Daltrey, legs slightly apart, torso jutting forward, begins to smash his microphone with a tambourine, first gently and then with increasing fury until the amplifiers howl. Alternatively he crashes a hand-mike against the cymbals or screams harshly into the microphone, leaning forward at an absurd angle, his body straight, held above the stage by the microphone stand. While singing he cavorts round the stage in the curiously paralytic dance of a reigning mod. Occasionally he blows harmonica, furiously and grotesquely, like the screeching of a moon-struck tom cat. One way or the other he often leaves mic=

(to p 17)

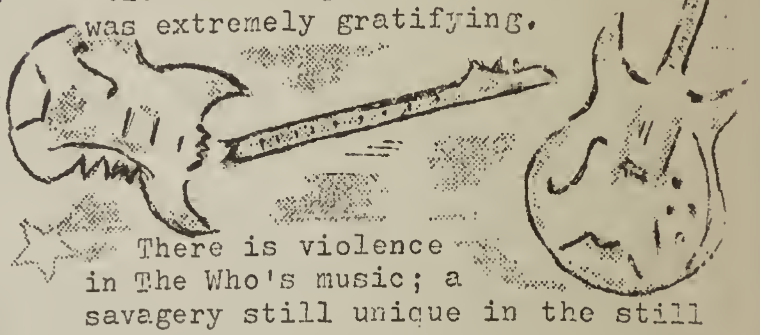
rophones smashed. Meanwhile Pete Townshend, face bland and impassive, creates banshee howls, stutters and the staccato burr of distant machine guns from feedback and by scraping his instrument against the amplifier, before finally smashing it into the amplifier to produce the noise of tearing metal and screeching car tyres. His arm swings wildly, higher than his head, arcing before smashing back onto the guitar. He strikes chords and his arm swings in circles, faster and faster. He holds a pose; arm extended, before once again swinging onto his guitar. Or, he holds his guitar at the hip, shooting notes at the audience. The Who's stage act can end with his guitar hurled into the crowd. John Entwhistle, on bass guitar, keeps the thread of the group's performance with heavy double rhythms and a driving bass line. Drummer Keith Moon, mouth wide open, head gyrating from side to side, eyes wide and glazed, thunders out a furious rhythm, acknowledging the howls of the crowd for whom he has always been the main attraction.

The whole effect of The Who on stage is action, noise, rebellion and destruction - a storm of sexuality and youthful menace. They proudly announced after the success of "Anyway" that their next record was going to be anti-boss, anti-war and anti-young marrieds. The result was this:

"People try to put us down
Just because we get around
Things they do look awful cold
Hope I die before I get old
My generation, this is my generation, baby,
Why don't you all f-f-fade away
Don't try to dig what we all say
Not trying to cause a big sensation
Talking about my generation"

"My Generation" was the most publicised, most criticised and possibly the best record yet by The Who.

If it didn't entirely live up to its expectations and if it wasn't quite so unrecalcitrantly rip as "Anyway" the offence it caused -- particularly when the group announced that the singer was supposed to sound 'blocked' (high) on the record -- was extremely gratifying.



There is violence in The Who's music; a savagery still unique in the still overtly cool British pop scene. The Who don't want to be liked; they don't want to be accepted; they are not trying to please but to generate in the audience an echo of their own anger. If their insistence on Pop Art, now dying a little, is reactionary -- for of all art, pop art most completely accepts the values of consumer society -- there is still their insistence on destruction, the final ridicule of the Spectacular commodity economy. Townshend's room has shattered guitars hanging as trophies on the wall. There is also their insistence on behaving as they wish. Townshend told Melody Maker:

"There is no suppression within the group. You are what you are and nobody cares. We say what we want when we want. If we don't like something someone is doing we say so. Our personalities clash, but we argue and get it all out of our system. There's a lot of friction, and offstage werre not particularly matey. But it doesn't matter. If we were not like this it would destroy our stage performance. We play how we feel."

ZOOOUNKK

Likewise their manager told reporters that he saw their appeal lying in rootlessness. "They're really a new form of crime -- armed against the bourgeois. Townshend

(cont'd on p.1

I am not angry: I am enraged!

I address myself to bigots -- those who are so inadvertently, those who are cold and premeditated with it, I address myself to those "in" white hipsters who think niggers never had it so good (Crow Jim) and that it's time something was done about restoring the traditional privileges that have always accrued to the whites exclusively (Jim Crow). I address myself to sensitive chauvinists - the greater part of the white intellegentsia -- and the insensitive, with whom the former have this is in common: the uneasy awareness that "Jass" is an ofay's word for a nigger's music (viz. Duke and Pulitzer).

Allow me to say that I am -- with men of other complexions, dispositions, etc. -- about art. I have about 15 years of dues paying -- others have spent more -- which permits me to speak with some authority about the crude stables (clubs) where black men are groomed and paced like thoroughbreds to run till they bleed or else are hacked up outright for Lepage's glue. I am about 28 years in these United States, which, in my estimation is one of the most vicious racist social systems of the world -- with the possible exceptions of Southern Rhodesia, South Africa and South Viet Nam.

I am, for the moment, a helpless witness to the bloody massacre of my people on streets that run from Hayneville through Harlem. I watch them die. I pray that I don't die. I've seen the once children-now men of my youth get down on scag, shoot it in the fingers, and then expire on frozen tenement roofs or in solitary basements, where all our frantic thoughts raced to the same desperate conclusion:"I'm sorry it was him; glad it wasn't me".

I have seen the tragedy of perenially starving families, my own. I am that tragedy. I am the host of the dead: Bird, Billie, Ernie, Sonny, whom you, white America, murdered out of a systematic and unloving disregard. I am a nigger shooting heroin at 15 and dead at 35 with hog's head cheeses for arms and horse for blood.

But I am more than the images you superimpose on me, the despair that you inflict. I am the persistent insistence of the human heart to be free. I wish to regain that cherished dignity that was always mine. My esthetic answer to your lies about me is a simple one: you can no longer defer my dream. I'm gonna sing it. Dance it. Scream it. And if need be, I'll steal it from this very earth.

Get down with me, white folks. Go where I go. But think this: injustice is rife. Fear of the truth, will out. The murder of James Powell, the slaughter of 30 Negroes in Watts are crimes that would make God's left eye jump. That establishment that owns the pitifully little that is left of me can absolve itself only through the creation of equitable relationships among all men, or else the world will create for itself new relationships that exclude the entrepreneur and the procurer.

Give me leave to state this unequivocal fact: jazz is the product of the whites -- the ofays -- too often my enemy. It is the progeny of the blacks -- my kinsmen. By this I mean: you own the music, and we make it. By definition then, you own the people who make the music. You own us in whole chunks of flesh. When you dig deep inside our already disembowelled corpses and come up with a solitary diamond -- because you don't want

(cont'd on p. 19)

A very nice, very respectable, very useless campaign (cont'd)

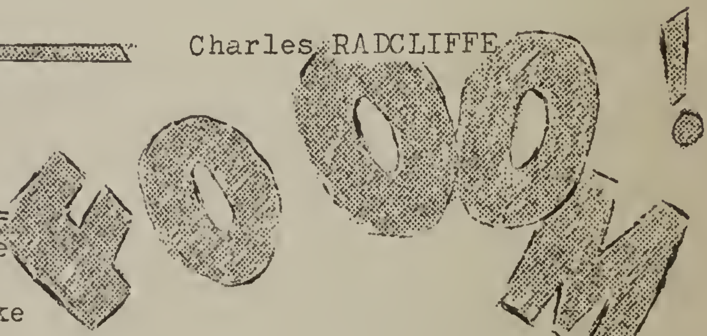
"Establishment anarchist" (as Peace News delights to term those com=rades who are old enough to have sold out but have not done so). The anarchists were roundly condemned by the national press. The peace movement, as represented by Peace News, condemned them in more soph=isticated fashion. (The dedication of the liberals to respectability has so clouded their vision that they no longer care about the effect of their actions, only that they should not be attacked for them). The relevance of the action of these predominantly young anarchists is obvious. Their voices and actions exploded their precise conscious=ness of the fact that respectability finally involves simply this:

Clamber into your own arsehole and quietly die.

Charles RADCLIFFE

Crime against the bourgeois (cont'd)

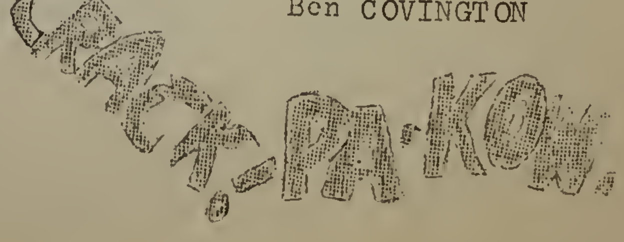
talked defiantly on the 'hip' TV show, "Whole Scene Going", to denounce the other members of the group, the pop scene, society at large and non-drug users in particular. "Drugs don't harm you. I know. I take them. I'm not saying I use opium or heroin, but hashish is harmless and everyone takes it." Townshend's views, which he expresses freely and frequently, are weirdly con=fused. On the General Election: "Comedy must come in the end and it just has ... I think the tories will win because so many people hate Wilson ... I still reckon English Communism would work, at least str=onger trade unions and price free=dom. I've always been instructed by local communists to vote Labour if I can't find a Communist candidate. The British C.P. is so badly run -- sort of making tea in dustbins like the Civil Defence". On the Chinese: "They are being taught to hate. But they are led by a great person who can control them". In the same Mel=ody Maker interview he came out ag=ainst the Vietnam war but curiously did not support the Vietcong, com=plained about vandalism in phone booths and Keith Moon getting old ("Once - if I felt ageing, I could look at Keith and steal some of his youth"). The conscious revolution, if at all, is however submerged under the unconscious and consuming fury of The Who.



The Who are at full volume; des=pite predictions of their imminent demise they have two records in the English charts and they will not die until they are replaced by a group offering more far-reaching ex=plosions of sounds and ideas. The Wh are symptomatic of discontent. Their appearance and performance alike denounce respectability and conformity. They champion their own complete ex=pression of feeling. Bernard Marszalek has written*; "One can only work towards this goal ('the intrusion of desire with all of its marvellous aspects into a decadent and crusted so iety') by developing with youth a sense of rage and urgency to unite the realms of dream and action fear=lessly and with candour".

The Who may be a small particle o this explosion but they have a powe unlike any other pop group's; on a good night The Who could turn on a whole regiment of the dispossessed.

Ben COVINGTON



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* Freedom, London, April 23, 1966

MONEY

The power to confuse and invert all human and natural qualities, to bring about fraternization of incompatibles, the *divine* power of money, resides in its *character* as the alienated and self-alienating species-life of man. It is the alienated *power* of humanity.

What I as a *man* unable to do, and thus what all my individual faculties are unable to do, is made possible for me by *money*. Money, therefore, turns each of these faculties into something which it is not, into its *opposite*.

If I long for a meal, or wish to take the mail coach because I am not strong enough to go on foot, money provides the meal and the mail coach; i.e., it transforms my desires from representations into *realities*, from imaginary being into *real being*. In mediating thus, money is a *genuinely creative* power.

...The difference between effective demand, supported by money, and ineffective demand, based upon my need, my passion, my desire, etc. is the difference between *being* and *thought*, between the merely *inner* representation and the representation which exists outside myself as a *real object*.

If I have no money for travel I have no *need* -- no real and self-realizing *need* -- for travel. If I have a *vocation* for study but no money for it, then I have *no vocation*, i.e., no *effective*, *genuine* vocation. ...Money is the external, universal *means* and *power* (not derived from man as man or from human society as society) to change *representation* into *reality* and *reality* into *mere representation*. It transforms *real human and natural faculties* into mere abstract representations, i.e., *imperfections* and tormenting chimeras; and on the other hand, it transforms *real imperfections and fancies*, faculties which are really impotent and which exist only in the individual's imagination, into *real faculties and powers*. In this respect, therefore, money is the general inversion of *individualities*, turning them into their opposites and associating contradictory qualities with their qualities.

Money, then, appears as a *disruptive* power for the individual and for the social bonds, which claim to be self-subsistent *entities*. It changes fidelity into infidelity, love into hate, hate into love, virtue into vice, vice into virtue, servant into master, stupidity into intelligence and intelligence into stupidity.

Since money, as the existing and active concept of value, confounds and exchanges everything, it is the universal *confusion and transposition* of all things, the inverted world, the confusion and transposition of all natural and human qualities.

He who can purchase bravery is brave, though a coward. Money is not exchanged for a particular quality, a particular thing, or a specific human faculty, but for the whole objective world of man and nature. Thus, from the standpoint of its possessor, it exchanges every quality and object for every other, even though they are contradictory. It is the fraternization of incompatibles; it forces contraries to embrace.

Let us assume *man* to be *man*, and his relation to the world to be a human one. Then love can only be exchanged for love, trust for trust, etc. If you wish to enjoy art you

(to page 19)

I HATE the poor

Until all men unite in hating the poor, there can be no new society. Stalin loves the poor --- without them he could not exist. The revolutions of the future must be directed not against the rich but against the poor. To be poor means to be blind, demoralised, debased. The poor have been the slop pails of capitalism, repositories for all the filth and brutality of a filthy, brutal world. Do not liberate the poor: destroy them --- and with them all the jackal-Stalins that feast on their hideous, shrunken bodies. How the Church and the false revolutionaries draw together: love the poor --- for they are humble. I say hate the poor for the humility which keeps their faces pressed into the mud. The poor are the product of a false and cruel society; but they are also the cornerstone of that society. Lift them to the stars; tell them to walk proudly on this earth: the cathedrals and broad roads were made by the labor of their hands; it is the duty of all true revolutionists not only to restore these things into their hands but also --- and this is the key --- to put them into their heads. Empty stomachs, empty heads: fill both with good food. Don't shove Peter the Great back into their throats.

Kenneth PATCHEN

from

The Journal of Albion Moonlight
(New Directions)

LETTER from Chicago!

...i wrote a leaflet in honor of barry bondhus a minnesota youth who took two buckets of shit into his draft board office and dumped them into six file drawers. I hope to pass these out at Dick Clark's World Fair of Youth being held for ten days at the Amphitheatre and which will present 10 r'n'r groups, mod clothes exhibits, youth culture generally, --- it is being billed throughout the Midwest --- a real blowout! But very conservative --- several of us plan to change that. we still get suburban kids in to talk and i am beginning to come up with nice variations on disruptive activity that they can pull off.

what generates me at present is the altogether exquisite future that i see... wait till you get back; the climate is changing here at a surprising rate; the acceleration is simply fantastic. everybody is flipping out.

another thing i am working on is a ball for may probably outdoors, maybe at the tap root after we get chased off open lots; with several rock bands, blues, etc., several anarchists are interested, but i may have to do all the work, ecch

there is a group here from the western suburbs called the shadows of night have they been heard of in england?

bruce elwell is hoping to start a theater of provocation in phillie ... what i am DOING is getting high and higher on one little realization --- that i have one task alone and that is to bring out the most delicate outrage in myself. explode the hair follicles whee...

...i can think of only lovely destructive stuff, like painting ourselves blue & walking on water. these scandals...must be spontaneous. i'll talk to you when you're both back in this land of the brave & home of the free, or is it the other way around, i never could get it straight. ...may day...i'll send you a letter from prison.

Bernard MARSZALEK

I am enraged . . . .!

(from p.15)

to flood the market -- how different are you from DeBeers of South Africa or the profligates who fleeced the Gold Coast?

I give you, then, my brains back, America. You have had them before, as you had my father's, as you took my mother's: in outhouses, under the back porch, next to the black snakes who should have bitten you then.

I ask only: don't you ever wonder just what my collective rage will -- as it surely must -- be like, when it is -- as it inevitably will be -- unleashed? Our vindication will be black as the color of suffering is black, as Fidel is black, as Ho Chi Minh is black. It is thus that I offer my right hand across the worlds of suffering to black compatriots everywhere. When they fall victim to war, disease, poverty -- all systematically enforced -- I fall with them, and I am yellow skin, and they are black like me or even white. For them and me I offer this prayer, that this 28th year of mine will never again find us all so poor, nor the rapine forces of the world in such sanguinary circumstances.

I leave yoy with this for what it's worth. I am an antifascist artist. My music is functional. I play about the death of me by you. I exult in the life of me in spite of you. I give some of that life to you whenever you listen to me, which right now is never. My music is for the people. If you are a bourgeois, then you must listen to it on my terms. I will not let you misconstrue me. That era is over. If my music doesn't suffice, I will write you a poem, a play. I will say to you in every instance, "Strike the Ghetto. Let my people go."

Archie SHEPP

Archie Shepp's article is reprinted here in part from Down Beat where it presumably had a readership akin to the magazine's policy of woolly blue-eyed liberalism. We hope this reprint will let his words reach a small part of the audience they deserve. We agree with what he says but think Fidel and Ho would sell him short. Maybe one day we'll get the chance to discuss this with him.

MONEY

(continued from p.17)

must be an artistically cultivated person; if you wish to influence other people you must be a person who really has a stimulating and encouraging effect upon others. Every one of your relations to man and to nature must be a specific expression, corresponding to the object of your will, of your real individual life. If you love without evoking love in return, i.e., if you are not able, by the manifestation of yourself as a loving person, to make yourself a beloved person, then your love is impotent and a misfortune.

Karl MARX

From the Economic & Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844
(Bottomore translation)

LOBSTER

The aigrettes of your voice spurt
out from the burning bush of
your lips
where the Chevalier de la Barre
would be pleased to decay
The hawks of your gaze fishing
thoughtlessly all the sardines of my head
Your breath of wild thoughts
reflecting from the ceiling on my feet
running through me from all sides
follow me and precede me
lull me to sleep and awaken me
throw me from the window to make me
come up in the lift
and conversely

Benjamin PERET

SOUVENIRS of the FUTURE, cont'd from p. 8.

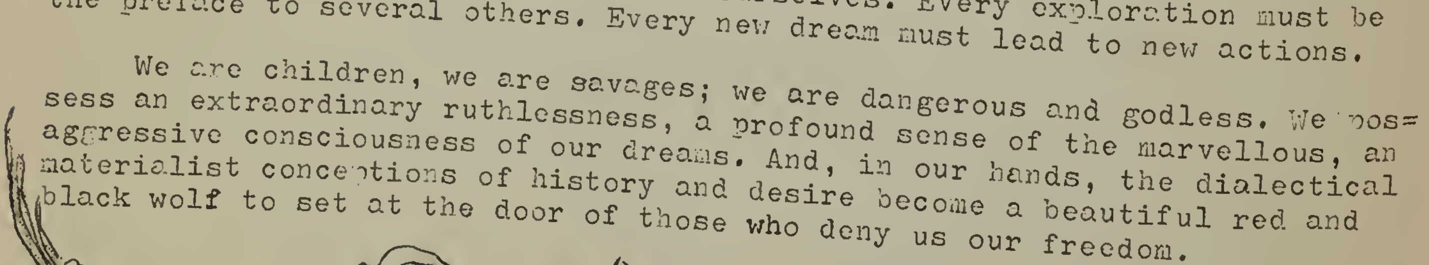
I believe, Andre Breton who first pointed out that these works were highly successful expressions of the latent content of the period in which they were written (i.e., the days of the bourgeois revolutions). Now certainly one of the greatest weaknesses of the traditional left has been its neglect of the problems of the individual, and human personality in general; these have been ignored through the exclusive preoccupation with social problems, analysis of which in turn has been weakened through ignorance of psychology. There has been, for instance, little investigation of the psychological changes occurring during periods of great social upheavals (or for that matter, little investigation of the psychology of factory workers). It is obvious that people who support reactionary candidates in bourgeois elections do not think the same way as do the people who take over the factories and smash the government. Workers as a class cannot make a really successful revolution (that is, one leading to complete freedom) unless they are individually, psychologically, as well as socially, capable of it. That is why it is important for revolutionaries to reinforce spontaneity, creativity, self=reliance, independence and rebellion of individual workers as well as of the working class. (This is also one aspect of the relevance and importance of sabotage, an individual act serving the needs of the class.) Obviously much more work must be done along these lines. Meanwhile, we should restudy the imaginative works of sensitive writers of the past who, more or less automatically, documented some aspects of this problem. In particular, the greatest of the Gothic novels (Horace Walpole's Castle of Otranto, Lewis's The Monk, Maturin's Melmoth the Wanderer) offer us valuable testimony in tracing the genesis and evolution of individual revolutionary sensibility, the latent and personal drama unfolding with the manifest and general cataclysm.

Of course we have only penetrated the surface of a hardly=explored sea, to which no limits can yet be assigned. Living, as we do, in a civilization rapidly falling to ruin, it is up to us to trace the trajectory of its destruction, to propel it further along this path, to read the prophecies of tomorrow's dawn with a defiantly critical eye, to explore all the unknown worlds inside and outside of man, and, eventually, to pool our collective resources with our billions of fellow workers and soul brothers in the really fundamental tasks of the Revolution: to realize our dreams, our desires, and "to rebuild human understanding," as Breton put it, "from scratch."

We must remember that we are in the preliminary stages of our experiment. We know that we cannot build a new revolutionary movement with the skeletons of the old. The old left has taught us very little of what we want to know; we must learn to teach ourselves. Every exploration must be the preface to several others. Every new dream must lead to new actions.

We are children, we are savages; we are dangerous and godless. We possess an extraordinary ruthlessness, a profound sense of the marvellous, an aggressive consciousness of our dreams. And, in our hands, the dialectical materialist conceptions of history and desire become a beautiful red and black wolf to set at the door of those who deny us our freedom.

Franklin ROSEMONT



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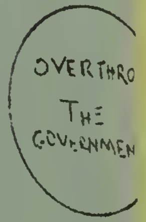
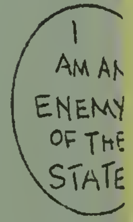
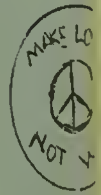






SHAPES OF THINGS

Barry Bondhus a 20-year old Big Lake youth was being held in Hennepin County Jail under $10,000 bond today on a charge that he dumped two buckets of human excrement into the files of the Sherburne County draft board at Elk River.

The arrest climaxed a series of difficulties he and his father have had with the draft board. The elder Bondhus said he has told the Board repeatedly that he is opposed to any of his sons serving in the Armed Forces. "If you draft Barry I have nothing to look forward to for the next 24 years but flag-draped caskets," he said.

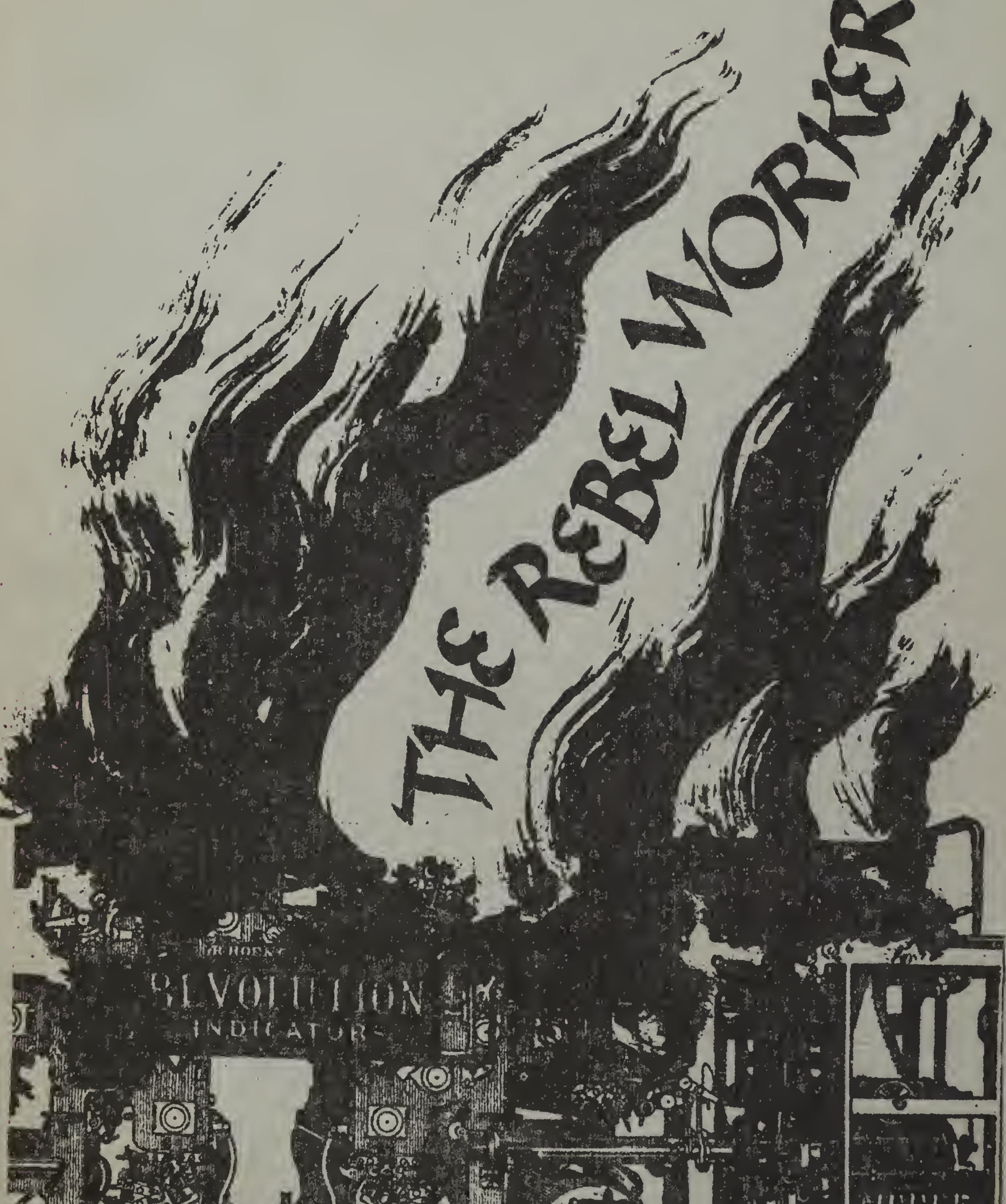
Barry is the second oldest of 10 Bondhus boys. After a board hearing, February 15, the youth was classified 1-A and ordered to take a pre-induction physical examination in Minneapolis. The FBI said the youth refused to co-operate.

Wednesday, the complaint charged, the young Bondhus walked into the board's office and dumped the substance into six draft board file cases. His draft board status is still pending.

----from the Minneapolis Star
February 25, 1966

The Anarchists wish to express their collective support for Barry Bondhus' noble and appropriate response to the most obscene attempts by the State's flunkies to enslave and possibly murder him. Barry has renewed our faith in mankind and for that we must thank him, but more, we must develop in ourselves, and of course others, the same altogether exquisite outrage which moved him to so poetically reveal his prpfound humanity. Along with wheelbarrows of desire buckets of shit will stop the War in Vietnam.

THE REBEL WORKER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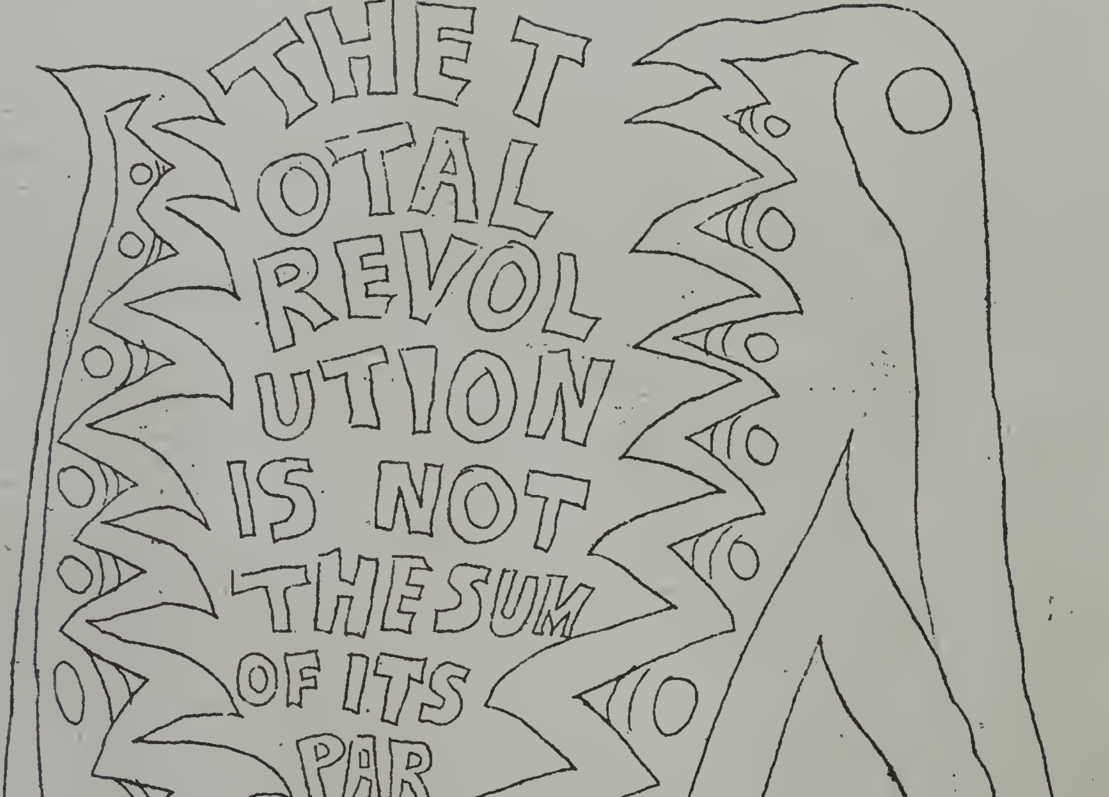
THE TOTAL REVOLUTION IS NOT THE SUM OF ITS PARTS

THE REBEL WORKER

A Revolutionary Journal

35¢

NUMBER 7

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CONTENTS

January 1966

Cover by Torvald FAEGRE

Inside Front Cover calligraphed by Torvald FAEGRE

Wild Celery 3

New Pamphlets, etc. 4

HEATWAVE & Other Notices 5

In This Issue... (notes) 5 cont'd

I Saw It On TV & Then We Proved It At Home
by Bernard MARSZALEK 6

The Forecast is Hot! (manifesto-leaflet) 10

Post No Bills (poem) by Benjamin PERET 11

Vengeance of the Black Swan -- Notes on Poetry from Maldororian Zoology to the Barricades of the Revolution by Franklin ROSEMONT 12

The Colors of Freedom by André BRETON 17

Elementary Structures of Reification
by Jean GARNAULT 19

Reminiscences of T-Bone Slim by Skidroad SLIM 24

Ante-Bellum Jitters & Calm After the Storm
by T-Bone SLIM 25

Five O'Clock World #2: Hobbies
by Jim EVRARD 28

Fantastic Fables by Ambrose BIERCE 34

Manifesto of the Durruti Column 35

SABOTAGE : Makhno Cocktails, etc. 36

White Rabbits (story) by Leonora CARRINGTON 37

A Plea To All by Robert D. CASEY 39

Prophetic Mutterings by James CAIN 41

"Every Paradise is not Lost" --
(Andre Breton: 1896-1966) by F. R. 42

Delight Not Death (excerpts from a letter)
by Lawrence DECOSTER 43

Message from the Gangsters of Love by Nikki BLACK 44

LETTERS 47-48

INDEX to Rebel Workers #1-7 49-50-51

Smash Urban Renewal!!! 52

Books & Pamphlets available from SOLIDARITY BOOKSHOP 53

Further Information on the SOLIDARITY BOOKSHOP
(including a detailed Map) 54

Calligraphy by Torvald FAEGRE

Drawings by Lawrence DECOSTER, Oscar DOMINGUEZ,
Torvald FAEGRE, Bernard MARSZALEK, Franklin
& Penelope ROSEMONT

PERIODICALS

SOLIDARITY SCOTLAND
c/o Fyfe, 63 Glenkirk Drive W. 5
Glasgow, SCOTLAND
a phosphorescent socialist journal

SOLIDARITY
subversive rank & file monthly
197 Kings Cross Road
London WC1, ENGLAND

RED & BLACK
an anarchist review
J. Grancharoff
Box A425
Sydney South NSW
AUSTRALIA

GOOD SOUP
magazine of the New York Federation of Anarchists
The TORCH BOOKSHOP
641 East 9th
New York, N.Y.

WILD CELERY*

The protracted decline and thorough disintegration of criminal desperation has been happily reversed in the last several years, in every major American ghetto, if no where else, but naturally, also elsewhere. Though the cynical may refer to these explosions of expectations as picturesque forays based upon shallow greed and shame, we prefer to think of them in a revolutionary context as merely the opening shots in a new and **revivified** class struggle. The possibilities for a total repudiation of everything offered to us by this society have never been so complete. For what is offered that is not merely an invitation to assimilation, to incorporation into a petty and disgusting niche? The universality of this exigency leads us to conclude that, at bottom, fortuitous differences aside, we all live the same disgusting lives. One of the necessities for a revolutionary journal is to elucidate the various implications of this situation, for class differences, which in our affluent society only apparently have been extinguished, dominate the course and content of radical consciousness and protest.

Under these circumstances the rebel is confronted with a double necessity: to overcome, on the one hand, all the cops of everyday life (at home, school, work, and play) and, on the other hand, the hesitations derived from a fragmented and delicate rationalization, a systematization of unconscious fears rooted in memory and sustained by the official watchdogs of "common-sense", which tend to inhibit the natural and perpetual superimposition of revolutionary aspirations. What is needed, obviously, is a proper perspective or an indecent indifference; we hold no distinction here, but in fact wish to serve as a wrecking bar at the service of all and at the same time a crystal ball forecasting the delights that await us beyond the mean presumptions of our rulers. The efflorescent revolutionary situation today catalyzes our endeavors, and our works in turn should be considered nothing but wasted unless they raise the stakes.

The logics of all this necessitates our coming transformation: being, above all else, alchemists of Desire who know no boundaries we jubilantly announce that this is the last but wildly prehensile Rebel Worker. To intensify our assaults we have decided to forego regular publication and opt for the thorough exploration of the Streets. Our aims remain essentially the same but now our war-cry shall be ZTANGI!

---

* FAVORITE FOOD OF THE GORILLA

The unbelievable paucity of truly revolutionary literature is merely a reflection of the larger failure of a thorough-going revolutionary opposition to make its appearance, a failure attributable at least in part to the regrettable tendency of too many to flounder about in the platitudes of a parasitic demagogy percolated by the Establishment or, what is essentially similar in the end, to retreat to the theoretical peregrinations of the Loyal Opposition, which handsomely serves the needs of the System, just as glue holds together a broken plate.

To be at all relevant, theoretical assaults have to be situated in the streets, alleys, schools & factories -- wherever desecrations are manifested. With this prerequisite in mind, we have published the following pamphlets since the last issue of The Rebel Worker:

Blackout! -- Twenty-four hours of Black Anarky in New York; Secrets now revealed in this Rabelaisian account by H.W. MORTON, New York anarchist. Learn what really happened in the elevators & subways and why many were unhappy when the lights came back on. Complete with Feiffer cartoon & 9-month Anniversary News-Clipping. Cover cartoon by Roland TOPOR. 16 pages.

Revolutionary Consciousness -- A collection of articles including "Consciousness & Theory" by Jim EVRARD; "Return to Anarchy" by Lawrence DECOSTER; "Reflections on Invisibility" by Walter CAUGHEY & "Surrationalism" by Gaston BACHELARD. 18 pages.

Surrealism & Revolution -- A profusely illustrated 40-paged compilation of otherwise unobtainable-in-English theoretical texts and manifestoes by Antonin ARTAUD, Andre BRETON, Nicolas CALAS, Rene CREVEL, Pierre MABILLE, Paul NOUGE, Benjamin PERET. Preface by Franklin ROSEMONT. Titles include "Open the Prisons, Disband the Army;" "On Revolutionary Sadism;" "The Destruction of the World" & the Breton-Trotsky "Manifesto For a Free Revolutionary Art."

We've also put together fifty or so copies of a Rebel Worker Anthology -- consisting of articles from the first four issues (now out of print) plus a selection of leaflets issued during that period. We also brought out a rather limited number of Walker C. Smith's old IWW pamphlet Sabotage: Its History, Principles & Methods, very few of which are left but which we hope to offset-reprint soon. Our next pamphlet, which should be ready in January 1967, is titled: The Watts Insurrection of 1965, a reprint of the English translation of "The Decline & Fall of the Spectacular-Commodity Economy" published by the Situationist International in Paris, 1965.

We also hope to bring out a number of other new pamphlets in the coming months, including one to be called BLACK ANARCHY, consisting of wild-eyed anarchist ravings from the Golden Age of Anarchy & Chaos: Johann MOST's "Science of Revolutionary Warfare;" Louis LINGG's speech to the court that sentenced him to death; editorials from the Alarm & Arbeiter-Zeitung (leading Chicago anarchist papers of the 1880's); T. LIZIUS's text "Dynamite;" Emma GOLDMAN's defense of Leon Czolgosz; the famous "Revolutionary Catechism" of Michael BAKUNIN, etc. We still hope to bring out our SABOTAGE ANTHOLOGY as well as pamphlets on psychedelics, the world revolution of youth and Surrealism & the Savage Heart.

HEATWAVE

Rebel Worker #6 was published in London on May Day 1966 & reprinted in Chicago a little over a month later. It has already been followed up with two issues of *HEATWAVE*, edited by our London collaborator & trans-world soul-brother Charles Radcliffe, who has since been joined by Christopher Gray (translator of the situationist pamphlet *The Totality for Kids* by Raoul Vaneigem) and others. We are bringing out a compilation of articles from these first two issues of *HEATWAVE* (both out of print in London) -- see Announcement on page 18. Future issues of *HEATWAVE* will be available from us at 25¢ a copy; but why not subscribe? 1$ a year (four issues) postpaid; please send only International Postal Money Orders. Write 13 Radcliffe Road, London SW10, England.......

FROM: The *Rebel Worker* Group.
TO: F.B.I., C.I.A., and the Secret Service.
RE: *Rebel Worker* #2 was printed, we wish proudly to announce, with the total (even if involuntary) assistance of a Department of the Government of the United States of America by our operatives, using a government offset press and paper (not to mention government "time") and removed in two cartons labelled "subpoenas."

We encourage all other revolutionaries to make similar use of the unlimited resources of this imperialist government, and all others, thus facilitating the inevitable destruction of all exploitation & furthering the cause of the World Revolution.

Several of us collaborated on a special Chicago issue of RESURGENCE NUMBER 8 which includes a PROVO-CHICAGO manifesto; ANTIPOLITICS APOCALYPSE ANARCHY; HERMETIC GUERRILLA; RETURN to DREAM, PRISONERS! etc. etc. 25¢

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BLACK MASK
BULLETIN OF TOTAL REVOLUTION

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THIS IS PAGE 5 accept no others as substitutes.

IN THIS ISSUE

"The FORECAST IS HOT" (p. 10) was distributed at Pastor King's Freedom Rally last summer, attended by 50,000 people who later marched 15 abreast down State Street to City Hall shouting, among other slogans, "Black Power" and "Hey, Hey, Whattya know; All Cops Must Go!" This manifesto-leaflet has been subsequently distributed throughout the country and reprinted (with some amusing errors: "guests" instead of "quests," etc.) in the State University of New York at Buffalo Spectrum and read over Buffalo radio..It also appeared in issue #2 of HEATWAVE, & a Dutch translation is to appear in Provo (Amsterdam); an excerpt appeared in #2 of Black Mask, along with excerpts from HEATWAVE, the Internationale Situationniste & the Resurgence Youth Movement of New York.

A small book of poems by Benjamin PERET, Peret's Score, in a bilingual edition with English translations by J. H. Matthews and illustrations by E. F. Granell, was published by M. J. Minard (Paris) in 1965.

The first three paragraphs of "Vengeance of the Black Swan" are extracted from an automatic text; the theoretical "irresponsibility" of these opening paragraphs is not supposed to be justified by this simple explanation but rather by the elucidations which follow the purely introductory, objective delirium.

"Elementary Structures of Reification" by Jean GARNAULT was translated by Franklin Rosemont and Dorothy DeCoster from issue #10 of Internationale Situationniste (Address: B. P. 307-03, Paris, France). As far as we know this is the first situationist text to appear in a journal published in the U.S. We shall soon reprint their manifesto on the 1965 Watts Insurrection, also a text on "Unitary Urbanism" in the Chicago compilation-issue of HEATWAVE. A situationist pamphlet, The Totality for Kids by Raoul Vaneigem, is available from us for 25¢.

The Durruti Column, founded by Buenaventura Durruti, comprised the most militant sections of the Spanish anarchist movement, who roamed the countryside liberating the towns & villages during the Revolution of 1936. They are best described by their own words: "We all hate the war, but we accept it as a revolutionary means. We are no pacifists and we fight with passion. War, this old-fashioned idiocy, is only justified by the Social Revolution. We do not fight as soldiers but as liberators. We advance, not to capture properties, but to liberate those oppressed by capitalism and fascism. The column is a union of class educated idealists. Up to now, victories & defeats only served capitalism to keep armies & officers and to secure profits & rents. The Durruti Column serves the proletariat. Every victory of the column is followed by the liberation of the workers of the captured village." (From a memorial pamphlet for Buenaventura Durruti published by the CNT-FAI.)

Leonora CARRINGTON, surrealist painter & storyteller, lives in Mexico. "White Rabbits" originally appeared in English translation in View (#9-10, Dec. 1941 - Jan. 1942).

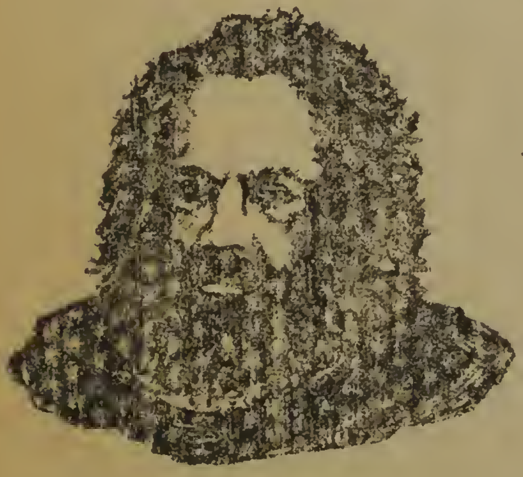
"A Plea to All" by Robert D. CASEY, excerpts of which are reprinted herein, was unanimously adopted as the official statement of the Board of the Survival of American Indians Association.

[PAGE 5 CONT.]

I saw it on TV and then we proved it at home.

THE ONLY EVIDENT EXPLANATION FOR the current dirth of creative, uninhibited, subversive and let's face it, lucid thinking on the part of those who supposedly are most aware of this society's liberating potentialities must simply be the novelty of a revolutionary situation. Its the old story again, and we hope for the last time, of the spinster's blind owl.

The thought patterns and ways of behaving that defined this society are speedily disintegrating in splendid imitation of sparkling Alka-Seltzer, progressively increasing its decomposition as the end approaches. Despite this one finds all about a gloom and despair, an inappropriate stillness--and have you noticed how emtpy the streets are of dancers during the day? Nonetheless each established institution confronts a vast spectrum of discontent and abuse, amplified at every moment traditional values are refurbished and displayed to the "masses." Spontaneous revolt is present in all places. Its more energetic forms exhibit a fiery brillance not frequently manifest in the context of a supposedly contented populace and therefore easily misunderstood, or, worse, ignored by those who pretend to bow at Wisdom's egg-shells.



M. BAKÚNIN

The end of the common consensus, has been marked for all to see, through the immediate and intimate explosion of innumerable, complex social issues and crises.

In white urban areas it is the racial unrest in the ghetto and its appalling intimations that has had the most recent and significant consequences upon formally complacent individuals. The riots have struck a raw nerve, albeit superficially racial, more profoundly social in effect, that hurtles into proper perspective the formerly ignored machinations of Established Society's political leaders. Irrationality pervails not only in racial matters, but in every manifestation by the appendages of a wilted and constipated governmental structure.

The obfuscating complexity of the War in Vietnam, so carefully fostered by our well-suited war-lords, to induce apathy upon the citzenry, has engendered an unexpected popular reaction: the politicians appear to be witless and bungling fools (reinforcing a long held prejudice) who cannot cope with these intricacies and therefore cannot be trusted in their present course. The reaction has not been to cut through the complexities and thereby end the confusion in a violent manner, but in a pacific one, thanks to the reportage of the mass media.

Television especially has contributed positively in this respect, for every news program carries quite candid coverage of the war in progress, with each report adding more evidence to the brief that there is absolutely nothing in South Vietnam worth sacrificing the lives of American youth for. On top of all the useless bloodshed the bankruptcy of the war is personified by that supremely unpleasant caricature of a fly-swatting, moustachioed petty dictator out of an hastily assembled, low-budget flick--General Ky, who, unfortunately for Washington, has done a magnificent job in building U.S. anti-war forces. A beautiful case of the double-edged razor at work: the institution meant to serve as a seditive has in fact, through its own inexorable economic laws, become a stimulant. And this despite the censorship that runs rampant, suppressing news of Army revolts in Vietnam, for instance. One can appreciate the opposition of Hans Morgenthau, and those of his ilk, to the war, for Realpolitik is threatened to its foundations since it presupposes a modicum of intelligent political behavior that is altogether absent in this situation leaving open the field of political "science" to the uncontrolled excursions of psychoanalysts, astrologers and other disreputable types.

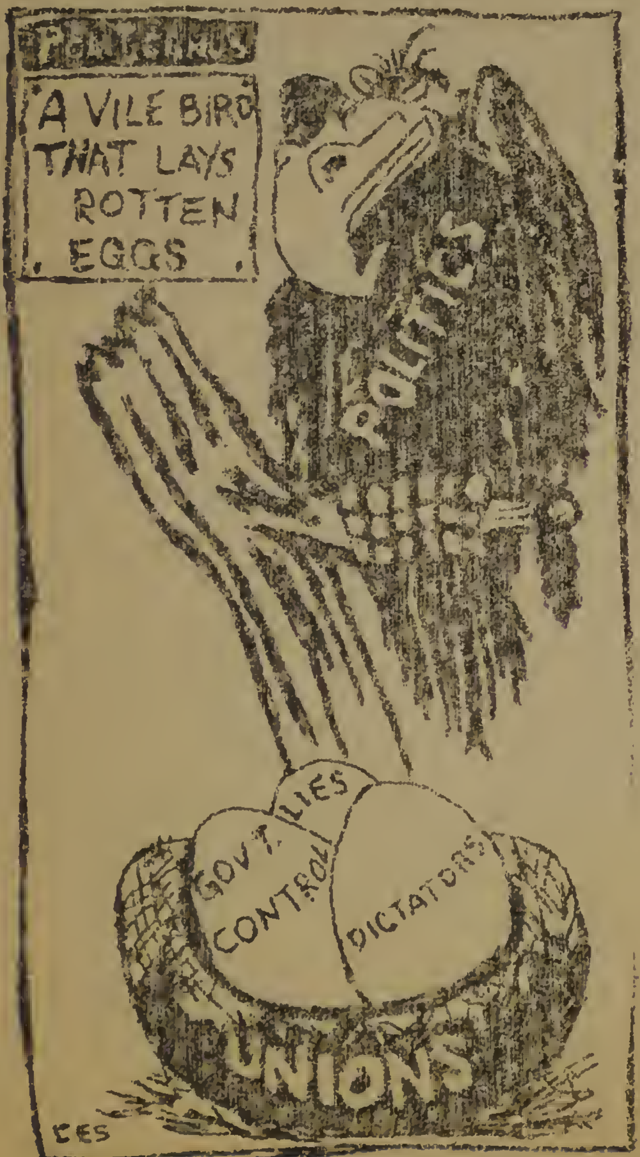
Media journalism in this case undeniably flabbergasted the Establishment in inadvertently presenting a real solution to a fictitous crisis and institutional solution it was meant only to report. In other areas of unrest, however, this has not been true. Institutional solutions to racial problems, for example, are pretty thoroughly demonstrated to be wholly inadequate by the media, simply because riots persist, but no real solution (even partial one) is offered. The resulting irrationality has a profound and disturbing effect upon those who expected answers from their community leaders, not evasion and patently inadequate stop-gap measures. Religious, business, and civic spokesmen have only two claims to respect: obviously they are symbols of success (the right order of people and things), and, less visibly, but more basically, they are (or were) voices of Reason; one flowing out of and depending on the other. In recent crises their erstwhile reasonable voices now echo political platitudes, and their powers of settlement (reasonableness) are only made legitimate by the acquiescence of the opposition, as typified by Martin Luther King's open-housing agreement for Chicago. An agreement that will benefit the black bourgeoise and the white power structure.

Yesterday's complacency and privatism were situated within a mellow and all-answering rationality: others would safely prevent the intrusion of the world--afterall it was their world anyhow. But with street rioting in cities all over the globe, with a senseless war resembling more the nightmare of a megalomaniac, with television revealing angry black faces screaming fear into virgin ears and silly, impotent white men shouting back, with long-hair youths flaunting everything proper,--generally with all things in question from God to autos, complacency has lost its moorings and chaos reigns. All forms of communication have contributed to this conflagration of an ingenuine security.

Mass media has moved from a position of neutrality and passitivity on certain matters towards a hesitant force for chaos itself. Every news program, every television documentary, the newspapers and popular magazines all scream horror and destruction, amplifying for more sales every riot, all mass murders and rapes and blood begins to seep through the pages and flow from one television program to another eventually to drip upon living-room rugs across the country.

Among all of these hammer blows to the mirror and among all the broken glass the most beautiful and hopeful signs of wakefulness are emerging. Young blacks are tasting for once victory and an almost forgotten appetite has been revitalized, never to be quickly appeased in the future. The most militant unionism since the Forties is developing. Only yesterday (september 22) several thousand auto-workers in Milwaukee struck the American Motors Stamping Plant despite the opposition of local union leadership who hysterically demanded that the workers return to the line for a shutdown during the beginning of new model production could seriously hinder American Motors' attempt to achieve plush solvency. The workers, we should take heart, still know when to strike effectively. The anti-war sentiment, not withstanding the futility of Saran-Wrap boycotts, is definitely growing among all segments of the population. And lastly we have the flourishing disaffiliation of youth of all economic levels and from all geographic areas.

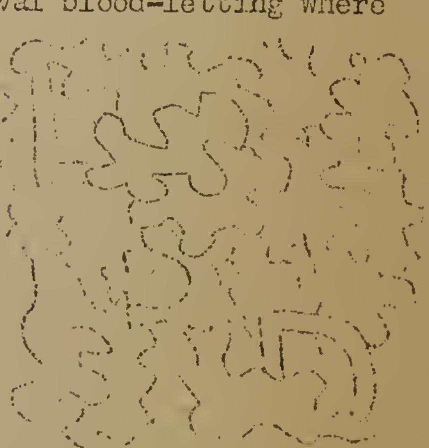
This last development has reached outstanding proportions in only the last year, when with their gains in sexual freedom elaborately displayed, young people began to invade their own consciousness and there extract the beginnings of a new culture. The drug scene lumbered out of the basement and began to occupy a choice but mistrusted storefront to become a part of what the Situationists refer to as the Spectacle.



The mass influx of young people created the Psychedelic Movement and this movement has joined the other red and black forces of chaos generating more broken-glass for reasonable adults to nervously swipe aside. (The popularization and resulting commercialization could only be anticipated given the nature of this commodity-orientated society where the emotional starvation of the population must constantly be stayed by new extravaganzas.) Yet the psychedelic phenomenon is of a different order from the other chaotic happenings, for within it there is the wholly significant tendency towards the most absolute confrontation with Authority. Unlike the physical threats and destructions, which are needed of course, the psychedelic phenomenon cannot be a matter of argument. Authority can be altogether banished temporarily from its putrid, concrete pedestal by dynamite, but to prevent new lice from re-building, a totally free consciousness is demanded; a consciousness that has dismissed the dualisms that are the very sand and stome of Authority's support. Psychedelic experiences in transcending so thoroughly the individual and the collectivity will aid tremendously is advancing this new, sublimely complete consciousness.

The collectivity of these licentious black desires issuing from the shadows illuminates the disgradeful insipidity of thought and action quivering behind cliches, an almost unnoticiable twitch, its only claim to life. History has again rushed past the innovators, leaving behind in their over-crowded rowboat a socially myopic and emotionally bovine horde of cater-waulling malcontents, diligently oozing out of their tender open pores a pessimism that is too puerile to be an existentialist affectation. A most quaint ethical predicament affects this group, who in stating their aim to transcend pessimism and optimism achieved a "new" stage: the Idea of Struggle, which encompasses all activity and becomes the very meaning of life. What they in fact achieved was a new pessimism, steeped in traditional ethics, not a new foundation for action, but only a restatement of a familar failing of will. Some threat to our rulers this! The entire mystification of social reality gains form and propagates itself on the basis of duty and on an inverse conception, the so-called enemies of this mystification expect to reveal its putrescence!

The only results possible from this spurious ethic is a program of non-violence and its communitarian aim--the counter-society: medieval blood-letting where immediate major surgery is required: banal utopianism. To avoid unnecessary confusion we should make clear that we are not opposed to social experimentation, in fact we wish to encourage it for the multifarious social and personal relationships possible should be thoroughly explored. However the test-tube in this case cannot transform the laboratory and we do not wish to be deluded by attacks upon "the twigs of the capitalist tree."

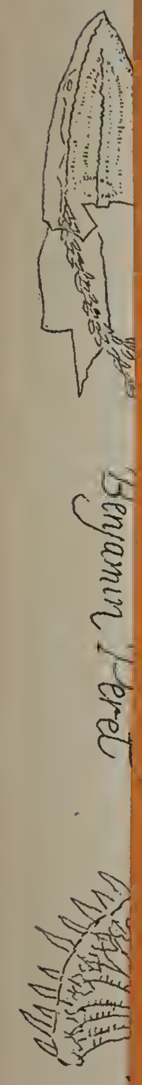


Needless to say, the expectations of these utopians are filled with their own liberating contradictions, for there are those who while half-heartedly subscribing to the Idea of Struggle also, to the hoorror of the establishment, hold Kicks Now as a proper demand. These are the "human beasts of love" acclaimed by Michael McClure, who in their glorification of passion in all of its manifold brilliance chafe under the reins of the new pessimism and its mangy superfluities. Here we have the souls divining the freest expression of the fullest extension of their immediate needs and creating, to speak cryptically, the Revolution. For as Felix LeDantec has said, "Rights are natural:duties are metaphysical."

To these various colored threads we add a sweetly warm and wet crow-bar with which we can break out of this musty crate. Firstly, we must clear the decks of the seaweed of moral elitism that can only attract more of the same and the very last thing we need is the twaddling savant displaying his refurbished liberal values to the select. (The tear-damp cheek is laughable.) Only a cracked-mirror could reflect such useless piety in the face of breathtaking transformations. An impacted affirmation will not suffice, for only an exhaustive celebration is proper while avowing that everything is immanent to man. The frightened thread upon the dismal planks of a rotted ship and remain oblivious to its slow sinking.

Accomplishing this we are free to subvert Authority with a methodical thoroughness it will never overcome.

B. MARSZALEK (to be continued)



Benjamin Peret

THE FORECAST IS HOT!

Rejecting, totally, the political, theological, literary, philosophical and academic assumptions which hinge our society to the withered refrigerator of civilization (and which are, in any case, rooted in stupidity & class interest) and insisting, moreover, on our own irresistable emotional autonomy, we find it essential to affirm, here & now, without reservations & at any price, the marvelous red & black validity of absolute revolt, the only attitude worthy of survival in the present millenium of streets and dreams.

More than ever, with everything continually at stake, we find it necessary to affirm the impassioned use of the most dangerous weapons in the arsenal of freedom:

Mad Love : totally subversive, the absolute enemy of bourgeois culture;

Poetry: (as opposed to literature) breathing like a machine-gun, exterminating the blind flags of immediate reality;

Humor: the dynamite & guerrilla warfare of the mind, as effective in its own domain as material dynamite & guerrilla warfare in the streets (when necessary, however, rest assured: we shall use every means at our disposal);

Sabotage: ruthless and relentless destruction of the bureaucratic & cultural machinery of oppression.

It is necessary, at times (and this is one of them) to speak bluntly: we affirm deliriously & simply the TOTAL LIBERATION OF MAN.

Long live the Negroes of Watts, the Puerto Ricans of Chicago, the Provos of Amsterdam, the Zengakuren of Japan and the youth of all countries who burn cop cars in the street and demonstrate by these exemplary manifestations that the struggle for freedom cannot be guided by the rulebooks of priests & politicians!!

Long live the New Guinea tribe who, aware of the stupidity of technological civilization, massacred the managers of a washing-machine factory, took over the building and converted it into a temple of the marvelous but elusive Rabbit-god!!

Long live the youth of Fairbanks, Alaska, who, after being forbidden by law to drop out of school, retaliated by burning down the schoolhouse!!

Long live the lunatic who escaped from an asylum and calmly robbed a downtown bank only to have his "sane" brother tell The Man!!

Long live Barry Bondhus of Big Lake, Minnesota, who dumped two buckets of shit into the file drawers of his draft board!!!

Long live the twelve Fort Lauderdale, Florida, teens who, prevented by their schools from meaningful experimentation, independently began manufacturing LSD, two sizes of plastic bombs, smoke bombs and a varied & catalytic assortment of revolutionary hardware!!

Long live the Incredible Hulk, wildcat strikers, the Nat Turner Insurrection, high-school drop-outs, draft-dodgers, deserters, delinquents, saboteurs and all those soul-brothers, wild-eyed dreamers, real & imaginary heroes of defiance & rebellion who pool their collective resources in the exquisite, material transformation of the world according to desire!!!!

The lucidity of alley apples and broken bottles has replaced autumn leaves — the crushing subservience to authority scorched by molotov cocktails of fantastic destruction, and, far from finally, the expressionless caress has been delicio transcended by the touch that stimulates to unheard-of heights the sensuous po of the only dynamism that matters. As liberated souls (and we are, for our quest cannot be stopped now) we have necessarily an historically enviable role as cosmic architects armed with hammers, electric guitars & apocalyptic visions, but more significantly, armed with the exhilarating knowledge that we are able to crush systematically all obstacles placed in the way of our desires & to build anew EVERYTHING.

Surrealist Group — REBEL WORKER GROUP — Anarchist Horde

c/o Solidarity Bookshop 1644 Meyer Court
Chicago, Illinois, 60614

the individual and the collectivity will aid tremendously is advancing this new, sublimely complete consciousness.

The collectivity of these licentious black desires issuing from the shadows il-
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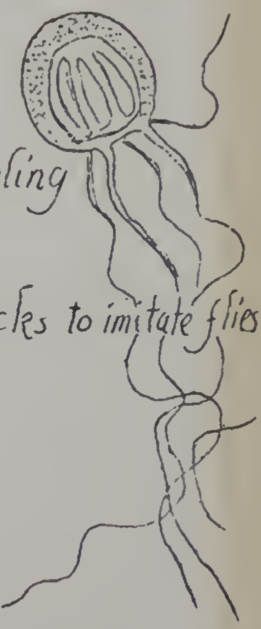
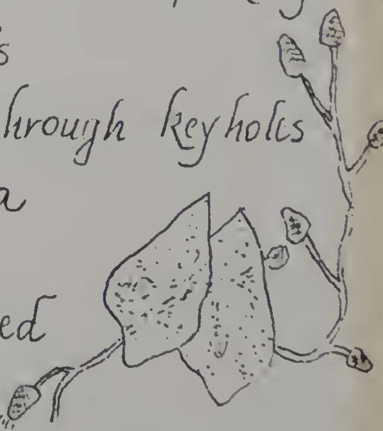
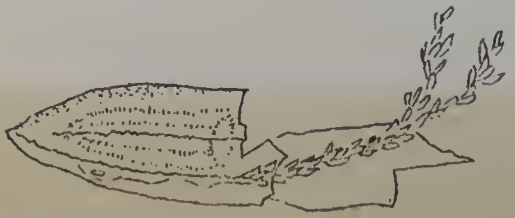
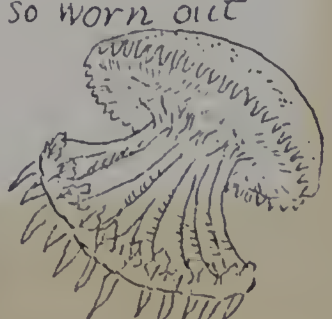


Nevermore shall the wind's bones terrify the oldsclocks howling
in the sardine tins
Nevermore shall the feet of tables put their legs round their necks to imitate flies
Nevermore shall broken teeth make music.
Nevermore shall loaves of bread walk about naked
Nevermore shall air-currents give orders to statues of salt
Nevermore shall the cross-bar be a railway signal
Nevermore shall my shaved-off moustache grow again above my neighbor's eye
Nevermore shall the beefsteak whistle for its dog
Nevermore shall the metro ask for a drink for pity's sake
Nevermore shall cherry-stones steal latrines for the last speck of dust
which looks for the ears left behind in taxis
the hardboiled eggs which are so good at spying through keyholes
and all thats left of the great wall of China
are there to observe the traditions
and see that the first strawberries are respected
which look at themselves in every mirror
and would be so pleased to see a calf hanging from the butcher's stall
throw itself on to the butcher
and run away after its skin which would be so worn out
that it would see its brother through it





Benjamin Peret



VENGEANCE OF THE BLACK SWAN

from Haldororian Zoology to the Barricades of the Revolution

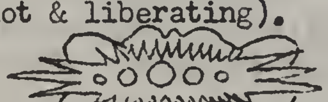
Apples fall from trees at a slower rate than novels are published, yet gravity is a conventionally established fact, the world is believed to be round, and time is measured by the duration of its turns. If the world is round, then what is called "literature" must be flat: in any case, there is no place for it in visions of freedom, though it complements well the revolving monotony that passes for life today. Literature: the beloved toy of ladies of the court and men of the cloth: ugly bitches and weak-kneed clerics twittering in their guilty cages, seeking the "eternal" values of literature as if eternity was the ringing of a vicarious alarm clock. Literature: hypocrisy, cowardice, defeat, sentimentality, patriotism, Virtue, reaction, stupidity, religion, masturbation, guilt, senility, anemia, greed, self-restraint, good breeding, bourgeois morality, impotence, shit. If I exist, then literature has no right to exist.

Literature points in all directions at the same time because it has no place to go. Bourgeois religion, bourgeois politics, bourgeois sex, bourgeois comedy, bourgeois crime: these are the ends and means of a meaninglessness without end. But I do not wish to be misunderstood: deliver me from the "meanings" of literature, from the absurd maneuvers of a clever literary psychology that calls all the shots and invariably declares itself the winner. A little psychology is a dangerous thing. Literature, it is true, is older than psychology, perhaps older than man. This is at least the impression it tries to give. Bourgeois morality says: respect your elders, and literature is one of the eldest. Respect above all the dead, and certainly literature is related to death: no living person could possibly have anything to do with it, a mere past-time of dying people.

But literature is flammable, it burns well. Perhaps man will attain a higher stage of civilization, a higher stature, when he learns to piss on literature and draw the conclusions. Even if the conclusions must wait, human freedom will have made an appreciable advance. Literature could be depicted as a prison of straw. I choose to live outside it, and, from time to time, to set fire to it, or dismantle it calmly. But many of my contemporaries live inside its gloomy walls: sometimes I am not sure whether they need pity, a helping hand, or a punch in the nose. A book of matches is more useful than a book of sonnets or the average novel. This is not in itself of much importance, but this is: the book of matches is infinitely more interesting, more enlightening, more charming. It also poses more valid solutions to the problems confronting us.

* * *

It is time to spit on literature, to expose it before it stabs us in the back. Actually it may be argued that it lacks the strength to do this, but its social function alone (as a new opium of the people) inevitably necessitates an attack against it. It is time to discredit the idea of a literary imperialism which submerges free human expression under several centuries and millions of pages of rhetorical chains, grammatical traditions, senile metaphysics and general philological inhibition dogmatized and bureaucratized in modern bourgeois society. It is time to distinguish clearly, once and for all, between LITERATURE (authoritarian, official, rigid, academic, confining & cold) and POETRY (desperate, spontaneous, wild-eyed, convulsive, hot & liberating).



To the bourgeoisie, for whom prophecy long ago became the compartmentalized private property of "scientific" specialists, poetry too has become the task of "qualified experts" with college degrees, those who are called Poets by *Mademoiselle* or *The Paris Review* and whose works fill the cretinous libraries of politicians, university administrators and the presidents of large metropolitan banks. The bourgeois sees in words only commodities, and in communication only the exchange of commodities: for him, "money talks." His conception of the role of language in human affairs is thus rationalized to the astonishing limits he has placed on this society: it is as if the prisoner were to construct a world-view based on the "everlasting truth" of handcuffs, guards, stone walls and iron bars. This degraded conception of language resembles the equally degraded bourgeois conceptions of love, freedom, dreams and art, in which man's inhumanity to man is transformed into the collective insult known as the Humanities. Against these conceptions, however, and against the whole edifice of bourgeois-Christian civilization, the surrealists have raised the battle cry of Lautréamont: "Poetry must be made by all. Not by one." This "all" exists on at least two levels: first, that of an all-inclusive collectivity; second, that of a human psycho-physical totality rather than exclusively emotional, intellectual or other partial and therefore, alienating, restricting planes. We must oppose to the reactionary conceptions of the ruling classes all the latent potentialities of truly human life. We must fight the superstitious fantasies of bureaucrats with ruthless, implacable, everyday magic.

We are taught in schools to respect literature the same way we are taught to respect cops. If we are under 18 in most cities, we are coerced into schools by day and confined to parents' homes by curfews at night. All day we witness a ceaseless spectacle of unfreedom held together by soldiers, cops, governments, businessmen, bosses, priests, teachers, scoutmasters, social workers, truant officers, courts, pseudo-opposition groups (like the Communist Party), journalists, loan companies, insurance agencies and the Book of the Month Club.

It is evident from the start that we must *rebel* against all this with anger, humor, violence and the whole range of emotions and intelligence. But to rebel, we must love, madly, and to love, madly, we must hate the obstacles to our love. From the dream to the word to the act! Let us destroy the obstacles to love! Let us rebuild this world, this society, *everything*, from top to bottom.

Thus comes the deluge of visible messages of insubordination on the rooftops of consciousness and in the streets of dreams: Drop out! Make love, not war. Dodge the Draft. Let the State Disintegrate. Don't Fight the Bosses' War. I Won't Work. Sabotage. Freedom Now! Dancin' in the Streets. In the long hot summer, the rain of terror and the rain of pleasure.... Burn, baby, burn!

Understood in this sense, poetry *is* the revolutionary movement.

To forestall unnecessary confusion:

1) The poetry taught in schools has nothing to do with poetry. Occasionally, it is true, real poets are included in textbooks: but most often they are "represented" by their worst poems, or their works are so concealed in the maze of introductory notes, annotations, explanations, biographical and bibliographical information and critical remarks that they do not breathe and pulsate as poems should. Textbook poetry is lifeless, irrelevant, empty and above all *safe*. It offends no one, destroys nothing, creates nothing, inspires nothing: it is boring. And this is the condition generally reserved, officially, for poetry today: bureaucratic-capitalist society, in bureaucratizing poetry into textbooks, has thus attempted to bureaucratize real poetry out of existence. Poetry, now a specialization, is thus excluded from the lives of "ordinary people" except in sterilized, deodorized, State-approved regulation plastic squeeze-bottle form. We shall see, however, that these attempts, like all defense-measures of our ruling classes, backfire in reality, for just as people in the street find weapons (rocks, bricks, bottles, gasoline) to use against cops, so they will find poetry: *automatically*.

2) Poems, in any case, are not nearly as important as poetry.

3) At certain historical periods, especially periods of crisis and great social change, poetry has sought refuge *outside* the poem. This was true of late *18th* century France, which produced no poems of any importance, but which brought into being the anarchist, pre-surrealist and marvelously poetic works of the Marquis de Sade (as well as Diderot and some others) whose best works were written in prose. The same is true of the United States immediately after the Revolution, which saw the appearance of several amazing novels by Charles Brockden Brown (*Wieland, or the Transformation*; *Edgar Huntly*), extensions of certain preoccupations of the Gothic genre in England.

At other periods, poetry breaks through its traditional forms into something altogether *new*. The works of Blake, Baudelaire, Lewis Carroll, Lautréamont, Rimbaud, Mayakovsky, Samuel Greenberg, Lorca & the surrealists are evidence of the poet's desire to smash complacency, conformity, convention, the "official" view, the accepted version of things, --- to pose anew for the consideration of all the gravest problems of human existence, and to propose tentative, daring solutions.

* * *

The following examples will help clarify our conception of poetry:

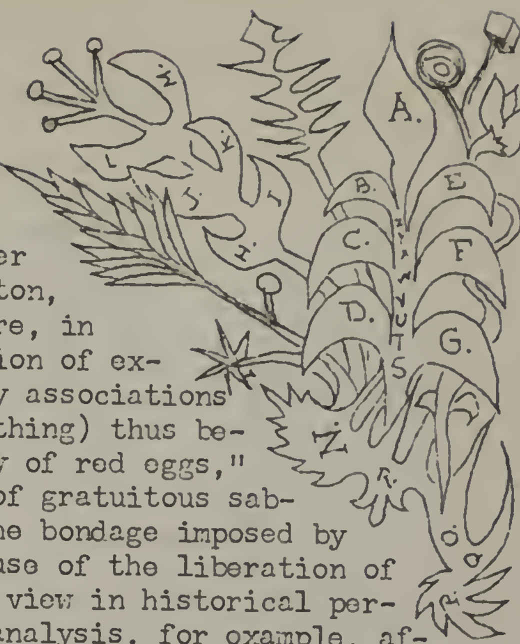
During the rioting by Puerto Ricans in Chicago, June 1966, two south siders and another person from the suburbs who were passing through the neighborhood of the rioting in a car, stopped for a few minutes: JUST LONG ENOUGH FOR THEM TO OVERTURN AND SET FIRE TO A POLICE SQUAD CAR. "There's a big, black, oily patch," wrote the *Daily News* reporter, on the street "where...the squad car was turned over and set afire." Modern capitalist society: "Paint it Black" -- which, incidentally, was the Number One record in Chicago at that time.

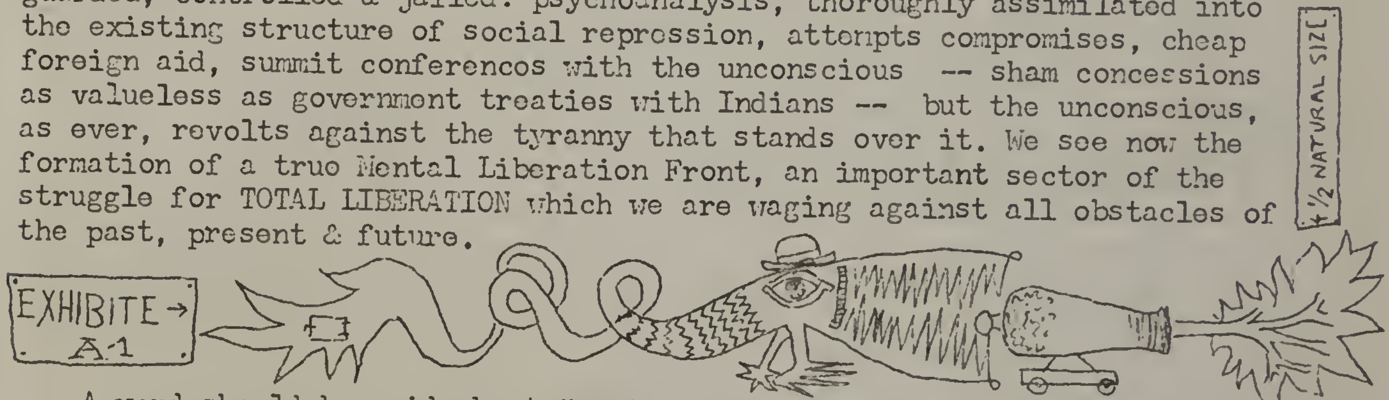
Or again:

On 29 January 1966 Indians of the Northwest Coast, engaged in a violent struggle against immediate government persecution and long-range government cultural intervention, held a night rally to protest the brutality of state authorities. ON THIS COLD, RAINY NIGHT, AMIDST LOUDSPEAKERS, A GROUP OF YAKIMAS DID AN AUTHENTIC WAR DANCE AROUND A HUGE BONFIRE -- which could be seen for miles -- AND TWO YOUNG INDIAN GIRLS THREW A LIFE-SIZE EFFIGY OF WASHINGTON STATE GOVERNOR EVANS INTO THE FLAMES WHILE THE INDIANS CHEERED AND SHOUTED WAR WHOOPS.

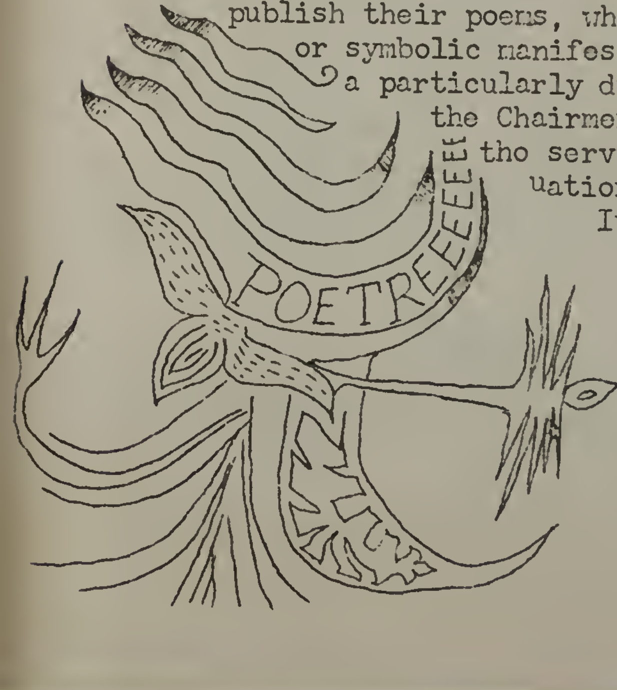
Rioting and guerrilla warfare in the streets and in the country are the social complements of individual rioting & guerrilla warfare in the mind.

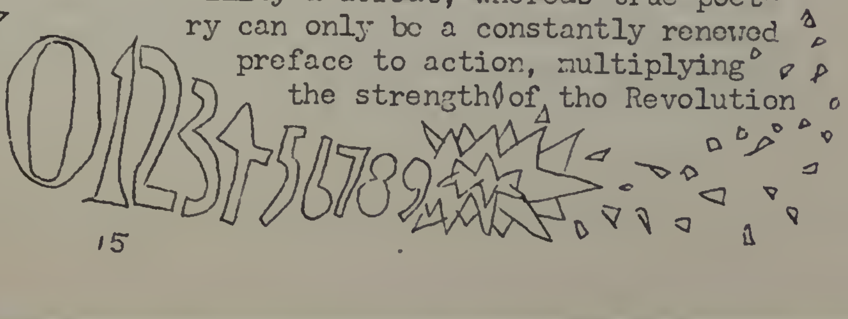
Poetry is thus a form of guerrilla warfare, or perhaps it would be more to the point to say that guerrilla warfare is a form of poetry. The automatic image is a valid & triumphant expression of emotion, but, precisely because of this, it is also a weapon: and the wilder the image the greater the explosion. "Words make love," wrote Andre Breton, but only in poetry & dreams. The rest is literature, in which words do nothing but work for the preservation of existing reality. To free words from their customary associations (& to disrupt the conventional relations of everything) thus becomes a revolutionary necessity. "The strident cry of red eggs," wrote Benjamin Peret. This is essentially an act of gratuitous sabotage, or creative vandalism: words, freed from the bondage imposed by bureaucratic-capitalist society, can serve the cause of the liberation of the mind. This can be seen from various points of view in historical perspective. The reactionary consolidation of psychoanalysis, for example, after Freud (as exemplified by Jung, Adler, Horney, Fromm, etc. & their followers) effected an imperialist colonization of the unconscious, which, far from being explored in the manner of Freud, is now instead more than ever policed, guarded, controlled & jailed: psychoanalysis, thoroughly assimilated into the existing structure of social repression, attempts compromises, cheap foreign aid, summit conferences with the unconscious -- sham concessions as valueless as government treaties with Indians -- but the unconscious, as ever, revolts against the tyranny that stands over it. We see now the formation of a true Mental Liberation Front, an important sector of the struggle for TOTAL LIBERATION which we are waging against all obstacles of the past, present & future.





A word should be said about "poetry" magazines, the independent, one-shot, mimeographed or occasionally university-sponsored & printed "little magazines" which one finds on the waysides of everyday life and to which at least a few people look for flashes of intuitive lightning or at least a luminous grain of possible hope. It seems to me that the very notion of a "poetic" specialist publication of any kind is anti-poetic from the start, based on a sentimentalized, false idealism indicating a clear incapacity for action. The poetry of images & words is nothing if it does not lead to actions and realizations. "Poets" who have nothing better to do than publish their poems, who are interested only in the purely verbal or symbolic manifestations of poetry, are not poets at all but a particularly dull species of quasi-bureaucrats (analogous to the Chairmen of so-called "charitable societies") at the service of their own alienation and the perpetuation of universal commodity-monotony society. It is not by accident that the verse in these magazines is almost invariably unreadable, insipid and flat, because they are only the apologetic postscripts to premature senility & defeat, whereas true poetry can only be a constantly renewed preface to action, multiplying the strength of the Revolution





at its source in human desire.

It is undoubtedly true that sometimes revolutionaries are found working on these "little magazines," and that sometimes one can find in their pages poetry of a particularly subversive quality. But it will all come to nothing unless they explode the illusion of "pure poetry" or "art for art's sake" that too often confuses & injures an otherwise radical orientation. Is it necessary to add that there can be no question of "engaged" art, of dictatorship over art, of any chains of any kind? As Trotsky wrote to Breton in 1939: "...truly independent creation in our period of convulsive reaction and return to savagery cannot fail to be revolutionary by its very spirit, for it can no longer seek a solution in an intolerable social asphyxiation. But art in its entirety and each artist in particular must seek this solution by individual means, without waiting for some external order, without tolerating it, rejecting it and covering with scorn all those who submit to it..."

Traditional political journals, however, in their theoretical austerity, preferring the technological chemistry of speech to the "alchemy of the word," and too often settling for uninspired versification of the embarassingly obvious & boringly incidental, present themselves as a body of ideas without any blood. It is insufficient to remain critically "receptive," for it is not a matter of having poetry in one hand and criticism in the other, but of letting poetry be marvelously critical and criticism ruthlessly poetic. This must be done, of course, without a trace of eclecticism, and without sacrifice, relying only on the voluntary luxury of our wildest dreams which our conception of Revolution verifies at every step.

So-called "socialist" realism is merely a reflection of a whole ideological mausoleum based on central committees, party discipline, and fear of the unconscious. Rosa Luxemburg, in her polemic against Lenin's organizational conceptions (printed in pamphlet form under the title Leninism or Marxism?) wrote: "...the errors committed by a truly revolutionary movement are infinitely more fruitful than the infallibility of the cleverest Central Committee." This is clearly visible in the field of art, where the results are immediate & concrete: one has only to compare the wildest ravings of T-Bone Slim, or the songs of the Mexican Revolution, or the architectural marvels of the French mailman Cheval or Simon Rodia in Watts, or any surrealist text, with a Communist's Ode to Stalin, or Aragon's patriotic Je te salue, ma France or l'Homme communiste, or party-line sculpture in Maoist China, to see the difference between the beautiful dreams of revolutionaries and the superficial sentimentality & hypocrisy created by obedient party-members.

"Socialist" realism is, in its own way, an "ivory tower" art, despite its trappings of common language, character simplicity, & familiar working-class settings. And it is an essentially bourgeois ivory tower art precisely because of these characteristics: guilty, middle-class, masochist intellec-

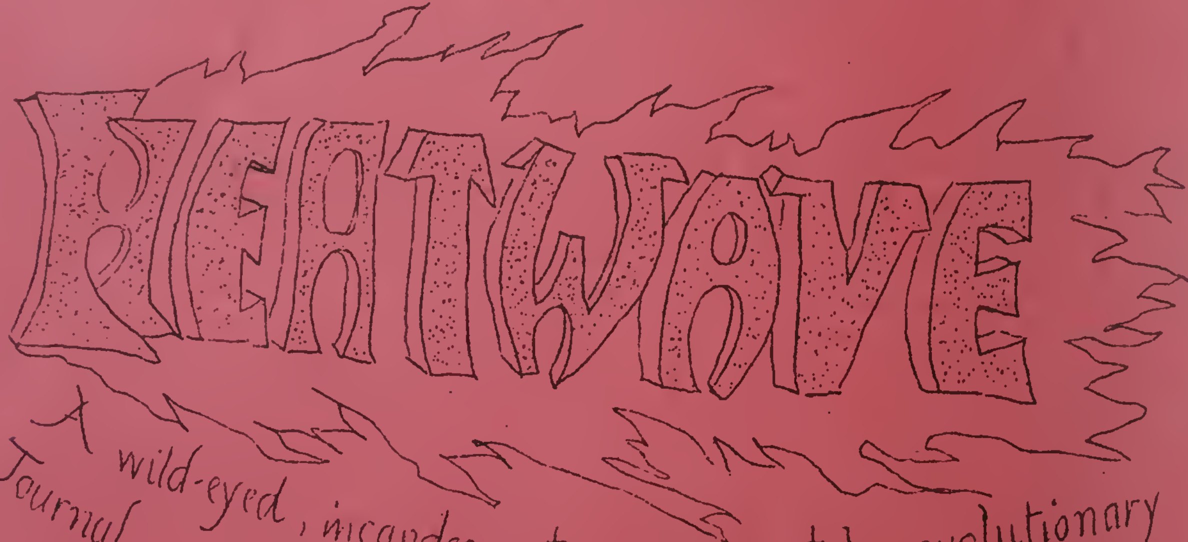
Continued on page 45

THE COLORS OF FREEDOM

Ranged above our heads, the flag-like windows forever unlit continued to lap up their measure of air. They had the dimensions of those flags of red cloth which in Paris flank certain highway works and from which there stand out, in big black letters separated by dots, the inscription "SADE" which has often returned to me in reveries. The red flag, free from any mark or inscription: this flag I shall always see with the same vision that I had at seventeen when, during a popular demonstration just before the other war, I saw it unfurled by thousands, low in the sky of the Pré Saint-Gervais. And yet — I feel that reasoning is powerless to intervene here — my pulse will continue to beat yet more powerfully at the evocation of that moment when this flamboyant sea, in places flowing but thinly and restrictedly, was pierced by the soaring flight of black flags. At that time I had no great political consciousness and I must admit that I remain perplexed when I take it upon myself to gauge what degree of consciousness I have since attained. But, more than ever, the currents of sympathy and antipathy seem to me strong enough to demand the submission of ideology; and I know that my heart was set beating, is still set beating, by this day's very movement. In the deepest galleries of my heart I shall always rediscover the swaying to-and-fro of these countless tongues of flame amongst which a few linger to lick a marvelous carbonised flower. The present generation will hardly be able to imagine for itself a spectacle of that order. As yet the heart of the proletariat had not been rent by innumerable factions. The torch of the Paris Commune was far from being extinct; there were many hands there which had held this torch — a torch binding all together in its great light that would have been less beautiful, less true, without a few spiralling wreaths of thick smoke. So much individually disinterested faith, so much resolution and ardour could be read in these faces, so much nobleness too in those of the veterans. Around the black flags, to be sure, the effect of sheer physical suffering could be sensed more strongly, but passion had really burnt itself into some eyes, had left there unforgettable points of white-heat. It will always seem as if the flame had spread over them all, burning them only less or more fiercely; serving to maintain some in their absolutely realizable and well-based demands and hopes, whilst leading others, more rarely, to burn themselves out on the spot in an inexorable attitude of sedition and defiance. The condition of humanity is such (independently of the ultra-amendable *social* condition which man has made for himself) that this last attitude especially — to which there is no lack in the history of the intellect of illustrious respondents, whether they be named Pascal, Nietzsche, Strindberg or Rimbaud — has always seemed to me absolutely justifiable on the emotive plane, leaving out of account the purely utilitarian reasons for which society may repress such an attitude. One is compelled at least to recognize, in oneself, that it alone is marked by an exaltation and the pride which overcame me, when as a child I was taken for one of the very first times into a cemetery, at this discovery —

among so many depressing or ridiculous funeral monuments — of a slab of granite engraved in red capitals with the superb device: NEITHER GOD NOR MASTER. Poetry and art will always retain a preference for all which transfigures mankind in this desperate, irreductible demand which -- now and then--he takes the derisory chance to make upon life. The fact is that above art and poetry also, whether one likes it or not, there beats a flag --in turn red and black. There too time is urgent: it is a question of ensuring that from human sensibility is drawn all that it is capable of giving. But whence comes this apparent ambiguity as to the color? Perhaps it is not given to any man to act upon the sensibility of other men in order to mould and enlarge it, except at the price of offering himself as a sacrifice to all the scattered forces in the soul of his time; forces which, in general, only seek for each other in an attempt to pronounce mutual exclusions. It is in this sense that such a man is, has always been and, by a mysterious decree of these forces, must be at the same time their victim and their dispenser. Thus, the same is necessarily the case as regards a certain taste for human freedom which, called to extend the field of receptivity of all to practically infinite proportions, draws down upon a single person all the baleful consequences of immoderation. Freedom does not consent to caress this earth a little except in taking into account those who have not known or have only partly known how to live because they have loved her to a point of madness.

André BRETON



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contents:
- ★PROVO MANIFESTO
- ★ONLY LOVERS LEFT ALIVE book review by Chas. Radcliffe
- ★THE LONG HOT SUMMER by B. Marszalek [chicago's Puerto Rican Riots]
- ★DROP OUT LEAFLET from Chicago
- ★ THE 1ST DAFFODILS IN THE PISSOIRE
- ★UNITARY URBANISM by Attila Kotanyi & Raoul Vaneigen
- ★ DADA & SURREALIST TEXTS
- ★LANDSCAPE W/ MOVEABLE PTS. by Fr. Rosemont
- ★PROVO RIOTS by Chas Radcliffe & Chris. Gray
- ★ MAD MAMA'S BLUES by Violet Mills

Elementary Structures of Reification

As if the old Marx was directing everything from his grave, the commodity form contributed, by the logic of its real development, to the clarification and deepening of the critique of political economy. Most certainly, the heirs of this critique have done everything, theoretically and practically, like the bourgeois and like the bureaucrats, to disguise or to maintain confusion on his subject by drowning it beneath a heap of metaphysical subtleties and theological arguments. But the world has continued without them. These analyses which they strive themselves to conceal, it has transcribed with a blinding light in everyday triviality: it has made the theory of fetishism of commodities both an objective truth and common knowledge.

Despite the transformations it has undergone since Marx, the commodity-economy has been conserved in its form: a form clothing the products of creative activity (of praxis) that wage labor has stripped of all humanity; a form which, faithful heir of the old judeo-christian god, acquired an autonomous existence and created man and the world in its image; a form which has engendered the anthropology of an isolated individual who remains deprived of the wealth of his social intercourse. The commodity-economy is the praxis of power: not only the principle of dissolution of the old peasant-religious civilization (the ruins of which it still pursues), but a mode of representation of the world and a form of action upon it; it has reduced the whole of social reality to the quantifiable and established the totalitarian domination of the quantitative, extending this increasingly to all the as yet non-dominated sectors of life. (see Internationale Situationiste #7, #8, Banalities de Base by Raoul Vaneigem. English translation, The Totality For Kids, available as a pamphlet.)

What appeared to be most concrete was in fact the most abstract; a formal rationalization, an illusion. But such an illusion, similar to and contrary to revolutionary ideas, once it had acquired its autonomy, operates, like an incitement to resignation, on the real world.

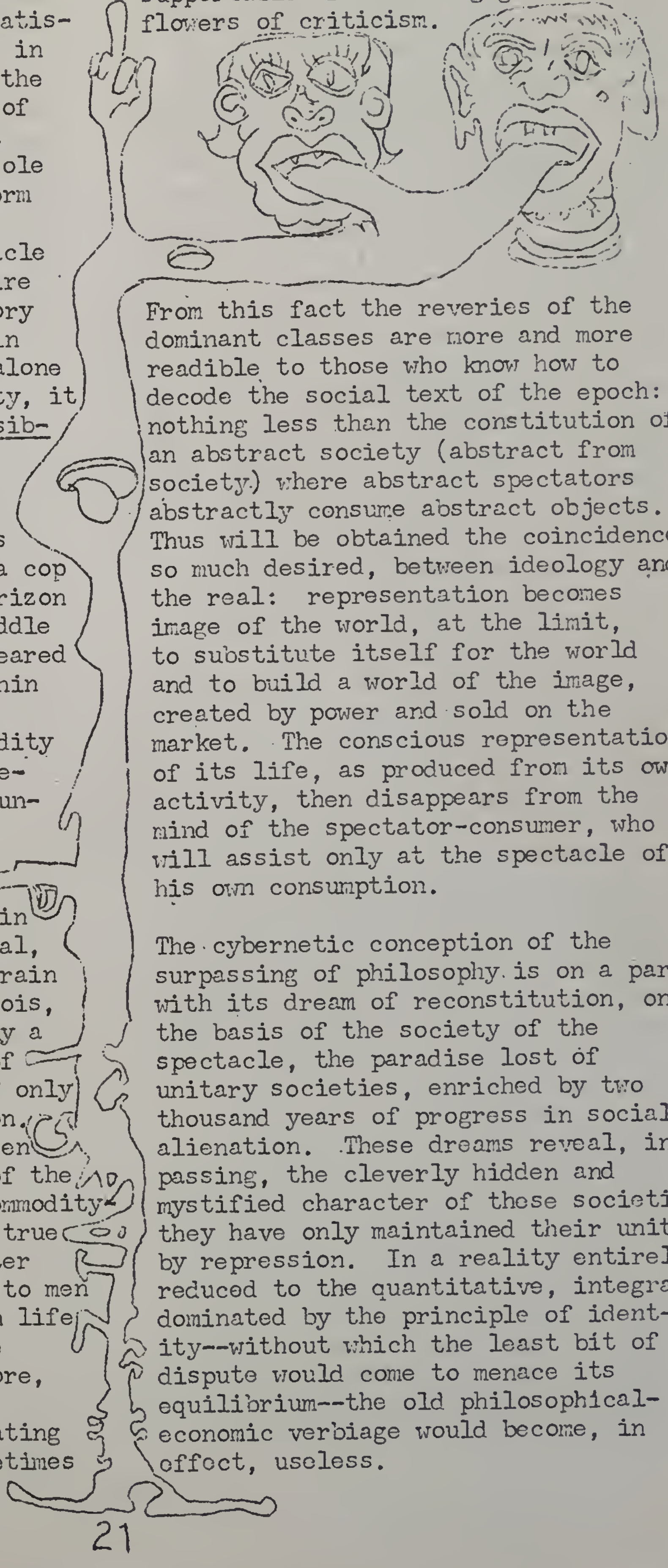
Dominant society always moves forward and leaps to new stages in the escalation of repression and alienation. The "Cybernetic State" has thus raised, in combining the fetishism of commodity-economy and the fetishism of the work of art, a successive fetish: the commodity-spectacle, projection of all life in a hypostatic and crystallized essence, the image and normative model of this life. The concentration of alienations is thus pursued in the course of the accumulation of capital. Competitive capitalism was content to overwhelm social man with a multitude of partial alienations; in reducing the formerly separated spheres to one and the same reification, this bureaucratic capitalism, on the road of rapid cybernetization, congeals and places it in a showcase.

Such a process was unforseeable only

promoters of modes of narcotic thought, like the Hindu philosophers, extol a purely vegetarian diet. They wished to make of this diet a law with the masses, searching thus to provoke the needs which they are capable of satisfying, those and no others." But in a society which can secrete only the need for another life, the opium of the commodity-spectacle is only a paradoxical realization of this sole real desire. By the commodity form and the representations which it issues, the society of the spectacle tends to crumble this unique desire in furnishing it a mass of illusory satisfactions in small portions in exchange for abandoning what is alone *possible*, that is, another society, it generously grants us all the *possibilities of being another in this society.*

The commodity spectacle colonizes the possible in delimiting like a cop the theoretical and practical horizon of the epoch. Just as in the Middle Ages the religious framework appeared to be the unpassable horizon within which the class struggle must be inscribed, the spectacular-commodity form tends to create such a framework, in the womb of which will unfold all the struggles for total emancipation, lost in advance.

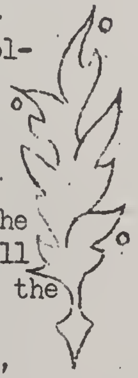
But just as the commodity form, in monopolizing the whole of the real, has real existence only in the brain of the nineteenth century bourgeois, this nightmare of society is only a true ideology, an organization of appearance which elevates itself only to the appearance of organization. The spectacle, in effect, has been only the fantastic realization of the commodity-economy because the commodity-economy has never possessed any true reality: its mysterious character resides simply in its returning to men the characteristics of their own life and presenting them as objective characteristics. Power, therefore, projects the image of survival, permitting this image by integrating therein elements possessing sometimes a liberating content, to be always open to the possible. By this operation they pass to the service of repression, rendering alienation more supportable after having glorified the flowers of criticism.



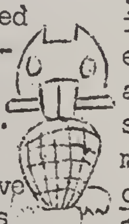
From this fact the reveries of the dominant classes are more and more readible to those who know how to decode the social text of the epoch: nothing less than the constitution of an abstract society (abstract from society) where abstract spectators abstractly consume abstract objects. Thus will be obtained the coincidence, so much desired, between ideology and the real: representation becomes image of the world, at the limit, to substitute itself for the world and to build a world of the image, created by power and sold on the market. The conscious representation of its life, as produced from its own activity, then disappears from the mind of the spectator-consumer, who will assist only at the spectacle of his own consumption.

The cybernetic conception of the surpassing of philosophy is on a par with its dream of reconstitution, on the basis of the society of the spectacle, the paradise lost of unitary societies, enriched by two thousand years of progress in social alienation. These dreams reveal, in passing, the cleverly hidden and mystified character of these societies: they have only maintained their unity by repression. In a reality entirely reduced to the quantitative, integrally dominated by the principle of identity--without which the least bit of dispute would come to menace its equilibrium--the old philosophical-economic verbiage would become, in effect, useless.

These phantasms find elsewhere, from time to time, an embryo of practical realization, always exemplarily revealing. A hospital in Richmond, Va. features an "Isle of Life" for the seriously burned. This consists of a gigantic plastic bubble maintained free of all germs. Inside, the patients, after complete decontamination, are installed in a pre-sterilized atmosphere. "No claustrophobia: the Isle of Life is transparent." (Paris-Match) While waiting for a nuclear conflict to furnish to this philanthropic work the patients it merits, society builds the image of the conditions it imposes: survival in controlled isolation.



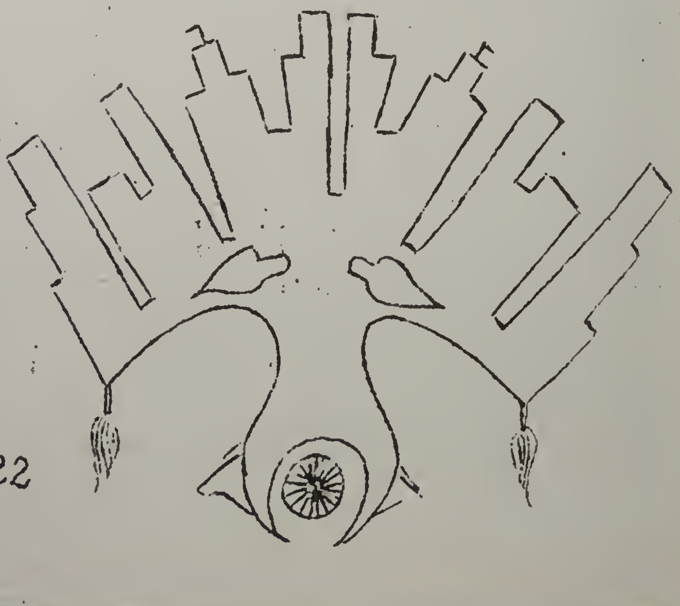
Although the commodity-spectacle tends to establish this flat and spiritual positivity, it reheats the negative in its breast, and like all historical reality produces itself the germs of its own destruction. The ancient socio-economic commonplace, the development of the industry of mass-consumptive goods produces and superproduces superproduction. Certain sociologists have even arrived at the understanding that with commodity superproduction all objective difference between things disappears. The only differentiation which would be able to be introduced is subjective. But to discover the latent tendencies to auto-destruction which such a process conceals is beyond the capacities of a sociologist. With the disappearance of use-value, the general identity between things passes from living fantasy to phantasmagoric realization. Use-value, however, is the nucleus of reality, indispensable to the production and survival of exchange value. Commodities themselves suppress their own conditions. When the system is able to do without reality, then reality is able to do without it. Modern society has grown to such a point of revolution that it parodies in advance its own destruction. Gadgets work to the end of the world of commodity-economy. The last gadgets are the "nothing gadgets": the useless machine, the machine which destroys itself, counterfeit money to burn in the fireplace.



But the commodity-economy, also produces its own gravediggers, who would not limit themselves to the spectacle of its destruction, since their objective is the destruction of the spectacle. One cannot refute the conditions of existence, one can only liberate oneself.

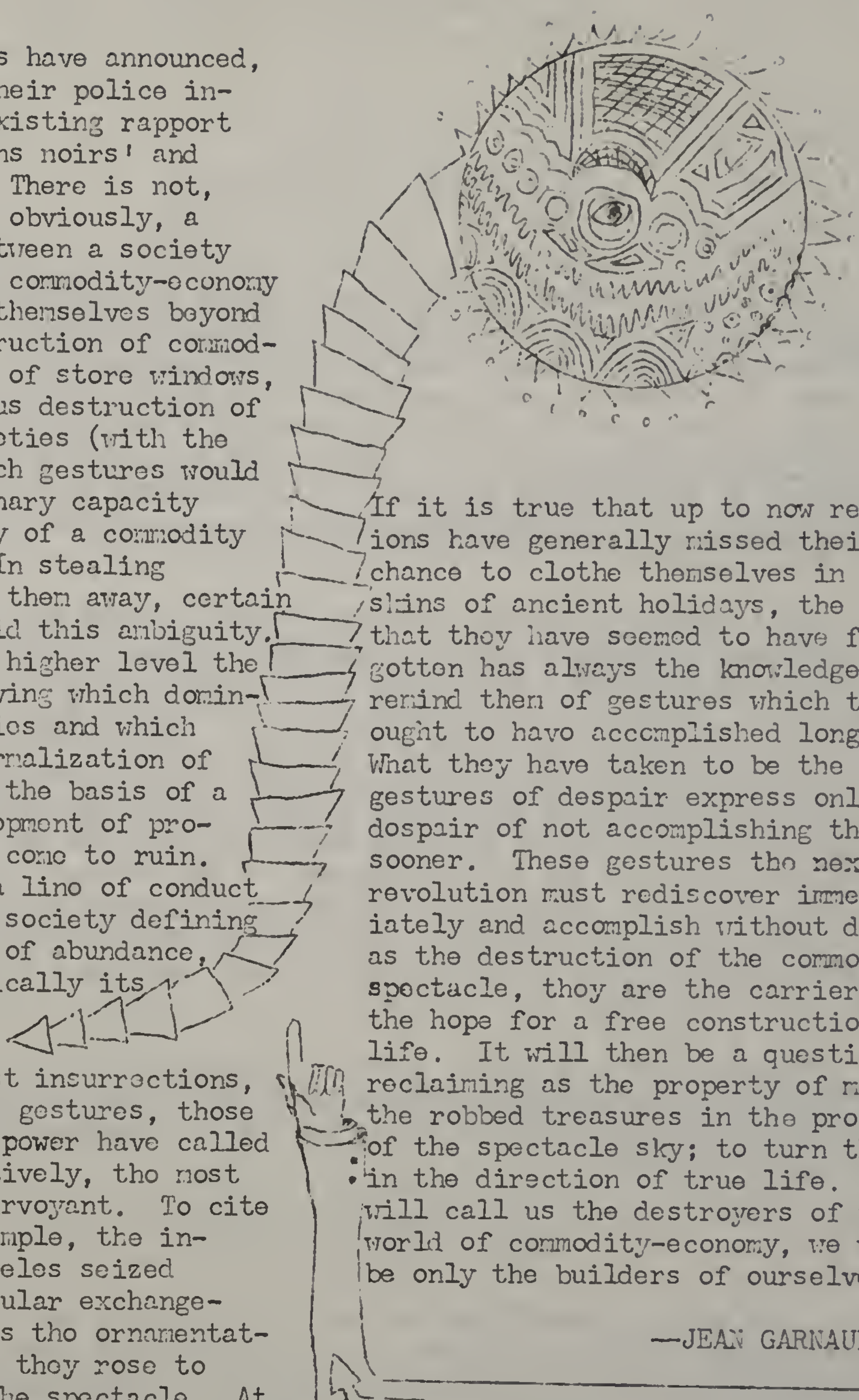
EXIT

At all stages of practical confrontation, gestures proliferate themselves, ready to transform themselves into revolutionary acts. But in the absence of a revolutionary movement this practical confrontation remains on the individual level. The nostalgia of the deprived appropriation has been the basis of the theory of individual reappropriation and has reduced it to a simple reaction against abstract socialization, introduced by the commodity form. Theft in the big department stores, that the psycho-sociologists of the owners have so justly called the "unknown method" is of a qualitatively different essence. In the spectacle of abundance, the so-called objects of consumption cease to be objects of enjoyment and become instead objects of contemplation, more and more radically strangers to those whose needs they are supposed to satisfy. Theft seems to be, then, the only mode of appropriation for enjoyment, contrary to the "known method" which appears as a mode of contemplative use, a way of being possessed by objects without enjoying them.



Certain sociologists have announced, as a discovery in their police investigations, the existing rapport between the 'blousons noirs' and archaic societies. There is not, however, simply and obviously, a real resemblance between a society on this side of the commodity-economy and groups placing themselves beyond it. Voluntary destruction of commodities, the breaking of store windows, recalls the sumptuous destruction of pre-capitalist societies (with the reservation that such gestures would see their revolutionary capacity limited in a society of a commodity superproduction). In stealing commodities to give them away, certain 'blousons noirs' void this ambiguity. They reproduce at a higher level the practice of gift-giving which dominated archaic societies and which exchange, as the formalization of social relations on the basis of a weak level of development of productive forces, has come to ruin. Thus they discover a line of conduct better *adapted* to a society defining itself as a society of abundance, and beginning practically its transformation.

In the course of past insurrections, the most spontaneous gestures, those that the bandits of power have called blind, were, definitively, the most revolutionarily clairvoyant. To cite an actual recent example, the insurrgents of Los Angeles seized directly the spectacular exchange-value which served as the ornamentation of their slavery; they rose to assault the sky of the spectacle. At the same time that they were destroying windows and burning supermarkets, they outlined on the spot a restoration of use-value: "One black carrying a stolen refrigerator in a wheelbarrow, opened it and took out the steaks and some bottles of whiskey." (L'Express)



If it is true that up to now revolutions have generally missed their chance to clothe themselves in the skins of ancient holidays, the enemy that they have seemed to have forgotten has always the knowledge to remind them of gestures which they ought to have accomplished long since. What they have taken to be the gestures of despair express only the despair of not accomplishing them sooner. These gestures the next revolution must rediscover immediately and accomplish without delay; as the destruction of the commodity-spectacle, they are the carriers of the hope for a free construction of life. It will then be a question of reclaiming as the property of man all the robbed treasures in the profit of the spectacle sky; to turn them in the direction of true life. They will call us the destroyers of the world of commodity-economy, we will be only the builders of ourselves.

—JEAN GARNAULT

"Living and ceasing to live are
imaginary solutions.
Existence lies elsewhere."
André BRETON
(The Surrealist Manifesto - 1924)

REMINISCENCES of T-Bone Slim

We have published in this and past issues of The Rebel Worker, and shall continue to publish in ZTANGI, various texts by T-Bone Slim (whose "real" name was Matt Valentine Huhta) the great IWW humorist, poet, traveler, story-teller & theoretician. We hope soon to bring out an offset reprint of his only published pamphlet, Starving Amidst Too Much, out of print since the 1920's, and perhaps a collection of other of his writings, which appeared regularly in Industrial Solidarity, the Industrial Worker and the various IWW magazines until his death in 1942.

Almost nothing is known of T-Bone's life, except that he was born in Ashtabula, Ohio (year unknown), and that he was a wanderer & a loner & a militant Wobbly most if not all of his adult life. The absence of biographical information emphasizes the defiantly enigmatic & elusive character of his work, singularly seductive among IWW writings, both in method & implication, and which remains probably the most advanced & articulate expression of the latent content of the Wobbly dream. The following text, details of which we have not been able to verify yet, is published here to put at the disposal of our readers, especially those interested in the anthropological, millenarian, occult & surrealist aspects of the revolutionary workingclass movement in the U.S, a few personal reminiscences which can at least provide a foundation for additional research.

The author, Guy B. Askew, known as Skidroad Slim, has been actively promoting the IWW since its early days. He lives in Seattle where he continues IWW propaganda efforts and maintains an unshaken faith in an anarchist One Big Union.

12 - 12 - 64

...Yes I knew T-Bone Slim for many years during the IWW harvest Drives in North Dakota and Montana. His mind was far above the average of the Wage Slaves, but strictly Rank and file. He was highly intelligent, generous and Kindly towards his Fellow Workers, always neat and clean in appearance and was considered by many as Handsome. When I knew him he was strictly Sober at all Times. He was a Powerful Prolific writer and Journalist.

T-Bone Slim many years ago was a Top Writer and Reporter for the Duluth Minn. Daily News-Telegram. In the early days of the IWW he was Sent by this Paper to cover an IWW Mass Meeting. T-Bone Slim sent the Paper a Good factual write-up favorable to the IWW. But the Editor of the Duluth News-Telegram mis-quoted him and balled up his article. T-Bone Slim

(Continued on page 33)

That What Is NOT To Be?

Ante-Bellum Jitters

And Coda After the Storm

Bone

1940

Years ago if a man came from Ohio he was good enuff to be president of United States of America; today they won't even let him push a wheelbarrow or wield a shovel. WPA snubs him and won't even say "good morning," "go-to-hell," or any of those other endearing terms of the mauve age. Old Buckeye is beginning to make speeches to himself and may blossom out a full-fledged orator and put Patrick Henry and Roscoe Conkling in the shade...

After the war, "sometime to come," an acute seige of decentralization will set in. Contrary to the belief here that the warring nations will proceed to reconstruct that what is destroyed, the world will lay down on such dreams of glory; for it knows that centralization can travel only toward destruction.

Fantastic dreams of post-war trade are due for a rude awakening. Giant wharves, built to handle the commerce that was, are surplus baggage in the commerce that isn't... Giant liners are through -- cost of wharfage prohibits the use of them as showboats.

Return to simple life resembles Napoleon returning from Moscow; most thoroughly domesticated. There goes my reputation, folks, hand me my crutches. (Washington papers please copy).

As I see it the whole of Asia will be drenched in blood -- saw it year ago -- saw it years before -- and said so.

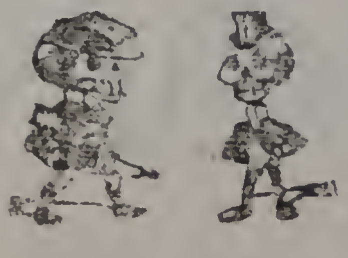
The invasion begins Friday night -- daylight saving time.

Plattsburg (Up-Stairs) New York:
Plattsburg Training Camp is not a free summer vacation for broken-down businessmen, they pay the Army $43.50 a month for training. It's worth it during these heat waves in the city streets. (Note: I'm still packing my fishlines, Dave.)
By the way: why doesn't the British language give fishline a name? I hate to make a speech every time I want to mention fish snares.

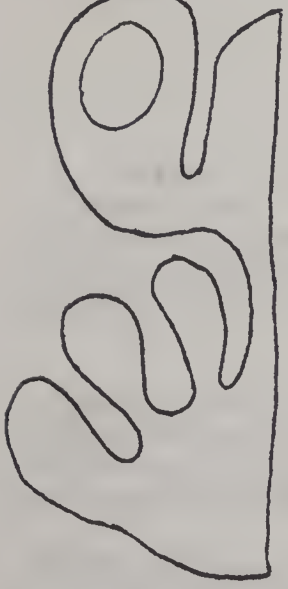
Enemy cinderellas (incinerator bombs) and stuff like that -- just when we need the poorhouses most. "Another Poorhouse Goes Up In Smoke" -- could anything be more ennervating!

The purpose of the economic royalists seems to be "risk all our substance in defense of their racket and run the wealth of the nation down to zero." -- All right. Labor can help here by accepting higher wages and thus bring the revelation that much sooner -- a juggy-horse never again plows.

Unquestionably children should be moved out of the areas of man-made danger in war zones. I doubt however if the warring nations can come to an agreement on the method to be used. Therefor, to help the thing along, I suggest each mercy ship



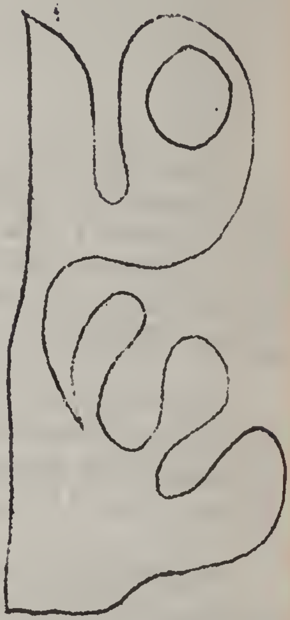
be examined at sea, coming and going, by interested belligerants, to verify the fact that no politicians or plutocrats are aboard disguised as nursemaids.



Dirge

The workingclass had lots of sense,
   When hunger came;
Our trenchant knowledge was immense,
   When hunger came;
In worldly wisdom we were wise --
To this the inner-man replies:
"We knew not how to organize
   And win the game."

Too prone perhaps were we to run
   When showdown came
Perhaps we may have even won
   A slacker's name
No nary thing did we aright
Our wars were anybody's fight
And still we proved our latent might:
   We died as ONE.



Too hot to Sit On:

D'ye ever notice the park benches are in the sunshine all day long -- this comes in handy during winter months -- when our feet are in the oven.

Facts are most explosive element known.

Detailed knowledge places next.

Action, skill and despatch are "in the money" -- power.

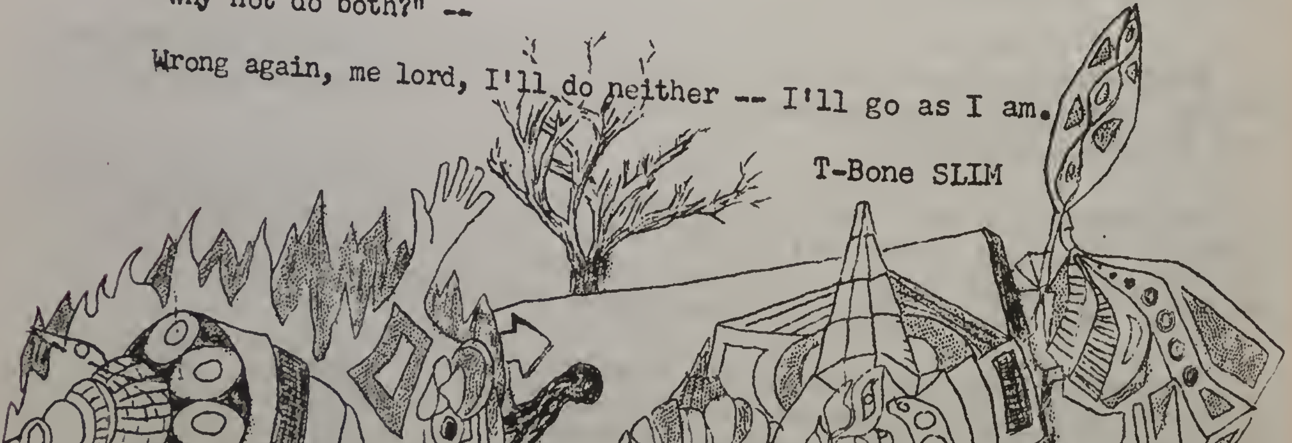
"Glory that was" proves to have been exaggerated -- the hills of our youth show up as mere knolls.

I'm in one terrible fix -- and hope the Big G can throw the soot: if I shave, my overalls won't look so good; if I take off my overalls, my face won't look so good.

"Why not do both?" --

Wrong again, me lord, I'll do neither -- I'll go as I am.

T-Bone SLIM

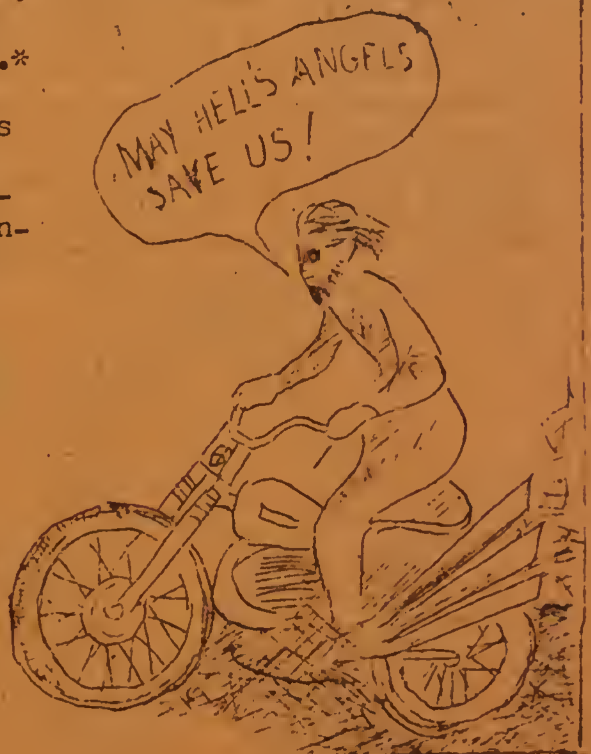


ON (not) HAVING A WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE GROUP IN CHICAGO

extract from a letter written
TO: Walter Gormly, Box 26, Mt. Vernon, Iowa
FROM: Joffre Stewart, 6114 S. May St., Chicago, Ill.
and bearing the DATE:
day 59 -
after the resumption of bombing
followed by ground hog daze
in the Year of the Horse
riding air borne
thru another Year of the Outrage
OF VIETS NUMB
In the Year of the Bomb
21

WRL

Milling around somewhere in (my memory of) the events that prepared, mounted, and stepped off as, The International Days of Protest, March 25-26, was one PAUL WILLER (1350 N. Sedgwick; fone WA-4-9624) who filled out the War Resisters League questionnaire which was sent out around January 18, 1966. Willer, who is on the mailing list of the anarchists (c/o Solidarity Bookshop, 1644 Meyer Court) wanted to get a WRL group started in Chicago (I had been thinking the same thing). His answer came from Dave McReynolds who said that WRL does not want him to initiate a WRL group in Chicago because it is afraid that it wd become filled with anarchists. (Since I have been connected with various "brotherhood" movements, I have always felt more discriminated against by Civil Rightists, pacifists and other redeemers of Humanity than I have by racialists). Apparently McReynolds/WRL wd rather have no WRL group in Chicago than to have an anti-State one (or one merely weighted for anti-Statism: how can you contrive to "keep" a WRL group "left" of McReynolds without engaging in the moral turpitude and sabotage that McReynolds engages in?) like in Japan, probably in Belgium, and possibly in France.


MAY HELL'S ANGELS SAVE US!

Perhaps Chicagoans shd sign the pledge and attempt to affiliate directly to Middlesex.* This development makes Ralph Di Gia appear an even worse fink than McReynolds if it is true that he (R. D. G.) is an anarchist as rumored. Anarchists who administer the suppression of other anarchists, Like the Spanish Civil War (and the Russian Revolution) all over again. May Hell's Angels save us from the "comrades"!

Joffre STEWART

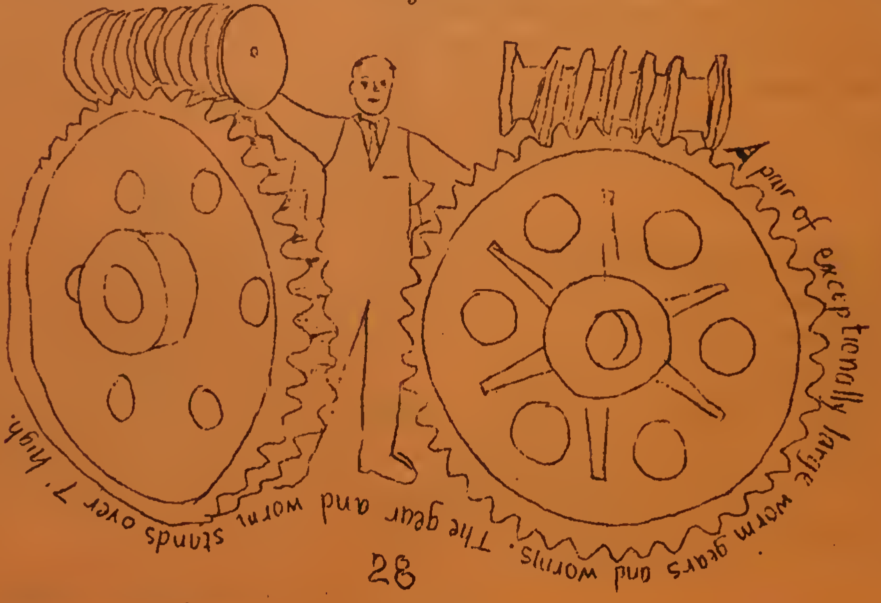
* WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL
Lansbury House
88 Park Avenue
Enfield,
Middlesex
England

THE FIVE O'CLOCK WORLD 2

Anybody who's got a 9 to 5 job doesn't have to be told how the bastards are fucking him at work. They're taking it right out of his hide, and he can feel that by himself. This series of articles is about the more subtle ways they have of making life miserable for us in the world after 5 o'clock.

You convert your work power, your muscle, nerves, intellect, your creativity as a human being into a commodity, and sell it on the "labor market" from 9 to 5 (or other hours) for the lousy wages you get. As far as they are concerned, you are not a human being during this time, but a thing, a "factor of production", as the economists like to call you. You, or rather your wage--you actually don't count--you go down on the books as "costs of production" alongside plant machinery, raw materials and fuel. Human being OK, but not on company time.

Pretty miserable life, isn't it? Especially when you consider that Hungarian workers in 1956 proved to the world that workers could run the show themselves, except for Russian tanks. True, you say, but at 5 o'clock my tour of duty is finished, and I can go home and rest and enjoy myself. Wrong again, my friend--your loving rulers got other plans for you. At 5 o'clock your tour of duty as consumer begins. Somebody's got to buy all that junk your labor has created. You don't think they spend that $10,000,000,000 a year or so on market research, packaging and advertising just to make the super market shelves look pretty. Man, in this economy you're on duty from get-up to go-to-bed, and you better not forget it. You find out if you've got a good wage that it isn't all it's made out to be either. It only makes your consumer duty heavier, and you got more shit you can worry about the kids breaking on you. If you want to become a specially devoted consumer pig, you can even spend more on their pile of junk that you earn, and so hock slices of your life you haven't lived yet, trade your life of the future for their junk pile today.



A pair of exceptionally large worm gears and worms. The gear and worm stands over 7' high.

All of us partake in this rat race in one way or another, including people like me who write about it. You can't escape it in our society, not even if you see through it.

But how do they hook us?

Before answering this, I'd like to forestall a possible misunderstanding. I don't mean here to put down material wealth itself. In its pure material aspect, a great part of that junk pile they sell us has real value: good food, sharp clothes, cars, TV, pets, records, houses, furniture, modern plumbing and electrical appliances etc. You can have the potatoes and beans if you want, man; I'll take the steak and gravy. As objects of practical utility or enjoyment, many of these things have real value, and satisfy real human needs We may complain about the high money and human price the bastards exact from us for all that wealth. After all, these businessmen are in it for the dollar, not for love. But no one in his right mind is going to put that good stuff down.

So that's the first way they hook us. Because all those goodies they offer us in exchange for our souls are in fact the good things of life, things we ought to be demanding from them without having to pay the price. Don't burn the factories down, but burn them super-markets to the ground, after they've been cleaned out.

But you'll find the clue to their chief method if you look at their advertising. They've known all along that they'd have a hard time selling the masses of their junk they want to sell if they offered it to us merely as useful and pleasurable stuff in its own right. We'd never be willing to pay the price they ask for only that. And, in fact if you study carefully their advertising in any mass magazine or on TV, you'll find it's quite rare that any large ad limits itself to praising the material qualities of the commodity it is pushing. All the better advertising besides or instead of this, will offer you security and adventure, development of your individual personality and human recognition, communication with other human beings, sexual satisfaction etc. Buy a car and you'll get not only a useful vehicle, but also "the feeling of power behind the wheel " Buy the right ale and you'll get not only a refreshing taste on your tongue, or a 3-day drunk, but also a "real man's drink" for your threatened masculinity. Buy the right cigarette, and you'll be "where particular people congregate" And what's the tiger looking for in the tank? (As you know, of course, it's not you and me who fall for this, just the others.)

But how does this work? Simple. Just look around you. All those wishes whose fulfillment they promise us in their lousy wares really are basic human needs. But that's not enough. They are needs whose genuine fulfillment is systematically frustrated in real life. Otherwise why would we ever look for their fulfillment in a car or cigarette? But these commodities give no direct or genuine satisfaction as promised in the ads. How many of you have not felt that feeling of elation and happiness while making some purchase and for a short time making braided rugs out of old socks and ties, you may satisfy yourself personally by it, but you're not doing much for the "economy". You can be sure there'll be a dozen advertisers after you trying to sell you a hobby that will cost you more MONEY. Why don't you try electric trains, or photography, or some activity that will require you to sink a thousand or two into power tools? On some job applications they ask you about your hobbies as if having one, or the right one, were a prerequisite for the job. If you don't have the safety valve, you might begin making too many demands for satisfaction out of your job, and make trouble for the company.

After having deprived you of the possibility of doing human work in your wage labor time, the bastards expect you to return to market, this time as buyer, and pay them back your hard earned money in exchange for the wherewithal, that you may work, this time in the human sense In this rat race they've got you coming and going. Who says capitalism don't stink?

But no matter how much you invest in your hobby, you'll get at best only partial satisfaction of the basic need that drives you to indulge in it and spend your money on it. For your real need and what you have every right to demand, is more than a measly hour or two at the end of the day, isolated from the rest of your life. You have the right to demand that your whole working day be meaningful, pleasurable, satisfying activity. You have the right to demand that the fabulous possibilities of mechanization and automation be exploited not for maximum profit or efficiency (from the manager's point of view) but to abolish the stupid and unpleasant jobs, and to preserve the pleasant and satisfying ones from the worker's point of view, that it be introduced to eliminate superfluous work, not superfluous workers. You have, in short the right to demand that work, in the pre 5 o'clock world, be converted into the type of activity many now chose freely after 5 o'clock in their hobby. Or rather you will have to make this conversion yourself. The bosses won't do it for you.

The social function of hobbies is therefore exposed as that of a safety valve. You are allowed just enough satisfaction of your need for human work during your free time, that your collective frustration during work time does not become an explosive force. And they have the nerve to expect you to pay for it.

In addition, their multi-billion dollar propaganda and brain washing apparatus hammers at you night and day the line that demands of this sort are utopian. Considered from the angle of the techniques of exercise of power, they have to do this of course. It is both cheaper and more efficient to brain-wash people into thinking that a society that would allow them genuine satisfaction of their needs is utopian, that it would be to pay the tremendous costs of police and army necessary to keep them down once they catch wise that a free world is possible.

(Continued from page 24)

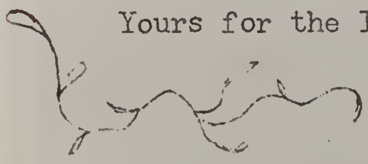
quit his Job as Crack Reporter for That Paper and Lined up in the IWW. Then he traveled around the country and Reported and Wrote for the IWW Press -- Industrial Worker, Solidarity, Industrialisti and the IWW Monthly Magazine.

T-Bone Slim's articles for the IWW Press were always printed with a Pencil, so the Editors wouldn't make any mistakes on them and he could Print with a Pencil to perfection.

T-Bone Slim was an excellent cook and used to cook on IWW Threshing Rigs in the Cook Shacks. He could also make the finest and Tastiest Swedish Hot Cakes of any chef in the U.S.A. On one Job the Workers ate so many of his hot cakes Slim quit. Altho There was plenty of Ham and Eggs and other good Chuck for Breakfast the Threshing Crew liked Slim's Hot Cakes so well they didn't eat much of anything else. So he got tired making so Many hot cakes and Blew the job. The Wobs always wanted T-Bone Slim for Cook in their Jungle and Picket Camps. All T-Bone Slim's wonderful talent was given by him to the IWW and its Press Free Gratis.

Although T-Bone Slim went by the name of Arnold he was of Finnish descent. He was known, highly Respected and Well-Liked by Thousands of Home Guard and Migratory Wage Slaves all over the country. If he wasn't working on Some Job he was a Damn Good Bum on the Main Stem at Restaurants, Rich Homes, Offices and elsewhere. T-Bone made Friends among the Wage Slaves wherever he went and was always active and agitating for the IWW on the Job, Picket Lines, Box Cars and every where else.

Yours for the IWW, the Libertarian League and the Free Society,



Guy B. ASKEW
(Skidroad SLIM)

* * * * * * * *

If any of you reading this are still brain-washed enough yourselves to think that workers management of production, genuine and concrete community democracy, in short, concrete freedoms, as opposed to abstract freedom, are all impossible, I have one small polite request to make of you. Go on, if you will, kissing their asses before 5 o'clock, and trying to rebuild your self-effaced identity and integrity in the evenings and on weekends. But please, please stay out of our way while we fight for freedom. Poor brain-washed victims, you are not our real enemies. The new world we want to build has a place for you. Only for bosses and rulers it doesn't.

--JIM EVRARD

FANTASTIC FABLES

1. OFFICER & THUG

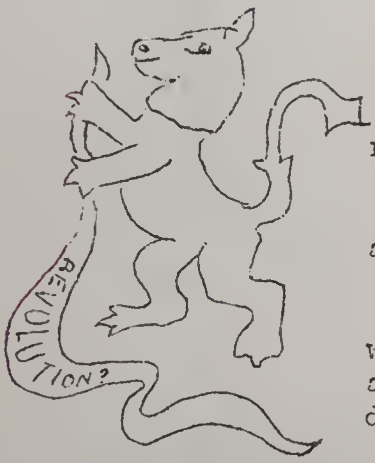
A Chief of Police who had seen an Officer beating a Thug was very indignant, and said that he must not do so any more on pain of dismissal.

"Don't be too hard on me," said the Officer, smiling; "I was beating him with a stuffed club."

"Nevertheless," persisted the Chief of Police, "it was a liberty that must have been very disagreeable, though it may not have hurt. Please do not repeat it."

"But," said the Officer, still smiling, "it was a stuffed Thug."

In attempting to express his gratification the Chief of Police thrust out his right hand with such violence that his skin was ruptured at the armpit and a stream of sawdust poured from the wound. He was a stuffed Chief of Police.


REVOLUTION?

2. DOG & REFLECTION:

A Dog passing over a stream on a plank saw his reflection in the water.

"You ugly brute!" he cried; "how dare you look at me in that insolent way?"

He made a grab in the water and getting hold of what he supposed was the other dog's lip lifted out a fine piece of meat which a butcher's boy had dropped into the stream.

3. LION & MOUSE

A Judge was awakened by the noise of a lawyer prosecuting a Thief. Rising in wrath he was about to sentence the Thief to life imprisonment when the latter said:

"I beg that you will set me free, and I will some day requite your kindness."

Pleased and flattered to be bribed, although by nothing but an empty promise, the Judge let him go. Soon afterward he found that it was more than an empty promise, for having become a Thief he was himself set free by the other, who had become a Judge.

Ambrose BIERCE

Manifesto of the Durruti Column

Revenge! Our friend, our brother Durruti fell in Madrid, his heart filled with goodness and his rifle in his strong worker's hand.

In our ranks no one is more than the other, But the one who has won our love is considered superior to all the others. And no one was better loved, no one more loving than our Durruti. We do not weep over his death. But our eyes are hazy, our fists will remain closed as long as a single enemy remains alive.

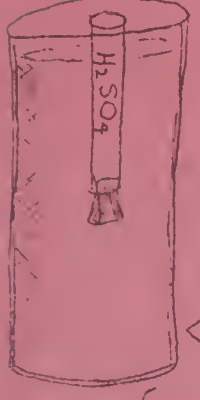
We went out to defend our libertarian Ideal, we have fought for a better life, our hearts filled with human desire.

Today we have one more slogan: Revenge!

We have become brothers in our column through Durruti, We shall fraternize to avenge him. We have fought like men. Now we shall fight ferociously.

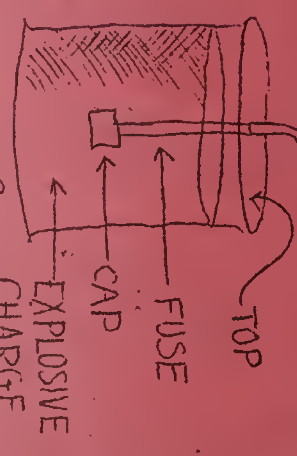
Comrades of the Durruti Column! Brothers! Let us avenge his broken life. We must carry his name through fascist Spain and it shall mean death to our enemies!

INCENDIARY TIME BOMB



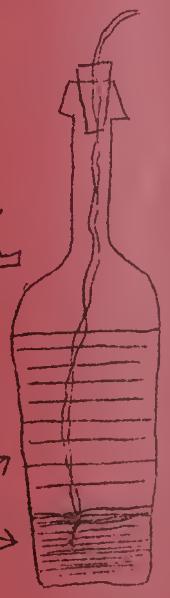
A cardboard or iron tube is filled with a mixture of 3/4 POTASSIUM CHLORATE & 1/4 SUGAR & is sealed. A glass vial is filled w/ SULPFURIC ACID & stoppered w/ paper. To arm bomb, insert vial, stoppered end down, into tube. The ACID will eat thru paper & ignite the mixture ✳

HAND GRENADE



Metal can filled with dynamite - a detonating cap placed in it w/ a 5-6 second length of fuse running through the lid ✳

MAKHNO COCKTAIL



A bottle is filled w/ $2/3$ gasoline & $1/3$ oil

A fuse is lighted & the bottle hurled at objective. On breaking the contents will ignite. The enemy will be unable to extinguish w/ H_2O.

WHITE RABBITS

The time has come that I must tell the events which began in 40 Pest St. The houses which were reddish-black looked as if they had survived mysteriously from the fire of London. The house in front of my window, covered with an occasional wisp of creeper, was as blank and empty looking as any plague-ridden residence subsequently licked by flames and saliva'd with smoke. This is not the way that I had imagined New York.

It was so hot that I got palpitations when I ventured out into the streets--so I sat and considered the house opposite and occasionally bathed my sweating face.

The light was never very strong in Pest Street. There was always a reminiscense of smoke which made visibility troubled and hazy--still it was possible to study the house opposite carefully, even precisely; besides my eyes have always been excellent.

I spent several days watching for some sort of movement opposite but there was none and I finally took to undressing quite freely before my open window and doing breathing exercises optimistically in the thick Pest Street air. This must have blackened my lungs as dark as the houses. One afternoon I washed my hair and sat out on the diminutive stone crescent which served as a balcony to dry it. I hung my head between my knees and watched a bluebottle suck the dry corpse of a spider between my feet. I looked up through my lank hair and saw something black in the sky, ominously quiet for an aeroplane. Parting my hair I was in time to see a large raven alight on the balcony opposite. It sat on the balustrade and seemed to peer into the empty window, then it poked its head under its wing apparently searching for lice. A few minutes later I was not unduly surprised to see the double windows open and admit a woman onto the balcony--she carried a large dish full of bones which she emptied onto the floor. With a short appreciative squawk the raven hopped down and picked about amongst its unpleasant repast.

The woman, who had hemp-long black hair, wiped out the dish, using her hair for this purpose.

Then she looked straight at me and smiled in a friendly fashion. I smiled back and waved a towel. This seemed to encourage her for she tossed her head coquettishly and gave me a very elegant salute after the fashion of a queen.

"Do you happen to have any bad meat over there that you don't need?" she called.

"Any what?" I called back, wondering if my ears had deceived me.

"Any stinking meat? Decomposed flesh....meat?"

"Not at the moment," I replied, wondering if she was trying to be funny.

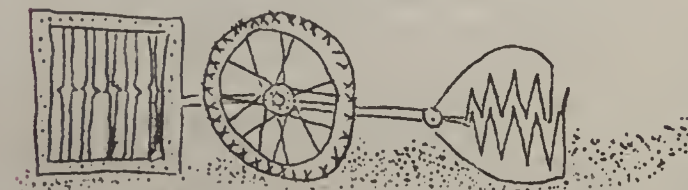
"Won't you have any towards the end of the week? If so I would be very grateful if you would bring it over."

Then she stepped back into the empty window and disappeared. The raven flew away.

My curiosity about the house and its occupant prompted me to buy a large lump of meat the following day. I set it on the balcony on a bit of newspaper and awaited developments. In a comparatively short time the smell was so strong that I was obliged to pursue my daily activities with a strong paper clip on the end of my nose--occasionally. I descended into the street to breathe.

Towards Thursday evening I noticed that the meat was changing color, so waving aside a flight of numerous bluebottles I scooped it into my sponge bag and set out for the house opposite. I noticed, descending the stairs, that the landlady seemed to avoid me. It took me some time to find the front door of the house opposite. It turned out to be hidden under a cascade of smutty ivy, giving the impression that nobody had been either in or out of this house for years. The bell was of the oldfashioned kind that you pull and pulling it rather harder than I intended it came right off in my hand. I gave the door an angry push and it caved inwards emitting a ghastly smell of putrid meat. The hall which was almost dark seemed to be of carved woodwork.

The woman herself came rustling down the stairs carrying a torch.



"How do you do? How do you do?" she murmured ceremoniously, and I was surprised to notice that she wore an ancient and beautiful dress of green silk. But as she approached me I saw that her skin was dead white and glittered as though speckled with thousands of minute stars.

"Isn't that kind of you?" she went on, taking my arm with her sparkling hand. "Won't my poor little rabbits be pleased!"

We mounted the stairs and my companion walked so carefully that I thought she was frightened.

The top flight of stairs opened into a boudoir decorated with dark baroque furniture and red plush. The floor was littered with gnawed bones and animals' skulls.

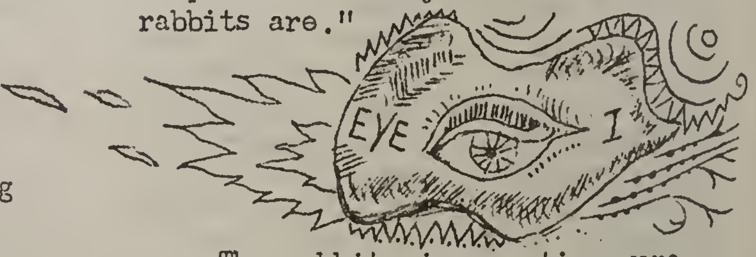
"It is so seldom that we get a visit," smiled the woman, "so they all scuttle off into their little corners."

She uttered a low sweet whistle, and, transfixed, I saw about a hundred snow-white rabbits emerge cautiously from every nook, their large pink eyes fixed unwinkingly upon the woman.

"Come pretty ones--come, pretty ones," she cooed, diving her hand into my sponge bag and pulling out a handful of rotting meat.

With a sensation of deep disgust I backed into a corner and saw her throwing the carrion amongst the rabbits which founght like wolves for it.

"One becomes very fond of them," the woman went on, "they each have their little ways. You would be surprised how very individual rabbits are."



The rabbits in question were tearing at the meat with their sharp buck teeth.

"We eat the, of course, occasionally. My husband makes a very tasty stew every Saturday night."

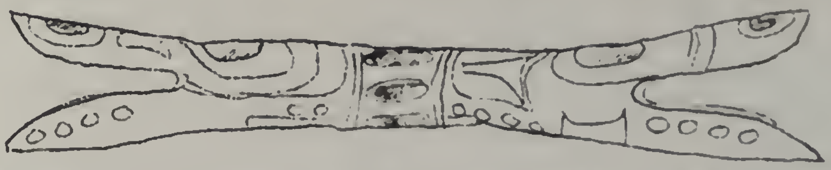
Then a movement in the corner caught my attention and I realized that there was a third person in the room. As the woman's torch light touched his face I saw he had glittering skin like tinsel on a Christmas tree. He was dressed in a red gown and sat very rigidly with his profile turned towards us.

He seemed to be as unconscious of our presence as of that of a large white buck rabbit which sat masticating a chunk of meat on his knee.

The woman followed my gaze and chuckled, "That is my husband, the boys used to call him Lazarus."

(Continued on P 44)

A PLEA TO ALL



This can be considered as an Indian appeal to all other minority groups within America--as well as to those whites still possessing a moral conscience or code--to form a coalition movement, dedicated to righting the wrongs within American society itself before embarking upon the self-appointed role of world policeman...

The Indian's objective today is stated simply enough, to regain every single acre of land that they can, and to recieve a proper indemnity for all that they cannot regain. All of this in order that they may lay the economic foundations for rebuilding an Indian way of life. To bring to an end, finally, the intolerable conditions under which they live today, Conditions which give them a life expectancy of 43 years! Is there a racial crime worse than the theft of life itself? No other group of people, in American society, has a life expectancy as low as the Indian. And the time has come to put an end, once and for all, to the cruel farce of attempting to integrate him into a society for which he is not adapted, historically or culturally. And if "biological memory" means anything at all, he never will be...

One major factor, in this struggle, should be firmly established from the very outset--and that is that the various American racial minorities have different goals and objectives. It is basic that they form a coalition , learn to work together, in order to compel the white power structure to face its responsibilities to all of them. Alone, as in the past, none of them can muster the pressure needed to get their wrongs redressed, but together they can accomplish this, so of course there is no alternative to forming a coalition. But, once having said this, they must then go on to the realization that each group has the right to a different solution to its problems. One blanket program will not cover it all. Nothing better illustrates this than the contrasting goals of the Negro minority and the Indian minority. So lets briefly examine them:

The Negro aims at nothing less than full integration into American society. He is now fighting to have his children bussed to predominantly white schools, for his right to live in a predominantly white residential district, for his full share of jobs at all levels, for his civil rights, in short to an end to every single form of racial discrimination against him in America. And he has every right to these objectives, if that is what he really wants.

But this is not the Indians goals. He is fighting desparately to retain his identity, not to lose it! He doesn't want his children bussed to predominantly white schools, he doesn't want to live in a white nieghborhood, he considers it below his dignity as a man to fight for equal rights in his own country! This is his "America", it is the others who shot their way in, uninvited and unwanted...

Oversimplified, he doesn't want to pack a lunch bucket to a Boeing plant, as a preliminary step towards owning a Cadillac car and belonging to the country club set. He doesn't want a thing to do with the "rat race", (to use the phrase some white critics have coined), that he sees all about him. He sincerely believes that his own native way of life is better--or at least better suited to him. So lets have an honest look at why there are such basic differences in Indian society and that which the Whites have evolved from their European base...

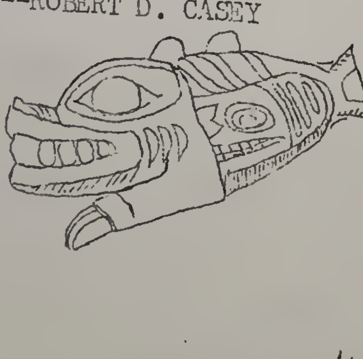
The Indian believes that he is an integral part of a harmonious whole, all created by a Great Spirit, and that even the smallest creature has a right to life. He is, so to speak, in tune with Nature---not at war with it. On the other hand the caucasian believes that the diety was made in his own image and likeness, and if he so desires he has the right to exterminate every form of life here on earth, including his own. He has already wiped out many species of animal life...One of the reasons the Indians so hated the early settlers was this insane mania for killing. The Indian tribe used virtually every part of a slain buffalo, killing only to eat, and then saying a prayer for forgiveness to the Great Spirit for this taking of life. The settlers often slew for the pure joy of killing, taking only the buffalo's tongue for eating--and sometimes not even that. Many wantonly butchered the great beasts, taking only the tail for a trophy and letting the huge carcass lie upon the plains to rot. And this trait is still present today, in the few remaining places where there is game to vent it upon...

For example the current craze of the white businessman turned 'hunter' hiring a white bush pilot, in the Arctic regions, who run down a polar bear--with his plane! When the bear is thoroughly exhausted, and not a moment sooner, they set their plane down and the "great white hunter" steps out and shoots the spent bear. What your eskimo and Indian hunters think of him would have to be printed on asbestos paper.

No, the Indian's religious beliefs are far closer to Bhuddism than they are to Christianity, which perhaps reflects his racial origins. And he is beginning to suspect that these never ending wars, of white America's making, are a part of this blood lust rather than the product of insoluable problems. Young as the United States is, and isolated by two oceans, it has still managed to wage war against virtually every European country at least once. Not a bad record, for even a Christian Nation. And how do you explain the morality of a race which believed that the Japanese were buck-toothed monsters, capable of every crime, then less than five years later were calling them faithful allies and marrying their daughters by the hundreds. Simply because they had found a new enemy to hate. Can their society function without an enemy to fight?

No, the Indian wants his own way of life, and who is to say that he is wrong? To obtain this goal he must have his broken treaties reviewed by an International Tribunal, one in which other colored nations have representation, and whose decisions are final. To gain these ends he must join in a coalition with the other minority groups in America, helping them to gain redress for their grievances in exchange for aid in his own fight. They might adopt, as their slogan, the old saying--"An injury to one is an injury to all"...

--ROBERT D. CASEY



Note: due to the length of the original we have only reprinted excerpts. For the full text or more information contact:
The Survival of American Indians
Association, P. O. Box 719,
Tacoma, Washington

Prophetic Mutterings —

We have learned to live with the Bomb in Macabre togetherness. Strains of the Dies Irae mix with our folk-rock to warn us of the Promethean dream long last come true, though in unexpected form. The collective deeds of we human usurpers of the Apocalypse make possible an infernal innocence: everyone has a good conscience, because no conscience is required at any point. Militarism saps the inner vitality of our people. The postwar marriages of defense plants and the Pentagon are not isolated boondoggles as dewy-eyed liberals would lead us to believe, but, rather a pattern of centralized symbiosis. This totalitarian drift of society creates the only conspiracy which most people know: the controlled life. As faceless cogs, we move through the predetermined motions of the humming treadmill. It is not that our controllers love freedom less but that they love efficient operation more.

Men often see the world as fluid and chaotic, a place where individuals are victims of impersonal forces which they can seldom understand or control. They feel caught in a system which they cannot change or escape, and so they acquiesce. Their potential revolt, unable to find words, is hastily buried by forces and shadows. The shadow of our doubts beckons us to succumb to the siren of self- perpetrated comfort. Men know that rash commitments may prove outdated tommorrow, viewpoints are rapidly shifting, and it is difficult to locate a fixed position on which to stand for even a few moments. Our paralyzed will leaves promises unrealized, dreams dead, and prevents ourselves from hoping for anything beyond the necessary evil. And that evil is simply man's failure to confront himself. Our paralysis is founded on ourselves being taught to relinquish the right to order our own lives. Accustomed to the top-down control of our society, men forget that they are capable of doing the opposite--of working to change the conditions that oppress them. But our doubt is not reason for inaction but serves as a reminder that infallibility is not the possession of any one man, and compassion and empathy for the stranger are manifestaions of our deepest moral anxiety.

reprinted from BLAST!

weekly newsletter of the
ALEXANDER BERKMAN CLUBS OF
NORTHEASTERN MINNESOTA
James W. Cain, co-ordinator
P.O. Box 455
Duluth, Minnesota

"Not every paradise is los

---André Breton, 1896-1966

Elsewhere in this issue of The Rebel Worker we have reprinted a short text by André Breton, a text forming part of the anthology Surrealism & Revolution which we have just published, and which contains extracts from several of his other works. "The Colors of Freedom" had already been selected for inclusion in this issue, with the hope of introducing to our readers the marvelous, formidable and clairvoyant thought of the leading theoretician of the surrealist movement, when we learned of his death in Paris in late September. It will be understood that we are ill-disposed to carving, in the air of our time, heavy eulogies of stone with their miserable accompanying repertoire of futile gestures of sorrow, words over a grave, dull obituary notices for the daily papers and hypocritical tributes by life-long enemies for the "intellectual" journals. If we choose, here, to say a few words about him, it is primarily because of the lies and defamations that will inevitably appear elsewhere, doubly dangerous and doubly detestable because they will be masked as kindness, generosity, sympathy and good will.

André Breton, in the Surrealist Manifestoes, Surrealism & Painting, Nadja The White-Haired Revolver, The Communicating Vessels, The Political Position of Surrealism, Mad Love, the Anthology of Black Humor, Arcane 17, Young Cherr Trees Secured Against Hares and the Ode to Fourier, has given to us, to the revolutionary movement of all countries, works of enormous theoretical importance, and excruciating significance also as weapons with which to battle the armed guards of our mental and physical prisons. His influence upon our own sensibility has been decisive, thorough-going, and second to none. Many of us discern in his life, in his works, the most essential reasons we could give for living; that is, the idea, first (subtle and convulsive in its simplicity) that "freedom, acquired here on earth at the price of a thousand -- and the most difficult -- renunciations, must be enjoyed as unrestrictedly as it is granted, without pragmatic considerations of any sort, and this because human emancipation...remains the only cause worth serving" (Nadja), and also love: "absolute love, ...the only principle of physical and moral selection capable of guaranteeing the non-vanity of human presence and human witness" (Mad Love), "the exceptional grandeur and value of human love" (The Communicating Vessels), "that promise which goes beyond us" (Fata Morgana).

Breton's work, which he hoped was of a nature "to send some men rushing out into the street, after making them aware, if not of the non-existence, at least of the crucial inadequacy of any so-called categorical self-evaluation..." must find its way into the hands and minds of millions. The coming Revolution must be made by people who know what they are doing, people whose spontaneity and improvisation are rooted in the consciousness of gratifying desire, in the aspiration toward total liberation. The surrealist evidence of Breton is the common theoretical property of this Revolution, which will see, which is seeing already, the emergence of surrealist action complementary to the surrealist dream.

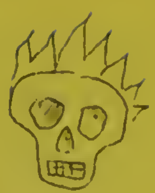
To advance: that is what is essential. Not to malinger over uncertainties, not to bemoan the vicissitudes of chance, not to weigh down one's mind with doubt and hesitations; but to act, and to act freely, to move continually closer to the fusion of dream and reality, to seek the Revolution as Jason sought the Golden Fleece.

We are already in the street, where, in the heat of our vision and the light of our dreams, André Breton is "living among us."

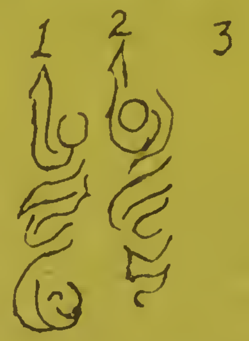
---F.R.

DELIGHT NOT DEATH

Excerpts from a letter



After the bathtub gin delight of our last silent communique (the stars must have escaped in transit), I've decided to again put the pen to flint & open the flame to the public. 4 okapis you say, hardly enuf for a cosmology -- as yet just a microcosm but in the future... And the future is today or rather yesterday -- we're just a little slow in starting.



...There is much planning to do in which I am at the very least passionately interested & involved. Many moments of destruction have already passed unused. To reinvigorate the divine necessity of Surrealist activity in nearby forests is the cause to which I am devoted. ...That the Revolution of love in all its splendor & trappings bicycle-dreams & shooting galleries fixed on rape can happen at any moment is obvious. But that it hasn't is similarly obvious. If it is teleological, where is the prime cause? Now, as ever, anguish holds back my mind. Why hasn't the world we all know & ardently hate yet changed? Total liberation is no utopian goal -- it's existed as a germ too long. I'd better drop this line -- it's getting nowhere way too fast.

Despair is not a state -- just a town.

a few minutes later or so...

...Read Dynaton yesterday. In many ways it's great & its tenor often reflects an ideological obsession of mine -- the personal scene. But also in many ways it's badly dated. Paalen erects a beautiful case for anthropomorphism & then denies it. Human not humanist. Then this chick, Jackeline Johnson I believe, comes on with a mixture of convulsiveness & silly shit. Their constant prating on eternity & a narrow view of surrealism!

For believers in analogy the following fact: the heaviest artillery & ground to air missiles are not so effective for the North Vietnamese against U.S. bombers as the kid with a sniper rifle who merely aims at the computer section of the bomber & effectively destroys its capability to deliver bombs causing its later scrapping. A 50¢ shell for a multi-million dollar bomber. Is not society as delicate as its bombers? This analogy appears to me quite fateful & a necessary pt. of departure for anyone passionately determined to change life. To remove the locks from the gates of a consciousness beyond our wildest dreams involves the revolution entire & self-sufficient in a vastly increasing fellowship of individual conspirators -- from the bomb thrower to the IBM card mutilator. A host of scandal mongers & immoralists constantly attacking the cops over desire. Comics were censored -- when will R & B? And then an underground?

"Be Yourself" -- does this adage now become the revolutionary's key to victory? And what would happen if we'd invent new palaces equal in emphasis to the "mod" scene -- strewing the streets with jewels for cops to trip on? The value of any non-social universe is its necessary attack on history which ever more increases its meaning to reaction while pulling its shell thinner & more brittle.

& the sea is so beautiful at twilight -- just as trees at dawn. It"s a conversation & an opera, a memory. I've been shadowed in recent weeks by "remembrance of things present" which even prompt me to consciously enlarge the vision by checking details of the memory not immediately apparent.

Lawrence DECOSTER

MESSAGE FROM THE GANGSTERS OF LOVE ♡

thank you For your Letters written on the skin of the kazoo, that most palpable arrangement of concrete fascinations ever to Escape Nirvana--

the Strip is a zoo whose cats we've not fed lately...we couldn't MAKE IT cause our dream machine/ the Black gypsy Hog called DESIRE was infirmed, some of our comrades have been fighting: Star attacked a Radio newsman/ we'll be makin the scene soon and lay it on you in next letter----------

As we write 400 more dispersed and 50 busted.

That Mesa Mass Murder first planned to shoot up a school--Gangster of Love--Jesus is in a continuation school/ it's where they put kids after you been kicked out of high school--go 4 hours a day, attended by Hells Angels, The Undertakers, and other poets/ the kids are relentlessly sabotaging the shit-house/ 2 kids beat up 4 teachers, charged out in the parking lot & leaned up against car lit up & talked out chicks until the Fuzz came & took them away.

Lecturing youths on SADE/ got gravy response--in drama class started making love to this chick (improvisation)...

Back to the Mothers & Motherhood (Freaking). Made the first freak-out scene here ... We FREAKED--obscenely according to one little chick's post mortem--a non-dance, rather a spontaneous ritual--in this case largely sadistic with flagellation, stabbings, strangulations & agonized screams--EAT THAT CHICKEN--one chick is still scared. It's an unleashing of the primitive power on the individual level--unbound from all inhibition--reaching collectively a frenzied ritualism totally anti-social, even disturbing...

Outlaw laboratory---containing all instruments of CLASS warfare--- From the philosophers stone & molotov cocktails/ handless clocks/ police jammers/ inflammable books/ dust of 10000 devils & revolutionaries/ ferris wheels of hair/ freaking sticks/ black laughs/ dreams/ computer for inventing desires...

WE WANT JR. WOODCHUCK GUIDE

Love
Nikki Black & Asmodeus

Continued from page 38

At the sound of this familiar name he turned his face towards us and I saw that he wore a bandage over his eyes.

"Ethel?" he enquired in a rather thin voice. "I won't have any visitors here. You know quite well that I have forbidden it strictly."

"Now, Laz, don't start carrying on." Her voice was plaintive. "You can't grudge me a little bit of company. It's twenty-odd years since I've seen a new face. Besides she's brought meat for the rabbits."

She turned and beckoned me to her side. "You want to stay with us, do you not, my dear?"

I was suddenly clutched by fear and I wanted to get out and away from those terrible silver people and the white carnivorous rabbits.

"I think I must be going, it is supper time."

The man on the chair gave a shrill peal of laughter terrifying the rabbit on his knee, which sprang to the floor and disappeared.

The woman thrust her face so near to mine that her sickly breath seemed to anaesthetize me. "Do you not want to stay and become like us?"

I stumbled and ran, choking with horror; some unholy curiosity made me look over my shoulder as I reached the front door and I saw her waving her hand over the banister, and as she waved, her fingers fell off and dropped to the ground like shooting stars.

-- Leonora Carrington

VENGEANCE of the BLACK SWAN

~ cont'd from page 16

tuals confusing their own narrow & oversimplified fantasies of industrial life and proletarian struggle with a complex & more or less hysterical reality, and attempting to impose their idle & impotent dreams on a working class who are either indifferent or passionately interested in other matters.

Stalinism, and much of the non-Stalinist traditional left as well, deluded itself and too many others into believing that it attacked essentials. According to its reasoning, the "superstructure" would fall into its proper place, as a matter of course, once power was shifted from the hands of the bourgeoisie to the hands of the proletariat. The puritanical & masochistic justifications of this attitude inevitable constitute, primarily, a means of evasion & an apology for blindness.

The tasks historically handed down to us -- by Lautréamont, Marx, Engels, Bosch, Fourier, Blake, Rimbaud, Sade, Jarry, Dadaism, Charles Fort, Freud, Maturin, the IWW, the surrealists, Shays' Rebellion of 1786, the Nat Turner Insurrection of 1831, the Paris Commune of 1871, the Russian Revolutions of 1905 & 1917, the Spanish Revolution of 1936, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, the Enrages, the Durruti Column, Emiliano Zapata, much of contemporary science, the youth revolts & guerrilla wars of all generations, & the liberating mythology of desire suggested in Bugs Bunny, Daffy, Uncle Scrooge, Hulk & Spirit comics, in the Cthulhu Mythos, the blues, the "trickster tales" & in the Rebel Worker (Numbers 1-7) -- are being achieved, not by academicians or the editors of such journals as Encounter, Evergreen, Life or Liberation, nor by traditional radicals caught up a tree of limitations, but by the people in the streets, for whom these questions, though often unconscious & thus theoretically unformulated, are nevertheless in practice a matter of life & death. Our own role is to raise these questions to the level of general consciousness, to share visions & the most far-reaching experiments with others on all levels of revolutionary struggle, to penetrate deeper & soar higher into the multifarious reality of our time & all times, and to unite theory & practice in a mad, passionate embrace.

Words in chains (in advertising, law, religion), words manipulated by sclerotic bureaucrats, words abandoned in textbooks, words gagged by television, words surrounded by newspapers, words without margins, words whose light has nearly been snuffed out, archaic words, words waiting to be born, words that order one about senselessly, words whose edges are blunted, words imposed on the poor, words confined to the rich, words that fight the bosses' war, words smothered by the ruling classes, words that riot & burn, words that lie in the street, words that sit in the tops of trees, words that ride on the crests of waves, words that fly, dive, swim & burst into flame: let us liberate those words, let us open once & for all the commodity-literary cages of their quotidian imprisonment and let them speak for us in the poetry of revolution.

The black swan of Lautreamont, "...with a body bearing an anvil surmounted by the putrefying carcase of a crab, and rightly inspiring mistrust in the rest of its aquatic comrades," "...confined...to a distant bay at the end of the body of water, alone among the fowl of the air as he was among men," is now everywhere, a comrade-in-arms, one of us & all of us. The poet is no longer isolated as he was in the past; his alienation in modern society, assuming a clarifying totality and thus, dialectically, permitting total transcendence & total suppression of alienation through the total liberation of man -- economically possible today for the first time -- unites rather than separates his destiny with the subjugated classes. The Revolution today is no longer a question of political parties and vanguard sects -- which inevitably have led to nothing or new ruling classes -- but rather of the **spontaneous** self-activity of masses of people risking everything to be free. And this watchword of Lautreamont is its most splendid & prophetic & convulsive battle-cry: "Poetry must be made by all. Not by one."

Men & women must be made to realize that the world of the mind is capable of practically limitless expansion, and that the material world is capable of providing practically limitless pleasure, perceived in its countless manifestations according to love, humor, mythology, dream, play & the thirst for adventure. "The dream, too," said Nicolas Calas, "must have its own Bastille Day."

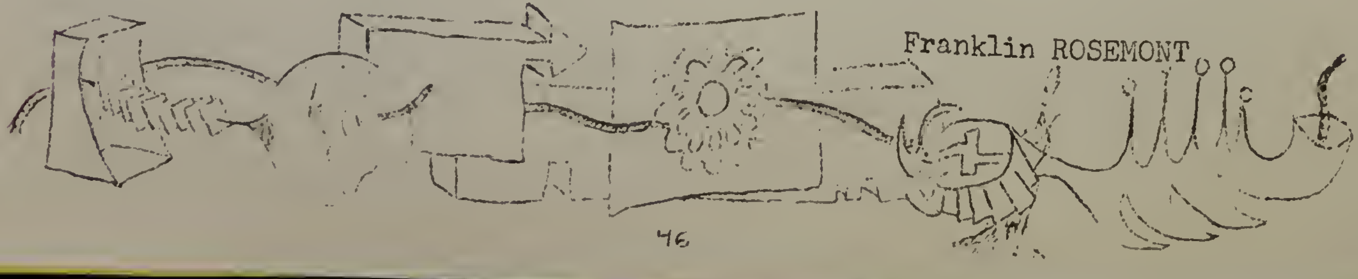
* * *

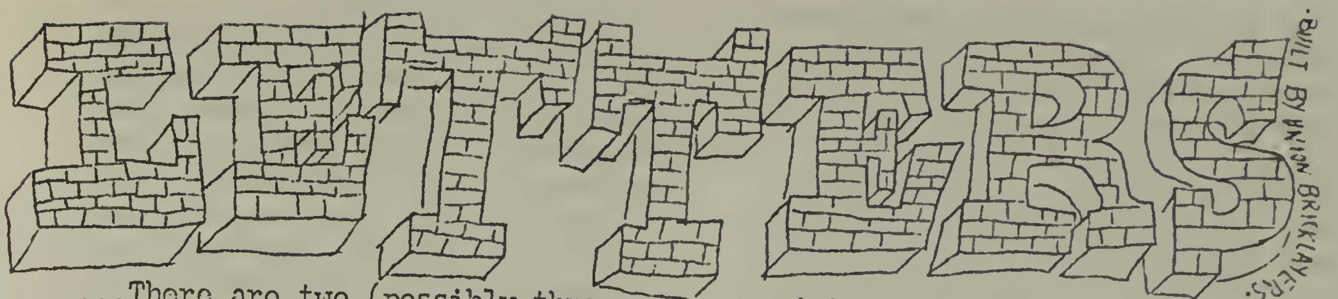
Freedom, despite the innumerable compromises performed so ignobly under its name, retains still its power of limitless attraction. Like love, it can be understood most clearly during its realization (I should say: surrealization); otherwise it succumbs too easily to abstraction. Like love, too, the more it is realized the better it is understood. (I say "understood" the way one can say that darkness or light or a Kwakiutl raven sculpture is understood: that is, one sees, and draws conclusions from what one sees.)

Defiance is a step toward freedom; black & green, red & gold, with terrifying leaves of sedition in the coils of its sleepless fog, it crumbles reality, loses track of obstacles, dismounts the sense of time & vanishes into the visceral anatomy of the hours & the days, only to re-emerge momentarily with even greater wrath & a sense of immanent triumph crowned with clearly ascertainable dimensions of laughter. Thick with sand, the moon is heavy on the drawn blade brandished through the unevenly shaped air. The room is without chairs; the table is too high, & the fire too low. There is a vague sort of window hidden in suspicious moments, dark in its hinge of water but destined soon to enlarge the scope of our vision with any & all available & unavailable means (is it raining & are there wolves on the stairs & is little sister home from the sea yet please?). Even if the operator could speak, even if the weather was known, there would be no reply: this is the end of the line, only poetry, only life, only the world go any farther.

Poetry, the nocturnal flamethrower, the black sunflower, burns latently in the eyes of all who see. The journey from vision to action comprises a series of steps in which the superficial mystifications of immediate reality are successively liquidated. We must take these steps: we must aid relentlessly in the incessant proliferation of totally poetic acts. In this way the labyrinth loses its terrors and the minotaur, formerly a total stranger, becomes our closest friend.

Franklin ROSEMONT





...There are two (possibly three counting the hipster) ways to respond to Authority -- obey or pour shit in its files. We know of course which is the more noble. I am not so sure as you about the existence of a revolutionary situation -- although I would like to think so. But anything like sabotage, mutilating IBM cards, etc., no matter how futile in itself, can be justified in that it keeps Authority on its toes and reminds it of its ultimate fate. Also keeps fires of holy rebellion alive in bad times. Also such acts can serve as an example for others who mistakenly believe that bureaucracy becomes stronger as it grows. On the contrary -- the bigger & more complex it gets the more vulnerable it becomes to having sand thrown in its gears (or shit in its files).

Mike EVERETT
Washington, D.C.

* * *

...You are right about high school, it's very disgusting. The rules, how stupid! Being treated like a dog on a leash & not being able to give your opinion.

There are quite a few reasons why I like the Stones, one is because they seem to be rebelling, and that's good! Maybe that's why parents don't like them, because they show truth. Another reason is I like their music, R&B and R&R. I like the way they dress, act, sing, their looks and, well, I guess it all adds up to just the way they rebel.

...I agree very much with your ideas about revolting & the way society is pushing us ariund. We just can't be free.

Of course I read your *Mods, Rockers & the Revolution* pamphlet, and a lot of it really shows the truth that society just won't face. So youth rebels and it's about time. We've taken enough from parents & society and it's about time we did something about it. The way they push us around & look down at us & are always mocking us! You'd think we were animals or something! I could write forever about the Youth Revolt and I'm starting to get carried away so I'd better stop before I do something drastic.

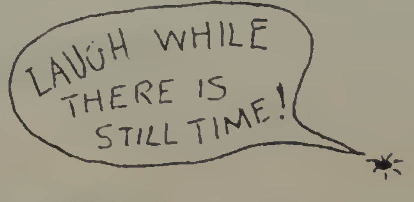
Linda KOPCZYK
Rolling Stones Fan Club
Chicago

* * *

Recently I came across an article titled "Mods, Rockers & the Revolution" which appeared here in translation in *Informations Correspondance Ouvriers*. We understand that this was extracted from a brochure published by your group in Chicago. We are very interested in mods & rockers, rock'n'roll & the youth movement in the U.S. and would like to receive this brochure and your other publications.

I am a member of the Provos, an organization of anarchists, mods, rockers, ban-the-bombers, beatniks, nozems, blouson noirs, etc. I am sending you copies of PROVO, published in Amsterdam, and REVO, published by Provos in Belgium.

Madrid DANIELE
Brussels, Belgium


LAUGH WHILE THERE IS STILL TIME!

I have talked with several provos here & they are interested in communicatingwith american anarchists. I enclose a manifesto, the only thing they have at the moment in English. You have probably read about these people by now, they are quite remarkable & have a lot of strength here in Amsterdam. The movement is spreading with students in Paris staging experimental street happenings to test the reactions of police. Very likely there'll follow several advance copies of articles now in translation for a book to be published in English in England in a few months. These are, I understand, the pick of articles from the past issues of PROVO...

Lester DORÉ

Amsterdam

...I was glad to be reproduced in your surrealist pamphlet. The publishers of anthologies and histories of surrealism seem to ignore me because they do not consider me dead enough for their purposes.... I am indeed gradually moving toward a more aggressive point of view; I think the time is ripe but I still maintain that the independance of the artist from political domination is absolutely necessary and I am too marxist in my training to approve of adventurism. ...I still believe that pop art is an important phenomena and I am for constructive criticism. Breton, when I last saw him 4 years ago, agreed with me on this. I refuse to take up a dogmatic position in art.

Nicolas CALAS

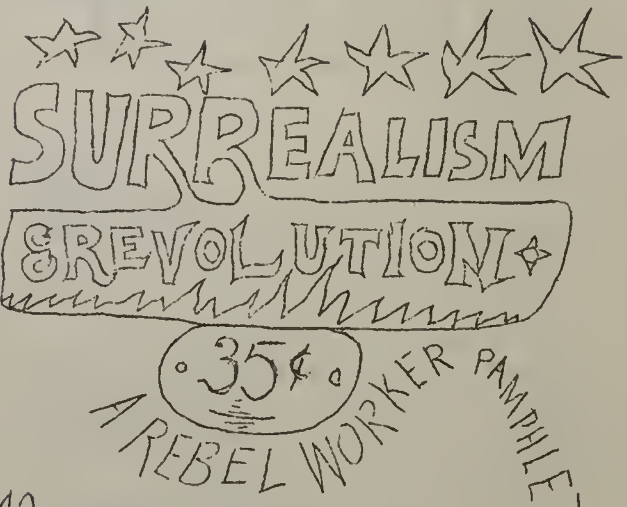
New York

...Oh but the crumbling cities are the playpens of the new revolution and each day I wake up with another bloodstained apocalyptic vision of standing amidst the rubble of London covered in Eisner blossoms and a gigantic party going on all around me for as far as the eye can see -- the realization of all popular poetry, drawing on the most delirious urges and consciousness of all time. It is of course a nationalistic dream but then its extension is as inevitable as its realization.

Apart from smashing the mask of anarchy we have been definitely improving the spirit wherever we find it. The atmosphere now is about six months pre-Amsterdam by my calculations -- I predict the spring'll really get sprung this spring. Nothing much can hold me back after that date... The only precaution I am taking is to get so stoned that most of the time I can't do anything anyhow. When I lay off I'll be out there....

Ben COVINGTON

HEATWAVE
London



40 pages of manifestoes
& theoretical texts
by

Antonin ARTAUD
Benjamin PERET
André BRETON
Max ERNST
Nicolas CALAS
Pierre MABILLE
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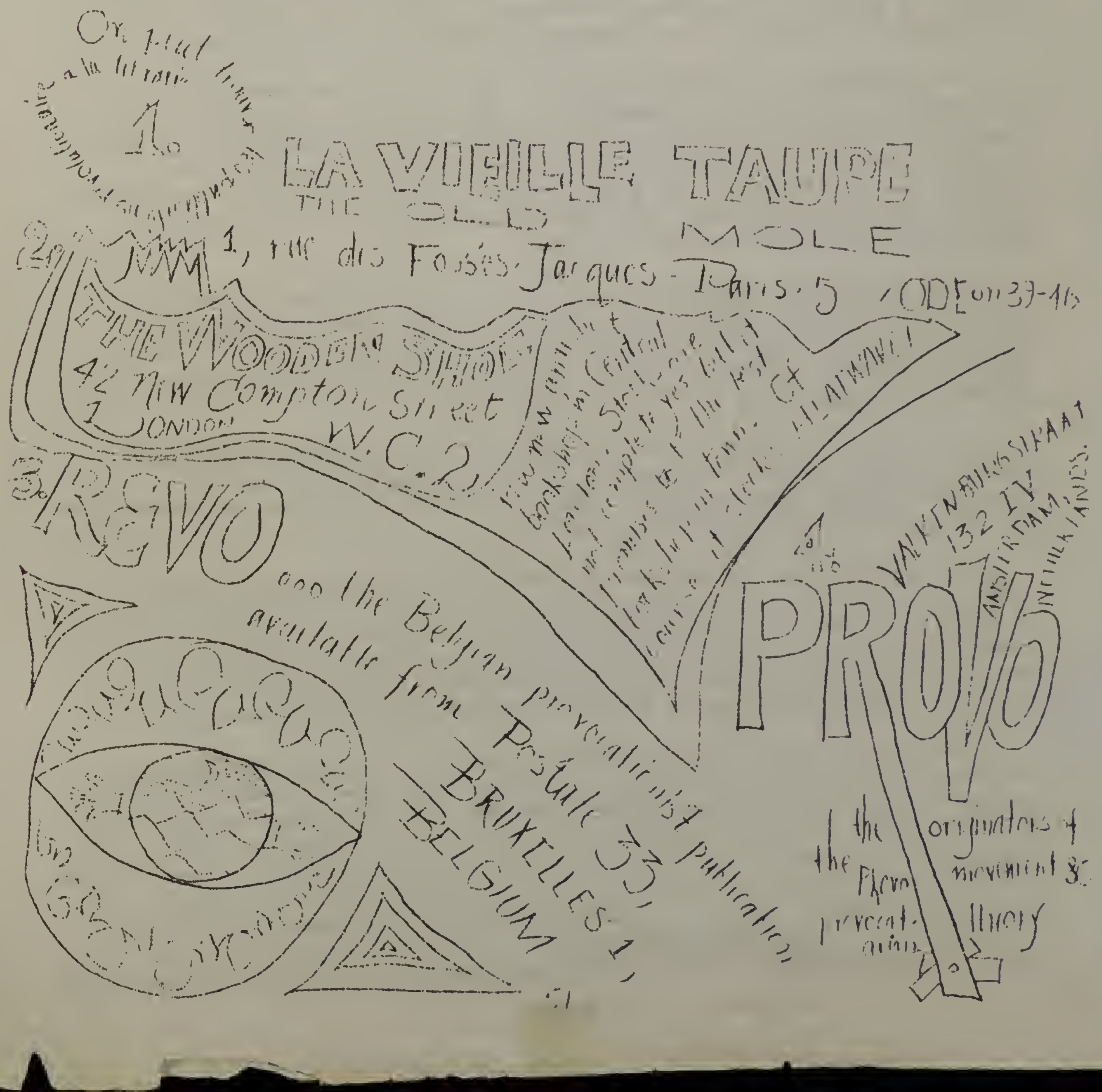
René CREVEL

★★★★★ FOR ALL INDEX REBEL WORKERS ★ [1 - 7]

Agricultural Workers (IWW): #1, p. 11
ALLEN, Peter: Black Intervention in America's Dreams. #5, pp. 14-17
ASKEW, Guy B.: See SLIM, Skidroad
ASMODEUS: See BLACK, Nikki
BEAGLE, Craig: How to Make Friends & Influence No One (on the 1964 anarcho-pacifist youth conference) #4, p. 3
BIERCE, Ambrose: Fantastic Fables. #7, p. 34
BLACK, Nikki: Message from the Gangsters of Love. #7, p. 44
BOTTARI, Lionel: The Basic Question. #3, p. 31
BRETON, Andre: The Colors of Freedom. #7, pp. 17-18
BRUEGEL, Peter (the Elder): Cover #6 (Chicago edition)
CAIN, James: Prophetic Mutterings. #7, p. 41
CALESE, Robert S.: Harlem Journal, or Homage to Pandemonia. #3, pp.10-14
CARDAN, Paul: Modern Capitalism & Revolution (synopsis) #4, pp. 4-7
CARRINGTON, Leonora: White Rabbits. (story) #7, pp. 37-38
CASEY, Robert D.: A Plea to All. #7, pp. 39-40.
COVINGTON, Ben: Roots of Revolt (on the youth movement in Britain) #4, pp. 15-16, 22
---: Crime Against the Bourgeoisie (on The Who) #6, pp. 13-14
CREVEL, Rene: Miraculous Moon. #4, p10
---: Au Grand Jour. #6 (Chgo) insert
CROWLEY, Louise: On the Unwholesomeness of Honest Toil. #5, pp. 10-13
DAUMAL, Rene: The Great Magician. (story) #1, pp. 12-13
DECOSTER, Lawrence: Delight Not Death. #7, p. 43
---: illustrations & lettering, #4, #7
DOMINGUEZ, Oscar: illustration, #7, p37
DORE, Lester: Cartoons -- "America First" & "We are Becoming Machines" -- #3, p. 30 & p. 32.
---: Cover & illustrations, #4
DURRUTI COLUMN: Manifesto. #7, p. 35
DUST: IWW Cartoons: "The Ass in the Lion's Skin, or All Dressed Up & Noplace to Go." #1, p. 29
---: "Organize!" #3, p. 35
---: "What is What in the World of Labor?" #4, p. 28
---: "Oh Woodsman, Spare This Tree!" #5, p. 2
ELWELL, Bruce: The Class Struggle in the City of Brotherly Love (on wildcat strikes in Philadelphia) #4, p. 14
EVRARD, Jim: 5 O'Clock World #1 (on pop music) #5, pp. 21-23
---: 5 O'Clock World #2 (Hobbies) #7, pp. 28-33
FAEGRE, Torvald: Covers -- #1, #2, #3 (woodblock), #5, #7
---: Organizing Blueberries (on the 1964 IWW Agricultural Workers' Strike in Michigan). #2, pp. 6-9
---: Introduction to Starvation Army 1964. #2, p. 17
---: Victims of the Benefactors of the Poor (on child labor) #3, p.8
---: Watching the War. #5, pp. 8-9
---: Calligraphy & artwork in all issues except #6
FORAIN, Rene: Towards a Renewal of Libertarian Researches (translated by Dorothy DeCoster) #4, pp. 8-9
GARNAULT, Jean: Elementary Structures of Reification (trans. by D. DeCoster & F. Rosemont). #7, pp. 19-23
GARSON, Barbara: Will We All Go Together When We Go? #1, pp. 17-18
General Defense Committee (IWW): #1, p10
GIBSON, Tony: Youth For Freedom. #3, p32
GOULD, Francis B.: News From Spain. #4, p. 27
GREEN, Robert: Barbara. #2, p. 23
---: Conditioning for Bureaucracy (on the Boys' Clubs) #3, pp. 23-24
HILL, Joe: How to Make Work for the Unemployed. #5, pp. 29-30
---: The Rebel's Toast (poem) #5, p.30
INTERNATIONAL SURREALIST MOVEMENT: Inaugural Break (Declaration--1947) #4, pp. 19-20
IWW Here & Now: #3, p. 3
JEMERS, Jimmy: A Longshoreman's Call. #1, pp. 9-10
KURODAMA, Torum (w/ Joji OMADA): Perspective of the Revolutionary Movement in Japan: Zengakuren. #4, pp. 11-13

LEAKE, Jonathan: Windy City Emergency (poem) & illus. #5, pp. 25-26
Letters: #2 : Guy B. ASKEW, Hyatt BACHE, Bruce ELWELL, Bernard MARSZALEK, George SLAVCHUK, Abraham WUORI. p. 16
---: #3: Guy B. ASKEW, Ian BEDFORD, Alan GRAHAM, Tom HILLIER, Judith KAPLAN, Marc PREVOTEL. pp. 24-25
---: #4: Martin GLABERMAN, Judy KAPLAN, O. N. PETERSON, I. SHIGEO, Dori SMITH, Barton STONE, Ken WELLER. pp. 23-24
---: #5: Brooks Lewis ERICKSON, Jim EVRARD, Arthur MENDES-GEORGE, Charles RADCLIFFE, Judi SIGLER. p. 27
---: #7: Nicolas CALAS, Ben COVINGTON, Madrid DANIELE, Lester DORE, Mike EVERETT, Linda KOPCZYK. pp. 47-48
LLOYD (from *Resistance*): The Golden Convolvulus. #5, pp. 4-5
Lost Whispers (news & notes) #6 (Chicago edition) insert
MABILLE, Pierre: Consciousness at the Service of Desire. #6, p. 11
MARSZALEK, Bernard: Anarchism as seen through Opaque Lenses from an Ivory Tower(review of *The Anarchists* by Horowitz). #3, pp.29-30
---: Malatesta. (Review of Malatesta: Life & Ideas by Richards). #4,p33-34
---: Popularly Applauded & Sciolistically Obfuscated. (review of three books on the Berkeley student revolt by Draper; Miller & Gilmore; & Lipset & Wolin). #5, pp. 18-20
---: Letter from Chicago. #6, p. 18
---: I Saw It on TV & then We Proved it at Home. #7, pp. 6-9
---: drawings: #3, #4, #5, #7
MARX, Karl: Money. #6, p. 17
May Day 1964: #1, p. 8
Money Not Counseling: (excerpt from the Chicago *Daily News* on the War on Poverty). #5, p. 3
NEILL, A. S.: The Unfree Child.#3,p4-7
News Clippings on 1964 IWW Agricultural Workers' Strike in Michigan, #2, p. 30
ONADA, Joji (w/ Torum KUROKAWA): Perspective of the Revolutionary Movement in Japan: Zongakuron. #4, pp. 11-13
PATCHEN, Kenneth: I Hate the Poor. #6, p. 18
PERET, Benjamin: The Fleas of the Field (poem). #3, p. 16
---: Song in Time of Drought. #4,p20
---: Lobster (poem). #6, p. 19
---: Post No Bills (poem). #7, p. 11
POTTER, Bob: Thoughts on Bureaucracy. #2, pp. 11-15
RADCLIFFE, Charles: London Bluesletter. #5, p. 28
---: A Very Nice, Very Respectable, Very Useless Campaign (about the 1966 CND Easter March in London) #6, p. 4 & p. 16
ROSEMONT, Franklin: The Wobblies Return in Chicago. #1, pp. 5-7
---: Introduction to the Works of T-Bone Slim. #1, pp. 19-20
---: On the Job. #2, pp. 3-5
---: Mods, Rockers & the Revolution. #3, pp. 17-20
---: The IWW is Dead! Long Live the IWW! (review of Kornbluh's *Rebel Voices*). #3, pp. 27-28
---: Notes on the World Revolution of Youth. #4, pp. 29-30
---: Everything Must be Built Anew (review of Cardan's *Modern Capitalism & Revolution*). #4, p. 32
---: Souvenirs of the Future -- Precursors of the Theory & Practice of Total Liberation (on Lautreamont, Fourier, Sade, Blake & the Gothic Novelists). #6, pp.5-8, 20
---: The Haunted Mirror (Surrealist Text). w/ Penelope. #6, p. 12
---: Vengeance of the Black Swan -- Notes on Poetry from Maldororian Zoology to the Barricades of the Revolution. #7, pp. 12-16, 45-46
---: "Not Every Paradise is Lost." (Andre Breton: 1896-1966). #7, p. 42.
---: drawings & lettering: #4,#6, #7
ROSEMONT, Penelope: Storming Heaven in Hungary (review of *Hungary '56* by Andy Anderson). #3, p. 26
---: Berkeley was Only the Beginning. (review of *Students in Revolt* published by the Solidarity group & *The Free Speech Movement* published by News & Letters). #4, p. 31
---: Humor or Not or Less or Else! #6, pp. 9-10
---: The Haunted Mirror (Surrealist Text). w/ Franklin. #6, p. 12
---: drawings, #7
Selected References on Mods & Rockers (quotes, etc.) #3, pp. 21-22
Shapes of Things (declaration). #6, (Chicago edition) p. 22

SHEPP, Archie: I am Not Angry; I am Enraged! #6, p. 15 & p. 17
SHORTY: The Kitten in the Wheat. (poem) #2, p. 10
SHERIDAN, Jack: Education: What is it? #1, pp. 14-15
SLIM, Skidroad: Reminiscences of T-Bone Slim. #7, p. 24
SLIM, T-Bone: Selections from the Works of T-Bone Slim. (Excerpts from columns; unpublished texts; excerpts from Starving Amidst Too Much; "Electricity," etc. #1, pp. 21-26
---: Poets & Pearls: A Rhapsody. #2, pp. 24-25
---: Heresy. #3, p. 15
---: T-Bone Talks; #4, p. 17
---: Ante-Bellum Jitters & Calm After the Storm. #7, pp. 25-26.
STEIB, Murray: Egyptian Trouble. #3, p. 9
STEWART, Joffre: On (Not) Having A War Resisters League in Chicago. #7, p. 27
SUTHERLAND, Ian: Scots Against War. #4, p. 21
TANGUY, Yves: drawing, #3, p. 16
---: drawing. #6 (Chgo) insert
THOMPSON, Daniel R.: Starvation Army 1964. #2, pp. 18-22
THOMPSON, Fred: Why Rebel? #1, pp.3-4
TOPOR, Roland: cartoons. #1, pp. 4,15
---: #2, p. 29
---: #3, p. 22
UNDERWOOD, George: Letters from an Organizer. #4, pp. 25-26
What's Happening? (news&notes)#5, pl-2
Wild Celery. #7, p. 3
Wobbles (humor): #3, p. 28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SMASH URBAN RENEWAL

STOMP SMASH KILL STOMP STAMP CRASH HIT. BREAK CRUSH STOMP!

During summer and early winter we have been engaged in one skirmish after another with Chicago's Department of Urban Renewal, which is ignobly engaged in displacing poor people to build expensive apartments for the rich. Several years ago they invaded the Northside neighborhood around the Solidarity Bookshop intent upon driving out PR's, Spades, Mexicans, Indians, the poor whites, our little revolutionary bookshop and razing the old and rather beautiful buildings that are located in this area.

We decided to stand firm in the face of this outrage. We refused to pay rent to the city when they bought the property and demanded that they find us a suitable storefront for the same rent ($40) before we even thought of moving. For over three months we operated our Bookshop rent=free at the expense of the city until one day they boarded it up and padlocked the door. We, of course, removed the lock and boards and resumed our regular subversive routine of peddling treasonous literature. After a week of this, two of our number were arrested for trespassing within our own Bookshop!

The Bookshop was nailed shut again and this time we broke in through the rear and sold books and pamphlets in this clandestine manner after dark until police surveillance became too repressive to keep the shop open at all. One night we broke in and retrieved our books, mailing lists, mimeograph, roll-top desk and a 25-year-old traffic stoplight, and opened up in a former cobbler shop that has remained vacant for 30 years at 1644 Moyer Court, our present location.

The last paltry harrassment perpetrated by Urban Renewal consisted of obliterating the slogans we painted across our former bookshop storefront such as SMASH URBAN RENEWAL--SMASH THE STATE--SMASH THE COPS and one week later these creeps defaced our huge (4'x6') Rene Crevel statement printed in Rebel Worker #6.(Chicago edition).

With the advance of wrecking derricks another Bookshop storefront will be totally erased from the face of the earth (try finding 713 Armitage--our first storefront.) And because 1644 is slated for destruction in '67 a third storefront will evaporate.

The hassles enumerated above are sufficient explanation of the delay in filling some orders during this period. Our files were very much in disorder, stored in several places, (& once the bulk of them were rummaged through by cops), meanwhile our finances dwindled & the practice of ordering books from commercial publishers came nearly to a standstill. This situation no longer exists & we have a full-scale operating Solidarity Bookshop once again.

Some new material at the Bookshop is worth mentioning. The Libertarian League of New York recently closed its hall & very kindly sent us a large quantity of its stock of anarchist literature, including some comparatively rare pamphlets. We are also carrying a selection of Arkham House books, publishers of H.P. Lovecraft, Clark Ashton Smith & other fantasy writers of considerable significance as pre-surrealist mythologists; some new books & pamphlets on guerrilla warfare; & "little magazines" from around the world. We are preparing a small book list (our 55-paged 50¢ Annotated Catalogue is almost sold out) of these & other recent acquisitions -- 5¢ (stamps appreciated).

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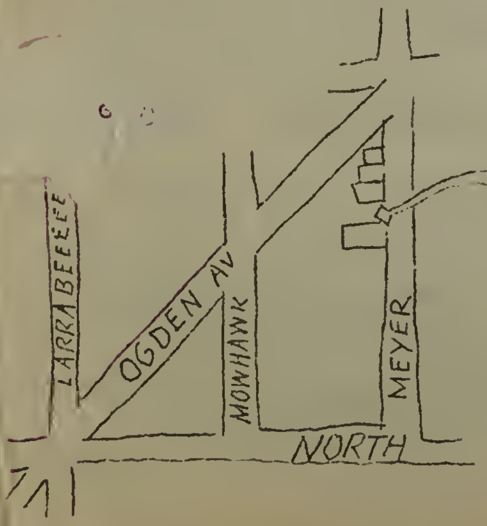

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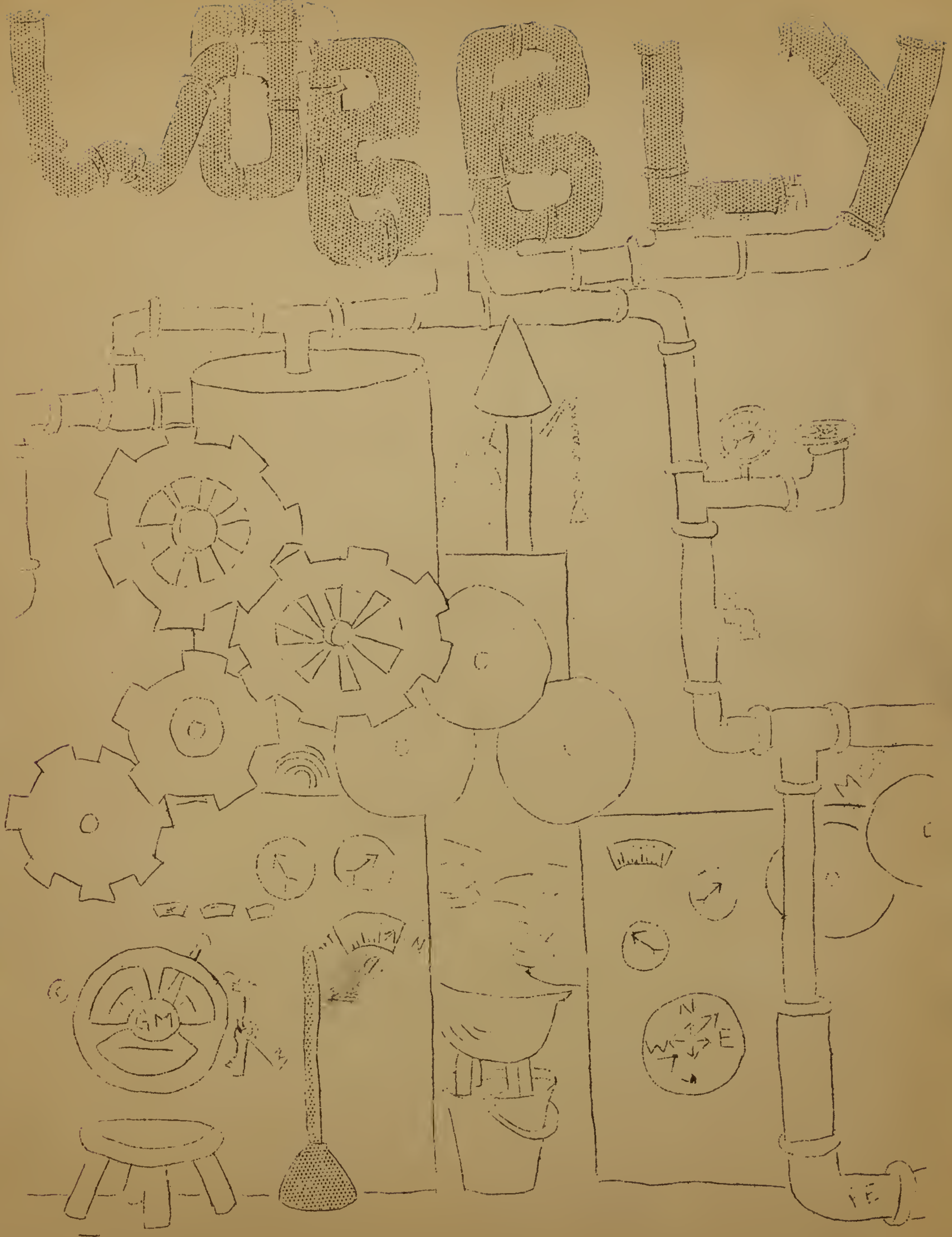

N. 3

Oct. 63

CONTENTS:

WOBBLY #3

JOE HILL, Some Notes On An American Culture Hero.................Zapata Modesto 2
HISTORY LESSON...............................Viny 12
THE WORKERS AND THE WOBBLIES........Maurine Blanck 13
THE OBSERVERS.......................Carlos Cortez 16
FREEDOM...............................Ray Nelson 20

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* *

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WOBBLY is not an official publication of the Industrial Workers of the World, but it is a publication of the Berkeley GRU Branch, an accredited local of the IWW, so of course WOBBLY will reflect IWW policy and ideas. But we do not--and cannot--speak for the IWW.

* *

THE EDITOR SPEAKS:

...albeit somewhat apologetically. I'm speaking of course of the long delay between issue #2 and this one. Reasons are many, varied, colorful, untruthful... If we were a Big, Important Magazine I guess I could speak pompously of Personnel and Financial Difficulties but we're not so I'll just diffidently mention that the Branch Treasury is kind of short and I'm the third editor for three issues. HELP!

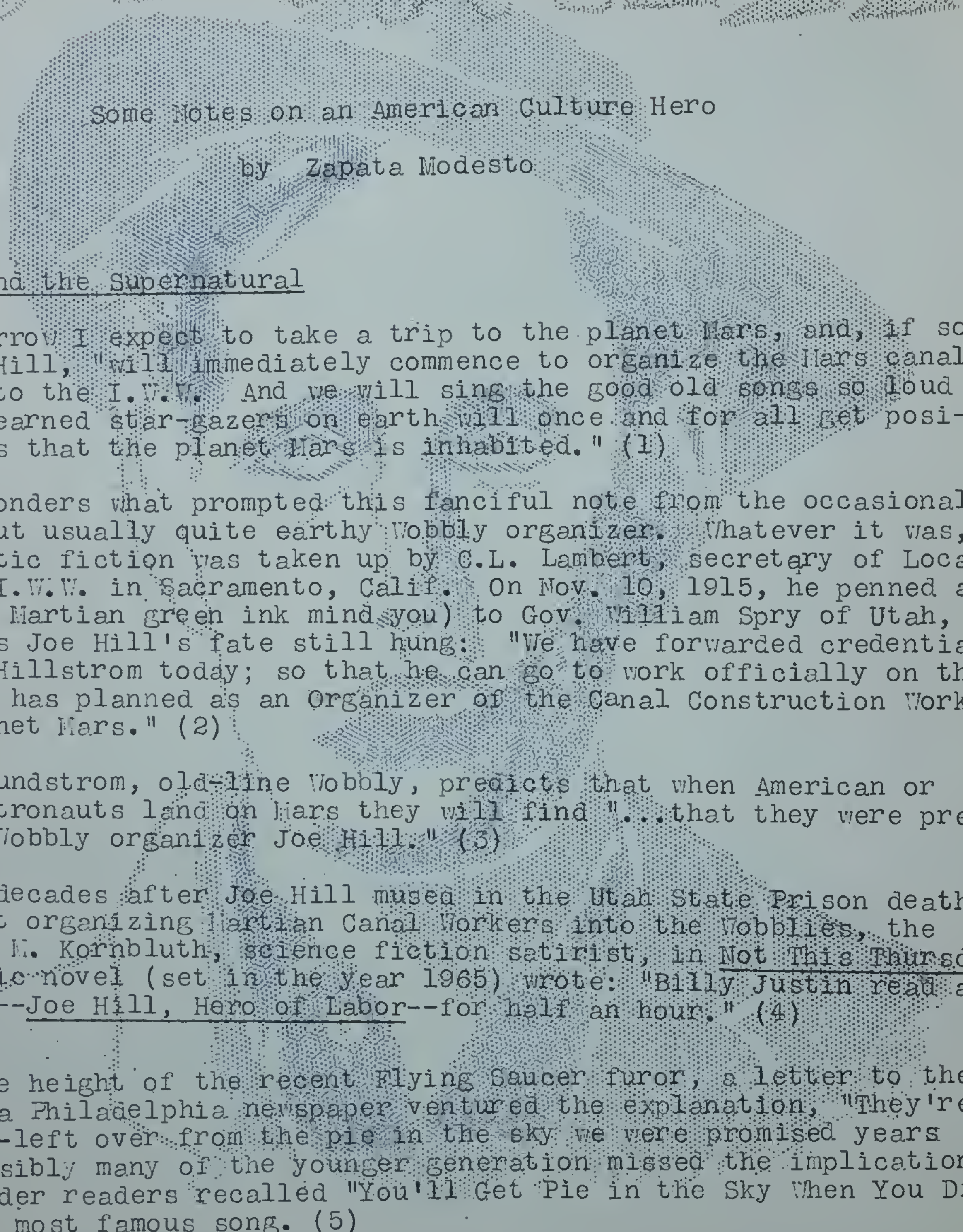
You can help with some of our problems--stop looking over your shoulder, I'm talking to you. Money would be nice, introducing the magazine to others (preferably Paying Others) would help and your material might be useful too. C'mon, don't be bashful--send us something. The most we can do is send it back.

And don't forget to write. We like to hear from you.

--RDE

* *

Joe Hill



Some Notes on an American Culture Hero

by Zapata Modesto

Joe Hill and the Supernatural

"Tomorrow I expect to take a trip to the planet Mars, and, if so," wrote Joe Hill, "will immediately commence to organize the Mars canal workers into the I.W.W. And we will sing the good old songs so loud that the learned star-gazers on earth will once and for all get positive proofs that the planet Mars is inhabited." (1)

One wonders what prompted this fanciful note from the occasionally romantic but usually quite earthy Wobbly organizer. Whatever it was, the fantastic fiction was taken up by C.L. Lambert, secretary of Local 71 of the I.W.W. in Sacramento, Calif. On Nov. 10, 1915, he penned a letter (in Martian green ink mind you) to Gov. William Spry of Utah, in whose hands Joe Hill's fate still hung: "We have forwarded credentials to Joseph Hillstrom today; so that he can go to work officially on the mission he has planned as an Organizer of the Canal Construction Workers on the Planet Mars." (2)

Al Grundstrom, old-line Wobbly, predicts that when American or Russian astronauts land on Mars they will find "...that they were preceeded by Wobbly organizer Joe Hill." (3)

Four decades after Joe Hill mused in the Utah State Prison death house about organizing Martian Canal Workers into the Wobblies, the late Cyril M. Kornbluth, science fiction satirist, in Not This Thursday, a futuristic novel (set in the year 1965) wrote: "Billy Justin read a comic book--Joe Hill, Hero of Labor--for half an hour." (4)

At the height of the recent Flying Saucer furor, a letter to the editor of a Philadelphia newspaper ventured the explanation, "They're pieplates--left over from the pie in the sky we were promised years ago." Possibly many of the younger generation missed the implication, but the older readers recalled "You'll Get Pie in the Sky When You Die," Joe Hill's most famous song. (5)

Of course, writers in several periodicals and books have speculated upon the possibilities of an afterlife for Hill. For instance:

"Two weeks from today and Hillstrom, the convicted murderer, will be trying to make trouble up in Heaven, or else disputing with his satanic majesty down in Hades." (6)

"Surely, if some heavenly visitor had decided to intervene in the troubled life of America in this period," wrote Alan Lomax, "he would have behaved like Joe Hill, would have been misunderstood like him, and would have died like him." (7)

In The Fireside Book of Folk Songs, cartoons by Alice and Martin Provensen show (1) a man in bed, crazy quilt pulled up to his throat. His head is diademmed by a stocking cap topped by a tassle. Gape-mouthed, the fellow in bed stares at the apparition at the foot of his bed--worker Joe Hill, big as life, wearing overalls, checkered red shirt, cap, angel wings (sprouting handsomely from his shoulders) and a canoe-shaped grin. Hill's left hand grips a poster-knob at the foot of the bed. His right hand rests on his right hip. A humanized alarm clock (pointing to four minutes after four a.m.) stands spider-leggedly on the dresser. Behind the head of the bed, on a small table, sits an old coal oil lamp--relic of the pre-incandescent past. The second cartoon shows Joe Hill yet wearing a cap, work shoes, angel wings and grin. This time he also wears a coat. Effortlessly he floats through the air, between two clouds. He holds a picket sign inscribed, "Unfair." From far below smoke rushes up, just ahead of him, from the smokestack of a factory. (8)

Our class-conscious folk hero has troubled staid citizens as much in death as he did in life. They tried to forget him, but reminders kept popping up.

Less than a month after Hill's execution on Nov. 19, 1915, an unshaven young man dressed as an Italian quarryman (battered hat, grimy work clothes, a wilted collar folded over his coat collar), his right hand waving a red flag, burst into O.C. Ralston's metallurgy class at the University of Utah.

"During the Skull and Bones (Junior Society) initiation, on Friday, Dec. 3 (1915) he (engineering student John Langford, class of '17) delighted the coeds by exploding bombs after the most approved methods and by cavorting around the campus as the shade of Joe Hill." (9)

In James Jones' From Here to Eternity, Jack Malloy--the man the main character in the novel looks up to as his philosophic mentor--"worshipped the memory" of Joe Hill: "He was a saint. He had to be one, to have been given the life he was allowed to have...Joe Hill, whom Jack Malloy envied more than any other man...That's the way to go out. That shows what can be done. But you have to have what it takes. And then on top of that you have to have the luck. Someday they will rank Joe Hill right up alongside old John the Baptist. He must have done something great, back a long time ago before he was ever Joe Hill, to have earned a chance at a ticket like that one."(10)

Wallace Stegner anticipated Jones' reference to reincarnation in connection with Joe Hill. (As their novels appeared not far apart--Stegner's in 1950 and Jones' in 1951--it would appear that the authors arrived at such an approach independently.) On p. 386 of The Preacher and the Slave, Stegner has Hill say, "I think it (his execution) was kind of predetermined. When I first came into this burg I had a cold hunch, and I kept having it. Something was due to happen to me in this place. I could feel it." (11)

Joe Hill as Christ Symbol

In Big Jim Turner, James Stephens wrote, "Joe Hill stood back away, saintly eyes big and bright under a low hat brim, face as hard and cold as an ice-coated stone." Three pages later he depicts Joe Hill as a brutal pistol-whipper. (In real life Joe Hill was the victim of vicious vigilante pistol-whippers.) On p. 211 Stephens writes, "It was Joe Hill, all right, Joe Hill with a gun under his coat and his right hand ready to flash for it. The eyes that could look at you like the eyes from a picture of Jesus Christ were deathly in their glittering stare." (12)

Wallace Stegner's The Preacher and the Slave shows a violent, complex Joe Hill. Stegner approached Hill with a scholarly discipline that included depth psychology, Oedipus complex, martyrology and so on. In this novel Joe is an intermixture of good and evil, a sort of half-Christ, half-Robin Hood. In one scene Joe "deliberately and without heat" bends a pistol-barrel over a rancher's balding head and loots his safe. (p.165) But in another scene, as the novel nears the climax, Stegner makes a couple of Christ analogies. Joe Hill asks, "what do you think the Mormons would have amounted to if they hadn't shot Joe Smith? How would Christianity have got along in Rome if the Romans hadn't liked throwing them to the lions? They'd have been just another little sect about as big as the Holy Rollers now...For that matter what if nobody had hung Jesus on a cross?" (p.379) On p.386 the Christ symbolism becomes overt when the author describes the execution frame as "crude and rough as the cross of Calvary." (13)

Barrie Stavis, in The Man Who Never Died, A Play About Joe Hill, has negro Ben Winton, On June 26, 1914, give an impassioned talk at a "Joe Hill Defense Meeting" in Salt Lake City Wobbly Hall. Just before the news is brought that Joe has been found guilty, Winton compares two organizers of "the poor and the lowly and the downtrodden," and tells why they want to silence such men by nailing them to "the bleeding cross": "And I'm not blaspheming when I say, 'Jesus Christ is you. Joe Hill is you.'...That's why they're framing Joe Hill. It's you they want to crucify." (14)

Elizebeth Gurley Flynn tells of her visit, in May, 1915, with Joe Hill in the Sheriff's office, at the Salt Lake County Jail. She quotes Hill as having told her he was "...the age when Jesus was crucified." (15)

In 1961, the Joe Hill House of Hospitality was founded by ex-Wob Ammon Hennacy in Salt Lake City. On the kitchen wall, the only "mission" in the "City of Saints" Mary Lathrop painted a 12'x16' mural of the execution of Joe Hill. Hovering above the smoke of the five-man firing squad's blazing rifles is Jesus Christ on a cross. The Catholic Worker wouldn't print a photo of the mural inasmuch as Joe Hill dominted it. The Industrial Worker wouldn't print it for Jesus Christ on a cross was in the background.

Roy Berkeley wrote a parody of Woody Guthrie's "Jesus Christ" ballad (which itself parodied the famed Ballad of Jesse James). Berkeley ends his song with Jesus saying Joe Hillishly: "Don't pray for me--organize!" (16)

Joe Hill and Wobblies, Socialists and Communists

In April, 1948, "Friends of Joe Hill" picketed and handed out handbills boldly headed: "JOE HILL, LABOR'S MARTYR, LIBELLED IN NEW REPUBLIC," in front of that publication's office at 40 East 49th St. They were steamed up about Wallace Stegner's article, "Joe Hill; The Wobblies' Troubador," which appeared Jan. 5, 1948. A year before, in an earlier, unnoticed article, Stegner had written: "It might be possible, if one wished to do it, to whittle the figure of Joe Hill down to the stature of a migrant yegg." (17) New Republic, Nov. 15, 1948, printed a 3,000 word digest of a lengthy defense of Joe Hill compiled by the "Friends of Joe Hill Committee." Time, on April 19, in a half-column story on the picketing, told how "The Wobblies March Again" "...to keep a legend of martyrdom alive. A New Yorker writer covered the affair. The New York Times ran a two-column head on the picketing. New Republic and Nation editorialized on the affair.

"We found the Stegner piece interesting," dryly commented the Nation editor, "but we doubt whether the legendary figure of Joe Hill can or even should be discredited by the disclosure of the failings of a mere man, Joe Hillstrom, who happened to be turned to legendary use. Such figures are not disposed of so easily. We are not surprised that Wobblies, who are legendary themselves, have appeared before the New Republic's door. We shan't be surprised, either, to hear that Joe Hill is among them." (18)

Daniel Aaron, in writing on "Episodes in American Literary Communism" noted: "They (communist writers) had written poems and tracts about the lynching of Frank Little and the execution of Joe Hill." (19)

It's understandable why the Wobblies don't want to share Joe Hill with other radical movements who have claimed him as their own. But Joe Hill has outgrown the radical and labor movements. As a full-blown folk hero he belongs to the people.

The International Socialist Review, before WW I, offered original sketches of a dozen or so socialist labor heroes--Joe Hill, Eugene Debs and Jack London were among Americans included.

Several poems and stories were written by radicals on Joe Hill in the '20s and '30s. In the '40s up to the '60s Joe Hill had flowered in radical circles to arch-symbol status. Joe Hill is not only an American folk hero. He has been or is honored as a folk hero by radicals in many countries, including Australia, Canada, Germany, Mexico, Russia and Sweden. He has been mentioned in recent months in such radical publications as [illegible] and [illegible] (Sweden); Tierra y Libertad (Mexico); Freedom (England); Political Affairs, National Guardian, Industrial Worker, The Worker, The Promethean Review and Lumberjack News.

The British opinion of Benedict Arnold and the Russian notion of Joe Hill differ sharply from America's. (20)

Gus Hall, general secretary of the C.P.U.S.A., in a Carnegie Hall tribute funeral service, Sept. 18, 1961, ranked Joe Hill with other "true greats of American Labor," in the radical pantheon of "union fighters who gave their all to organize America's wage slaves."

Wobbly Fred Thompson wrote: "If the Communists hope to run the working class here, they come up against a body of democratic traditions, including that of individual integrity. This set of traditions that prevents the assimilation of communist habits of thought is to a large extent centered around our 'folk heroes'--Jefferson, Lincoln, Paine, Debs, Parsons, Altgeld, Joe Hill and the like." (21)

Joe Hill's Place In Literature

A legend is a kind of myth that attracts professional literary artists. The rich ore of Joe Hill's life and legend has been mined by many writers and poets. Joe Hill is found in books of fiction by Archie Binns (23); Elias Tombenkin (24); John Dos Passos (25); Margaret Graham (26); Alexander Saxton (27); and a number of others. He is found in plays by Upton Sinclair (28) Louis Lembert (29); and Arturo Giovanitti (30). He is found in poems by Kenneth Patchen (31); Kenneth Rexroth (32); Carl Sandburg (33); Alfred Hayes (34); and Carlos Cortez (35). Writers who deal with Joe Hill in folklore include B.A. Botkin (39); William Alderson (40); Wayland Hand (41) and Ray McKinley Lawless (Lawell) (42). Joe Hill appears in every kind of book from cultural studies (43) to regional history books (44) to books on revolutions (45) and national history books (46).

The Legend--and the Man

In 1947, Wallace Stegner contended that "...the biography in Dos Passos' 1919, Earl Robinson's ballad, 'I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night,' the singing of Paul Robeson and Michael Loring, have built Hill into a folk figure, almost the number one labor martyr and legend." (46)

Stegner said further, "People have made him into a Galahad, a hero, and a martyr, and they have done so because he gave them the opportunity, he offered the leads. He had what none of the other dozens of eligible (labor) martyrs had--imagination, a flair. He died for a cause, for a principle, for a woman's honor, for the things that fire the imagination, and the world-wide scattering of his ashes was a fitting finale. That symbolic act fertilized both the movement his songs served and the legend of labor's songster.

"They killed everything of Joe Hill but the poet, and the poet went on to organize. The Joe Hill who may never have walked a picket line (sic!) in his life has been on hundreds since his death. He has been improved and purified and remade in the image of his makers. As legend, he is whole and unambiguous." (47)

Wallace Stegner was unaware that Joe Hill had for years been IWW secretary in San Pedro, and had written his songs "Where the Frazer River Flows" and "The Mucker's Dream" first hand when the Wobblies threw up a thousand mile picket line during their British Columbia railroad strike. Stegner was also unaware that Joe Hill had led in auto and dock strikes, had been fired and blacklisted for his flying organizer activities.

When, in Sept., 1962, I visited the NBC newsroom in Salt Lake City, the head newsman asked me why we didn't erect a monument to Joe Hill in Sugarhouse Park. At 7 a.m., Nov. 19, 1965, I intend to hold a memorial meeting in that park on the ground where Joe Hill was shot 50 years before.

Former Wob soapboxer Alexander MacKay scoffs at the "romantic bushwah" that's been written about his old pal, the "cynical and bitter Joe." He says, "I fear that Stégner's concept of Joe as a glamorous Robin Hood has to go overboard, at least in San Pedro....he has Joe Hill masquerading as a half-Villon crossed with Wild Bill Hickok."

"Mac" is equally critical of The Man Who Never Died, by Barrie Stavis.

"I am sure if you were to tell Joe Hill now that he was the man that 'never died' he would shoot you on the spot. He died all right and no fooling, but, of course, the Joe Hill mythology may some day inspire revolting slaves, so may it be." He asks, "Why pick on Joe Hill in an effort to destroy the constructive myth built on the power of his songs and martyrdom? Joe earned his mythology the hard way, which is a damned sight more than can be said for much of the mythology of our capitalistic and theological heroes and saints." Of Joe Hill House he notes, "The mythical Jesus Christ rising to Heaven with the immortal soul of atheist Joe Hill is a spectacle to make the gods on High Olympus split their fat sides. I can still work up a chuckle when I think of Joe Hill up thar on Cloud Number 75, gazing on that mural and on the general activities. Joe is still mumbling: 'Don't mourn for me!' but with a good deal less conviction than in 1915. I suspect he has added to his last wish another slogan: 'Don't play around with my memory. Quit creating mythology around me memory. We don't need a Joe Hill cult, we need social action.'" (48)

Joe Hill has been linked with many heroes and folk figures--Robin Hood, Jesus Christ, John the Baptist; Hagi the Bold, Sir Lancelot, Galahad, Old Quiz, Socrates, Robert Burns, Francisco Ferrar, Raffles, Francois Villon, Olaf Dalin, Wat Tyler, John Brown, Johnny Appleseed and others.

"In death Joe Hill has become an authentic legend of the U.S. labor movement." acknowledges Life.

Barrie Stavis wrote, "For several years after Joe Hill's death, a good deal was written about him--articles, poems, songs. Then a curious curtain of silence descended, and, except for an occasional item here and there, little was written about the man. During this time, though his songs continued to be sung all over the world, knowledge of the man and his deeds began to fade. He assumed a mythlike character. Paul Bunyan and Joe Hill; John Henry and Joe Hill; Johnny Appleseed and Joe Hill. This transformation of man into myth was aided by the extremely moving and beautiful song, 'Joe Hill,' by Alfred Hayes and Earl Robinson. Gradually, even in labor circles, the myth replaced the man." (49)

Folklorist Archie Green writes, "More has been written about Joe Hill--novel, drama, poem, essay--than any other labor hero." (50)

Actually Joe Hill's legend mushroomed from 1938 to 1962. More was written on him in articles and books in this period than was written on him in the 1915-1938 period. Today no industrial hero of American folklore approaches Joe Hill in fame. Stegner and Stavis both emphasized the influence of the Hayes-Robinson song in the construction of Joe Hill's legend or myth. Yet almost 20 years before Hayes wrote the moving lyrics to this song, Ralph Chaplin (in 1914) wrote "Joe Hill in Jail," and "Joe Hill," and T-Bone Slim dreamt he saw Joe Hill one night in his song "I Want to Free Miss Liberty" which begins:

"While the moon was softly shining
On my cot, as I lay pining,
Thinking of the day--long passed away;
Came a drowsy feeling o'er me--
And Joe Hill stood there before me--
I seemed to hear this joyous fighter say: etc." (51)

T-Bone narrated what he heard "the spirit say." Richard Brazier, in 1916, wrote "Farewell, Joe!" in which he quoted the "last brave words" of Joe Hill as "Don't Mourn for me, but Organize!" (52) John E. Nordquist, on Nov. 19--the day Joe Hill was shot--wrote "November Nineteenth." These songs appeared in the Little Red Song Book in edition after edition for years before the Hayes-Robinson work appeared, first as a poem in New Masses, and finally as the famed ballad.

Certainly the Wobbly poets played a big part in bolstering the Hill legend so that young poets half a generation later could revivify it. Two persons played a larger part than Hayes in moulding the legend of Joe Hill. Ralph Chaplin and Gurley Flynn, through their articles, prepared Joe Hill for canonization before their songster was executed. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was quoted by the New York Post, "The day that Joe Hill's brave, strong heart is torn with bullets, his fruitful pen is stilled, and we take his body forth to the music of his own songs; the stigma of murder is stamped on every cowardly member of this Mormon Board." (53)

Among poems written on Joe Hill shortly after his death were "A Fair Trial" by Covington Hall, "In Memory of Joe Hill," by George Weiss, and "Joe Hill" by "C.O.G."

Eugene Burdick, in The Ninth Wave, tells how four American kids "fought to play Joe Hill." (54)

Joe Hill took on the stature of a folk hero by his own acts. His legend was blown to gigantic proportions by thousands of radical "press agents" who spoke up for him. He was a living legend before his trial for murder and execution. Hill, the Swede immigrant, who came to America when he was 22 and beat his way West and joined the Wobblies; Hill, the composer of a dozen world-famed labor songs while yet in his early 30's ("Casey Jones," "Pie in the Sky," "Scissor Bill," "Mister Block," "The Tramp," "Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay," "The Mucker's Dream," "Workers of the World Awaken!," "Rebel Girl," and "We Will Sing One Song"); Hill, the impassioned union flying organizer; Hill vagged for leading a dock workers' strike; Hill, taking off for the San Diego free speech fight as soon as he was sprung; Hill, hoboing to San Francisco to muster footloose rebels to invade the embattled town to spring his fellow workers; Hill the revolutionist, who helped the I.W.W. army take Mexicali and Tia Juana during an adventure aimed at seizing Lower California's wasteland to set up a Commune; Hill, the labor hero, defiant against his frame-up; Hill, dead game to the end--a chuckle in his throat, a smile on his lips, facing enemy rifles with bravado unexcelled by Icelandic heroes, spitting final defiance with his final breath--all these facets of Hill's life, wrapped in mystery, combined to produce a larger than life figure who loomed above prison walls. He rose above the monumental distortions about his being a dynamiter, cop-killer, etc., finally towering above other labor heroes of his time.

No group of writers added much to Joe Hill's legend. He was a hero of American labor before any well-known writer touched his legend.

Of his last words and acts, Wallace Stegner wrote: "These are the words of a great natural showman, the infallible raw materials of legend, and they are in themselves almost sufficient explanation of how an obscure dock worker and sailor, a nameless stiff, a crude poet and a mushy writer of sentimental songs could also be the Francois Villon of American Labor." (55)

John Greenway writes: "Joe Hillstrom was responsible for his own beatification. The entire legend that has grown up around him derives from his conduct after his arrest for the murder of a Salt Lake City grocer--an astounding display of incredible self-detachment, apparent eagerness to die a martyr's death, and an almost unparalleled flair for self-dramatization. Taciturn, eremitic, and mysterious in his movements before his arrest, Hillstrom suddenly began to act as if he were playing the part of the quixotic hero of a fantastic melodrama --he refused to divulge, on grounds of chivalry, the name of a woman allegedly implicated in his shooting; he refused to testify in his own defense; he refused to permit the IWW to hire lawyers to defend him; he fired his two defense attorneys in a sensational courtroom outburst; he rejected an unofficial offer of clemency; he wrote in his death cell poignant letters, poems, and songs full of phrases that in such circumstances easily lend themselves to immortality; and he climaxed this unbelievable show of bravada by shouting to the firing squad the orders which executed him." (56)

Greenway said in a letter: "Hill as a real human being has no more relation to Hill the Hero than Abraham Lincoln, the Civil War Politician has to Abraham Lincoln the folk hero." Like Lincoln, Hill's philosophy was homely. Like Lincoln, Joe Hill picked up and used colorful "Americanisms." Like Lincoln, Hill was a fighter, a humorist and an agnostic.

Among factors that contributed to Joe Hill's becoming a folk hero can be included:

1. Joe Hill was a temperate bachelor, a brave fighter for the underdog.
2. His adventurous life and courage in facing death as a labor martyr inspired thousands of people.
3. Tales were spun by authorities, reporters, and friends of his exploits.
4. Hill's taciturn nature made him a mysterious figure, hence provoked curiosity, and tales about him. The more the press distorted his life the more questions about the real Joe Hill were fathered.
5. His memory has been kept alive through word-of-mouth legends, articles, memorial meetings, essays, sculptures, paintings, drawings, murals, Joe Hill House, ballads, novels, poems, biographical sketches, plays, records and above all his own subliterary folksongs.
6. Like many legendary heroes he was killed by his Enemy; is a regional, national, and international legendary figure.
7. He has much in common with standard American folk heroes: humor, slang; his contempt for the dandy and jerk (he ridiculed them in his cartoons and verses); his eye-spitting defiance to his enemies. Like most folk heroes he has been refined, recast by sentimentalists and propagandists.
8. He helped mold new values and hence a new culture.

...

Joe Hill was perhaps the Twentieth Century's first egghead-heman folk figure in the U.S. In his poems and songs he reached the middlebrow intellectual as readily as he did the working stiff with his lyrics lampooning phony morality: "The harsh, tough, skeptical songs of Joe Hill convey most clearly the nature of the I.W.W.'s appeal to the well-brought-up intellectuals of radical sympathies. Here, if anywhere, was a clear breach with timidity, moralism, and the whole manner and content of the standard American culture. 'Long-haired preachers' try to tell us what's right and wrong, but turn out to offer only 'pie in the sky.' Only Joe Block, 'born by mistake!' swallows the pious promise that he 'may be President some day' and is therefore willing to 'go jump in the lake for Liberty's sake.'" (57)

John Dos Passos, in a thumbnail sketch, left Joe Hill in a coffin "with his handsome stony face staring into the future." (58) Joe rared up and vaulted out of the pine box and spat words something like those in the Ballad of Joe Hill: "Takes more than guns to kill a man. ...I ain't never died."

Notes:

1. Letter written Sept. 30, 1915, to Ben H. Williams, editor of Solidarity. Published in Solidarity, Cleveland, Oct. 9, 1915.
2. Letter in Correspondence--Joseph Hillstrom Case, archive of the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.
3. Conversation with the author during 1960 interview.
4. Garden City Press, 1955.
5. American Folksongs of Protest, John Greenway, Philadelphia, 1963, p.184.
6. The Park Record, Summit County, Utah, Oct. 1, 1915, p.4.
7. The Folk Songs of North America in the English Language, Garden City, 1960, p.423-424.
8. Margaret Bradford Boni and Norman Lloyd, N.Y., 1947, p.48.
9. "Bomb Thrower is Brought to Trial," The Utah Chronicle, Univ. of Utah, Vol. XXIV, Salt Lake City, p.1.
   A follow-up story ibid, Dec. 16, 1915, p.1, tells how Instructor Ralston swore out a complaint. Langford was subpoenaed by the student court to appear for trial. On. Dec. 15, 1916, he pled guilty to the charges. He was placed on probation and denied the privilege of participation in the student activities for the rest of the college year. The Utonion (Univ. of Utah annual), Salt Lake City, 1917, p.239, contains a photo of the "obstreperous culprit."
10. New York, 1951.
11. New York, 1950.
12. Garden City, 1948.
13. New York, Houghton & Mifflin, 1950.
14. Dramatists Play Service Inc., N.Y., 1959 (Revised Acting Edition), p.180.
15. I Speak My Own Piece, Masses and Mainstream, N.Y., 1955. See chapter titled, "Joe Hill--Martyred Troubador of Labor."
16. Bosses' Songbook, Richard Ellington, N.Y., 1959.
17. "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night," Pacific Spectator, Stanford Univ., Calif., Jan., 1947.
18. Articles on the picketing appear in Industrial Worker, April 10, 17, 24, 1948. See also special Joe Hill Edition, Nov. 13, 1948, in which "Friends of Joe Hill Committee" "...Gives answer to Prof. Stegner's New Republic Attack on Hill's Character."
19. Writers on the Left, N.Y., 1961, p.270.
20. American Heroes, Myth and Reality, William Marshal Fishwick, Washington, D.C., 1954, p.190.
21. Industrial Worker, Chicago, Jan. 17, 1948, p.2. See article entitled "Joe Hill's Character Assailed."

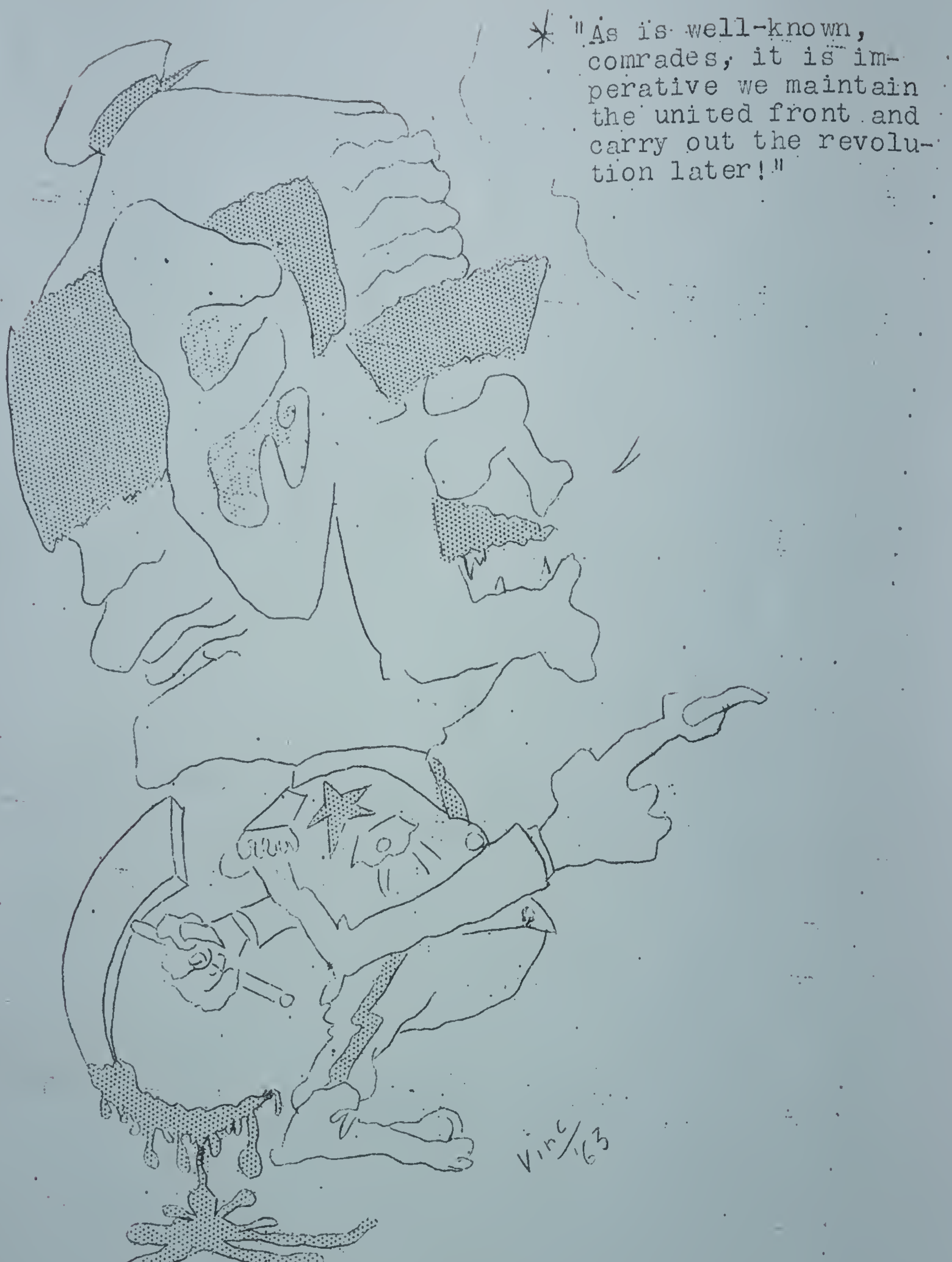
23. The Timber Beast, N.Y., 1948.
24. The Road, N.Y., 1924.
25. Nineteen-Nineteen, N.Y., 1931.
26. Swing Shift, Nov., 1951.
27. The Great Midland, N.Y., 1948.
28. Singing Jailbirds, Long Beach, 1924.
29. Shackles, Duluth, no date.
30. Title unavailable.
31. "Joe Hill Listens to the Praying," appeared in Proletarian Literature in the United States, N.Y., 1935.
32. The Dragon and the Unicorn, New Directions, N.Y.
33. The People, Yes, Harcourt Brace & Co., N.Y., 1937.
34. See ballad "Joe Hill" in CIO Song Book, Washington, D.C., 1949.
35. "Requiem for a Swede" (a poem on Joe Hill) appeared twice in Industrial Worker since 1960.
36. A Treasury of American Folklore, N.Y. 1944.

-- A Treasury of Western Folklore, N.Y., 1951.

37. American Murder Ballads, N.Y., 1958.
38. A Bibliography of North American Folklore and Folksong, N.Y., 1951.
39. "Wobbly Talk," American Mercury, VII, Jan., 1926.

-- "The Wild, Wild Wobblies," True Magazine, Oct. 1948.
-- Holy Old Mackinaw, A Natural History of the American Lumberjack, N.Y., 1938.
-- Iron Brew, A Century of American Ore and Steel, N.Y., 1939.
-- Murder Out Yonder, An Informal Study of Certain Classic Crimes In Back Country America, N.Y., 1941. See Ch. II, "Folklore of American Murder," p.228.
-- The Story of American Railroads, N.Y., 1947.
-- Far Corner, A Personal View of the Pacific Northwest, N.Y., 1952.
-- The Rocky Mountain Revolution, N.Y., 1956.

40. "On the Wobbly 'Casey Jones' and Other Songs," California Folklore Quarterly, I, Los Angeles, 1942.
41. "Songs of the Butte Miners," Western Folklore, IX, Los Angeles, 1950.
42. Utah Since Statehood, Historical and Biographical. See Vol., "The Hillstrom Case," p.686-690, Chicago-Salt Lake, 1919.
43. The Desert Revolution, Lowell L. Blaisdell, the Univ. of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1962.
44. Ordeal by Fire, Canada 1910-1945, Ralph Allen, Garden City, 1961.
45. The End of American Innocence, A Study of The First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917, N.Y., 1961.
46. "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill Last Night," The Pacific Spectator, Vol. I, #2, Stanford Univ. Press, Stanford Univ., Calif., Spring, 1947.
47. Ibid.
48. In interviews with the author.
49. The Man Who Never Died, Haven Press, N.Y., 1954.
50. John Neuhaus: Wobbly Folklorist, Univ. of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. 58, #28, Urbana, Ill., Nov. 1960.
51. IWW Songs To Fan The Flames of Discontent, Chicago, 1928, p.48.
52. Ibid, p.30 (23rd Edition).
53. "Famous New York Woman Assails Character of Utah Justice," editorial in the Lake Herald-Republican, Salt Lake City, Oct. 27, 1915 (N.Y. Post article reprinted therein.).
54. Houghton & Mifflin Co., Boston, 1956, p.22.
55. "Joe Hill: The Wobblies' Troubador," New Republic, Washington, D.C., Jan. 5, 1958.
56. American Folksongs of Protest, Philadelphia, 1953.
57. The End of American Innocence, A Study of the First Years of Our Own Life, 1912-1917, Henry F. May, N.Y., 1961.
58. Nineteen-Nineteen, N.Y., 1931.


* "As is well-known, comrades, it is imperative we maintain the united front and carry out the revolution later!"
Vinc/'63

History Lesson: Spain 1936-'39

THE WORKERS AND THE WOBBLIES

by Maurine Blanck

The modern industrial working class, an element in society which, if you must make a living you hardly escape being a part of, finds itself today more alienated from control over the work process and from the control of the products of the work process than ever before. The vast network of management and machinery, because of its sheer bulk and abstract power, is unapproachable by the single worker. The interstices and exceptions to the system become fewer and fewer. The "discipline" of employment becomes longer and more rigorous.

The "official powers" of the labor movement either accede to the conditions of work laid down by management, or actively participate in the building of that structure by cooperating with it in the abstract regulation of the work process and by growing their own bureaucracies which fit hand-in-glove with those of the industrial powers. Nearly all the unions, excepting a few rare craft guilds here and there, are replete with bureaucracies and hierarchies of all kinds, often exploiting their own members and workers in general in ways reminiscent of those of the owners of industry.

In short, while there are plenty of "Agencies" eager to represent the worker, as a commodity with a price, as a thing, possessive of certain economic powers, and desiring higher wages for those economic powers (wages which are eaten up by inflation, except when a certain craft like plumbers, get a differential advantage--made at the expense of their fellow workers of course), agencies gaining in exchange greater organizational power over the workers, there is no "official" union willing to represent the worker as a human being who also works, none which aspire to increase his control over the method of work and the means of production, hours, conditions, rules and regulations, and, perhaps most important, over what is produced and how much.

In short, no established union wants to liberate the worker from his present condition of drudgery* and insecurity surrounded by gadgets and excess products, or from his condition as a mere thing in the industrial process; no established union would establish the man as the center, above the social mechanism.

However, the IWW is one union, albeit small and long dormant, which would strive to defend the worker's humanity as well as his pocketbook, which would remove the degrading and dehumanizing conditions of employment under capitalism.

This issue of the worker's humanity may sound vague and abstract but it is not--it boils down to very mundane and everyday conditions in the real world--for there are innumerable forces at work, in our capitalist-managerial society, striving to reduce all people to things, little points on graphs that respond properly to the slave-making stimuli of the Controllers. Naturally those people who work, who are

* Drudgery is work controlled by someone else.

closest to machine technology and who are subject to the greatest amount of pressure on the part of the social machine due to the necessity of their conforming to work-discipline, are threatened with the greatest deformation of character and destruction of individuality and freedom.

The forces I refer to range from the crude application of behaviorist (rat psychology) theories to human beings--the pigeon-holing of potential employees by means of psychological tests, questionnaires, investigations, and other probing devices and on-the-job control of them through manipulation of their psychological characteristics, to the forcing of women employees into spending half their wages on clothes--by means of simple pecking order social pressure--so that they will be appropriately (as for church or a party) dressed for work, resulting in the false disguise of near and actual poverty in bright though unbeautiful garments, to enticing people to perfectly ordinary dead-end jobs through bright promises of advancement, to the building up of an economy where more and more non-essential (and usually undesirable) goods and "services" are produced merely to create more work so that management might make more profits off of all of us and control our desires more effectively.

The industrial psychologist, and indirectly his buyer, would reduce you to a set of crude reactions and stimuli-response mechanisms; a money-making thing that would automatically respond in a certain way to whatever stimulus he laid out in front of you. Through the psychological tests, interviews, investigations, etc., he would solve the puzzle of your character neatly for your boss in order that he might, to his profit, "fit you where you are best suited," and hire or not hire you depending upon your score and appearance, thus pigeon-holing you forever. He would play God all the more efficiently, and the working class' general lack of will and ability to actualize its potential power makes it all the easier for him to play God--even in the AFL-CIO, well-organized groups such as the machinists are not subject to that sort of probing to nearly the degree clerks and women workers are.

The employers of women, in their search for fine appearances and the ultimate in "chic," would reduce them to the industrial equivalent of a well-dressed whore combined with a well-trained serf. (Question: Does the donning of a $30 dress and or high heels improve one's typing over what it would be in a $3 sweater, dirty jeans, or stark nude?) The creators of "consumer economics" would shove goods down your throat, to the point of forcing you into consuming one kind of goods to keep your job or get advanced up from it, at the expense of having time and or money to spend on other needs and pleasures.

It is to his profit to turn you into a consuming work machine, which, ideally, would lust after two new cars in its garage, 69 pairs of undies, 48 ties, a $30 dress for every day of the week, and turn its consumption-happy back on shorter hours and longer vacations. In short they prefer watchers of spectator recreations, the one who would prefer to pay to dance to another's turn than dance to their own. All this, because in the weird logic of "our" economic system, the more goods and work that are devoured, the more profits and power for the Managerial Elite.

The Wobblies would try to do something about this; eventually striving to free industry from class rule and monopoly so that it might be a complete expression of your needs and your wants.

First they would organize their unions on the basis of industry and factory, rather than splitting the working classes up into mutually competitive craft unions, thus increasing the actual power of each factory or business full of workers.

The IWW would oppose all probing, testing, investigating and social censoring on the part of bosses that was not strictly related to the skill aspects of the job itself.

We would oppose unemployment by acting in favor of shorter hours and more employees, rather than busily seeking higher wages for the lucky ones who happen to be working while ignoring the fact of unemployment or poorly paid employment for the unlucky others.

We would work to get better working conditions, longer breaks, habits of work, etc., under the control of the workers at each particular plant or business and out of the hands of bosses, foremen, managers and "efficiency experts." We would demand collectively to choose our own foremen--or to abolish foremen--while also demanding that each individual worker be allowed to follow his own whims as to how he consumed social goods, his personal habits, and opinions--something not now allowed for vast numbers of workers--most oppressively at the lower-white-collar level.

Finally, we would seek to achieve workers' control over how much is produced, what to produce, when to produce, and how to dispose of the product. We would eliminate the managerial classes' power to fire people from their jobs.

Unlike present unions, the IWW would not treat its members like things in a commodity structure because it recognises the solidarity of all workers, and the obvious fact that the workers (its members) are the IWW.

We seek the humanization of your work, not through an arbitrary program imposed upon you by us, but by offering you a means to express your will and your power as human beings to transform society, rendering it humane, free, and just,* rather than self-cannibalizing, exploitive, unjust and unfree, through the concerted, rational action of many, voluntarily united for the benefit of their mutual development as human being engaged in work.

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* Unless of course you prefer inhumanity, slavery and injustice, for you also have the power to make a world filled with the bad things of life as well as with the good things.

THE OBSERVERS

BY Carlos Cortez

The screen of the televiewer changed from one scene to another and it seemed to always be the same tiresome thing. No matter which way his fingers moved the scanner button, the results were anything but encouraging. With a weary shrug he closed the switch button and as the screen went blank he turned to his partner.

"Man, this is the worst place we've had to patrol yet!"

"You can say that again, buddy-o," replied the other, "Of all the places to go, we had to draw this one. Sometimes I'm sorry I ever volunteered for this exploration patrol. Being so far away from home and over a forsaken spot like this can sure as hell give you the willies."

"You're not the only one feeling that way," said the first one, "Especially when you realize that with all the places we've explored, this is the first place we haven't as yet made any direct contact with the natives. In all the other places we have established amicable relations from the start but this place here seems too damned risky. From what we've been able to observe thru our televiewers, these critters don't even seem to be able to live with each other. They are either killing each other or making those senseless explosions that are polluting their own atmosphere. With all this hostility they have among themselves you can well imagine how they would react to outsiders like us."

"But why the hell are they that way?" asked his partner, "They seem to be intelligent creatures. They have apparently evolved a technology not too far behind our own, yet there seems to be an undercurrent of unbridled savagery among them that doesn't exist among our lowest cellular forms back home. I tell you it scares the hell out of me! It just doesn't--"

The conversation was interrupted by a sudden loud buzzing from the small box on the televiewer.

"Hey, that's the chief's signal! And he's calling all ships! I wonder what's in his craw now?"

The one nearest the televiewer switched on the first button and as the screen lit a figure gradually appeared, the one spoken of as chief, though in manner of speech, bearing and attitude he was no different from the two who were waiting silently, more out of comradely indulgence than out of subordination.

"Boys, perhaps you're wondering why I've buzzed you all on the party-line? Well, I have a suggestion and I would like to submit it to all of you so we can act on it."

"Go ahead Chief."

"As you all know we have been patrolling this area for some time now and of all the sectors we've ever patrolled this is the worst spot yet! Through our televiewers we've kept a steady observation on the planet below us. We've also monitored their communications and found their languages easy to crack. In fact we've only had to crack just one of these languages and that gave us the key to all of the others, proving beyond a doubt they are of one basic stock which is unlike the situation we have at home with our diversified cultures. They have developed a technology that is dangerously close to our own and--"

"Why do you say dangerously, chief?"

The sudden flickering of the televiewer screen indicated that the chief had been barraged by the same type of interruption from every ship in the fleet.

"I say 'dangerously" because only a comparative few of them have the full knowledge and control of that technology, causing the rest of them to be dependent on a small minority who own and control that technology. Now I know it sounds fantastic that the greater majority of these wretches consent to be denied full knowledge and independence. Remember the one word of theirs that we could never find an equivalent of our own for? 'Klass' I believe it was. I am beginning to think this word has some relation to their situation. I likewise believe that this lack of diffusion of technical knowledge and its benefits has some bearing on their savagery. They are divided into various camps according to whatever group of knowledge owners they happen to be under and are always ready to bring destruction onto another of their own kind, a situation which naturally would not exist were they all of the same knowledge, but then of course there would be no need for the knowledge owners!"

"But to get back to the danger bit: While only a few of these creatures have a more or less comprehensive savvy of the benefits as well as the hazards of this technology, they're quite helpless in the face of the knowledge owners who use this technology to further their own ends, the end result being that overwhelming majority of this planet's inhabitants are mere appendages to a machine society."

Pausing briefly to be sure his train of thought was being followed, the chief continued:

"Now, the quickest comparison I can make is to remind you of some of the experiments on a certain plant form that have been conducted by some of our chief students. Whenever there was unequal polinazation among a certain species certain forms would receive more nourishment than others, resulting in a malignant growth that would under normal conditions be useful but instead becomes parasitic and threatens the continued existence of the whole plant colony. Such is the situation we have been observing below us. The society of these creatures has all the symptoms of abnormal growth patterns.

"They have magnificent technical progress considering that their emotional and social behavior is quite infantile. Can you imagine one of our infants being given a decompositor to play around with? Especially when said infant is subject to chronic tantrums?

"They have only recently discovered nuclear power and to date have literally been playing with fire--gradually polluting their own atmosphere as well as polluting their oceans, which at their present rate of population increase will soon be their major source of food supply.

And to what purpose are they playing with this power? To be made into an implement of destruction to be used against each other! Already they are competing to see who can make the most devastating explosion!

"At present they are trying to break from the confines of their own atmosphere. Though their present attempts are pathetically humorous, it is only a matter of time before they stumble onto the secret of space travel and then onto intergalactic exploration. When you take into consideration the simple naivete of some of the cultures we have come in contact with you can well imagine they would be a poor match against an onslaught of these savages whose antics we have been studying down there. In fact--let's fact it--they would even give us a hard time. So I can see only one thing we can--"

"Chief! You don't mean the force field?" came a sudden interruption from one of the ships.

"Exactly," resumed the chief, "With a force field thrown around them, no matter how far they progress towards space travel, they will be hopelessly contained within the confines of their own gravitational pull until we see fit to lift it."

"But chief, that means if they keep on the way they are going, they'll soon turn themselves into another Sun!"

"I am afraid so."

"But chief, there must be another way out. Couldn't we go down there and try and educate them? See if we can't give them a little common sense--at least to save them from themselves?"

"As you well know, with all the diverse cultures we have come in contact with in our explorations it has been our policy not to interfere with an alien culture. Yes, whenever it was comprehended, we have imparted our technology to aliens and they have successfully applied it to their own way of life without destroying their basic cultural values but we do not do anything to alter the basic pattern of another culture because in the early part of our history we have had some tragic results in that respect. So I firmly believe our present policy is the wise one."

"Couldn't we possibly make an exception here, chief?"

"I'm afraid not. The only advancement we could impart to them would be mechanical and since they do not possess the emotional maturity they should have for the technology they now possess, any further technological knowledge would only be misused by them and the results would be all the more disastrous. Therefore, as you can see, they are the only ones who can save themselves."

"So...?" came the voice of another.

"So, we will establish a force field around this planet and have one of our patrol ships check at various intervals to look for the time it can be safely lifted."

"And when do you think that time will come, chief?"

"Who knows?" answered the chief, and with a perceptible note of sadness, "Perhaps never." After just a brief pause he resumed, "So what do you say friends, shall we lay this force field and get the hell out of here?"

The sudden violent flickering of the tele-screen and the cacaphonous buzzing of the sound box followed by an expression of tired relief on the chief indicated that not a member of the fleet needed any coaxing to agree with the suggestion.

"Very well. Let's not waste any more time. We'll mass our fleet and start laying this force field. The sooner we do this, the sooner we head for home. I know you're all anxious to get back. I know the first thing I'm going to do when I get back home and the first wise guy that asks me what, is going to be promoted to chief. So let's get with it! O.K.?"

* * * * * *

The bartender was just dozing off on the stool behind the small bar in his cross-roads tavern and liquor store when one of his neighbors came rushing through the door, out of breath and hardly able to blurt out what had apparently caused the terrified look on his face.

"They're real! My God, they're real! They actually exist!"

"Yeah? What's real?" asked the bored bartender.

"They are; I just saw them!"

"Saw what, f'chrissake?"

"Up in the sky. A whole fleet of them!"

"You know, I don't think I'm going to serve you nothing. You act like maybe you had too much already."

"I don't want anything to drink. I'm trying to tell you that a whole fleet of flying saucers just went by. Honest, I ain't had a drop to drink."

"Aw, c'mon now--you're letting all this science fiction crap go to your head. What you saw was prob'ly one of them Rooshun cosmo-whatsits. I bet the bastard is spying on us. What we oughta do is take all our A-bombs and H-bombs and wipe them red bastards out! Yeah and the Chinks too! Then this world would be safe for decent white Americans. Hey! You do look pretty shook up! Here, you better siddown. C'mon, I'll give you one on the house..."

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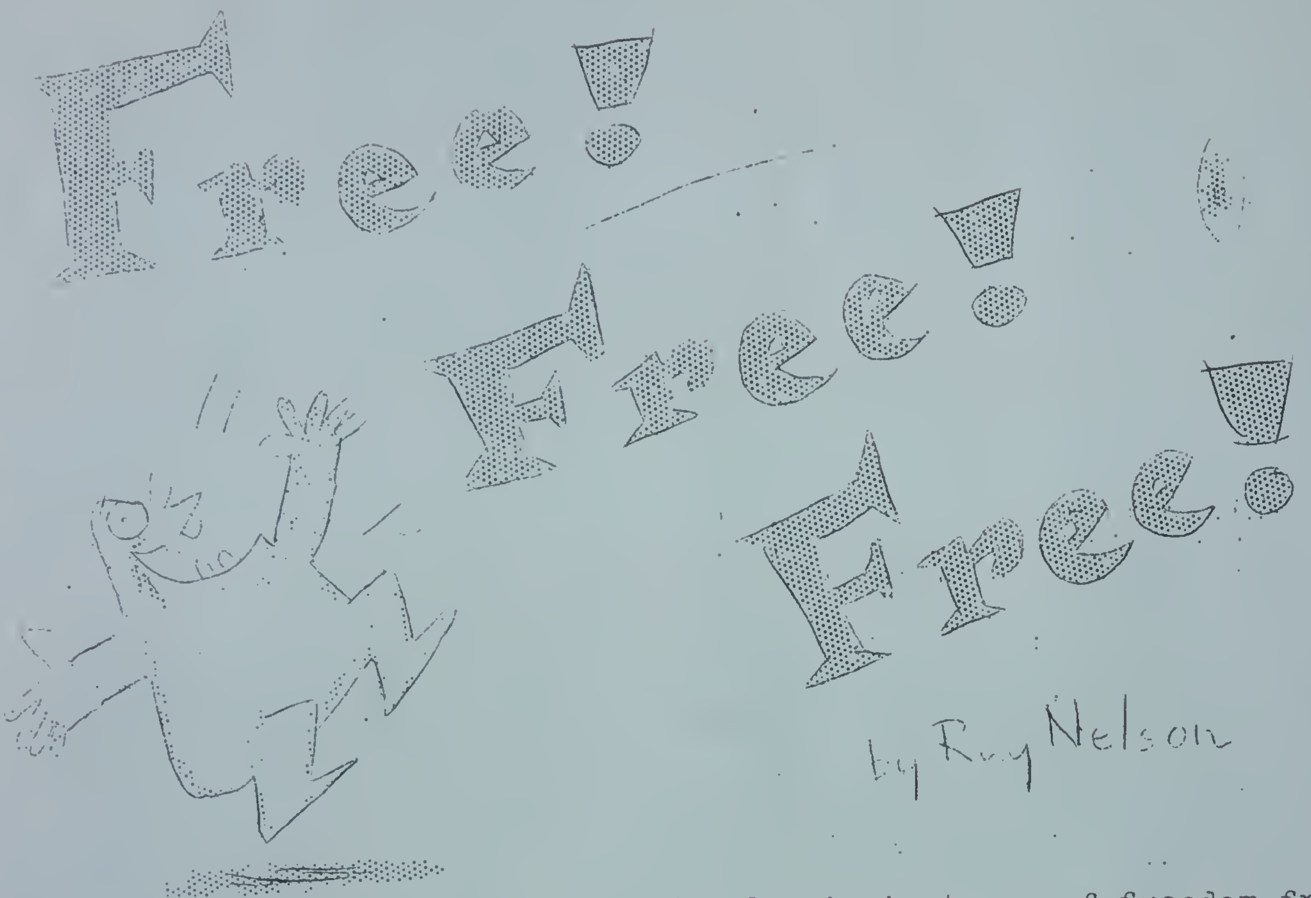

Free! Free! Free!

by Ray Nelson

The way we usually think of freedom is in terms of freedom from restraint, a lack of walls and locked doors. We think of birds as free because they can fly, even though we know that they are prisoners of the iron law of subsistence. We think of bums as being free, and rich people, and savages. Those who hold a Hindu or Buddhist point of view regard the sage or holy man as being the only man who is really free.

When a man is released from jail, he is called a "free man"--and a person who has just gotten a divorce is also called "free." The USA is supposed to be a "free" country, and the nations who join us in being anti-Communist, including Franco's Spain and Chiang's Formosa, are called the free world. Under the dictator, Batista, Cuba was also a part of the "free world"--now, under Castro, we regard Cuba as "only a red satellite," even as a "slave state."

Freedom is the cornerstone of atheistic existentialism--a vast freedom of choice in which one can even, to some extent, choose one's mode of being, yet atheistic existentialism provides no standards of right and wrong--better or worse--by which these choices can be made.

What is freedom? What does that word really mean? Or does it have any real meaning? The strict determinist, for one, would regard freedom as a delusion and would rigorously exclude it from his clockwork universe.

In this country we are supposed to have "Four Freedoms," at least, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from fear and freedom from want. Norman Rockwell painted a series of scenes during the Second World War illustrating these concepts so even an idiot--or let us say, especially an idiot--could understand them. We have freedom of speech--so long as we "don't offend." We have freedom of religion--so long as we don't happen to be old-fashioned polygamous Mormons or something like that. We have freedom from fear--except when we happen to read a newspaper. And we have freedom from want--so long as the boss can't figure out how to make a machine do the same thing we do.

Why, we even have the most precious freedom of all, the freedom to kill ourselves or go insane. And every year more people are excercising these freedoms. If we don't like it here, we can always leave.

In a way, the freedom of suicide is the cornerstone of all other freedoms. We can do anything we please, within the realm of possibility, and escape punishment by a quick getaway to the graveyard. We're all going to die sooner or later anyway.

Personally, I can't understand freedom in its political sense at all. When they start talking about Franco's Spain as part of the "free world," I get the feeling I'm really in over my head. I remember when Russia and China were part of the "free world," and Germany and Japan were "enemies of freedom." The funny thing about it is that Russia was part of the "free world" when Stalin was in power, and Stalin was such a real stinker of a dictator that they won't even let "Good Old Uncle Joe," as we used to call him, park his corpse in the same tomb anymore with good guys like old Papa Lenin. The way the term free gets kicked around in politics, I sometimes feel like setting up a league of assassins to rub out anyone who uses it.

On the other hand, I can't understand its philosophical or abstract usage much better. I've heard the old argument about free will versus predestination argued to a draw so many times I'm beginning to think it's just one of those questions that can never be answered because it never should have been asked in the first place. I wouldn't be surprised if the whole argument arises from the way the question is phrased, and the way to go at the problem is to back up and try another route that bypasses it altogether.

I don't know whether I have free will or not. I know that I do make some decisions and translate these decisions into action, but I also know that the way I was brought up has a lot to do with what decisions I make.

Let's pretend, for the sake of argument, that I do have a free will. In that case I am free in so far as that will of mine gets what it's after, and un-free in so far as something gets in the way of my will reaching what it wants. I want to wave my arms and fly--sorry, have to buy a plane ticket. I want to live forever--sorry, that would really be too much of a good thing. I want to--but I'd better knock off.

It's pretty clear by now that there are plenty of things I want that I can't have, just because the universe isn't built that way. The innate perversity of natural objects is the first and greatest limitation on my freedom. Only by means of a careful scientific study of the natural qualities of this perverse universe can we even partially overcome this limitation. This kind of study can never be the work of one man. One man doesn't live long enough. It must be the work of many men, each picking up where the one before him left off, a work that bridges the centuries and is never really finished. It requires also a complex civilization to pass on the work, support and protect the individual scientist and translate the theories into the hardware needed to serve human purposes. That is why I don't believe the savage is more free than I am. It is I who am more free than he, because I am less than he a slave to natural conditions. I am also less a slave than he to custom and tabu. It is science that has freed me, in both cases.

I think it is more fruitful to think of freedom in terms of what I can do, rather than in terms of what I am not prevented from doing. A little boy once described the president of the USA as a man who "can do anything he wants to, so long as nobody stops him."

Actually, that might equally well describe the position of any one of us, up to a point. Living in society, we are faced with a maze of restrictions and rules which seem to limit our freedom on every hand, yet paradoxically, without this seemingly tyrannical society, we would be at the mercy of a still more tyrannical nature. The rules of society may often be evaded by the individual--the rules of nature cannot be evaded. They cannot really be evaded at all, but they can be turned to man's advantage by a patient, persistent effort on the part of a complex, highly organized society or a large group of disciplined individuals.

It's a sort of deal. In order to gain a certain measure of freedom from nature, we must give up a certain measure of freedom from our fellow man. But do we really give up our freedom by voluntarily accepting some measure of discipline? If I decide to impose a discipline on myself, even if it is a very demanding one, is my freedom really being restricted? If I make a decision and stick to it, is my will really being obstructed? If so, what is obstructing it? No, I believe that, strange as it may seem, freedom is not the opposite of discipline, but actually the direct result of it, if that discipline is self-imposed.

As long as my actions are only reactions to outside stimulae, my will is not free--it is only a result of outside causes. If I lay down a rule for myself--that I will, say, go to work at a certain time every weekday, then my will is brought into play. So long as nothing prevents me from going to work at that time every morning, I am a free man. If I change my mind, my will has been broken, and it remains broken until some other firm decision takes the place of the first.

If I vow to limit my sexual attentions to one woman, defined in this society as my wife, then so long as I am able to confine myself sexually to her and her alone, I am a free man. Divorce, from this point of view, would not set me free, but would rather constitute an obstacle to my will as expressed in my original vow. Divorce would make me a prisoner, since it would come between me and the object of my will. It might even break my will, as the death of my wife might, if I abandoned my vows. So long as I still strive to reach the original object of my desire, my will may be blocked but it is not broken. It is only broken if I abandon my vows, if I turn aside or give up because of the greatness of the obstacle or the weakness of my will. If my wife died and had removed from our marriage vows the escape clause, "till death do us part," and I followed my loved one to the grave, I would still be a free man, so long as I did it voluntarily. Anything that kept me from suicide would then be an imprisonment--would make me a prisoner in this world.

If I pledge my life and all I own to someone, I am a free man so long as I am able to live up to that pledge. If someone to whom I am pledged lacks food, clothing or shelter and I am unable or am prevented from helping him, then my way is blocked--I am a prisoner. This is the true meaning of free love--to freely love, to give voluntarily of myself to the limit of my ability.

Freedom may be a mere catchword in politics and an empty abstraction in philosophy, but to someone who has taken a pledge to his fellow man, it takes on a very special significance. To him the first freedom, the fundamental freedom, the freedom that is the fulcrum of his existence, is the freedom to give.

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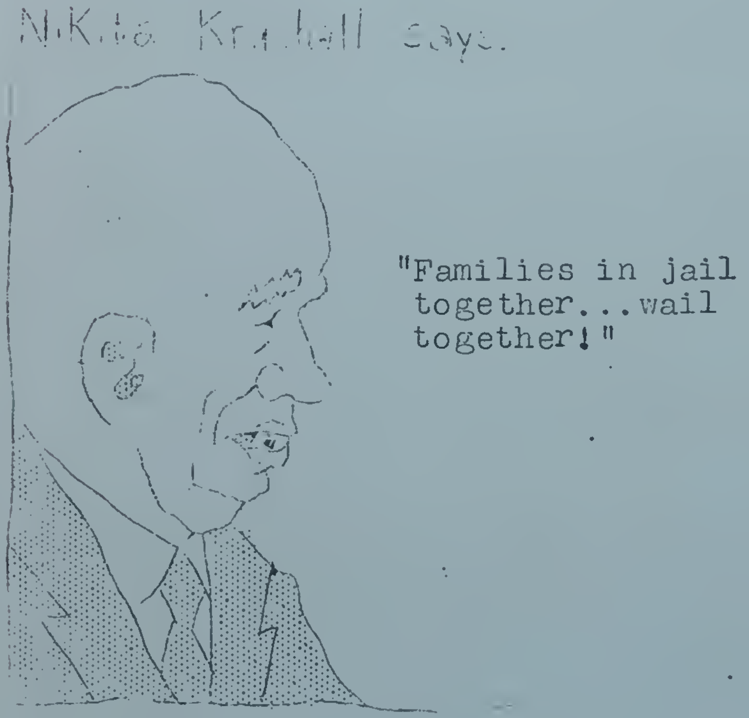
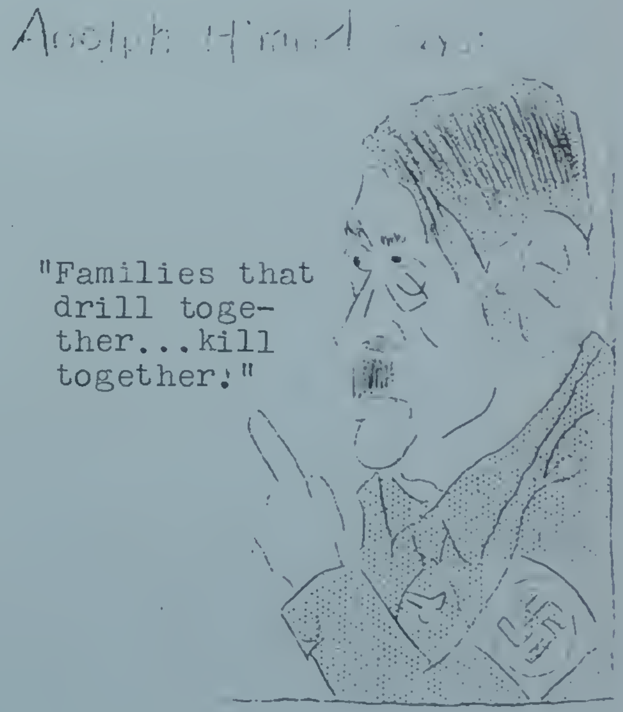

Nikita Krushell says.
"Families in jail together...wail together!"


Adolph Himmel says:
"Families that drill together...kill together!"

* * *

Recommended Reading:

NEW SOUTH REVUE, P.O. Box 8344, Station "E", Louisville 8, Ky.
Subs: 9 for $2, single copies two-bits. Suggest you query before subbing though. A couple of radically-minded students putting out a mag would not even raise en eyebrow most places but from the hear of the South? Try it.

PREAMBLE

to the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of the working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping to defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the everyday struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

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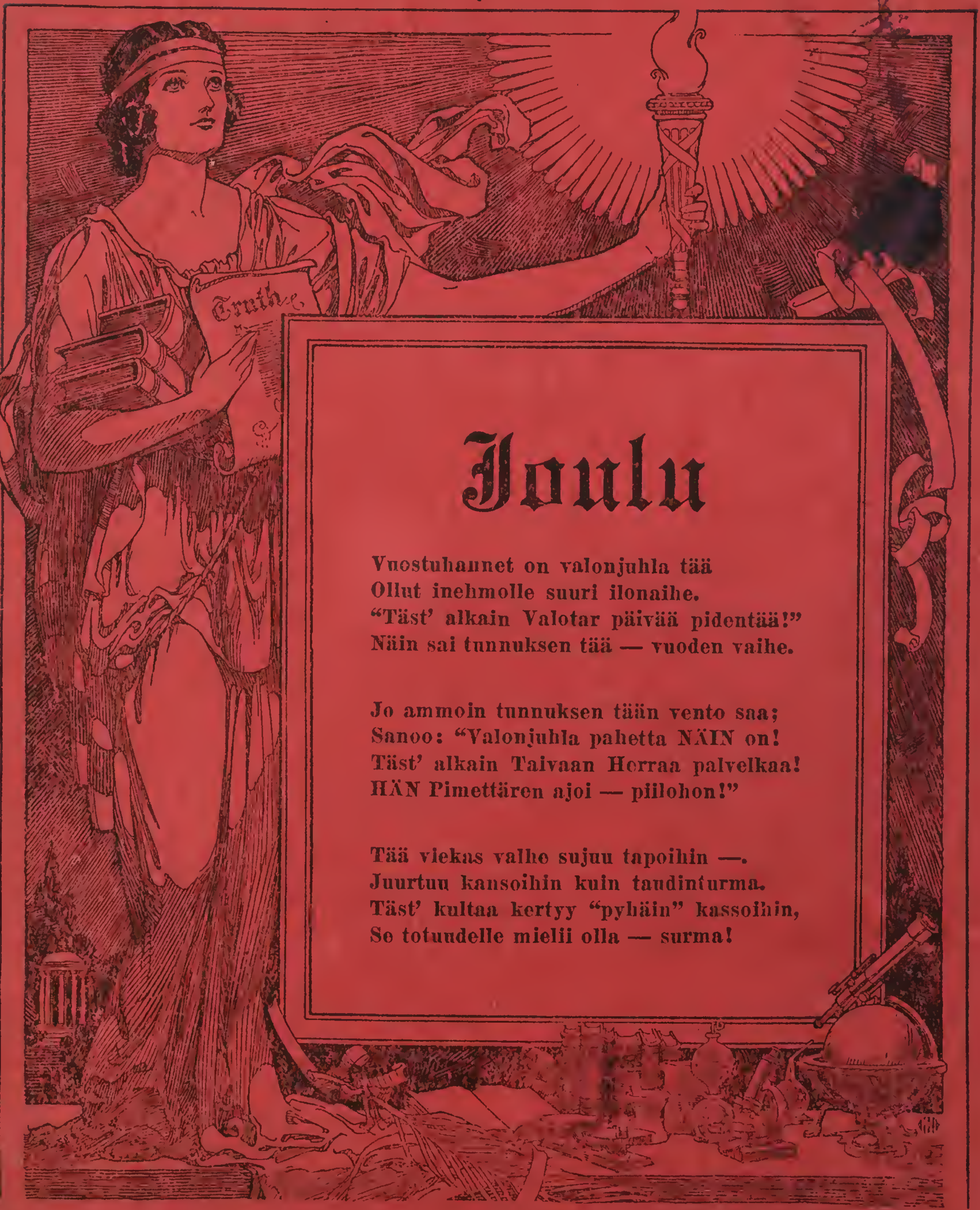

Joulu

Vuostuhannet on valonjuhla tää
Ollut inehmolle suuri ilonaihe.
“Täst’ alkain Valotar päivää pidentää!”
Näin sai tunnuksen tää — vuoden vaihe.

Jo ammoin tunnuksen tään vento saa;
Sanoo: “Valonjuhla pahetta NÄIN on!
Täst’ alkain Taivaan Herraa palvelkaa!
HÄN Pimettären ajoi — piilohon!”

Tää viekas valhe sujuu tapoihin —.
Juurtuu kansoihin kuin taudinturma.
Täst’ kultaa kertyy “pyhäin” kassoihin,
Se totuudelle mielii olla — surma!

I. W. W:n Esipuhe

Työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla ei ole mitään yhteistä. Mitään rauhaa ei voi olla niin kauan kun nälkää ja puutetta on olemassa miljoonilla työläisillä, ja niillä harvoilla, jotka muodostavat työnantajain luokan, on kaikki elämän hyvyydet.

Näiden kahden luokan välillä täytyy taistelun jatkua niin kauan kunnes maailman työläiset järjestyvät luokkana, ottavat haltuunsa maan ja tuotantokoneiston ja poistavat palkkajärjestelmän.

Me huomaamme, että teollisuuksien johdon keskittyminen yhä harvempiin ja harvempiin käsiin tekee ammattiuniot kykenemättömiksi pitämään puoliaan työnantajain luokan alati kasvavaa valtaa vastaan. Ammattiuniot pitävät yllä sellaista asiaintilaa, että se katkeroittaa yhden työläisjoukon toista vastaan ja siten auttaa työläisiä tuhoamaan toinen toisensa palkkataistelussa. Tämän lisäksi ammattiuniot auttavat työnantajan luokkaa johtamaan työläisiä harhaluuloon, että työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla on yhteisiä etuja.

Tämä asiaintila voidaan muuttaa ja työväenluokan edut säilyttää ainoastaan siten muodostetun järjestön avulla, että kaikki työläiset yhdellä teollisuusalalla, tai kaikilla aloilla, jos välttämätöntä, lakkaavat työstä milloin lakko tai työnsulku on julistettu jossain järjestön osassa, siten tehden loukkauksen yhtä vastaan loukkaukseksi kaikkia vastaan.

Vanhoillisen mielilauseen: "Tyydyttävä päiväpalkka tyydyttävästä päivätyöstä" asemasta meidän on kirjoitettava sotalippuumme vallankumoukselliset tunnussanat: "Palkkajärjestelmän poistaminen."

Työväenluokan historiallinen tehtävä on kapitalismin kukistaminen. Tuotannon armeija on järjestettävä ei ainoastaan jokapäiväistä taistelua varten kapitalisteja vastaan, vaan myöskin jatkamaan tuotantoa sitten kun kapitalismi on voitettu. Järjestymällä teollisuuksittain me muodostamme uutta yhteiskuntarakennetta vanhan kuoren sisällä.

TIE VAPAUTEEN

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SISÄLTÖ:

Sivu
Kadotettu Vapaus, runo, kirj. Mrs. L. M. Eaton, suom. K. K. 2
Joulu Ja Uskonto 3
Iälleni, runo, kirj. Femia 7
Erään Äidin Päiväkirjasta, kirj. Effie 8
Yksin, kirj. Johannes Juurakko 10
Mihin Kapitalismi On Menossa 11
Pirstoutuneet Haaveet, kertomus, kirj. Ellenoora 14
Nuoruudelle, runo, kirj. Femia 15
Maailman Ensimmäinen Lakko Ja Pyramiidit, kirj. P. 16
Haaveista Todellisuuteen, kertomus, kirj. Aug. Juntunen 19
Oomme Ruokkineet Teitä Vuostuhannen, kirj. Tuntematon Proletaari, säv. Rudolf Liebich, suom. RFG. 25
Huumoria 26
Sirpaleita Maksin Gorjkin 40-vuotistyöstä 28
Ajan Kuva, runo, kirj. K. Kiikka 31
Yhteiskunnallistuttamista Kohti, kirj. WR. 32
Kellastuneet Lehdet, runo, kirj. W. M. Mattson 35
Tôllin Poika, runo, kirj. K. A. 36
Meille Kuuluu Maa Ja Tuotantokoneisto 37
Noki Jussi, runo, kirj. Tuntematon 39
Tietoja Eri Maista 40
Aika, runo, kirj. Jussi Puskanen 41
Yhteiskuntamme Rikos, kaksiosainen yhteiskunnallinen draama, kirj. Venhotar 42

20

Kadotettu Vapaus

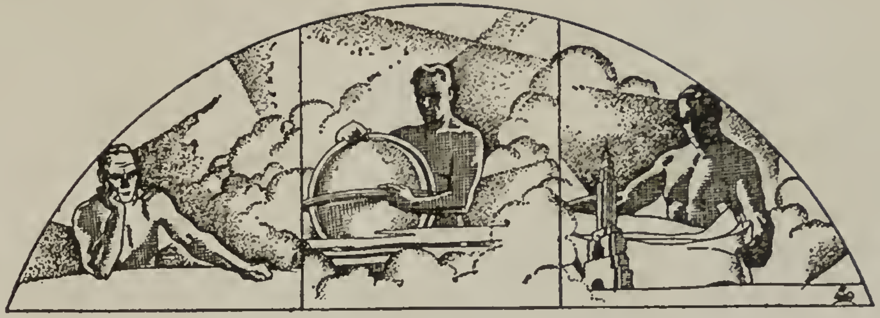
Kirj. MRS. L. M. EATON — Suom. K. K.

Maamme porteilla, katsoen merta vastaan,
Me näemme seisovan Vapauden Patsaan.
Sitä aurinko suutelee pesevät ve'et.
Se merkki taistojen, mi tuskin on alkaneet.
Se voitoista isiemme saamista haastaa.
Lastemme niitä jatkamaan kehoittaa.
Ja laivat, mi etäistä reittiä käyttää,
Sen valossa liikkuu, mi tietä näyttää.

Isäimme silloiset viholliset, papit,
Kirkot, kruunut, narrit ja kardinalit;
Maamme anasti korkeimman lakinsa avulla,
Todistain tekonsa. Eläin sikojen tavalla.
Omat vihollisemme on rotua alhaista;
Oikeusjumalansa sikiön kaltaista.
Ja teollisuusporhot, käyttäin luottoaan;
Meitä jauhavat alas, aina tomuhun maan.

Tämän maan, jonka voitti ja taisteli jänkit,
Meidän lapsilta poijes on riistänyt pankit.
Öljyn, kaivannot, virrat ja purotkin sen,
Käsis samojen on ahnaiden riistäjien.
Maamme lait on niiden tekijäin käskyjä.
Jotka lukevat ahneuden jumalan läksyjä.
Maan rikkauden mittana mahti on kullan,
Jota hallitsee yhtymä Shylokin julman.

On meiltä he työn, kodin, maankin jo vienyt.
Eikä jälellä mitään, millä arvoa lie nyt.
He vääryyttä, kurjuutta luoneet on tummaa.
Yhä saarnaa he ahneuden aatetta kummaa.
Suurliikkeillä menestys ollut on verraton,
Joka suoritettu Vapauspatsaan varjos' on.
Ja sen puolesta ellemme taistele, ja kuole,
Niin ei muuta, kuin valhe, sen merkitys ole.



Joulu Ja Uuskonto

Joulujuhlan historiallinen alkuperä ja tämän juhlan tarkoituksen muuttelu aina sellaiseksi, mikä enimmän hyötyä vallassaolevalle luokalle on tuottanut, on tullut selostettua työväenluokan valistuskirjallisuudessa siksi usein ja seikkaperäisesti, että emme katso tarpeelliseksi saman asian kertaamista. Mainittakoon tässä kuitenkin, että nykyinen ennenkuulumaton taloudellinen lamaannus yli maailman on yhtenä tekijänä siihen, että yhä laajemmat tietämättömät joukot tänäkin jouluna osallistuvat kirkon järjestämiin uskonnollisiin menoihin. Puutteessa elävät miljoonat pohjakerrokseen kuuluvat etsivät lohtua krkollisesta loistosta ja pappien sympaattisesta rauhan ja hyvän tahdon päätöksestä.

TOISELTAPUOLEN keskiluokkalainen aines, joka on kamppaillut tämän lamaannuskauden ajan tavalla tai toisella pysyäkseen liikeuralla, tekee entistä kiihkoisammin kaikkensa että tämän joulujuhlan nimessä voitaisi nälissään olevan perheen ja yksilön viimeinenkin sentti kiskoa jouluostoksiin. Ja kun katselee liike-elämää pienien kylien kauppakaduista suurkaupunkien loistoisiin valtakatuihin asti, täytyy myöntää, että ihmeellinen voima on vielä tuolla vuostuhansia vanhalla uskonnolla ihmiskunnassa, kun noin voidaan sitä vetää senttejänsä tuhlaamaan.

Niin nopeaa kuin yhteiskuntataloudellinen kehitys kohti uutta yhteiskuntajärjestelmää onkin jo nykyaikana, niin paljon, paljon on luokkatietoisella työväestöllä vielä valistus- ja järjestämistyötä tehtävänä, ennenkuin perusteellinen muutos voi tässä järjestelmässä tapahtua. Luokkatietoinen on kuitenkin toivorikas ja empimättä jatkaa työtänsä luokkansa suuressa tehtävässä, sillä hänellä on monta seikkaa nähtävänä tässä järjestelmässä, jotka siten häneen vaikuttavat. Hän ei epäile, eikö kerran toteudu se historiallinen tapaus, että ihmiskunta on yksi suuri kansanvälinen luokaton perhe ja juhlii tätä aikaa vuodessa valonjuhlana siellä missä luonnolliset seikat siihen aihetta antavat.

Uskonnon perusopit lahovat

Tieteen väsymätön edistystyö tulee yhä enemmän vaikuttamaan siihen suuntaan, että uskonnon perusopit menettävät arvonsa ja uskonnollinen humbugi samalla muodostuu yhä kouraantuntuvammaksi vähemmäntietoisellekin kansanainekselle. Sellaiset kuin vapahtajatarinat, kuolleista ylösnousemukset, sielun kuolemattomuus ja taivas sekä helvetti, jotka muodostavat kaikkien sivistysmaissa olevien uskontojen perusopit, joutuvat alkeelliskouluopetuksen kanssa ristiriitaan siinä määrin että ne menettävät taikamaisen tenhonsa. Biologian aakkoset, joita sivistysmaiden alkeelliskouluissa jo opetetaan, sotivat ensiläksystä alkaen uskonnon vankempia perusoppeja vastaan.

Ylemmillä luokilla ja varsinkin jo korkeakouluissa tai niitä vastaavissa kouluissa Europan maissa, opetetaan biologia niin käytännöllisesti, että yksinkertaisimman soluelimistön omaavasta matelijasta, onkimadosta korkeampiin eläinlajeihin asti tutkitaan käytännöllisten operatsionien avulla niiden ominaisuudet ja niihin vaikuttavat luonnonlait synnystä kuolemaan asti. Samoin tehdään kasvikuntaan nähden; kukkasen siitepölystä kasvin kuolemaan asti.

Täten sellainen taru, että korkeampi elimistö edellyttäisi jotain kuolemattomuutta, tai sellaista, joka ei ole tästä maailmasta lähtöisin, kärsii tässä auttamattoman haaksirikon ja kasvavan lapsen ajatusmaailma täyttyy — kehitykselle kiitos — terveillä johtopäätelmillä synnystä ja kuolemasta. — Kuinka nopeasti nouseva sukupolvi täten astuisikaan tieteellisen maailmankatsomuksen avarille maille, ellei niin moni koti olisi vähän, ahtaan ja pimeydessä elävän uskonnon saastuttama ja siten vanhemmat yhdessä kirkon kanssa turmelemassa lastensa tervettä älyä.

Tarina kuolemattomasta sielusta

Tämän joulusaarnamme yhteydessä haluamme liittää sitä enemmän yleensä uskonnollisten harhojen poispyyhkimistä, mitä vähemmän tässä olemme käsitelleet joulun historiallista puolta, kuten alussa mainitsimme. Otaksumme että joululukemisena täten voimme tyydyttää lukijaa tällä kirjoituksella, kuten tarkoituksemme jo alussa oli. Ja että voisimme mahdollisimman täysipainoista tavaraa tarjota, lainaamme tähän sellaisen kuuluisuuden, kuin lakimies Clarence Darrowin mietelmiä näistä asioista. Eräässä jo viisivuotta sitten kirjoittamassaan artikkelissa lausuu hän:

Sielun pysyväisyyden ikuisuutta vastaan olevat todisteet ovat yhtä vahvoja kuin todisteet maan vetovoimasta ja vieläpä paljon ilmeisempiä. Yhtä vakuuttavasti tiedetään sielun katoavan kuolemassa kuin katoaa puu tai kivihiili palaessa. Ellei olisi varmaa, että henkilön kuolemaan päättyy myöskin hänen tuntonsa ja muistonsa, niin silloin melkein kaikki, mitä ihminen pitää totena, olisi vailla todistusta.

Kokeneet tietävät varsin hyvin että jos he haluavat saada henkilön vakuutetuksi jostakin asiasta, on hänet saatava ensin haluamaan, että asian juuri niin tulisi olla. On lukuisia toivoja, monia voimakkaita haluja ja kaipauksia, jotka liittyvät kuolemattomuuden oppeihin, että on melkein mahdotonta saada ketään siihen toivoon, että hän ei olisi kuolematon. Mutta näistä voimakkaista haluista huolimatta on miljoonia ihmisiä jotka ovat täynnä epäilyjä, joista eivä voi päästä erilleen enään milloinkaan, elleivät menetä normaalista ajatuskykyään. Ja eikö olekin parempi katsoa näitä kysymyksiä suoraan kasvoihin ja tutkia josko me sittenkin tuudittelemme mielessämme harhakuvia?

On tavanmukaista puhua "uskosta kuolemattomuuteen." Katsokaamme siis ensin mitä tarkoitetaan sanalla usko. Jos minulle sanotaan, että minun on ensiviikolla matkustettava Pöhlölään; että en saa ottaa ruumista mukaani; että tulen siellä Pöhlölässä olemaan ikuisesti — niin löydänkö yhtään tosiasiaa joka koskisi tätä matkaa —miten matkustan, mikä osa minusta matkustaa, koska lähdetään, mihinkä maahan tullaan ja mikä osa se on tästä aurinkokunnastamme, kuinka minä siellä elelen tai mitään muutakaan tosiasiaa, joka johtaisi minut järjellisesti uskomaan että minä nyt todellakin tulen ensiviikolla tuonne Pöhlölään matkaamaan. Olenko minä koskaan tuntenut ketään, joka on siellä käynyt ja sieltä palannut? — Kas niin, jos minun on tuo matka uskottava, täytyy kai minun toki tietää jotain näistä perin tärkeistä matkaa koskevista seikoista.

Mutta jos minä otan junan Chicagosta puolisen aikaan, joka menee New Yorkiin, minä uskon että pääsen tuohon suurkaupunkiin seuraavana aamuna. Uskon näin siksi, että olen siellä ennenkin käynyt, olen lukenut siitä kaupungista; tunnen useita henkilöitä, jotka ovat siellä olleet ja sieltä jotain kertoneet ja heidän kertomuksensa lyö justiin yhteen kokemuksieni kanssa. Minulla on vielä aikataulukin, jossa tarkalleen osoitetaan kuinka menen ja kauanko matka kestää. Ja kun astun tuohon junaan, uskon että pääsen New Yorkiin, koska minulla on syyt niin uskoa.

Kuolemattomuus todistamaton

Minkämoisten todistusten perusteella meidän siis pitäisi uskoa kuolemattomuuteen? Ei ole mitään todisteita. Käsketään vain luottamaan uskoon ja epäilemättä tämä palvelee tarkoituksen niikauan kuin henkilö uskoo mitä tahansa hänelle sanotaan. Mutta ellei ole todisteita, joille horjumaton usko kuolemattomuudesta rakentuisi, niin tarkastakaamme kysymyksen toista puolta. Ehkä löydämme todisteita siihen, että usko kuolemattomuuteen on harhaluulo.

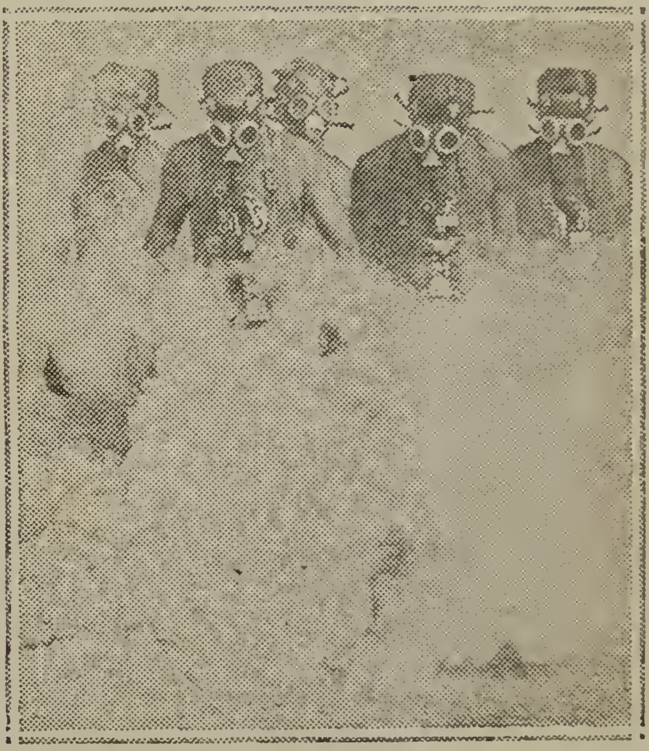
Usko kuolemattomuuteen ilmaisee itsensä kahdessa eri muodossa. Toiseltapuolen on olemassa usko "sielun" kuolemattomuudesta. Tämä joskus tulkitaan tarkoittavan että yksilön henkisyys, tunne tai muisto säilyvät kuoleman jälkeen. — Toiseltapuolen on monia uskonlahkoja, jotka ovat muodostaneet uskon ruumiin "ylösnousemuksesta" — joka on jo kokonaan toista. On tarpeellista tarkastaa näitä molempia uskonmuotoja.

Ajatus elämän jatkumisesta kuoleman jälkeen on sangen vanha. Epäilemättä on sen juuret ihmiskunan lapsuudessa asti. Ja katsoessamme primitiivisen ihmisen tietoisuuteen ei se ole ollutkaan aiheetonta. Hänen kuolleet sukulaisensa ja ystävänsä ilmestyivät hänelle unessa ja mielikuvituksissaankin ja olivat läsnä hänen tunteissaankin niinkauan kunnes hän heidät kokonaan unhoitti. Täten ei kuolleen ruumis aiheuttanut kysymystä haihtumisesta vaan pikemminkin dualistisuudesta — kaksoisolennosta. Ajateltiin ihmisen olevan kaksoisolento, jolla on ruumis ja sielu kaksi eri oliota ja kun ihminen kuolee, vapautuu sielu ruumiista jatkaakseen elämää erillään. Tästä johtuen asetettiin ruokaa ja juomaa kuolleiden haudoille ja ne olivat vielä sellaisia, joita tavattiin käyttää vain sangen pitkillä — pitkillä — matkoilla.

Uudistus uskonnossa

Nykyaikana tämä kaksoisolento-usko vallitsee uudistetussa muodossa. Ruumis puetaan hienosti — riippuen varoista — matkalle lähtiessään, vaikka ruumiillista ravintoa ei enään evääksi panna. Koruja, kuten sormuksia, kaulaketjuja, rintaneuloja, sekä kiillotetusta nahasta tehtyjä vöitä y. m. sovitetaan arkkuun, että kun perille pääsee, on jotain olemista ja saa siis senmukaisen kohtelun. — Mutta alkuperäisellä ihmisellä ei ollut lainkaan käsitystä siitä, että elämällä olisi ollut alkua taikka loppua. Hän oli tässä suhteessa kuin muutkin eläimet.

Nykyaikana jokainen järkevä ihminen tietää, miten elämä alkaa ja elämän alkua tutkittaessa väistämättä joudutaan vetämään johtopäätelmiä siitä, miten elämä päättyy. Jos ihmisellä olisi sielu, täytyisi sen luikerrella jossain sen ajan kun ihmistaimi on vielä perin alkuperäisellä asteella ja ei siis vielä sellainenkaan olio, että siinä olisi eroa samalla kehitysasteella olevan eläimen alun kanssa. Ja sitten vasta, kun tämä alku olisi kehittynyt sille asteelle, jossa tiede voi jo todistaa sen ihmistaimeksi, olisi sielun ollut löydettävä joku hetki, jolloin se olisi puikahtanut tähän alkuun ja alkanut siinä asua.



Suur-New Yorkin tummaihoisia kapulajusseja opetetaan toimimaan esivallan asioilla kaasupilviäkin vastassa

Kaikkien korkeimpien eläinmuotojen olemus saa alkunsa yhdestä solusta. Ja ennenkuin soluyksikön elo voi alkaa kehittyä, täytyy sen tulla hedelmöittävään yhteyteen toisen solun kasssa; sitten tämä solu jakautuu ja kertautuu kunnes se saa lajinsa muodon ja laadun. Eräällä varmalla kehitysajalla se alkaa tehdä lähtöä tähän maailmaan, jota prosessia kutsutaan syntymiseksi.

Ihmisen myöhemmän kehityksen aikana syntyy sen ruumiissa miljoonia soluja, niitä kuolee ja haudataan ja uusia taas syntyy jatkuvasti tilalle ja tätä prosessia jatkuu kunnes aika, sairaudet tai joku katastrofi sattuu ja solut eivät enää voi toimia tehtävissään niin elämä silloin päättyy.

On ilmeistä, että solun hedelmöityminen pitää tapahtua oikeiden suhteiden alaisena, muuten olio ei voisi elää. On turhaa väittää että tällä alkusolulla on sielua. Eräässä mielessä sillä on elo, mutta sekin on satunnaista ja riippuu siitä, että se on jatkuvassa yhteydessä toisen solun kanssa, joka on sopiva toveriksi. Ihmisäiti kantaa ruumiissaan noin kymmenentuhatta yhdenlaista solua ja isä kantaa ruumiissaan lukemattomia biljoonia toisenlaisia soluja. Mutta näistä soluista vain pieni murto-osa aiheuttaa elämää, toiset tavalla tai toisella tuhoutuvat. Jos miehen ja naisen hedelmöitymättömätkin solut omaavat sielun, niin tämän maailman väkiluku on sitten satumaisen paljon suurempi kuin on milloinkaan osattu uneksia, jossa nimittäin sielun omaavat oliot vain ovat ihmisiä.

Sellainen ajatus kuin on usko solujen kuolemattomuuteen ei tietysti tyydytä kenenkään ihmisen ajatusmaailmaa, sillä silloi yhdestä ihmisestä lähtisi vähän liian suurenlainen "perhe" liikkeelle ylösnousemuksen aikana. Suuremmallakin tilalla kuin tämän maapallon pinta-ala tulisi silloin auttamaton tungos.

Vironneen hukkuneen sielu

Tiedetään että lapsi voi elää ja täysin kehittyä äitinsä kohdussa ja sitten syntyessä jonkun tehokkaan täräyksen johdosta syntyykin kuolleena. Menneisyydessä oli yleisenä tapana että täten kuolleet lapset heti haudattiin. Mutta nyt tiedetään monessa tapauksessa käyneen siten, että kun kuolleena syntyneen ruumis oli muuten täysin kehittynyt, asetettiin hikoilua ja sähköistystä aiheuttava kone käymään. Tällöin alkaa ruumis elää ja voidaan pitää elossa pitempiä aikoja näin keinotekoisesti, kunnes sillä on voimaa ilman koneen apua. Tiedetään myös, että usein hukkumistapauksissa tai muissa tapaturmissa ruumiista lähtee elo, ruumis toivottomasti vioittuen, otetaan keinotekoinen virvoitusmenetelmä käytäntöön ja ihminen saadaan elämään kunnes hän taas aikojen kuluttua joko uudessa turmassa tai "luonnollisesti" kuolee. Uskommeko nyt että kuolleena syntyneen lapsen ympärillä jossain hääräili sielu ja pistäytyi lapseen tämän virottua elämään tai hukkuneen sielu vähän lähti vain lomalle ja sai hengitysmoottòrilta kutsun astua takaisin vironneen ruumiisee? — Tämän ratkaisu on jätettävä metafyysikkojen ratkaistavaksi.

Työläisvanhusten Joulu

Johtopäätelmä

Kun me täysin ymmärrämme elämämme suppeuden, sen syntyvät ja haihtuvat ilot ja karttamattomat vaivat ja tuskat, sen tarjoamat nautinnot ja vaatimat uhraukset; kun me täysin olemme vakuutettuja myös siitä, että kaikki naiset ja miehet kohtaavat kerran auttamattomasti elämänsä päätöskohdan, tuhonsa — kun me nämä seikat ymmärrämme, tulisi tämän ymmärryksen tehdä meistä myötätuntoisempia, ystävällisempiä ja huomaavaisempia toisiamme kohtaan.

Tämän mukaisen tunteen tulisi johdattaa naiset ja miehet tekemään parhaansa auttaakseen matkustajatovereitaan tällä elämän tiellä; sen tulisi luoda läheisemmän toveruuden, suuremman yhteisymmärryksen ja syvällisemmän myötätuntoisuuden kanssamatkailijoitamme kohtaan, joiden täytyy, kuten meidänkin, elää vain tavallinen elämä ja kuolla vain tavallinen kuolema.

* * *

Meille palkkatyöläisille soveltuu mainiosti tämänlainen elämän ohje yhteistoiminnoissamme ja pyrkimyksissämme tämän eripuraisuutta ja onnettomuutta itsessään sikiävän järjestelmän poistamiseksi ja uuden elämänjärjestyksen luomiseksi.

Isälleni

Kirj. FEMIA.

Ma aina muistan kiroukset raa'at,
Kun hyvästiä sanoin isällein.
Ne usein vielä kyyneliin mun saavat,
Vaik' kulki tieni kauas erillein.

En unhoittaa voi isä raakuuttasi
Se aina kalvaa herkkää tuntoain.
On surullinen muisto lapsellasi;
Sen muiston sulta perinnöksi sain.

Ma yksin vento läksin lännen maille.
Ja jätin kodin nuorna varahin.
Vaikk' lapsena jäin rakkauttas vaille,
Niin seurasi mua onni parahin.

* * *

Ma havasin ett' ompi kaksi luokkaa.
Ne riistäjiä raakoja on toiset.
Ja ikeen alla riistetyt ne huokaa,
Kun rosvoaa työn tulokset nuo loiset.

Ma heihin yhdyin kun olin orja vainen,
Meill' miljoonilla sama toivo lie.
Ma yksilönä olen heikko nainen,
Mutt' joukkona on varma voiton tie.

On aate sorretuilla ylväs, jalo,
Se veljeyttä orjain rakentaa.
On oppaanamme vapauden valo,
Sen loimu orjain voiton varmentaa!

Ei silloin enää yksi toista sorra,
Vaan yhteistunne kaikki valloittaa!
Ei isäin raakuus lasten mieltä murra,
Vaan vanhempiaan lapset rakastaa!

Erään Äidin Päiväkirjasta

Kirj. **EFFIE.**

(Jatkoa edelliseen numeroon.)

OLEN viettänyt jälleen unettoman yön. Minua kiusasi kaikenlaiset mielikuvat, olen perin huonossa kunnossa, selkääni särkee, kuin olisin sen loukannut, mutta mitään sellaista en tiedä tapahtuneen.

Olen kovin heikkohermoinen. — Kun kuulen tuolta ylhäältä synnytyshuoneista tuskan huutoja, en voi muuta kuin itkeä noiden kärsivien kanssa. — Voi, miksi jumala kirosi naisen Paratiisissa, sanoen, — Kivulla on sinun synnytettävä lapsia ja miehesi on vallitseva sinua. — Hyi, tuota rikollista tuomiota, mikä on naisen osalle langetettu!

* * *

Tänään kävi sairaalan ylilääkäri minua tutkimassa, kun en saanut enää yhtään lepoa. Hän sanoi olevan minussa pahan munuaistulehduksen, seuraus siitä, että olen itkenyt ja valvonut. Lastani en saa imettää ennenkö olen terve, sanoi hän ja vakuutti että vielä paranen, kun muistan olla iloisella mielellä.

Sairaanhoitaja toi pikku enkelini luokseni, kun pyysin nähdä. Olen ikävöinyt niin kovin. — Hänellä näyttää olevan nälkä. — Etsii suuhunsa jotain. — Voi, kun ei äiti saa ruokkia pikku raukkaansa.

Mitähän on tuleva sinun osallesi, jos äiti korjataan pois ja isäkin kiroo syntymääsi. Voi kuinka kurjia ja ymmärtämättömiä me ihmiset vielä olemme, lapsemmekin saavat kärsiä meidän hulluudestamme . . .

* * *

Minut siirrettiin toiseen huoneeseen, ei tänne kuulu synnytys osastolta valitukset. Täällä onkin paljon rauhallisempaa. Sairaan hoitajat ovat minulle hyviä, usein tuovat minulle lämmintä maitoa. Yksi heistä on ruotsalainen, pikku tyttönä sanoi käyneensä Helsinforssissa. On kovin ystävällinen. — Kuljettaa minun pikku tyttöäni ympäri huonetta näytellen, että se on kaunein "baby" mitä hän on koskaan nähnyt.

Tässä huoneessa on neljä vuodetta ja jokaisella lepää äiti, tuossa vierelläni on juutalais-äiti. Ei osaa maan kieltä juuri ollenkaan. — Hän on saanut maitokuumeen, silmät kyynelissä imettää hän lastaan, mutta valitusta ei kuulu. Lapsi vain ärisee, kun ei saa rintaa suuhunsa, rinnat ovat niin äärettömästi paisuneet.

Tuossa vastapäätä, toisella puolen, lepää Kadadan ranskalainen äiti. Hän on oikea ilon luoja. — Kun sairaanhoitaja poistuu huoneesta, nousee hän lattialle tanssiin omia hassuja tanssejaan. Tunnen täällä oikein virkistyväni tuosta ilon pidosta. Neljännellä vuoteella lepää skotlandilainen äiti, hänkin vekkuli vaikka toisinaan valittaakin poltteissaan. Hän ei vielä ole noussut vuoteeltaan lattialle, kuten tuo ranskalainen.

* * *

Tänään on vierailu päivä ja sataa jäistä lunta. Puut ja katukäytävät ovat kuin lasin peittämiä. Varron niin kovin miestäni tänään luokseni, vaikka sairaanhoitaja sanoi että en voi nähdä ketään vierailjoita, kun sairaalan säännöt määrää, että milloin useampi sairas on huoneessa, ei kukaan saa mennä häiritsemään. Sitten vasta kuin itse pystyy kulkemaan, voi mennä erikoiseen vastaanottohuoneeseen tapaamaan ystäviään.

Siitä huolimatta toivon minä että hän tulisi. — Olen niin kovin levoton kaiken sen jälkeen kun hän viimeksi kävi. — Odotan ainakin jotain tietoa. Hän ei voi saapua ennenkö vasta iltasella. Kumpa tämä aika pian menisi.

* * *

Olen tänään paljon virkeämpi. Kirkas aurinkoinen aamu antaa eloa sairaaseenkin. Nukuin viime yönä paremmin kuin pitkään aikaan, näin toki kaikenlaisia unia mutta mieleni on nyt paljon rauhallisempi. Mieheni oli illalla käymässä täällä. Vaikka en voinutkaan häntä tavata, niin on mieleni hyvä kun tiedän että hän ei ole meitä vielä unhoittanut.

Sairaanhoitaja toi kirje lipun, sanoi sen olevan mieheltäni. — Kertoi että hän oli kovin surullinen, kun ei voinut tavata vaimoaan. — Kirjeessään kertoi yhtä ja toista, mutta kaikkein tärkeintä oli minulle se tieto, että hän oli tullut järkiinsä, koska pyyteli anteeksi viime käytöstään ja lupasi ostaa pienet lapsen vaunut siksi kun täältä palaamme. Huoneet hän oli jo löytänyt mielestään sopivat. —

Oi kumpa minä vain pian paranisin ja pääsisin kotiin. Täällä tulee aika niin kovin pitkäksi, kun en saa edes lastani pitää luonani. Kerran päivässä vaan käyvät näyttämässä kuin aarretta, ja aarre se tosiaankin on minulle...

* * *

... Nyt on kulunut monta päivää, enkä ole muistanut päiväkirjaani. Täytyy sentään merkitä joitain kohtia. — Olen nyt jo ollut jalkeillakin jonkun päivän, saan ruokkia lastani. — Hän on jo olevinaan kovin viisas, näyttää kun hymyilisi kun puhun hänelle että pian pääsemme kotiin täältä ja että hänelle on siellä jo vaunukin vartomassa. — Kuuntelee aivan kuin ymmärtäisi, mistä on kysymys. — Voi sua pikku rakkaria...

Täältä ovat toiset äidit, paitsi se juutalaisäiti, päässeet jo kotiin. Hän on kärsinyt hirveitä tuskia. Hänessä täytyi tehdä pieni leikkauskin, lapsi ei voinut enää saada maitoa.

Tähän huoneeseen tuotiin uusia äitejä, toinen on hyvin nuori tyttö — kanadalainen sotaäiti. Sääliksi käy kun itsekin näyttää olevan vielä lapsi. — Tuo toinen on myöskin kanadalainen, naimisissa oleva, mutta nuori aviomies on Ranskassa rintamalla. — Siis molemmat samalla asteella avioliittoon nähden. Kummaltakin on sota riistänyt rakkaimman rinnalta, mutta he ovat siitä — ylpeitä...

Istun vuoteellani ja valmistan pieniä pumpuli tukkoja sairaalan käyttöä varten. Täällä ei saa olla laiskana, jos vain vähänkin pystyy työhön. On tässä yritettävä, eihän tätä hauskuutta ilman saa...

* * *

Tänään olin lääkärin tarkastuksella. Hän sanoi, että huomenna saan lähteä kotiin. — Olen kovin iloinen. — En tiedä miten tämän aikani nyt kuluttaisin. Olen kulkenut useissa sairashuoneissa. — Kyllä tämä on kuin suuri teollisuuslaitos. Tuhansia naisia tänne tulee vuosittain ja tuhansia äitejä ja lapsia täältä lähtee ulos avaraan maailmaan...

Paljon täältä viedään äitejä ja lapsia vuosittain hautaankin. Äsken juuri kuulin, että nainen kuoli synnytyspöydälle. Lapsi jäi eloon. — Olisi mielestäni ollut paljon parempi jos olisi lapsikin saanut seurata äitiä. — Ajatella pientä lasta ilman äitiä...

Eilen eräs äiti tuli mielisairaaksi kun kuuli, että hänen seitsenkuisena syntynyt lapsensa oli kuollut. Ei voinut sitä tyynenä kestää, vaan juoksi pitkin käytävää ja huusi, että murhatkaa minutkin...

Nyt hän on eristetyssä huoneessa, erikoisen vartioinnin alaisena ja kuuluu olevan — raivohulluna.

* * *

Kotona! Niin, kotona jälleen! Tuntuu kuin olisin ollut vuosia poissa. Vaikuttaa kai sekin että olemme nyt uudessa asunnossa. Pienokainenkin jo katselee ympäri, niinkuin tietäsi että nyt ollaan kotona.

En tiedä mistä syrjästä tätä elämää alkaisi järjestää. Miehelläni on täällä tosin ollut naisjärjestäjiä, mutta ei se minua tyydytä. Haluaisin lapsenvuoteen oman sänkyni viereen... tuossa järjestyksessä se ei sovi. Siis täytyy alkaa työhön. — Olen vähän heikko, mutta työssähän voimat varttuu, sanoo sananlasku...

* * *

Joulu 1916. Tämän päivän sanotaan olevan rauhan ja rakkauden päivä. Mutta minulle se ei sitä ole. — Tunnen itseni niin väsyneeksi ja onnettomaksi. — Aamusta alkain olen keitellyt ja valmistellut joulupäivällistä. Kello kaksi oli määrä saapua vieraitakin, koska mieheni niin halusi...

Nyt on tuo joulupäivällinen vartonut tuossa monta tuntia, mutta ei vaan kuulu miestäni, enempää kuin vieraitakaan. Aavistan kyllä tuon viipymisen syyt. — Kapakka ja sen seura viihdyttää. — Eihän siellä muista kotia, vaimoa eikä lasta — eikä joulupäivällisiä...

Näen miehessäni tapahtuneen suuren muutoksen, hän on välinpitämätöin ja käyttäytyy minua kohtaan niin halpamaisesti. — En tiedä olenko minä kaiken tämän ansainnut?

* * *

... Näyttää kuin elämämme kulkisi kohti haaksirikkoa. Olen kauan aavistanut, että jotkut vieraat vaikuttimet ovat astuneet väliimme. — Nyt aavistukseni alkaa näyttäytyä toteen...

Väkijuomat, niin mitäs väkijuomat ilman naisia; nämähän kulkevat käsitysten, siellä missä juodaan siellä huorataankin, sanoo vanha sananlasku.

Täällä on siihen mainio tilaisuus. Ovathan kapakat aina avoinna, niissä naisia, jotka värväävät yksinäisiä miehiä armeijaan. Ei muuta kuin ryyppy suihin ja pusu päälle, niin on mies valmis kirjoittamaan nimensä vaikka minkälaisen murha kontrahdin alle.

Kyllä on halpamaista meininkiä. Pelko ahdistaa, että miehenikin voi tehdä juovuspäissään tuon erehdyksen. Ihailee hänkin sotilaspukua. Onhan niiden ansaan joutunut toisiakin ja vielä sosialististen johtajienkin poikia — kansalaisiamme.

* * *

... Kotiliesi kylmenee. — Ei tunnu viihdytystä kotona, vaikka ennen oli koti kaikkein kallein pyhättö. Miestäni ei tämä viihdytä enää ollenkaan ja raskaaksi tulee minunkin täällä aina olla ja odottaa toista...

En välittäisi mitä kohtalo tuo tullessaan minulle, mutta kun meillä on tuo pieni olento, jonka elämän vastaisuus vaatisi meidän molempien edesvastuuta. — Jumalan kiitos että lapseni on terve ja voimistuu kiitettävän hyvin vaikka minä itse sairaalasta lähtöni jälkeen en ole nähnyt tervettä päivää.

Lääkärini käski olla iloisella mielellä, mutta minun iloni rajoittuu siihen, mitä lapseni minulle tuottaa. Kunpa tervehtyisin niin näyttäisi elämäkin vähän valoisemmalta. Voisin ainakin hoitaa lapseni kunnollisesti — ehkä joskus kaikki kääntyy vielä — hyvinpäin.

* * *

On lauantai-ilta. Olimme kävelyllä mieheni kanssa. Hän lykkäsi pienokaista vaunussa. Kävelin hänen rinnallaan. Mikä yllätys meidät kohtasi?

Vieras nainen astuu mieheni viereen sanoen: "Etkö halua yhtyä armeijaan", samalla ottaen käsivarrestaan kiinni katsomatta minua ollenkaan.

En viivytellyt enempää, vaan sanoa tiuskasin: "Häpeä senkin hävytöin, etkö näe että hänellä on vaimo ja lapsi?" — "Haa, vain yksi lapsi! Täällä on yhtynyt armeijaan sellaisiakin miehiä, joilla on ollut yhdeksän ja kymmenenkin lasta", — väitti hän ja varoitti minua että olen vastaisuudessa varovaisempi, etten joudu sotaoikeuden eteen...

Hyi häpeällistä tekoa ajattelin, ei enää uskalla mennä miehensä kanssa kadulle kävelemään. — Kaiken ilon he hävittävät. Kuinka kauan tällaista saakaan jatkua?

* * *

Olen ollut vuoteessa. — Terveys karttaa minua. Nousin lähteäkseni vähän kävelemään ulos, jos siten virkistyisin, mutta saapui vieraakseni eräs vaimo. — Hän kuiski minulle jotain epämääräisiä juttuja, joita olin jo itsekin kauan aavistellut, mutta luulin ja uskottelin itselleni, ettei kukaan sellaista voisi ajatellakaan. —

Se koski minuun niin, että en jaksanut muuta kuin mennä takaisin vuoteeseen — kyyneleet ainoana lohdutuksena.

Kun mieheni saapui kotiin, ehdotti hän minulle virkistysmatkaa Chicagoon siskoni luo. Tiesin hyvin mistä tuo hyvyys nyt tulee. Koetin salata tunteeni ja näyttää iloiselta, vaikka rintaani ahdisti tuska, ja silmät täyttyi kyynelistä. Sain vihdoin kuitenkin sanotuksi:

"Kumpa tästä vähän voimistuisin, että voisin matkustaa lapsen kanssa." — Hän ärjäsi: "Ei se ole muuta kuin laiskuutta! Nouse ylös ja lähde kävelemään, et sinä muuta tarvitse."

"Voi sinua raakalainen", sain tuskin sanotuksi, kun maailma musteni silmissäni...

En tiennyt mitään, ennenkuin sairaalassa virkosin, kahdeksan vuorokauden kuluttua. Hampaani olin pureksinut pois, mieheni oli saanut niistä muisto esineitä.

Siis taasen käynyt kuoleman portilla. Kumpa voimistuisin. — Lähtisin siskoni luo ja tuskimpa enää takaisin tulisin. — Mieheni silmissä olen minä vain kallis mööpeli, jolla ei ole tunteita ja jonka saa heittää nurkkaan, kun saa uuden paremman...

(Jatketaan.)

Yksin

MINÄ olen yksin.

Mutta niin ei ole aina ollut.

Ihmiselämä on kuin vaellusta suuren ja tuntemattoman erämaan halki. Sen matkan ihminen kulkee vain kerran, aina eteenpäin ponnistelee, ei koskaan pysähdy eikä takaisin palaja. Mitä hän tuota suurta tuntematonta kohti taivaltaessaan on näkemään, kokemaan ja kärsimään joutuva, siitä hänellä ei ole aavistustakaan. Paljon hän kyllä aavistaa, paljon toivoo, ja suuret ovat hänen tulevaisuutensa kultaiset unelmat, mutta oi, ne ovat kuin saippuakuplia jotka eivät kestä vähääkään siinä elämän todellisuuden vinhassa viimassa, mikä tuleva on.

Tulevaisuudestansa ihminen ei tiedä mitään. Ei mitään!

Niin "monivaiheista elon on temmellys" tällä vaivaloisella ja urhoollisuutta kysyvällä erämatkalla, että ei voi koskaan aavistaa mitä seuraava hetki on mukanansa tuova. Läpipääsemättömiltä näyttävät rämeiköt, särmikkäiset louhikot, jylhät äkkijyrkät kalliot, kuilut ja kukkulat.. kaikki ne voittaa täytyy ja jälkeensä jättää.

Mutta ei elontiekään aina okaista ole.

Kulkee se kukkatarhojenkin, leppoisain lehtojen ja vihantain viljakenttienkin kautta. Aina ei tuiverra tuuli, ei mylvi myrsky, eikä taivas elon aina pilvessä piileksi... Paistaa päivyt, kuumottaa kuuhut... lumoovata on luonto kaikki... Tällöin ilostuu ihminen ja onnellinen on, riehahtaa rinta jäinen, sydän synkeäkin heltyy, hehkuu tunteitten tuli...

Mutta murhe musta ja suru suuri masentaa mielen, kahlehtii kielen, silloin... kun on yksin...

* * *

Tässä minä nyt istun, kolkossa kammiossani, orpona ja yksinäisenä... Menneitä minä muistelen, kohtalon kovuutta minä suren... elämän ja kuoleman traagillisuutta minä itken... Muistelen aikaa milloin minulla oli tulevaisuus edessä, tuntematon tulevaisuus, mikä menneisyydeksi muuttunut on... Men.neisyys ja tulevaisuus — mitä niillä on eroa? Menneisyys tietää kaikki, tulevaisuus ei mitään.

Tuuliajolla tulevaisuus on — jos se ei menneisyydeltä mitään kysy, eikä mitään opiksensa ota.

Kun minä nuori olin, ja tulevaisuus ihana sieluni silmiin kaukainen kangasti, paljon, paljon minä silloin elämältä toivoin, ja uskossa unelmiin onnellinen olin... Mutta silloinkin minä olin yksin. Yksin minä elämän korpimatkalle läksin... ja yksin minä olen taas.

Elämän ja kuoleman arvoituksen edessä minä mykistyn... olen avuton aivan... Ja ijäti ikävöin sitä mikä ollut ja mennyt on...

Minä ikävöin ihmistä sellaista,
joka nukkuu jo nurmen alla,
kun orpona ja yksinäisenä
minä harhailen maailmalla.

Minä ikävöin mennyttä ystävää,
joka koskaan ei luokseni palaa.
Sydän-suruni suuret ja katkerat
minä peitän... ja itken salaa...

JOHANNES JUURAKKO.

JÄRJESTYKÄÄ TUOTANNOSSA
TIETO ON VALTAA

Mihin Kapitalismi On Menossa

Yhdysvalloissa ei ole työnantajayhtymillä puute rahasta. Eikä heillä ole aikomus antaa ylijäämien jäädä makaamaan uutta kultaa tuottamatta. Ei mitään sellaista. Vaan heillä on aikomus sijoittaa ei enempää eikä vähempää kuin $70,875,000 kaikkien tuotantolaitoksia ja niiden tuotantotehoa parantavien uusien koneiden ja yleensä uudistusten teettämiseksi. Tämä kaikki kulta tähän tarkoitukseen aiotaan käyttää vuoden aikana, joka alkaa elokuulla v. 1933 ja päättyy elokuulla, v. 1934.

ETTÄ tässä ei ole kysymyksessä yksi yhtiö tai korporatsioni, vaan kuusitoista, samaan unioon, tai jos mielimme nimittää trustiin, kuuluvaa teollisuusyhtymää. Tämä yhtymä, edellämainitussa tarkoituksessa perustettukin, tunnetaan Yhdysvalloissa ja yli koko kapitalistisen maailman nimellä National Committee on Industrial Rehabilitation — suomeksi Kansallinen Komitea Teollisuuksien Tehokkuusasteelle Palauttamiseksi. Emme katso tarpeelliseksi luetella tässä kaikkia näitä kuuttatoista teollisuusyhtymää ja niiden sijoittamaa pääomaa tuosta edellämainitusta kokonaissummasta, mainitsemme vain muutamia suurempia.

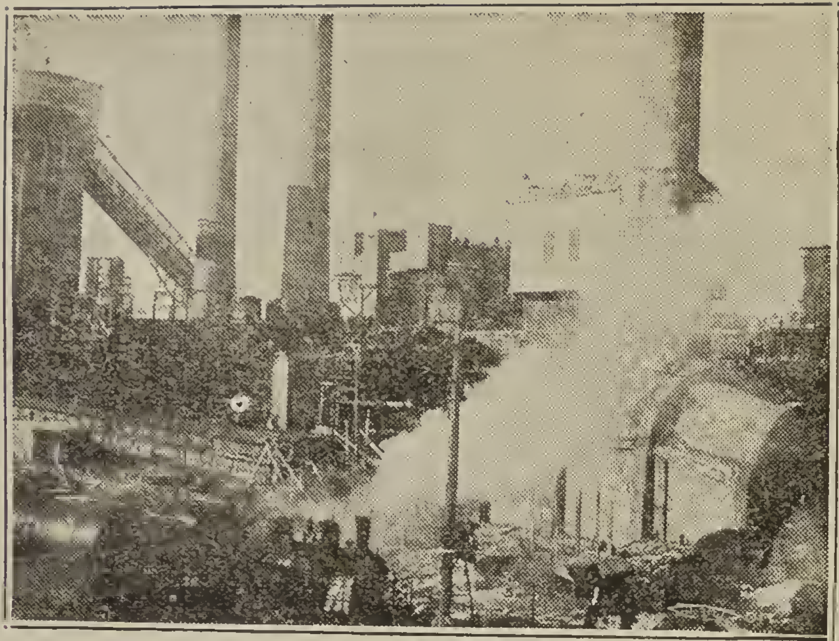
The American Telephone and Telegraph Co. summalla $35,000,000; Standard Oil Co. of N. J., osa Rockefellerin Standard Oil trustista $20,000,000; Pacific Gas & Electric Co. $5,000,000; Great Southern Lumber Co. $1,250,000; Westinghouse Electric & Manufacturing Co. $1,260,000; Bogalusa Paper Co. Bogalusa, La. $1,500,000 ja viimeisenä listalla yli miljoonan dollaria sijoittanut on Contiental Oil Co., summalla $1,500,000. Muut tuotantokoneiston ja yleensä uusien tehokkaampien riistomenetelmien hyväksi pääomiaan sijoittaneet ovat teollisuuden laadun ja yhtymän laajuuden huomioonottaen sijoittaneet alle miljoonan dollarin.

Ja kun otamme huomioon että näissä ei ole U. S. Terästrustia, Gen. Sähkötrustia eikä monia muita jättiläisyhtymiä, jotka tekevät samoin uusien riistomenetelmien kehittämiseksi, niin havaitsemme että todellakin tämän maan suurpääomalla on aikomus vapautua elävästä työvoimasta mahdollisimpaan minimiin. Niin automaattisia koneita ei toki vieläkään suuremmilla summilla voida koskaan kapitalismin aikana yleisesti soveltaa teollisuuksiin, että elävää työvoimaa niiden osana ei kaivattaisi.

Katsomme rohkeasti eteenpäin

Kaikki teollisuusunionismiin luottavat palkkatyöläiset voivat kaikesta tästä huolimatta, tai oikeammin sanoen, tähän kaikkeen katsoen, silmäillä rohkeasti tulevaisuuteen. Teollisuusuionistinen oppi osoittaa tieteellisten tosiasiain valossa että mitä tehokkaammaksi tuotannonvälineet käyvät, sitä suurimerkityksellisemmäksi niiden käynnissäpitämiseksi välttämätön elävä työvoima yhteiskunnallisesti katsoen tulee.

Mitä automaattisempi joku työkone tai konesarja, joista oikeastaan nykyään jo joudummekin puhumaan, on, sitä suurempi yhteiskunnallinen merkitys sen käynnissä



Kuznetskin Teräsmylly Venäjällä. Tälle paikkakunnalle on mennyt useita suomalaisia terästyöläisiä Ohion ja Pa:n alueelta. Myllyssä valmistetaan useammanlaista terästuotetta.

olemiselle välttämättömälle elävälle työvoimalle on kasvanut. Otamme yhden esimerkin. Yhdysvalloissa vielä vv. 1920—1923 tehdä nuljutettiin ammattityövoimalla niitä sähkövalopalloja, joita meidän asumuksissa yleensä nykyäänkin on käytännössä. Myös niitä, jotka palvelevat liikemaailmaa, suuret liikehuonevalot. Mutta jälkimäisenä yllämainittuna vuonna päättyi tuolla alalla tässä maassa ammattityöläisten tarve melkein olemattomiin.

Emme kulje tätä kehitystä yksityiskohdin, sillä se venyttäisi tämän kirjoituksen pitemmäksi, mitä on tarkoituksemme, sanomme vain lyhyesti, miten kone valtasi tuon ammatin ja miten se tänäpäivänä osoittaa paremmin kuin tuhannen agitaattoria mikä sinä työläinen sittenkin tässä maailmassa lopputingassa olet.

Kun Yhdysvalloissa oli sähkövalopallojen ammattityö ylimmillään, kahden johtavan yhtiön alaisena, General Electric Co. Ohiossa ja Houghton Co. New Yorkin valtiossa, oli ammattilaisten luku tällä alalla pyöreissä luvuissa noin vaille 2,000. Tähän on laskettuna vain n. k. lasinpuhaltajat ja heidän apulaisensa, jotka kuuluivat täysinä miehinä samaan unioon. Kun General Electric Co. sai ensimäisen automaattisen koneen sanokaamme osittain yhtiötä tyydyttävälle asteelle, saivat ammattityöläiset lähdön siltä työalalta. Joitakin vähäisiä erikoistilauksia, joita pienuutensa vuoksi ei juuri keksittyä jättiläiskonetta kannattanut asettaa tuottamaan, teetetiin vielä ammattityövoimalla.

Nyt ei enään. Niles, Ohio, on ainoa merkitsevä lasitehdaskaupunki, jossa valmistetaan Yhdysvaltain sähkövalopallot ja ne mitä niitä täältä ulkomaille lähetetään. Tehtaassa on uusi tekniikka lasin sulatuksessa, joka tekee mahdolliseksi viiden koneen tuottamaan noin puolessa vuodessa kyllin paljon sähkövalopalloja, mitä edellä osoitettiin tarvittavan. Yksi kone, automaatti, voi valmistaa 40,000 yleiskokoista — mutta paitsi suuret liikevalot —. sähkövalopalloa kahdeksassa tunnissa. Näitä koneita on yhden uudenlaisen uunin ympärillä viisi, se riittää. Ne käyvät kaikki tuon ihmeuunin suostumuksella 24 tuntia vuorokaudessa — onneksi ettei vuorokaudessa ole useampaa tuntia.

Näinollen saamme viiden automaatin tuotteeksi vuorokaudessa 600,000 sähkövalolamppua. Ja nämä hirviöt käyvät seitsemän vuorokautta viikossa, kolmella vuorolla. Ne tarvitsevat elävää työvoimaa noin kuusisataa henkilöä, jokaisen kolmen työvuoron työläiset laskettuna. Näihin kuuluu suuripalkkaiset insinöörit, kemistit, metallurgistit ja työnjohtajat; kaikki, aina lattian lakaisijaan asti.

Teemme johtopäätöksen

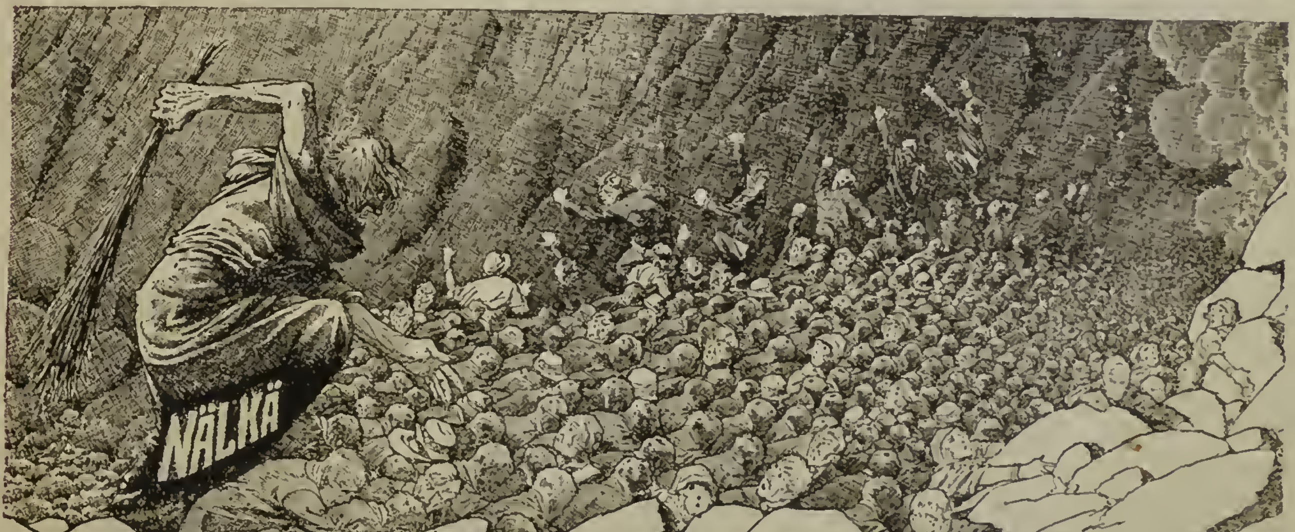
Mitä arvelitte niistä noin 2,000:sta ammattilaisesta, joista suuri enemmistö oli union miehiä? Oliko se yksimielinen joukko työläisiä? Mitä vielä. Ammattiylpeys rikkoi ensiksikin sen. solidariteetin jo työmaalla. Ja union suuripalkkaiset johtavat herrat työsopimuksissa. Sitä oli kankea saada taisteluun ja notkea johtaa mihin johtajat haluaisivat. Kumma se oli. Mutta sillä oli mahtava tuotannollinen voima, jossa piili suuremmoinen yhteiskunnallinen merkitys Yhdysvalloissa. Katsokaas, jos se olisi ollut kuin me i. w. w.-läiset opetamme, yksi kaikkien ja kaikki yhden puolesta, olisi se voinut sanoa: Tulkoon pimeys Yhdysvalloissa, ellei työnantaja suostu vaatimuksiimme!

Miten niin? Sähkövalopallot olivat jo vv. 1920—1923, jotka olivat tämän alan ammattilaisten viimeiset vuodet, siksi suuresta merkityksestä, että ne varsinkin liikemaailmassa ja suurkaupungeissa yöllä merkitsivät samaa kuin aurinko taivaalla päivän aikana koko maassa. Sellainen oli näiden työläisten taloudellinen voima, jos se olisi ollut oikein järjestynyt. Mutta se ei voinut olla oikein järjestynyt, koska se oli vielä ammattitaitoa vaativaa työtä ja siis koko yhteistoiminta sille perustuvaa, eikä kuten teollisuusunion, teollisuudelle.

Mutta nyt. Kuusisataa elävää ihmistä vastaa moninkerroin enemmän kuin nuo kaksituhatta. Miten vastaa? Kun he sanovat, tulkoon pimeys, se tulee, jos takana on yksi suuri unio, I. W. W. Ja kun he taas sanovat tulkoon valkeus, se tulee. Eikä oikeastaan heidän tarvitse pimeyttä tehdäkään, käytimme tässä vain sitä vertauksena. Sillä nyt merkitsee sähkövalopallot jo siksi paljon, koska niitä ei tuoteta suuresti varastoon, että tämä 123 miljoonainen kansa ei tule juttuun ilman niitä. Sen puolisen vuotta, jotka nuo viisi konetta täytyy olla käynnissä, tuottaakseen riittävän määrän valomahdollisuutta kansalle, ovat näiden kuudensadan, henkistä ja ruumiillista työtä tekevän ihmisen kontrolloimia, koska ilman heitä ei valoa tulisi, niin automaattisia kuin koneet ja koko tehdas onkin.

Eikö tämä totea että järjestömme I. W. W. liiton rakentajat jo lähes kolmekymmentä vuotta sitten omasivat kaukonäköisen taloustieteilijän ominaisuudet. He voivat antaa järjestökysymyksestä määritelmän jo silloin, minkä me nyt omin silmin näemme tuotannossa käytännöllisenä tosiasiana. Heidän oli täytynyt kuluttaa paljon sydänyön öljyä, voidakseen analysoida taloustieteen ja historian materialismin totuudet joiden perusteella järjestömääritelmänsä tekivät. Nykyinen ja tuleva sukupolvi voi tässäsuhteessa päästä paljon helpommalla, kun sillä on edessään nämä ilmiöt kouraantuntuvina ja silmin nähtävinä.

Eikö olekin suurta kuulua sellaiseen järjestöön kuin I. W. W. liitto, jolla on noin horjumattomat elävälle elämälle perustuvat periaatteet, vallankumouksellisine päämäärineen. Ei ole toista niin eheää, selväpiirteistä ja tuotantoelämän kehityksen mukaista taloudellista luokkataistelujärjestöä kuin on Maailman Teollisuustyöläisten Liitto. Sen on tulevaisuus, koska se on historiallinen välttämättömyys.



Pirstoutuneet Haaveet

Kirj. **ELLENOORA.**

(Kilpailukirjoitus.)

JOKAISELLA meillä on jotakin menneitä kokemuksia joista voimme kirjoittaa. Tässä kerromme kappaleen erään työläisnaisen elämäkertaa. Alamme sen hänen ollessaan vielä hyvin nuori Suomessa, ollen hän tavallinen piikatyttö.

Alma, jolla nimellä hänet tässä tunnemme, oli piikana Saarelan talossa, jossa myös oli renkinä eräs Kalle Mäki niminen mies.

Elämä tuntui niin ihanalta, tulevaisuus oli haaveiluja pilvilinnoista, joita he rakentelivat kahden iltahämärässä kun päivän työt olivat päättyneet.

— Tiedätkö, Alma, että olen ajatellut että menen Amerikaan ja sitten kun olen saanut työn niin tulet sinäkin sinne. Menemme avioliittoon siellä. Laitamme oman pienen kotimme, jossa saamme vapaasti olla, vain kahden, kuuletko, vain kahden. Silloin ei sinun tarvitse muuta kuin laittaa minulle ruokaa ja pitää huoli vain meidän omasta pienestä kodistamme.

— Minusta se tuntuu aivan uskomattomalta, tuumi Alma, se olisi liian hyvää. Miten olisinkaan silloin onnellinen. Kalle, oletko varma että minä pääsen luoksesi. Minä en luota siihen, minä lähden kanssasi, voinhan minä mennä myös siellä palvelukseen ja yhdessä kootaan rahat että voimme pikemmin saada sen oman kotimme.

* * *

Siitä on kulunut jo kuusi kuukautta kun Alma ja Kalle astuivat Amerikan mantereelle ja pysähtyivät asumaan Ironwoodiin, Michiganiin. Alma on palveluksessa eräässä perheessä ja Kalle on työssä rautakaivoksessa.

— Huomenna on siis se suuri päivä jota olemme odottaneet. — He olivat jo hommanneet itselleen huoneet ja ostaneet jo joitain huonekalujakin. — Tänä iltana jälkeen illallisen menemme taas sinne järjestämään sitä pientä kotiamme.

Nyt on iltahämärä ja näemme Alman ja Kallen yhdessä järjestämässä huoneita jotka he ovat jo vuokranneet. — Kulta, kuinka tunnenkaan itseni onnelliseksi kun tiedän, että sinä olet minun ainoa oma armaani. — Huomenna siis menemme vihille kun pääsen työstä, heti kello neljän jälkeen ja sitten tulemme tänne meidän omaan kotiimme...

Tulisin suudelmin ja syleilyin he erosivat molemmin, toivoen että huominen päivä pian koittaisi. Alma oli jo sanonut itsensä irti palveluspaikastaan, lähtien sieltä päivällisen jälkeen. Hän oli jo valmiina kello kolme, kun Kalle tulee työstä ja he menevät heti papin puheille, kuten siihen aikaan vielä yleensä oli tapana suomenkielistenkin keskuudessa.

* * *

Kello oli vähän yli kolme kun Alma katsoi kelloa, jonka hän oli saanut Kallelta kihlalahjana, kun samassa kuului korvia vihlova kaivospillin puhallus.

Se, mitä tämä puhallus merkitsi, oli kaikille kaivostyöläisille ja heidän perheilleen tuttu. Se merkitsi että jollakin kaivoksella oli tapahtunut tavallista hirvittävämpi työtapaturma...

Ensin ei Alma ottanut uskoakseen että hän kuuli oikein, sillä hänen mielensä johti heti siihen, että Kalle on vielä kaivoksessa ja ... ei... se ei saa olla niin.

Ihmiset juoksivat kilvan kaivosaukolle. — Alma heidän mukanaan — jokaisen kysellessä omaisiaan...

* * *

— Kaivosaukolle oli jo ennättänyt sairasvaunut, lääkäreitä ja sairaanhoitajattareita — Naisia ja lapsia oli kaivosaukon läheisyydessä, epätoivoisena itkien ja kysellen mitä on tapahtunut. — Oliko hänen miehensä tai poikansa sillä tasanteella jossa räjähdys oli tapahtunut?

Viimein päästiin sille tasanteelle, jossa räjähdys oli tapahtunut ja tuotiin loukkaantuneita ja surmaantuneita ylös.

Poliiseilla oli vaikea työ pitää hysteerisessä tilassa olevat naiset pois kaivosaukolta. — Alma oli näiden joukossa.

— Nyt tuotiin yhtä ruumista ylös. — Alma tunsi hänet heti — se oli Kallen murskaantunut ruumis. — Maailma musteni Alman silmissä ja hän päästi sydäntävihlovan tuskanhuudon, kaatuen tiedottomana maahan...

* * *

— Elämä ei suvainnut heille sitä onnea, jota he olivat yhdessä haaveilleet. Olojen julma todellisuus näytti missä on työläisten onni.

Näin sortui monta työläistä kapitaalin uhrialttarille, joiden joukossa Kallekin. Ainoastaan vähän aikaa ennemmin hänelle elämä vielä hymyili ja tulevaisuuskin näytti lupaavalta.

Kuinka monen työläisen haaveet ja unelmat ovatkaan näin murskattu?

Kuinka monet kyyneleet ovat työläisiltä valuneet tämän kapitalistisen järjestelmän riiston ja kurjuuden alaisena.

— — —

Kun Alma heräsi, ei hän heti tiennyt missä hän oli. Hänet oli myös viety sairaalaan, jossa hän oli maannut tiedottomana toista vuorokautta. Ensin ei hän oikein käsittänyt mitä oli tapahtunut ja miksi hän oli siellä. Vasta kun sairaanhoitaja tuli hänen luoksensa, selvisi hänelle kaikki.

Hän ei voinut itkeä eikä hän liioin voinut mitään puhua. Lääkärit epäilivät että hän oli menettänyt järkensä, tai mielensä niin murtunut että ei välitä mistään mitään.

— — —

— Alma laskettiin pois sairaalasta ja meni hän sinne perheeseen ensimmäiseksi jossa Kalle oli ollut sisällä. — Siellä sanottiin että he ovat hommanneet Kallelle jo ruumisarkun ja hautajaiset pidetään.

He pyytivät Almaa olemaan heidän kanssaan, johon hän mielellään suostui, sillä hän ei halunnut mennä takaisin sinne perheeseen missä hän oli ollut palveluksessa.

Alma meni hautaustoimistoon katsomaan että Kallen viimeinen leposija oli hyvin järjestetty. — Kun Kallen arkku avattiin auki, puhkesi Alma katkeraan itkuun —. Hän puheli kuolleelle toverilleen — Näinkö meidän tiemme erosivat. — Häittemme tilalle tulikin hautajaiset. — Oi miksi kohtalo oli meille näin ankara . . .

* * *

Kuka on syyllinen tämänlaiseen työläisten surmaamiseen? Siihen on kaksi vastausta. Työnantajaluokka yrittää teettää työtä niin nopeasti ja vaarallisilla paikoilla kuin voivat siten päästäkseen vähemmillä kustannuksilla ja vähällä työvoimalla.

Työväenluokka puolestaan on syyllinen siksi että se ei järjesty luokkana vaatimaan turvallisempia työpaikkoja ja parempaa palkkaa — riistojärjestelmän lopettamista.

Kun työläiset järjestyvät joukkoina ja vaativat parannuksia olosuhteisiinsa, voivat he estää työskentelyn tämänlaisissa surman loukuissa kuin sekin, jossa Kallekin joutui menettämään henkensä — antamaan elämänsä kapitaalin uhrialttarille.

* * *

Niin paljon oppi Almakin tässä katkerassa kokemuksessaan että on sen jälkeen tuntenut velvollisuudekseen toimia jatkuvasti työväenluokan vapauttamisen puolesta palkkaorjuudesta.

Hän muutti pois Ironwoodista syystä että ei voinut olla siellä kun henkilö, joka oli hänelle kallein maailmassa, ryöstettiin näin julmalla tavalla häneltä pois.

Alma ei ole ainoa joka on menettänyt kalleimman ystävän maailmassa, niitä on miljoonia. Kuinka suuri onkaan niiden leskien ja orpojen lukumäärä, joiden isät ja elämäntoverit ovat joutuneet uhraamaan henkensä riistäjien surmanloukuissa.

Tämänlainen työläisten lahtaus ja murhaaminen tulee jatkumaan kunnes luokkamme järjestyy tuotannossa ja ottaa maailman tuotanto- ja jakokoneiston haltuunsa. Tämä on historian määräämä tehtävä luokallemme.

Jos mielimme muuttaa maailman sellaiseksi kuin sen tulisi olla tuotannollisen kehityksen tasolla ollakseen, on työväenluokan ryhdyttävä järjestämistyöhön ja valmistauduttava sitä päivää varten, jolloin luokkayhteiskunnan kuolinkellot soivat.

Nuoruudelle

Kirj. FEMIA.

Kun muistan aikaa mennyttä,
Nuoruuden kevättä —
Niin rinta riemuun ratkeaa
Ja tunteet vallan saa.
Se on kuin kaunis uni vaan,
Mi muisteloista kumpuaa
Ja viepi aikain taa.

Ma viihdyn mielelläni siel'
Aatoksissain viel' —
Ja muinaista tuot' unelmaa
Mun mielen halajaa.
Ei nuoruuttaan voi unhoittaa.
Sen tahtois elää uudestaan,
Vaikk' unelmissain vaan.

On nuorus elon keväimen
Toiveista kylläinen —
Se haave-linnat rakentaa
Ja lempii, toivoo vaan.
Ei huomis-huolta tunnekkaan,
Eik' pettymyksiin uskokaan.
Se luottaa onneen vaan.

Maailman Ensimäinen Lakko Ja Pyramiidit

Kirj. P.

MAAILMAN ensimmäinen lakkotaistelu käytiin Egyptissä, menneisyydessä jo kolmetuhatta vuotta sitten, Rames III hallituksen aikana. Historia kertoo kivilouhimotyöläisten ensimmäisen kerran lakkoutuneen Niilin rannalla, vastapäätä Thebaa, joka oli senaikaisten faaraoiden hallituskaupunki.

Heidän vaatimuksensa oli enemmän leipää, kalaa, öljyä, olutta ja muita parannuksia kurjiin oloihinsa. Kallion sisällä ja vuoren rinteillä, äärettömässä kuumuudessa, missä he louhivat ja valmistivat kiviä temppelirakennuksille, hautakammioiksi ja pyramideihin, siellä heidän olonsa olivat olleet todella kurjat. Yksinpä juotavastakin oli puute ollut.

Tämän maailman historiallisen ensimmäisen lakon syistä ja tapahtumista ovat selville päässeet arkeologian tutkijat Theban kaupungin kirjurin päiväkirjasta. Kuin myöskin muista työväestöä koskevista puristusseikoista. Esim. miten tarkkaa kirjanpitoa oli pidetty jokaisen työläisen työskentelystä. Päivän työstä pois olemiset ja niiden syyt oli tarkoin merkitty kirjaan. Niinpä heidän lakkoutuminenkin oli merkitty, että he kolmena päivänä olivat laskeneet työkalunsa maahan ja jättäneet työmaansa. Mutta heidät oli lupauksilla houkuteltu aina takasin työhön. Kolmasti he olivat lakanneet työstä ja joka kerta tulleet petetyksi yhdentoista päivän ajalla.

Sitä ei tiedetä varmuudella, voittivatko työläiset tällä ensimmäisellä lakollansa vaatimuksensa. Mutta se seikka käypi selville, että välikädet, työläisille tarpeiden jakajat, olivat itselleen kähveltäneet työläisille tulevista tarvikkeista, minkä vuoksi muun kurjuuden lisäksi alkoi tämä maailman ensimmäinen tunnettu lakko. Myöskin sama päiväkirja kertoo mainitulla työmaalla olleen 43 työnjohtajaa, jokaisella heistä joukko työläisiä komennettavana, aivan meidän aikainen komento jo tuhansia vuosia menneisyydessä.

Mutta noin sata vuotta jälkeenpäin, tiedetään alkaneen toisen lakon samoista syistä, jolloinka työläiset olivat taistelussaan täydellisesti voittajina suoriutuneet. Silloin he olivat suunnitelmallisesti, niin historia kertoo, paljon mahdollista jo järjestyneinä, taistelun alkaneet. Mahdollisesti näitä työselkkauksia on voinut olla useampiakin jo kaukaisessa muinaisuudessa, joista historian kirjoittajat, arkeologian tutkijat eivät ole saaneet mitään selvyyttä. Ainoastaan niiltä ajoilta nämät kaksi lakkotapausta tunnetaan, joista voidaan saada jonkunlainen käsitys jo silloisten työläisten orjuusasemasta. Myöskin se tiedetään, että palkka maksettiin elämän tarveaineissa, koska toista lakkoa oli sovittamassa tuomari, joka määräsi annettavaksi lakkolaisille vissejä tarveaineita, rahaa kun ei vielä tunnettu.

Kaikesta päättäen työtätekevä luokka oli muinoisessa Egyptissä kovan kuorman alla, sillä faaraot tuhlasivat hovielämänsä loisteliaassa haaremielämässään niin paljon, kuin tuhlaamiseen keinoja keksivät. Samoin teki virkakunta ja papisto, he mässäsivät ja porsastelivat. Kaikki oli työtätekevän kansan kustannettava. Nämät virkaherrat varastivat faaraon, hallituksen työläisille lähettämistä muonatarpeista, mikä käypi selville saman kirjurin päiväkirjasta.

Verotaakat olivat raskaat, joita maanviljelijät saivat kaikista tuotteistaan faaraolle suorittaa. Temppelit, hautakammiot (mastabat) ja pyramidit oli tälle joutilasluokalle työläisten ja maanviljelijäin rakennettavat. Niiden rakentamiseen tuhlattiin kansan työ — ylijäämä — mitä faaraoiden ja vallassaolevan luokan loistoisasta elämän ylläpitämisestä kansa pystyi suorittamaan. — Se oli heidän maailmansa rakentamista — samaa, kuin meidän rakentamamme — koneitten maailma. Egyptin orjilta ei loppunut työ — kuten meille on käynyt.

Heitäkin kiusattiin nälällä ja ruoskalla — aivan samalla tavalla kun tämän päivän työläisiäkin. Eri tarkoituksiin vaan, sen aikainen — ylituotanto — käytettiin, jos sitä nimitystä käytämme. Nimittäin se työ, mitä ei elämässä muuten tuhlata voitu, se tuhlattiin näihin ikuisiin kivitemppeleihin, hautakammioihin ja pyramiidien rakentamiseen, joita on paljon kaivettukin näkyviin erämaan santa-aavikolta. Egyptin faaraot ja yläluokka eivät muuhun vielä voineet sijoittaa loisteliaasta elämästään — ylijäämää — työn luomia arvoja kasata, kuten meidän "faaraomme" aikana tavaratuotannossa tehdään. Egyptin faaraot teettivät orjillaan työtä omaa tarvettaan varten — siksi työtäkin riitti, vuosituhansiksi — edellä mainituiden rakentamisessa. Niiden rakentamiseen tuhlattiin kansan ponnistukset. Sen ajan orjain tuskat — ja kärsimykset ovat — hämärän peitossa nykymaailmalta, ainoastaan osa tiedetään. — Meidän maailmamme — pyramiidit — valmistuivat sadoissa vuosissa — Egyptin pyramiideja rakennettiin vuosituhansia.

Kansan painajaisena, uskontona ja vakaumuksena oli, että faaraot ovat auringon jumalan "Banin" poikia, siksi kansa ponnisteli ja teki kaikkensa jumalallisen hallitsijansa tyydytykseksi. Se oli orjuuteen alistumisen pääsyy. Se uskonto maksoi kansalle työtä ja tuskia vuosituhansia. Ja nämä jumalalliset faaraot uskoivat itsekkin itsensä yli-ihmisiksi ja siksi alkoivat huolehtia kuolemansa jälkeisestäkin ikuisesta lepokammiostaan, joka heille viimein muodostui heidän elämänsä päätehtäväksi. Ensin rakennettiin faaraoille mastaboita, joista kehittyi pyramiidi-rakennukset näiden mastabain päälle. Ja viimeksi niin, että jokainen faarao valtaistuimelle päästyään alkoi uuden hallituskaupungin, palatsin ja pyramiidin rakennuttamisen. Rakennuttivatpa lopulla faaraot pyramiidin vaimolleen kuningattarellekin.

Muutakin, sen aikaista ylellisyyttä, mitä maailmasta löysivät faaraot, kasasivat hoviinsa ja koettivat säilyttää omalla suvullaan. Avioliittojakin solmittiin, veli sisarensa, täti veljensä pojan kanssa ja onpa mennyt isä tyttärensäkin kanssa naimisiin. (Tosin se oli yleinen tapa Egyptissä, että sisar ja veli meni naimisiin, mutta ei kukaan muut tyttärensä kanssa, paitsi faarao.) — Myötäjäisiä ei tyttärelle silloin tarvinnut valmistaa — kun isä itse tyttärensä nai. — Rames II niin teki. On tosin selvitetty silläkin tavalla että jumalallinen suku tällaisten avioliittojen kautta säilytetään puhtaana alhaisten verestä, mutta omaisuussuhteet lienevät olleet määrääjinä ja siten se on ollut uskon vahvistamista jumalallisuudestaan kansan keskuudessa.

Nämä edelläkerrotut Egyptin kansan rakentamat pyramiidit, faaraoiden hautakammiot, ovat maailman ihmerakennuksia, vielä tämän päivän ihmisille. On arvoituksena meidän rakennusteknikoille miten ne on voitu rakentaa sen aikaisilla työvälineillä? Se on asia, jota eivät arkkitehtimme voi käsittää. Nykyään tunnetaan 80 pyramiidiä, mutta sitä ei tiedetä, kuinka monta on erämaan povessa vielä? Kerromme yhdestä, päästäksemme jonkunlaiseen käsitykseen, mitä työ on voinut luoda jo viisituhatta vuotta menneisyydessä ja saadaksemme jonkunlaisen käsityksen sen kautta niistä tuskista ja kärsimyksistä, mitä varmasti sen aikaiset orjat ovat saaneet kärsiä vuosituhansia näitä rakentaissaan, joista historian kirjoittajat eivät paljon tiedä. Pari työläisten lakkotapahtumaa tiedetään, pari tuhatta vuotta myöhemmin, mitä pyramiidien rakentamisista tiedetään, joita tuhansia vuosia ennen näitä jättiläispyramiidejä on jo rakennettu.

Kairon edustalla on yksi sellainen, faarao Kheopsin pyramiidi, joka on rakennettu viisi tuhatta vuotta sitten. Se on päällystetty sileäksi hiotulla hohtavan valkoisella kalkkikivellä. Alaosa punaisella hiotulla graniitilla. Sen korkeus on 145 m.

On laskettu että Kheops pyramiidi sisältää niin paljon kiveä, että se riittäisi ympäri Suomen rajojen tehdä aita, kaksi metriä korkea ja puoli metriä paksu. Sadantuhannen miehen kesti sitä rakentaa kaksikymmentä vuotta. Kivijärkäleet ovat vastakkain niin hyvin asetettu, ettei ohkainen paperi sovi liitosten väliin. Tutkijat ovat laskeneet Kheops pyramiidissa olevan sadan ja viidensadan tonnin painoisia kivimöhkäleitä. Se on kaikille hämärän peitossa, miten he näitä kivijärkäleitä kulettivat ja miten he niitä nostelivat ja käsittelivät? Kilometrin pitää ihmisen kävellä maan pinnalla ennenkuin on kävellyt ympäri Kheops pyramiidin. Pyramiidin sisällä ovat monenmoiset huoneet ja galleriat, kaikki kivestä hakattu. Ihmeelliset graniittijärkäleet ovina. Seiniin hakatuita kuvia ja kaiverruksia.

Tällaisen pyramiidivuoren sisälle faaraot haudattiin kiviarkkuineen palsamoituna. Huoneet täytettiin kulta- ja kaikenlaisilla arvoesineillä, mitkä vainajalle olivat olleet rakkaat ja arvokkaat, ne pantiin mukaan ikuiseen lepokammioon. Kaikki tämä maksoi arvaamatointa työtä alamaisille, joista ei ole ollut mitään hyötyä jälkimaailmalle muuta, kuin muistoina ovat säilyneet ja joiden avulla tutkijat, tiedemiehet, ovat voineet kurkistaa tuhansia vuosia taaksepäin muinaisuuteen, sen aikuisten kansojen elämänkirjaan.

Näiden pyramiidien ympärille haudattiin muita ylimyksiä. Arvonsa jälkeen ylimykset pääsivät faaraon pyramiidiä lähelle. Heille rakennettiin kivestä kammioita (mastoboita) arvonsa ja tietysti varallisuutensa mukaan. Jokainen itse lepokammionsa eläessään jo rakennutti. Tätä tällaista rakentamista kesti vuosituhansia, mistä muinaisuuden tutkijat ovat selville päässeet, juuri näiden kivihautojen avulla. Näiden pyramiidien rakentamien, jokaiselle faaraolle näin muodosti oman kaupunkinsa, koska jokainen rakennutti oman pyramiidinsä. Siis monenmoiset tuhlaustavat olivat sen aikuisilla ylimyksillä. Haudat täytettiin tavaroilla, jumalille uhrausmeininki oli yksi hirvittävä tapa mitä harjoitettiin temppeleissä. Jumalana pidettiin eläimiä, joita hoidettiin ja ruokittiin, siinä tuhlattiin äärettömän paljon, temppelin seinien sisällä.

Kaikki tämä kertomamme tapahtui työtätekevän luokan ponnistuksilla, kärsimysten hinnalla — kuten meidänkin päivinämme, meidän — faaraoiden tuhlauksen ja toisenlaisten pyramiidien luominen on ollut meidän, nykyajan orjain tehtävänä. Mutta ei toki niin turhaan meidän rakentamamme — pyramiidit ole menneet, kuin Egyptin orjain oli mennyt. — Meidän koneellista — pyramiidi-maailmamme — jälkeen jääneet voivat käyttää eduksensa. Mutta Egyptin pyramiidit seisovat muistomerkkeinä jälkimaailmalle — arvoituksena, miten ne ovat rakennetut?

Haaveista Todellisuuteen

Kirj. **AUG. JUNTUNEN.**

(Jatkoa edelliseen numeroon.)

BEN omasi voimakkaan luonteen ja oli aina tunteittensa herra. Nytkin hän muisti asemansa, häntä voi odottaa vankila ja työnsä menettäminen, oli hänellä aina mahdollista, olihan hän jo merkattu mies. Ben ei epäillyt, että eikö hän voisi pitää huolta perheestään kuten toisetkin. Hän oli aina oppinut luottamaan itseensä, mutta nyt olivat asiat toisin. Nyt olivat sisaret hänen huolensa alaisia ja hän muisti isänsä viimeiset sanat.

Hän oli tehnyt lupauksen isälleen, että tekee parhaansa työväenluokan hyväksi. Muisti äitinsä ennen aikaisen kuoleman sekä sisarensa häpeällisen pettymyksen. Nämä ovat asioita jotka kannustivat häntä toimintaan. Siinä on myöskin syyt, jotka pakottivat hänen asettamaan pakko-paitaan kaikkein kauneimmat luonnolliset tunteensa. Hän uhrasi ne tuskien punoittamalle luokkataistelun veriselle alttarille.

Benilla oli kaksi tuntia aikaa seurustella Alman kanssa. Hän oli saanut kutsun ylimääräiseen kokoukseen kello yhdeksän. Niinpä hän esitti Almalle että lähdetään hänen asunto taloonsa ja Alma oli valmis lähtemään, otti Benin käsivarresta kiinni ja pyysi hymyillen anteeksi rohkeuttaan.

Kun he saapuivat Benin asunnolle, oli Laura heitä vastassa ja Ben esitteli sisarensa Almalle samalla pyydellen anteeksi, että asuivat vain tällaisessa vaatimattomissa oloissa.

— Ymmärräthän sinä miksikä työläisten täytyy tyytyä vähään ja siihen johtavat syyt? — Alma nyökkäsi ja sanoi ymmärtävänsä.

Laura ilmaisi mielihyvänsä, että Alma oli saapunut heitä tervehtimään ja sanoi. — Olemme kovin kiitollisia kun tulit, olemme täällä niin vieraita ja yksinäisiä. Tuntuu joskus kuin olisimme suljetut tänne yksitoikkoiseen elämäämme ilman minkäänlaista iloa. — Otti Alman käden vielä omaansa ja sanoi, olen todellakin iloinen kun tulit, ja kyyneleet tulvahtivat pitkin poskipäitä.

Almankin silmät täyttyivät kyynelistä ja hän lohdutteli, että ei hänkään ole korkeasta kodista eikä tiensä ole kulkenut ruusujen eikä kukkien keskellä. — Hanssonilta olen kuullut teidän elämänne kovista kohtaloista, ei ole minun tieni sen parempi. — Samanlaiset muistot seuraa minua kuin sinuakin.

Mutta sinun elämäsi ei ole turmeltu kuten minun, sanoi Laura katkerasti. — Sinulla on vielä elämisen mahdollisuus, mutta minulta on riistetty kaikki, ja hän purskahti hillittömään itkuun. — Alma koetti lohduttaa kertomalla oman elämän tarinansa Lauralle.

Isäni ja äitini ovat aina toimineet työväenliikkeen mukana. Sitten tapahtui onnettomuus, jota en voi koskaan unhoittaa. Isäni ajettiin kaivoksessa sellaiseen loukkoon työhön, jossa murskaantui aivan muodottomaksi kun jäi katosta putoavan suuren kiven alle. Enkä myöskään unhoita sitä hetkeä, jolloin äitini tallattiin ratsuhevosen jalkoihin, kun hän oli lakkovahdissa saman kaivoksen ympärillä, missä isänikin murhattiin. — Eikä siinä kaikki. Minun kaksi veljeäni vietiin pakollisesti sotarintamalle maa ilmansodan aikana ja sinne jäivät molemmat, eivätkä koskaan palaakaan.

Alman silmissä leimusi vihan tuli, kertoessaan tuon kohtalokkaan tarinan perheensä hävityksestä ja päättävästi jatkoi hän.— Niin kauan kuin suonissani virtaa punainen veri, teen minä kaikkeni työväenliikkeen eteen, että ei tuollaiset murhenäytelmät saa jatkua loppumattomiin.

Lauran katseessa oli osaaottavainen ilme ja hän sanoi, paljon olet sinäkin kokenut nuoresta iästäsi huolimatta. — Ben oli kuunnellut Alman kertomusta ja huomasi hänessä piilevän voimakkaan luokkavihan ja tietoisuuden. Se ikäänkuin rohkaisi häntäkin luokkataistelun tiellä. Ei hän koskaan ollut kuvitellut, että nuori tyttö voisi olla luokkatietoinen ja noin varma päätöksessään. Hän iloitsi mielessään, että oli tavannut Almassa sellaisen toverin.

Ilta oli kulunut ja Benin täytyi lähteä kokoukseen. Hän ehdotti lähtöä Almalle, että hän ehtii vielä saattamaan Alman hotelliin. Niin he läksivät, hyvästeltyä siskot ensin, jälleen näkemisen toivossa.

Kun Ben oli vienyt Alman hotelliin, kiirehti hän kokoukseen. — Mutta ei voinut aavistaakaan, että häntä seurasi musta varjo, ihmishaamussa, se oli rautatie komppanian salakyttä, joka vainusi jokaista hänen askelettaan.

Pian sen jälkeen sai Ben määräyksen, että häntä ei enää tarvita työhön. Ei minkäänlaista selostusta annettu erottamisen syistä.

Tämä tieto ei ollut Benille mikään yllätys. Hän oli sitä ikäänkuin vartonut jo pitemmän ajan. Se vain oli ihmeellistä, kuinka rautatie komppanian urkkijat olivat päässeet heidän unionsa kokoukseen, josta syystä hänet nyt leimattiin vaaralliseksi toimihenkilöksi, teollisuusunionismin edustajaksi. Siitä syystä hänet asetettiin mustalle listalle ja siitä seurasi työstä erottaminenkin.

Mutta se tieto ei lannistanut Benia. Hän sai uutta intoa toimia tuollaisia mustia voimia vastaan. Se kiihoitti uusiin ponnistuksiin. Nyt oli hävitettävä tuo koti pahanen.

Laura sai kohtalaisen palvelus paikan. — Lili pääsi ruokataloon. — Hän itse meni lähellä olevaan hiilikaivokseen. Sieltä sai työn heti ja oli iloinen, että onni oli mukana. Mutta ei se ollut pitkä aikaista, sillä hänen unionistinen toimintansa alkoi herättää huomiota työn antajissa. — Häntä alettiin pitää silmällä.

Lili oli täyttänyt kuusitoista ikävuotta ja kehittynyt erittäin kauniiksi ja miellyttäväksi tytöksi, hän kävi usein tapaamassa Benia. Sen oli huomannut komppanian pääkirjuri. Hänen sanottiin olevan hyvin rikkaasta perheestä. — Hän oli iskenyt silmänsä tuohon nuoreen tyttöön ja alkoi lähennellä, tuttavuus tarkoituksella Liliä.

Mutta kun Ben oli saanut vihiä, että Donald Jones lähenteli siskoaan, arvasi hän mistä nyt on kysymys.

Eräänä lauantai iltana Jones jo oli saattamassa Liliä kotiin, palvelus paikkaansa. Hän meni Lilin huoneeseen, istui ja veti Lilin syliinsä. — Silloin Lili alkoi nyyhkyttää ja kysyi, rakastatko sinä todella minua, vai petätkö? Minua niin pelottaa, kun en tiedä varmuutta, jätätkö minun niin kuin rikkinäisen kintaan nurkkaan?

Jones koetti lohduttaa tyttöä ja veti lähemmäksi sanoen — kultaseni kuinka voit tuollaista epäilläkään minusta? Rakastanhan sinua. — Olen sen sanonut sinulle jo niin monta kertaa, tiedäthän kuinka loistavan tarjouksen olen sinun tähtesi sivuuttanut.

Mutta miksi sitten viivytät ratkaisua viikosta viikkoon, vaikka tiedät miten asiani ovat. Sinun täytyy tehdä jotain pian, en minä jaksa kestää tällaista epävarmuutta kauempaa, kuuletko!? Ja hän purskahti vallattomaan itkuun. — Jones koetti tyynnyttää hyväilyllään sanoen — Et sinä rakkaani ole ajatellut sitä, että minun asemassani oleva mies ei voi mennä naimisiin palvelustytön kanssa. Minulla on varakas koti ja minun vanhempani eivät voi noin yht'äkkiä siihen suostua. Minun täytyy ottaa aikaa ja hankkia vanhemmiltani lupa, ennenkuin voin avioliittoa ajatellakaan. He voisivat tehdä minut perinnöttömäksi ja se ei ole niinkään vähäinen asia, kun ehkä sinä luulet.

Mutta jos eivät vanhempasi suostuisi avioliittoomme? nyyhki Lili. — Silloin minun täytyisi luopua perinnöstäni, niin ikävää, kun se olisikin.

Lili kietoi kätensä Jonesin kaulaan sanoen, anteeksi rakas että epäilin sinua. Sinä siis rakastat minua.

Mutta nyt astui Ben odottamatta sisään, tapasi Lilin Jonessin syleilystä.

Säikähtyneenä Lili hypähti lattialle ja alkoi hypistellä tuolin karmia, jolla Jones istui, silmät alas luotuina. Hän aavisti veljensä katseesta jotain uhkaavaa.

Halloo, Mrs. Esterholm! huudahti Jones, teeskennellen kohteliaisuutta. Halloo, vastasi Ben, yksitoikkoisena.

Mikä sattuma se on joka teidänlaisen miehen on ajanut tänne palvelustyttöä tapaamaan? Toivoni olisi, että Mr. Jones tästä lähtien hakisi itselleen sopivampaa seuraa ja jättäisi palvelustytöt rauhaan. — Hänen äänensä ilmaisi uhkausta.

Mutta Jones istui alallaan rauhallisena ja vastasi Mr. Estterholm on oikea mies. Puhutte suoraa kieltä. Siitä minä pidän. Totta on että meidän yhteiskunnallinen asemamme ovat suuresti erilaiset ja olisi perin lapsellista kieltää, että en kuuluisi toiseen luokkaan. Olen saanut toisellaisen kasvatuksen. Minulla on toisellaiset tulevaisuuden suunnitelmat, toisenlaiset ihanteet ja tarkoitusperät, kuin teillä. — Minä en välitä siitä, jos löydän mieluiseni tytön, matalasta majasta tai palatsista, minä seuraan rakkauden ääntä ja tunteiden vaatimuksia. — Ja hänen katseensa harhaili sinne tänne kun hän jatkoi. — Minä olen seurannut sydämmeni ääntä löytäessäni tämän pienen miellyttävän sisarenne. Hän on minulle rakkain, mitä tielleni on koskaan ennen sattunut. Joko ymmärrätte miksi olen täällä, Mr. Esterholm? Ja sanon vielä, että Lilistä tulee minun vaimoni ja ymmärtääkseni ei teillä pitäisi olla mitään sitä vastaan.

— Erittäin hyvä! Hyvä, Mr. Jones. Minusta näyttää että teillä olisi tavattoman hyvät edellytykset tulla kuuluisaksi näyttelijäksi ja olempa oikein pahoillani että olette kulkeutunut väärälle uralle. —

Jones kävi levottomaksi ja pureskeli huuliaan, sanomatta sanaakaan. Ben jatkoi. — Olette kenties onnistunut viettelemään siskoni, kuten sitä ennen monen muun nuoren tytön jotka viattomuudessaan eivät ole nähneet teissä mitään pahaa. Olette onnistunut löpertelyillänne heittämään verkon heidän silmilleen! — Teidän oma tuntonne ei siitä kärsi, jos olettekin saattanut tytön koko elämäkseen onnettomaksi! Minä vihaan sellaisia olioita, jotka kyynillisyydessään menevät niin pitkälle!

— Te nähtävästi unhoitatte, kenelle te puhutte Mr. Esterholm!

— Päinvastoin minä tiedän, että puhun yhdelle sellaiselle oliolle joka ei valitse keinoja mennäkseen saastaisen mielikuvituksensa perille. Mikään ei estä minun näkemästä, mihin teidän tarkoituksenne tähtäävät!

Lili lähestyi Benia ja pyyteli rauhoittumaan, mutta Ben työnsi hänet syrjään ja sanoi maltillisesti. — Minulla on sinullekin jotain sanomista sisko rukkani. Ole hiljaa, niin kauan kun olen selvittänyt asiani Mr. Jonessin kanssa. — Ymmärrän että te voitte nyt iloita ja teeskennellä rakastuneisuutta, siskoni herkka uskoisuuden ja tulevan avuttomuutensa vuoksi — nyt kun olette saattanut hänet onnettomaksi! Tietäkää, että nyt olette tavannut miehen, joka ei pelkää rikkauksianne ja arvoanne, vaan kohtelee teitä sellaisella arvolla kun teille todellisuudessa kuuluu!

Olempa utelias näkemään, oletteko huomenna yhtä urhoollinen ja rohkea kuten tänään? sanoi Jones ivallisesti.

Mr. Jones. Minä oletan teissä olevan niin paljon miehekkyyttä, että poistutte tästä huoneesta, ja jätätte sikoni rauhaan. Luvatkaa että ette tule häntä tästä lähtien enää vaivaamaan. Hakekaa arvonne mukaista seuraa!

Jones nousi, pisti kätensä takataskuun ja sanoi röyhkeästi. — En tunne mitään voimaa joka minun täältä ajaa ulos! Teidän käskyjänne ei minun tarvitse noudattaa. On parempi itsellenne jos poistutte ja jätätte koko kylän, ennenkö se on liian myöhäistä!

Ben näki, että Jones veti revolveria taskustaan hyökkäsi hän heti ylivoimaisena ja otti aseen pois sanoen, nyt ei leikitellä tällaisilla kaluilla.

Jonesin käsivarsi loukkaantui ja hieroili sitä hermostuneena. Ben jatkoi. — Teidänlaisenne miehet ovat kaikki yhtä heikkoja. Olisi parempi ettette koskaan erehtyisi koettelemaan voimianne kunnon miesten kanssa. — Otti sitten Jonesia käsivarresta kiinni ja talutti ulko-ovelle sanoen, menkää nyt kauniisti kotiinne, kun on vielä hyvä ilmakin. Mahdollisesti voi tulla pian sadekin. — Jones poistui sanomatta mitään, hampaitaan kiristellen.

Kun Jones oli lähtenyt, sanoi Lili. — Voi, mitä sinä Ben teit! Mitä luulet tästä seuraavan meille kaikille, etupäässä sinulle. — Etkö tiedä, että Jonesia sinun olisi kiittäminen siitä, että ei sinua ole työstä pois pantu. — Sinut olisi jo vangittu ellei Jones olisi käyttänyt vaikutusvaltaansa sinua puollustaessa. — Sinun toimintasi työläisten unioon järjestämisestä, on huomattu jo pitkän aikaa. Lukemattomia ilmiantoja on sinusta tehty komppanialle. Jones vain on saanut sen aikaan, että olet saanut näin kauan tehdä työtä, päätti hän ylen kiihtyneenä.

Ben sanoi rauhallisesti, minä olen tietänyt jo kauan minkälaisissa kirjoissa minä olen. Mutta luuletko, että minä kunnioitan tuollaisia roistoja siitä, että saan olla työssä. Tiedän hyvin senkin, miksi eivät ole minua ennemmin työstä pois ajaneet. Ymmärrän heidän tarkoituksensa. He ovat vartoneet tilaisuutta, vangituttaa minut, ovat vartoneet että esiintyisin varomattomasti ja he saisivat sitten yllytettyä poliisit niskaani. — Ei ole ollenkaan Jonesin ansiota, että olen näin kauan saanut olla työssä. Jos hän on niin sinulle uskottanut, on sekin yksi petollien keino ollut sinulle uskottaa hyvyyttään. — Ja jos hän olisi jotain hyväkseni tehnytkin niin luuletko, että säästäisin selkänahkaani sinun häpeäsi ja onnettomuutesi kustannuksella, ei koskaan! Minä uskallan mennä vaikka vankilaankin asiani puolesta. — On sinne uskaltaneet monet muut, jo ennen minua...

Lili sanoi arkaillen. — Miksi sinä ajattelet Jonesista niin huonoa, kuin sanoit? Eihän hän ole paha mies. — Minulla on syytä epäillä tuollaisia kettuja! Hän omaa täydellisesti porvarillisen moraalin. — Kiihtyen. — Hän on kasvatettu rikollisesti ryöstetyllä omaisuudella. Työläiset ovat uhranneet verensä ja henkensäkin heidän hyväkseen kuten meidänkin isämme ja monet muut, jotka olemme tunteneet. He ovat röyhkeitä ja kohtelevat meitä kuin raakoja eläimiä.

Hillitymmin. — Mitä Jonesiin tulee. Olen kuullut, että hän on turmellut jo monen nuoren tytön elämän ainiaaksi, kuten toisetkin kaltaisensa. — Tätä sanoessaan astui talon emäntä sisään. Ben pyyteli anteeksi kysyen, olette kai kuulleet mitä täällä on tapahtunut?

Olen, vastasi emäntä. Kyllä Ben on oikeassa. — Mutta minä tulin ilmoittamaan, että joku tuntematon mies oli puhelimessa ja kysyi josko Ben Esterholm on täällä. Minä uskon tietäväni, että se oli salapoliisi ja aikoo tulla vangitsemaan sinua, siksi tulin ilmoittamaan sinulle että tiedät mitä teet.

Ben naurahti sanoen. -- Sen minä kyllä arvasinkin. Mutta minun vangitsemiseni ei ole varsin niin helposti tehty kuin on sanottu. Lili laita itsesi matkaan me emme voi jäädä tähän paikkaan kauemmaksi, meidän täytyy jättää koko valtio.

Minä en voi lähteä, vaikeroi Lili. Enkä usko että Jones voisi sinua vangituttaa.

Onneton tyttö! Valmista sitten itsesi ottamaan vastaan kaikki kohtalosi, sanoi Ben katkerana. — Minun täytyy lähteä ja heti, en voi enempää viivytellä. — Voi älä lähde Ben, minä pyydän, älä lähde. — Minä pyydän Jonesilta anteeksi sinun käyttäytymisesi. — Hän kyllä antaa sen anteeksi sinulle.

Älä vaivaudu tekemään sitä tyhmyyttä. Minä kadun kun en vääntänyt päätä irti siltä konnalta.

Ben läksi omaan huoneeseensa ja jonkun minuutin kuluttua palasi tuntemattomana ja pukeutuneena.

Kun hän astui ruoka saliin missä ruokatalon emäntä istui, sanoi Ben, olenko vanhentunut sitten viime näkemisenne?

Emäntä katsoi ihmeessään. Empä tosiaankaan olisi sinua tuntenut, jos et olisi puhunut mitään!

Benista oli tullut vanha, harmaahahpsinen mies, jolla oli pitkä parta ja horjuvat askeleet, silmälasit nenällään hän asteli ruokailu huoneessa. Hän lähetti pojan naapuriin sanoen. — Käske heti Matson tänne autollaan. Sano että Ben lähetti sinut pyytämään, älä sano mitään muuta.

Talon emäntä laittoi vielä Benille kahvia ja pienen eväspaketin lausuen. — Tarvitset nämä iltaseksi. Kyllä sinua nyt on vaikea kenenkään tuntea ja sinunlaista miestä on nyt vaikea löytää, vakuutti hän.

Ben otti raha pussinsa esiin ja sanoi, minä maksan ruokani ja asuntoni nyt, mitä minä olen velkaa? — Emäntä sanoi. — Eihän siitä ole kuin kaksi päivää, sinähän silloin maksoit enemmän kun määräsin, joten ei sinulla ole nyt mitään maksamista, kiitos vain ja onnea yrityksillesi päätti emäntä.

Nyt saapuikin jo Matson autoineen, hän uteli mikä kiire lähtö sinulle nyt on tullut, ethän päivällä puhunut lähdöstäsi mitään?

— No täytyyhän sitä minunkin päästä hellutelemaan näin lauantai-iltana, puhui Ben leikillään. Hän ojensi kätensä emännälle, pyydellen että hän vähän pitäisi siskoaan silmällä ja katsoisi ettei Jones ole ympärillä. — Jos hän jonnekin lähtee täältä, niin koettakaa ottaa selvää mihin päin on mennyt. Antakaa minun tietää asioista silloin tällöin. Hyvästi siis ja kiitos kaikesta, sanoi Ben, astuessaan ulos, vetäen naamion kasvoilleen. Hän kehoitti Matsonia ajamaan lähimmälle rautatien vesisäiliölle. Siitä hän saa kymmenen minuutin kuluttua tavarajunan, sillä matkustan kauas länteen, sanoi Ben.

Nyt luuli hän olevansa turvassa, kun istui kiitävässä junassa joka kuljetti häntä pois näiltä vaarallisilta alueilta.

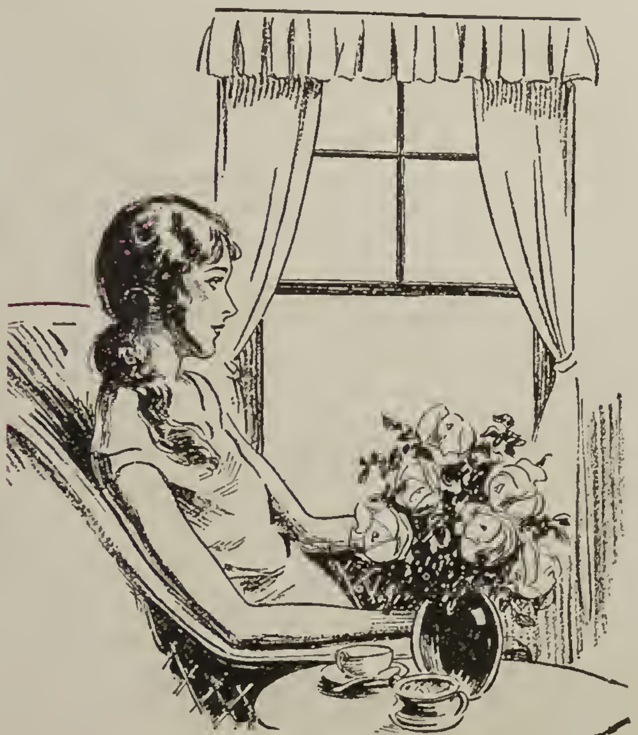
* * *

Oli kulunut jo kuusi kuukautta Benin lähdöstä Almakin oli sillävälin muuttanut kaivoskylään. Hän oli nyt komppanian ruokatalossa keittäjänä. Eräänä iltana saapui Alma tervehtimään Liliä. Kun hän astui Lilin oven taakse kuuli hän sieltä hiljaista laulun hyminää ja eroitti sanat:

Rintani on rauhaton
ja sydäntäni polttaa.
Etkö armas muistakaan?
Et' kultas täällä oottaa?

Oi miks' et' yhtä sanaakaan,
Sa mulle tiedoittanut?
Vai onko toinen rakkaampi,
Sun lempes valloittanut.

Se sydän aina sairas on,
mi kerran haavan saa.
Ei enää muu kuin kuolema,
Voi sitä parantaa. —



Lili istui ikkunan edessä

Alma astui sisään. Lili istui ikkunan edessä selkä oveen päin, eikä huomannut Alman tuloa. Tuoksuvat kukkaset, joita Lili oli käynyt poimimassa maljakkoonsa levittivät tuoksua huoneessa. Alma lähestyi takaa päin Liliä ja sanoi. Hyvää iltaa, laulaja! Mutta sinulla täytyy olla kovin ikävää täällä, kun noin surullisia laulat?

Lili nousi tervehtimään Almaa sanoen, tervetuloa, olipa se oikein hyvä, että tulit. — Minulla todellakin on toisinaan kovin ikävää. Mutta riisu nyt päällysvaatteesi pois ja istu alas, tarjoten keinutuolin Almalle. — Alma katseli Liliä omituisen tarkkaavasti ja kysyi — Oletko sairas, vai miksi olet noin kalvennut ja muuttunut?

Lili ei voinut hillitä tunteitaan, vaan purskahti itkuun ja sanoi, olen sairas enkä tiedä mitä tekisin, kun ei Joneskaan ole antanut mitään tietoa itsestään. — Älä itke lapsi, ei se itkemällä parane, kyllä kaikki menee taasen pian hyvin — koetti Alma lohdutella.

On jo kulunut neljä kuukautta kun Jones läksi täältä ja sanoi menevänsä kotonaan käymään Bostonissa. Eikä ole edes yhtään kertaa kirjoittanut minulle, vaikka tietää miten asiani ovat.

Vai sellainen roisto sekin ja sinä luotitkin vielä tuohon lurjukseen. Kyllä sietäisi joutua edesvastuuseen tuollaisesta petoksesta, kun kehtaakin narrata lapsen ja jättää oman onnensa nojaan, pauhasi nyt Alma, silmät tulta iskien. — Mutta jos Ben saa elää vähänkin aikaa, niin kyllä hän tulee tuolle lurjukselle kostamaan tekojensa mukaan, olen varma siitä.

— Oletko saanut Beniltä mitään tietoa? kysyi Lili. - - Olen, hän kirjoittaa minulle usein ja kyselee sinun vointiasi. Hän tietysti tietää sinun asiasi, miten ne jäivät kun läksi täältä.

Hän tietää. — Aikooko Ben tulla tänne takaisin? — Hän tulee kun saa viikon loman. Ben on nyt Kanadan vuoristossa, rautatie työssä ja aikoo käydä tervehtimässä minua.

— Oi kun minä olen onnetoin. Minä ihan häpeän tavata Beniä. Kun hän lähteissään sanoi minulle minkälainen mies Jones on ja minä en uskonut häntä sellaiseksi ja kieltäydyin lähtemästä Benin mukaan. Hän olisi vienyt minut täältä. — Mutta minä uskoin vielä silloinkin, että Jones aikoo minut korjata avioliittoon. — Ja kun en minä uskonut Benia, vaikka hän niin varmasti vakuutti olevansa oikeassa. Minä en voi tavata Benia. Sinun täytyy sanoa että olen muuttanut jonnekin, etkä tiedä minne, vaikeroi Lili.

Älä hyvä lapsi haudo tuollaisia ajatuksia mielessäsi. Nythän sinä juuri kipeimmin Benia tarvitsetkin Ben on veljesi hän rakastaa sinua ja hän ei vihaa sinua, vaan Jonesia, kyllä hän ymmärtää, että sinä olet vielä lapsi ja tarvitset apua juuri nyt. Ben kyllä pitää huolen sinusta, samoin kuin siskostasikin, Laurasta. Muistathan ettei hän vihannut Lauraakaan, vaan teki parhaansa että kaikki menisi hyvin, lohdutteli Alma yhä.

— Kuule, oletko sinä rakkaussuhteissa Benin kanssa? uteli Lili. — Miksi sitä kysyt? — Minä toivoisin niin mielelläni, että teistä tulisi onnellinen pari . . .

Alma jäi miettimään hetkeksi ja sanoi sitten. — Enpä tiedä varmaan sanoa, minä kyllä pidän paljon Benistä, mutta pelkään, että Ben ei välitä minusta niin paljon että voisin sellaista kuvitella. —

Hän on kyllä minulle hyvä ja kohtelias, mutta kertaakaan ei hän ole maininnut, eikä puhunut sinne päinkään. — Tiedän kyllä, että hän on minusta niin paljon yläpuolella, että ei minun sopisi sellaista toivoakaan.

— Mitä tarkoitat sillä? ?kysyi Lili hämmästyneenä. — Tarkoitan, että Ben on kaikin puolin kunnioitettava mies ja luulen että hän tuntee arvonsa ja siksi toiseksi hän on syventynyt yhteiskunnallisiin kysymyksiin koko sielullaan, että hän tuskin koskaan pysähtyy ajattelemaan avioliittoa. — Hänelle näyttää olevan työväenliikkeen eteenpäin vieminen sydämenasiana, eikä hän hetkeksikään unohda luokkataistelun asiaa.

Talon emäntä astui sisään ja huomasi, että tytöt keskustelivat vakavista asioista. — Taisimpa tulla sopimattomaan aikaan, koska olette noin vakavissanne? — Alma katsahti emäntään ja sanoi, Totta on, että juttelimme vakavista asioista. Mutta tuntuu kuin saisi lohtua sydämelleen, kun saa jonkun kanssa niistä vakavista asioista puhua.

Aivan niin tuumi emäntä. Olipa hyvä, että Lilillä on täällä seuraa. Minulla onkin nyt ikävä uutinen Lilille. — Mitä — mikä uutinen? hätäili Lili ja nousi ottamaan emännän käsivarresta kiinni.

Emäntä istahti ja kertoi, että kun Ben läksi täältä, pyysi hän että pitäisimme silmällä Jonesin toimia ja nyt olemme sen verran saaneet tietää, erään, mieheni entisen työkaverin kautta, että hän on jossain Tyynenmeren rannikolla mennyt avioliittoon erään rikkaan lesken kanssa, joka omistaa suuren puutavaraliikkeen ja sahamyllyn siellä, päätti emäntä päästäen pitkän huokauksen.

Lilin katse näytti sammuvalta ja hän tuijotti eteensä lattiaan, kun samassa alkoi huojua ja huusi, Ben! Ben! Hän olisi kaatunut lattiaan, mutta Alman valpas silmä huomasi sen ajoissa ja hän ehti ottamaan kiinni tuon vapisevan olennon.

He kantoivat hänet vuoteeseen, Lilin kasvot olivat kuoleman kalpeat ja hän huokaili raskaasti. Alma hoiti ja koetti lohdutella, kaikella tarmollaan tuota avutonta tyttö raukkaa.

Hän puheli. Sinäkin olet vain yksi uhri lisää kapitalistiluokan uhrialttarille. — Sinun on kestettävä ja otettava vastaan kaikki tyyneesti, että voit säilyttää ainakin terveytesi. — Sinä olet vielä nuori ja elämässäsi voi tulla vielä päivän paistettakin . . .

Lili ikäänkuin heräsi ja sanoi, nyt minä ymmärrän mitä Ben tarkoitti kun hän minua varoitti luottamasta Jonesiin. — Ben tiesi mitä hän puhui. — Voi minkälaisia konnia miehet saattavat olla. — Joneskin himoitsi vain rikkautta ja mainetta. Ei heillä ole tunteita, kuten meillä köyhillä. — Ei heitä liikuta vaikka me kärsisimme minkälaisia — sielun tuskia — heidän tähtensä, vaikeroi Lili vuoteessa.

Ei lapsi, eivät he välitä siitä mitä me kärsimme. Meidän vain täytyisi heitä palvella nurkumatta kaikessa. He näkevät luokkarajat selvemmin kuin me. He näkevät palvelustytössä vain olion, joka ei ole minkään arvoinen heidän mielestään, sanoi Alma, vakava ilme kasvoillaan.

Emäntä, joka oli seurannut heidän keskustelujaan alkoi nyt poistua ja sanoi Almalle — Sinussa on paljon yhtäläisyyttä ja ajatustapaa Benin kanssa. — Minä toivoisin, että teistä tulisi enemmän kuin tuttavat toisillenne — ja jatkoi — Minun täytyy nyt mennä. Ole sinä Alma Lilin hoitajana täällä kunnes hän vähän voimistuu. Minä keitän kahvia ja tuon tänne, että Lilikin virkistyy.

Emännän lähdettyä, sanoi Lili Almalle. — Voi jos minussakin olisi niin voimakas luonne kuin on sinulla. En minä olisi tällaiseen asemaan joutunutkaan. Mutta minä olin niin lapsellinen, nyt sen vasta huomaan. — Nyt kun en voi sitä enää auttaa . . .

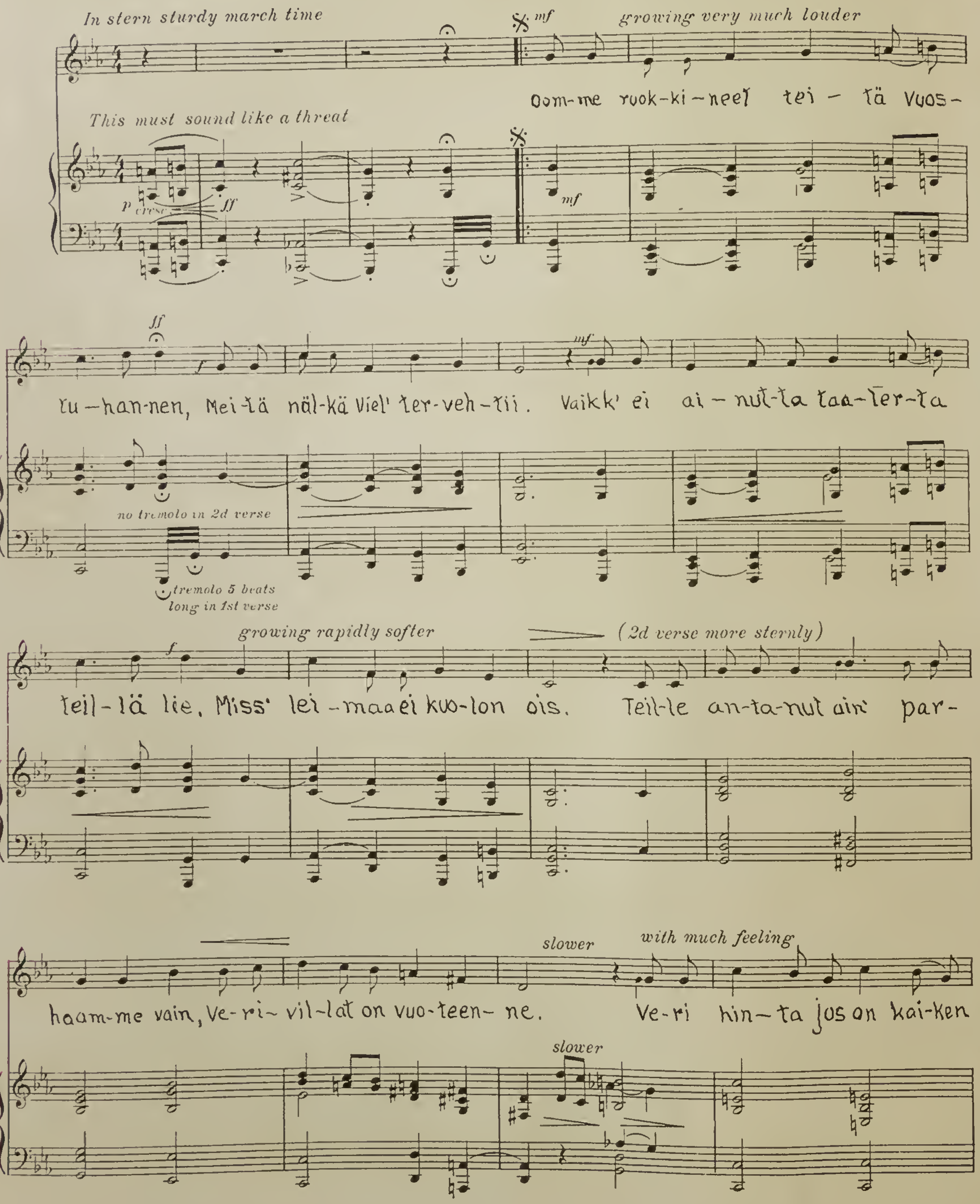
Sinä olit kaunis ja miellyttävä, siksi jouduit tuon pedon kynsiin. Jos olisit ymmärtänyt valita toverin itsellesi omasta luokastasi, ei sinulle näin olisi käynytkään, sillä oman luokkasi jäsenillä on edesvastuuntunne voimakas ja he eivät saata lapsia onnettomaksi.

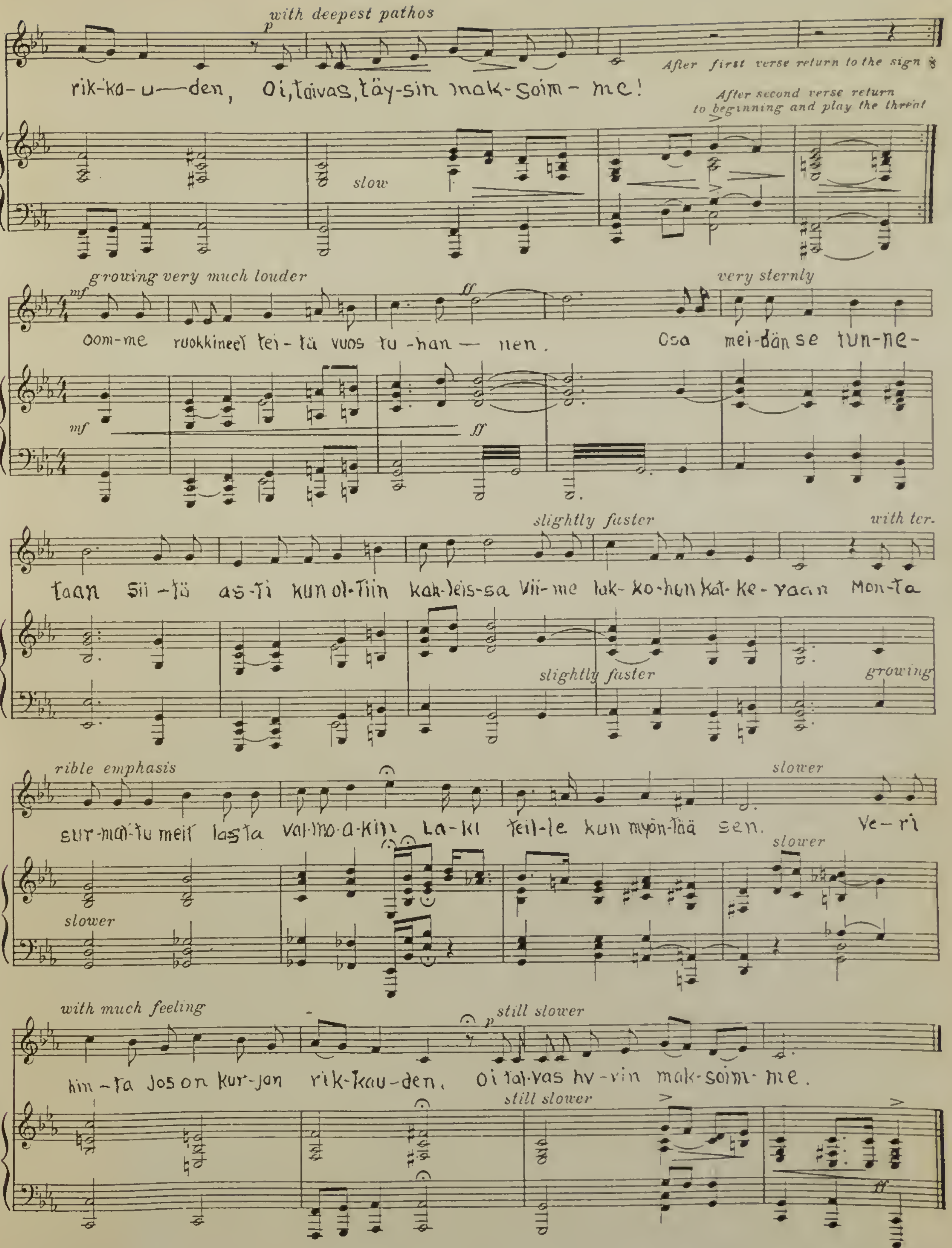
Kuului koputusta ovelta. Alma riensi aukaisemaan ja sisään astui mies joka näytti olevan siinä kolmenkymmenen iässä. Hän muistutti jotain rikollista kämpläriä tai kapakoitsijaa. Leveä ihrainen naamansa samoin kuin vatsansakin tekivät inhoittavan vaikutuksen.

(Jatketaan.

Oomme Ruokkineet Teitä Vuostuhannen

Kirj. Tuntematon Proletaari
Suom. RFG.
Säv. Rudolf Liebich


In stern sturdy march time
mf
growing very much louder
Oom-me ruok-ki-neet tei – tä vuos–
This must sound like a threat
p cresc
ff
mf
ff
f
tu–han-nen, Mei-tä näl-kä viel' ter-veh-tii. Vaikk' ei ai – nut-ta taa-ter-ta
no tremolo in 2d verse
tremolo 5 beats long in 1st verse
growing rapidly softer
f
(2d verse more sternly)
teil-lä lie, Miss' lei-maa ei kuo-lon ois. Teil-le an-ta-nut ain' par-
slower
with much feeling
haam-me vain, Ve-ri-vil-lat on vuo-teen-ne. Ve-ri hin-ta jos on kai-ken
slower


with deepest pathos
p
rik-ka-u—den, Oi, taivas, täy-sin mak-soim-me!
After first verse return to the sign 𝄋
After second verse return to beginning and play the threat
slow
growing very much louder
mf
oom-me ruokkineet tei-tä vuos tu-han—nen.
ff
very sternly
Osa mei-dän se tun-ne-
taan sii-tä as-ti kun ol-tiin kah-leis-sa Vii-me luk-ko-hun kat-ke-raan Mon-ta
slightly faster
with ter-
growing
rible emphasis
sur-mat-tu meil las-ta vai-mo-a-kin La-ki teil-le kun myön-tää sen. Ve-ri
slower
with much feeling
hin-ta Jos on kur-jan rik-kau-den. Oi tai-vas hy-vin mak-soim-me.
still slower
p
ff

Huumoria

Salaisuus.

— Heidän kihlauksensa on yhä salaisuus.

— Niinhän ne kaikki sanovat.

Tehtävä ajoissa.

Eräs pappi saarnasi että avioliitto on este itsemurhille. Emme ole varma siitä mutta se on totta, että jälkimäinen estää edellisen.

Pula tuntuu.

Hautaantoimittaja. — Enkö tuntisi pulaa! Tunnempa toki. En ole saanut haudata yhtään sielua puoleen vuoteen.

Vain Visitori.

Filmitähti. — (Esittää viimeksinaineensa miehen pikkutytölleen). — Nyt, darling tässä on sinun uusi isäsi.

Darling. — Oh, ole niin hyvä ja kirjoita jotakin minun visitorikirjaani!

Oli uutuus.

— Vai on Alkulaan lähes sata mailia lähimmästä kaupungista. Teillä ei siis liene usein kosketusta kaupungin kanssa. Käyttekö asemalla aina kun tulee juna?

— Mikä juna?

Savolaista.

Eräs savonukko tavanmukaan Kuopion markkinoilla vaihtoi vanhan luuskan nuorempaan hevoseen. Uusi hepo olikin virkkunlainen. Sitä siis piti kokeilla. Pantiin rillien eteen ja ajamaan kaupungin valtakatua edestakaisin päästä päähän. Viimein tarttuu esivalta suitsipieleen kiinni ja ärähtää:

— Mittee sie eestaa rilloot kesken päevee?

Ukko vastaa. — Kah, ajappa sie yhtäällepäen, suat nähä kuin kaavan pysyt kaapunnissa!

"Eekä tok piisannakkaa," ärähti savolainen kun tuli poltti navetan ja kysyttiin josko samalla paloi kaikki heinätkin.

Maailman lyhin runo.

On yö,
Täi syö!

Kaikki, kaikki.

Isä. — Voisitko sinä taata minun tyttärelleni kaikki mitä hän haluaisi?

Kosija. — Varmasti. Hän on vakuuttanut että ei halua muuta kuin minut.

Kyllä se niin oli.

Mike. — Näkee Patin sillalla aikeissa hypätä virtaan. Tarttuu hänen käteensä ja vetäsee Patin alas kaiteelta. — Miksi sinä Pati sellaiseen aiot ryhtyä, sehän on ihmisen viimeinen teko?

Pati. — Tämä maailma on minulle niin vastenmielinen joka tavalla, että kuolema on nyt kaikkein paras.

Mike. — Odotahan, Pat. Istumme tähän viideksitoista minuutiksi ja keskustelemme tästä asiasta. Jos sinä sitten vielä aiot toteuttaa aikeesi, niin olkoon menneeksi.

Mike ja Pati istuvat ja keskustelevat hartaasti käyttäen vuoroin suuvuoroja. Kun viisitoista minuuttia on kulunut, nähdään molemmat miehet hyppäävän sillalta virtaan.

Merenrannalla.

Mr. Gold saapuu merenrannalle pari viikkoa jälkeen kuin hänen rouvansa.

Gold. — Minä ampuisin kenen tahansa miehen, joka olisi sinua mielistellyt täällä minun poissaollessani.

Rouva. — Niinkö, rakkaani. Siinä tapauksessa olisi pitänyt tuoda mukanasi konekivääri.

Lola on juuri palannut sunnuntaikoulusta, jossa hän oli ensikertaa.

Isä. — Mitä minun pikku tyttöni nyt oppi siellä?

Lola. — Sen, isä, että olen Saatanan lapsi.

Voittaa 5-v. suunnitelman.

Mrs. Bloom. — Me vietämme sukulaistemme kesähuvilalla joka kolmannen kesän.

Mrs. Brown. — Niinkö, mitä te teette niinä välikesinä?

Mrs. Bloom. — Aina ensimmäisenä me juttelemme edellisen kesän kokemuksista ja toisena kesänä me suunnittelemme seuraavan kesän viettoa.

Synninpesu.

Kun vaimo sua alkaa vierastaa,
Se on merkki että sussa on vikaa.
Ala heti sun tapojasi parantaa,
Ja miehuuttas' vakavasti tarkastaa,
Ehkä näet siihen tarttuneen likaa.

Käy silloin kiireesti pesemään,
Joka tahrasen, pienen ja suuren.
Sitten vaimolles' auliisti näyttämään
Kuin lian oot saanut sa lähtemään,
— Niin taas voitte alkaa avion uuden.

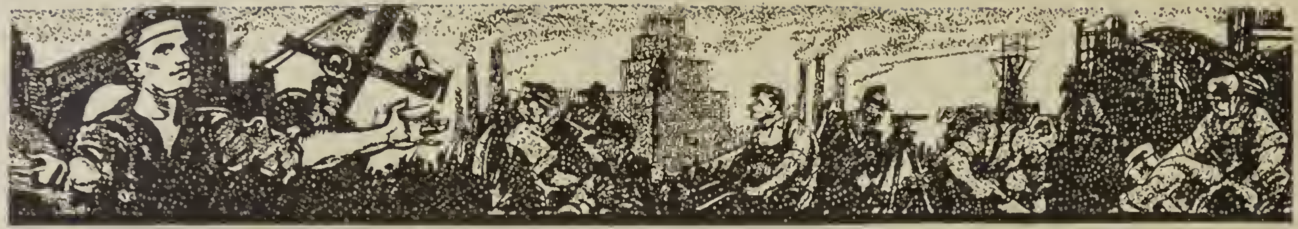
KOKENUT.

Oomme Ruokkineet Teitä Vuostuhannen

Oomme ruokkineet teitä vuostuhannen,
Meitä nälkä viel' tervehtii!
Vaikk' ei ainutta taaleria teillä lie,
Miss' leimaa ei kuolon ois.
Teille antanut ain' parhaamme vain,
Verivillat on vuoteenne.
Veri hinta jos on kaiken rikkauden,
Oi, taivas, täysin maksoimme!

Missä kaivos ilmahan räjähtää,
Teille siellä meit' haudataan!
Missä haaksi se rantahan ajehtii,
Sen uhrit on meistä vaan!
Uhrit meistä siel' missä ahjon lies;
Tehtaissa, miss' kehräämme!
Veri hinta jos on kurjan kultanne,
Oi, taivas, täysin maksoimme!

Chorus:
Oomme ruokkineet teitä vuostuhannen.
Osa meidän se tunnetaan
Siitä asti kun oltiin kahleissa,
Viime lakkohon katkeraan!
Monta surmattu meit', lasta, vaimoakin,
Laki teille kun myöntää sen.
Veri hinta jos on kurjan rikkauden,
Oi, taivas, hyvin maksoimme!



Sirpaleita Maksim Gorjkin 40-Vuotistyöstä

EI MENE suomalaiselle työväestölle valtameren tälläpuolen muuta kuin mielenkiintoista tutustua edes osittain kuuluisan venäläisen proletaarikirjailija Maksim Gorjkin neljäkymmenvuotta kestäneeseen kirjailijatoimeen, jonka kunniaksi tämän vuoden lokakuussa juhlittiin suuremmoisesti Venäjällä. Turvaudumme näin suuressa asiassa vain tunustetun asiantuntijan julkiantamiin tiedotuksiin ja kuvailuihin, koska pidämme sen tavan lukijallekin edullisempana.

Yleisessä valistustyössä ja kirjallisuuden erikoistuntijana pidetty A. V. Lunatsharskij on kirjoittanut laajasti Maksim Gorjkin 40-vuotistyön kunniaksi, josta on tehty lyhenneltyjä suomennoksia, jotka antavat meillekin mahdollisuuden syventyä tähän harvinaiseen asiaan. Ja siis se mitä tässä tulemme lukemaan, on lainausta suomennetusta Lunatsharskij'n työstä. Lähdemme siihen:

Maksim Gorjki näyttelee venäläisen kirjallisuuden historiassa erikoista osaa ei ainoastaan ensiluokkaisten lahjojensa ja lukuisten tuotteidensa taiteellisen muodon ja arvokkaan sisällön puolesta, vaan myöskin proletaarisen kirjallisuuskauden ensimäisenä mahtavana edustajana. — M. Gorjki on proletaarisen kirjallisuuden edelläkävijänä ja alkajana, proletaarisen kirjallisuuden esitaistelijana. Gorjki kohosi proletaariseen luokkatietoisuuteen hitaasti, asteettain. Tulevat kirjailijapolvet tulevat tässä suhteessa olemaan puhtaampia sekä syvemmällä ja laajemmalla luokkatietoisuudella varustettuja. Tällainen rajapyykillä olo on antanut aihetta epäillä, voidaanko Gorjki lukea proletaariseksi kirjailijaksi, mutta ne saavutukset, jotka G:lla on venäläisen kirjallisuuden uuden kauden luomisessa ja ne vaikeudet, jotka G:n oli voitettava, suuresti ylittävät ne kiertämättömät puutteellisuudet ja epäkohdat, jotka G:lla oli nuoruudessaan.

Gorjki on aivan ensimäisen kauden proletaarinen kirjailija, jolloin proletariaatin oli tavattoman vaikea nostaa omaa komennuskuntaansa, varsinkin kaunokirjallisuuden alle. Teorian ja politiikan alalla intelligenssin parhaat edustajat näyttelivät proletariaatille tärkeätä osaa, mutta taidetyön alalla ei sitä ollut. Ja juuri tämän takia voimmekin arvioida, miten suuri arvo oli siihen aikaan sellaisilla Gorjkin tuotteilla kuin "Äiti," "Viholliset," y. m., vaikka tekijä ei ollutkaan lähtöisin tehdasproletariaatin keskuudesta.

Perusvoimia G:n tietoisuudessa jo varhaisessa nuoruudessa olivat romantiikka ja realismi tavattoman omituisissa keskinäisissä suhteissa. G. pyrki onnelliseen elämään, jossa lahjakkaat ihmiset, veljellisissä suhteissa keskenään, loisivat jättiläismäistä kulttuuria, joka olisi sopusoinnussa mahtavan luonnon kanssa. Mutta G. ei aina pitänyt luontoa tällaisen sisältörikkaan onnen ehtona. Ihmistäkin, kaikista hänen heikkouksistaan huolimatta, piti G. korkeana olentona. Tämän on m. m. lausunut erään novellinsa ("Mies") sankari Shebujev seuraavasti: "Ei ole totta, että elämä on synkkä, että siinä on vain haavoja, valituksia, kurjuutta ja kyyneleitä. Siinä on ei ainoastaan alhaista, mutta myöskin sankarillista, ei vain likaista, mutta myöskin valoisaa, tenhovaa ja kaunista. Siinä on kaikki, mitä ihminen haluaa ja ihmisellä on voimaa, luodakseen sen, mitä luonnossa ei ole. Tätä voimaa on tänää vähän — se kehittyy huomenna."

Mutta vaivaloinen tie, jonka Gorjki on kulkenut, osoitti hänelle niin paljon kielteisiä ilmiöitä, että hän helposti tuli tuntemaan kuilun romanttisten toiveittensa ja todellisuuden välillä. Tämän takia tuntee hän tarvetta kertoa intelligenttisille lukijoille elämän karvasta totuutta. Kertomuksessaan "Ihmiset" G. sanoo: "Kertoessani näistä kauhuista tahdon osoittaa teille, missä te elätte ja miten elätte. Kaikki me elämme surkean inhottavaa ja likaista elämää, kas siitä on kysymys."

Gorjki vähitellen muuttui intelligentiksi ja on luonnollista, että tämä yhteiskunnallinen ryhmä kiinnitti hänen huomion puoleensa. Hän suhtaantui tähän kerrostumaan hyvin monimutkaisesti. Alkoi romaanikautensa intelligenttien kanssa, joka oli paljon pitempi kuin kulkuriromaanien kausi. Intelligenssiä jaotellessaan eri ryhmittymiin ja yliarvioidessaankin Gorjki hyvin ymmärsi sen, että se ei ole yhteiskunnallisuuden perusvoimana eikä joudu läheskään kärsimään sellaisesta suuresta kurjuudesta, jossa G. näki ihmiskunnan enemmistön olevan. Ja vähitellen selveni G:lle sen työtätekevän väestönosan — teollisuusproletariaatin — osuus mikä hänelle kauan oli kaukaisena ja epäselvänä. Taiteilijana G. ensi kertaa vakavasti lähestyi proletariaattia näytelmässään "Vihollisct", joka oli kirjoitettu v. 1906. On selvää, että sysäyksenä tämän näytelmän kirjoittamiseen olivat vuoden 1905 tapahtumat.

Viime vuosina ja vuosikymmenenä on Gorjki tehnyt tavattoman paljon työtä. Hänen taiteilijakykynsä ei ole laisinkaan himmennyt. Siitä on todisteena esim. romaani "Djelo Artamonovyih," jossa Gorjki täytti pitempiaikaisen toiveensa — saada kuvatuksi kokonaisen kauppiassuvun historia. Tässä suurteoksessa on niin paljon elävyyttä ja värikkyyttä, jollaiseen täydellisyyteen G. ei missään aikaisemmassa teoksessaan ole päässyt. Vielä keskeneräinen romaaninsa "Neljäkymmentä vuotta" eli "Klim Samginin elämä" tulee olemaan valtavana yhteenvetona Gorjkin elämänkokemuksista ja aivankuin kokoelmana niistä ihmisistä ja aatteista, joita G. on tavattoman monipuolisessa elämässään tavannut.

Taiteilijana on Gorjkilla erikoinen sija venäläisessä kirjallisuudessa ei ainoastaan aihepiirinsä laajuuden ja sosialistisen asenteensa, vaan myöskin välittömien kirjailijalahjojensa puolesta. Lahjakkuutensa puolesta G. kuuluu maailmankirjailijoiden joukkoon. Tämä G:n kyky on selvitettävissä ei ainoastaan monivivahteisen ja mutkikkaan elämänsä rikkailla kokemuksilla, mutta myöskin herkällä havaintokyvyllä ja muistin laajuudella. Taiteilijan luovat hänen psykoloogiset kolme perusominaisuuttaan: havaintokyvyn herkkyys, tarkkuus ja rikkaus, toiseksi — kyky pysyttämään muistissaan ja muokkaamaan saadut havainnot aivankuin säilyttääkseen niitä pitemmät ajat varastossaan, ja kolmanneksi — kyky esittää, ilmaista ne kyllin voimakkaasti ja sytyttävästi. Kaikissa näissä kolmessa suhteessa on Gorjkilla erinomaiset lahjat.

Gorjkin sanonnan värikkyyden ohella, kuvatkoonpa hän sitten elämän kurjuus- ja synkkiä taikka aurinkoisia puolia, on sille ominaista myöskin musikaalisuus. Gorjki on erittäin vaativa sanonnan selvyyden alalla ja hän tavattomalla tarkkuudella voi huomata rytmien puutteen lauseessa. Gorjkin proosa laulaa rytmikkäästi ja juhlallisesti silloin, kun se siirtyy valitteluun ja silloinkin, kun on kyseessä riemu ja ilo. Gorjkin kieli astuu miehekkäin askelin kuin marssissa.

Dramaturgina on Gorjki heikompi kuin romaanien ja novellien tekijänä. Tässä joutuu hän vaille kaunokirjailijan keinoja. Dramaturgiassa hän on määrätyssä suhteessa Tshehovin oppilaana ja vaikkakin näytelmissään asettaa ratkaistavaksi paljon tärkeämpiä probleemeja kuin Tshehov, niin muodollisesti on niissä samaa liiallista vuoropuhelua, mielialojen ja asenteiden vaihtelua. Tästä huolimatta on Gorjkin näytelmissä muutamia erittäin vaikuttavia kohtia ja tyyppejä. Esim. näytelmä "Pohjalla" muodollisista vajavaisuuksistaan huolimatta on tänäkin päivänä aatteellisen, kielellisen ja elintapakuvausten rikkautensa puolesta venäläisten teatterin ja näyttämötaiteen loistonäytelmiä.

Gorjki on paljon kirjoittanut myöskin arvosteluja ja artikkeleita eri kysymyksistä. Parasta, mitä on kirjoitettu Leon Tolstoista, ovat Gorjkin kirjoitukset. Arvokkaita ovat myöskin hänen kuvauksensa Leninistä ja Korolenkosta. — Erittäin arvokkaana lahjana ihmiskunnalle tulee olemaan Gorjkin suunnattoman suuri kirjeenvaihdossa kertynyt kirjemäärä. Mahdotonta lienee saadakaan kokoon kaikkia Gorjkin kirjoittamia kirjeitä, mutta nekin, jotka ovat saatavissa, osoittavat Gorjkin suurta kirjeenvaihtotaitoa. Hän on kirjoittanut suunnattomat määrät kirjeitä ystävilleen, tuttavilleen, tuntemattomille, aivan satunnaisille henkilöille, työläisille, kollektivisteille, puna-armeijalaisille, lapsille. Kaikissa niissä on puhuttu tärkeistä asioista ja joskus voidaan löytää todellisia helmiä, ohjeita eri kysymysten alalla.

Gorjkin työkyky on tavaton. Hän tekee työtä 10—12 tuntia vuorokaudessa, kirjoittaen teoksiaan, kuin myöskin lukien erilaista kirjallisuutta, mikä on tehnyt hänet aikamme yhdeksi sivistyneimmäksi ihmiseksi. Tämän lisäksi hän kirjoittaa vastauksia ja ohjeita eri henkilöiden kirjeiden johdosta, työskentelee lehtien ja kirjojen toimittajana, tarkastaa käsikirjoituksia, joko toimittajan ominaisuudessa, taikka yksinkertaisesti antaa ohjeita ystävilleen, vanhempana toverina. Nykyään hän kirjeenvaihdollaan nuoren kirjailijapolven kanssa on sanomattoman suuri organisatoorinen ja uria aukova merkitys.

Raskas elämä, joka lankesi Gorjkin osalle hänen nuoruudessaan, on jättänyt häneen pysyvät jäljet. Hän on sairas, keuhkonsa ovat heikot, jotka usein asettavat työkykynsä ja elämänsäkin uhkan alaiseksi, mutta luonnostaan Gorjkilla on rautainen organismi. Hänen laiha, korkea ja hieman kumarainen vartalonsa on esikuvana ihmiselimistön joustavuudesta. Kaikki hänen liikkeensä ovat todisteena suuresta sisäisestä voimasta, joka olisi aikaansaanut vieläkin enemmän, elleivät kärsimykset ja rasitukset olisi olleet esteenä. Mutta kaikki nämä on teräksinen organismi voittanut ja antaa toiveita korkeasta iästä, jonka loppukausi ei tule olemaan vähemmän tuottoisa kuin tähänastisetkaan.

Yhteenvedoksi luonnekuvaukselleni Gorjkista lainaamme sanat hänen omasta artikkelistaan, joka on julkaistu kokoelmassa "Shit" ("Kilpi"): "Siihen saakka, kunnes emme opi pitämään ihmistä planeettamme kauneimpana ja ihmeellisimpänä ilmiönä, siihen saakka me emme vapaudu elämämme valheellisuudesta ja alhaisuudesta. Tässä vakaumuksessa minä astuin maailmaan, tässä vakaumuksessa myös lähden ja lähtiessäni alan järkkymättä uskoa, että jolloinkin maailma tunnustaa: pyhin pyhimmistä on ihminen."

———o———

Orkesterissa 700 Jäsentä

Äskettäin pitivät Rumanian musikantit viikon kestäneen vuotuisen konvetnsioninsa Bucharestissa. Konventsionin väliaijoilla suorittivat soittajat maailman kuuluksi tulleita konsertti-esityksiä. Eräästä mainitaan amerikalaisissa lehdissä, joka pidettiin pääkaupungin Carolparkissa olevalla Roman Arenalla, johon osallistui kaikkiaan 700 musikanttia. Mainitaan, että tämän jättiläisorkesterin soittaessa sävellystä "Tannhäuser", oli tämän sävellyksen overtyyria soittanut kaksikymmentäkaksi torvea, "jotka olisivat yhtähyvin voineet olla vain yksi torvi, niin yhtäsointuinen oli niiden yhteissoitto."

AJAN KUVA

Kirj. K. KIIKKA.

Yön hiipuvan hiljaisuudes',
Kaikki äänet kun katoaa . . .
Työ, leikki, laulu ja laine
lepotilahan uinahtaa.
Kun unien hellään helmaan
työnraatajat raskahat saa.
Kun aurinko läntehen laskee,
kun taivahan valloittaa.

Mies liikkuvi vielä yksin,
mies kalpea kasvoiltaan;
yön synkeän syvyydessä,
kuni kulkeva kiertäjä maan.
Kenkä rikki, rikki on nuttu.
Suru, nälkä ja nääntymys syö.
Hänen sielunsa sisintä silpoo
epätoivojen tolkuton yö.

Puupenkille puiston vaipuu
hän harmaissa haaveissaan.
Kuin kuumeessa kuiskien hourii
ja valittaa vaivoissaan.
Vuoks' itsensi en sure suinkaan,
eestä lasteni antaisin,
oman henkeni, vaikka jo sillä
elinehtonsa turvaisin.

Mutta työtä en saa ja ne raukat
kuin tuhannet riutuvat muut.
Ne nääntyvät nälkään. Turhaan
ne itkevät suru-suut.
Ja vaimoraukkani rakkain,
mitä heille hän antaa voi . . .
Yön hiljaisuudessa varmaan
epätoivossa vaikeroi.

Eikä hän ole yksi, mi kärsii.
Sama kohtalo tuhannet saa.
Sama nälkä, puute ja pula
jo miljoonat valloittaa.
Eikä toivoa huomisen päivän
samersilmähän köyhän näy.
Yhä kurjaa kurjemmaksi
tila päivä päivältä käy.

Ja kärsivän tumma tuska,
min päivisin jaksoi kantaa . . .
yön pilkkosen pimeydessä
satakertaisen iskunsa antaa . . .
Se saattavi mielehen monta
epätoivoista aatelmaa.
Hän tuokion tuumii . . . Vannoo:
En pelkää mä kuolemaa!

Minä koetan. Kävi kuin kävi.
Oli onni tai onnettomuus,
oman vaimoni, lasteni tähden.
vaikka kuolisin hirsipuus . . .
Hän kulkunsa kohdisti kohti
Yläkaupungin ravintolaa . . .
Siellä kassassa kaunis summa,
jolla lapsille leipää saa.

Kädet ilmaan ja istukaa hiljaa . . .
tai muuten se paukahtaa . . .
Oli hämminki suuri ja naiset
epätoivossa vaikertaa . . .
Käsin ahnahin kaikki hän kahmi
rahat kirstusta kiireissään . . .
Ulos syöksyvi synkkähän yöhön
ikiturvissa tumman sään.

Yksi aatos vain mielessä paloi:—
Omat lapseni kuolla ei saa,
niin kauan kuin kassoissa rahaa,
jolla rikkahat rillastaa.
Ja kotia kohti hän rientää
pikamarssissa kiiruhtain;
joka nurkassa vaanivat vaarat
pois mielestä unhottain.

Mutta tuskinpa tupaansa ehti
riemumielessä miekkonen tää,
kun ovesta esiin jo pistää
salapoliisin ponteva pää.
Hänet tunsivat ravintolassa.
Oli lyhkänen riemunsa hetki . . .
Lyhyt oikeuskuulustelukin . . .
Elinkautinen vankilaretki.

Ja vahvat on vankilan muurit.
Lujat raudat, rangit ja puut.
Sielä riutuvi rikkuen vanki,
kuni riutuvat tuhannet muut.
Nyt hiljaisuudessa halki
yön synkän mun korviini soi
kivimuurien mustien takaa . . .
kun tuomittu vaikeroi . . .

Miten katkera kalkki on juoda,
oi vaimoni, lapseni tää . . .
Olen kahlittu vankilan kauhuun,
jonka loppua ei edes nää.
Ja raiskatun ihmisraukan
viha villi on arvaamaton.
Mutta suurempi sortajaluokan
väkivalta on voittamaton.

Niin, että jos kirpoovi kahle
se viimeinkin haaskaajain,
on jälelle jäänyt raiska
sikisilvottu sielu vain.
Sikisilvottu sielu ja ruumis,
vihan vitsoma vaivoineen,
iesvallan vaanivan haukan
uhri uupunut haavoineen.

* * *

Mutta muurien toisella puolen
vain syveneen synkkyyden yö.
Työnpuute, kuin nälkä ja taudit
yhä yltyen köyhiä lyö.
Kun miljoonat työtönnä harhaa,
pula rintoja riuduttaa
ja tuhannet tuottajaraukat
vankityrmissä tyys'sijan saa.

Siksi juuret jo julmurivallan
tukiliitteissä tutjuaa..
Joka rinnassa riutuvan orjan
viha liekkinä leimuaa . . .
Se suitsuvi sielusta sieluun,
joka povehen polton saa.
Kun luokka tää vaivan ja vainon
jo vihdoinkin kuohahtaa.

Se piiskan ja pistimen valtaa
ja kääntää ne riistäjään,
Aseet, mi vuos'sadat vinkui
yli jokaisen raatajan pään.
Kas silloimpa silpojavalta
ilopäiväsi päättyvä on,
kun kulkevat kumousjoukot
viime voittohon, taistelohon.

Tili tuomiotiiman on läsnä
ja kirjotus seinällä tää:
Alas riisto ja riistäjämahti.
Ylös orjat jo rynnätkää!
Punalippuhun käyköön kiinni
joka raatava nainen ja mies,
joka riistetty, raastettu raukka,
jot'on iskenyt sortajan ies.

Ja silloimpa vankilamuurit,
tukipylväät ja rangit ratkee.
Silloimpa siteet ja piteet,
joka vangilta kahleet katkee.
Silloin on tuomari tuima
läpiraastettu rahvas 'työn.
Ja silloimpa sortajat kohtaa
tuhotuntinsa viimeisen yön!

Yhteiskunnallistuttamista Kohti

IHMINEN tuli 'paratiisista' karkoitetuksi. Paratiisi. Missä? Ei missään erikoisessa paikassa, vaan yleensä troopillisessa ja puolitroopillisessa vyöhykkeessä missä tahansa. Troopillinen alue on aikojen kuluessa muuttunut ja muuttuu edelleenkin. Metsäihminen 'Aatami ja Eeva') eli troopillisessa vyöhykkeessä hyvin yksilöllistä elämää, ollen sangen vähän riippuvainen toisista ihmisistä. Kun perhe ja sukukunta kasvaa, muodostuu siitä heimokunta. Tällaiset määrättyjen patriarkkaisien ympärille nousevat heimokunnat muodostavat kukin oman riippumattoman yhteiskuntansa. Troopillisissa maissa on alkuasukkaiden elämä tämäntapaista vielä tänäkin päivänä.

Elämä ulkopuolella 'paratiisin'.

He eivät käytä paljon aseita tai työkaluja, sillä he eivät niitä välttämättömästi tarvitse ja kuumassa ilmanalassa työskenteleminen on vaikeata. Heidän yhteiskunnallinen kehityksensä on sangen hidasta. Kun ISÄ tai 'keruubit' karkoittavat heimojäseniään ulommaksi 'paratiisista' tai kun kokonaiset heimot asuinpaikkaa muuttavat voimakkaimpien heimojen pakoittamana tai muista syistä, siirtyvät he ajanpitkään lauhkea- ja kylmäilmastoisiin seutuihin.

Näillä alueilla tarvitaan olemassaolontaistelussa suhteellisesti enemmän aseita ja työkaluja eli — tuotannonvälineitä. Tarvitaan parempi asunto, tarvitaan lämmitys, tarvitaan vaatteita.

Elinkeinot — valtiolaitos.

Karjanhoitoa ja maanviljelystä on harjoitettava, sillä luonnonantimet eivät sellaisinaan enää riitä tai sovellu ihmisen ravinnoksi. Läheinen ympäristö ei tarjoa kaikkia tarvikkeita, joten niitä on saatava muualta. Kehittyy kuletus ja vaihto. Ihminen, perhe tai heimo ei enää tule toimeen omin avuin, vaan tulee toisista riippuvaiseksi. Ihmisten lukumäärän lisääntyminen ja rajoitetut alueet johtavat heimo- tai kansakuntien välisiin sotiin. Erinäisille heimokunnille muodostetaan yhteinen puolustus- tai hyökkäyslaitos — valtio. Ihmiset tulevat alati enemmän yhteisöstä riippuvaisiksi. Ihmiselämä kehittyy yhteiskunnallisemmaksi.

Vaihtotalouden kehittyminen.

Vihdoin tullaan siihen pisteeseen, jolloin kaikki tarpeet täytetään vaihdon kautta. Kukaan ei tuota yksinomaan käyttöä varten. Kukaan ei tuota täyttä valmistetta, vaan tekee siitä vain osan. Kehittyy tavattoman laaja työjako. Tämä ulottuu kansakuntien ja mantereittenkin väliin. Se suurenee ja laajenee päivä päivältä ja vuosi vuodelta. Ihminen tulee enemmän ja enemmän yhteisöstä riippuvaksi. Kokonaiset kansakunnatkin tulevat toisistaan riippuvaisiksi. Ne koettavat alistaa toisiaan sotien avulla. Pääoma tunkeutuu lohikäärmeen tavalla ristiin rastiin kaikkiin maihin. Talous pyrkii sulautumaan yhteen, mutta hallitus- ja valtaluokat taistelevat sitä vastaan. Patriotismia lietsotaan kansoihin. Suunnattomia sotakoneistoja sekä armeijoita rakennetaan. Kansakunnat syöstään toistensa kurkkuihin joidenkin riisto- ja vallanhimoisten luokkien pyyteiden täyttämiseksi.

Natsiotismia saarnataan.

Samalla kun ihmisen hyvinvointi edellyttäisi talouskuntien laajentumista; yhä suurempaa työjakoa ja kansojen yhteensulautumista, taistelevat valtiolaitokset sitä vastaan. Tämä kehitysvastainen kamppailu ulottuu myös syvälle kansojen sisimpiin. Kouluissa, kirkoissa ja patriottisissa seuroissa opetetaan ja painostetaan nationalismia vetoamalla ihmisen alkuperäiseen perhe- ja heimovaistoon.

Kuletus yhteiskunnallistuu.

Kaikista poliittisista ponnisteluista huolimatta maailma yhteiskunnallistuu jättiläisaskelin. Se ilmenee kaikkialla ja kaikilla aloilla. Se ei pysähdy ainoastaan varsinaisiin tuotantolaitoksiin, missä se kouraantuntuvammin esiintyy, vaan tunkeutuu kaikille elämänaloille. Kulku ja matkustuskin yhteiskunnallistuvat. Yksityisten tai perhematkailujen sijasta järjestetään matkajoukkueita toisissa, sosiaalisemmissa puitteissa. Amerikasta esim. matkustellaan Europaan ja kaukaiseen itään määrätyissä joukoissa, joilla on omat oppaansa ja tulkkinsa ja joiden matkaohjelma on suunnitelmanmukainen määrätyn tarkoitusperän saavuttamiseksi. Venäjällä esim. melkein kaikki matkailu on tällaista joukkomatkailua, erittäinkin ulkomaalaisten suhteen. Yksityiset autot ja muut yksityiset kulkuvälineet tulevat häviämään pois käytännöstä, sillä niitä ei tarvita, paitsi farmeilla, jotka ovat kehityksestä jäljessä.

Kotielämän yhteiskunnallistuminen.

Asunnotkin yhteiskunnallistuvat. Ensimäinen askel on yksityistalous apartmenttitaloissa. Myöhemmin kenelläkään ei ole huonekaluja eikä omaa asuntoa, sillä paremman asunnon tulee saamaan halvemmalla yhteiskunnallisista taloista ja hotelleista. Syöntikin yhteiskunnallistuu. Ei kodeissa laiteta ruokaa, kun ei koteja olekaan, eikä niitä tarvita. Päinvastoin tehoistuminen ja työjako määrää ne häviämään.

Perheen yhteiskunnallistuminen.

Perhe ja avioliitto tulee myös muuttumaan kehityksen mukana. Yksityisperhe häviää kokonaan pois ja sen tilalle tulevat suuremmat ja erikoistuneet yhteiskunnalliset laitokset. Lapsen kasvattaminen yksityisperheessä tulee maksamaan kymmeniä tuhansia dollareita kun äidin tai lastenhoitajan työpalkka myös lukuunotetaan. Yhteiskunnallisissa laitoksissa voidaan antaa parempi hoito, opetus ja kasvatus pienellä murto-osalla siitä kustannuksesta kutakin lasta kohti. Parempi ja halvempi voittaa traditsionin vihdoin ja kun jokin kehityshaara kerran pääsee alkuun, eivät vitkastelijat voi kilpailla sen kanssa, vaan se tulee nopeasti yleisesti käytäntöön. Täten on käynyt esim. kouluille.

Vapaan tahdon avioliitto.

Avioliitto. Se pyhä laitos, jonka takia niin paljon kyyneleitä ja vertakin on vuodatettu. Avioliiton tarkoitus on uuden sukupolven kasvattaminen. Tulevaisuuden avioliitto tulee olemaan kokonaan kummankin sukupuolen vapaalle tahdolle perustuva. Mutta lasten synnyttäminen tulee olemaan yhteiskunnan kontrollin alainen. Kaikilla ei tule olemaan oikeutta lasten siittämiseen ja synnyttämiseen. Siihen tarvitaan 'lupakirja'. Sivumennen mainittakoon että Meksikossa jo on tekeillä tällainen laki. Kun tuotanto kehittyy suunnitelmanmukaiseksi yhdellä alalla täytyy samoin tapahtua toisellakin alalla. Täten uusien sukupolvien synnyttäminenkin kehittyy suunnitelmanmukaiseksi.

Sairashoito — huvitus.

Sairaalat ja teatterit ovat tällaisia yhteiskunnallisia laitoksia, jotka poistavat kodin ja yksilöllisen kodin tarvetta. Kirjastot saattavat kirjojen oston tarpeettomaksi. Kirjoja ei myös kannata jokaista yksilöä varten tuottaa, sillä se olisi suunnatonta tuhlausta.

Rikollisuus — rankaisulaitokset.

Rankaisulaitokset häviävät tilalle kehittyen tieteelliset parannuslaitokset. Rikollisuus vähitellen häviää sikäli kun sen syyt poistuvat ja kansat valistuvat. Varkautta ei voi olla silloin kun kenelläkään yksilöllä ei ole omaisuutta, vaan yhteiskunta antaa kullekin tarpeensa mukaan. Murhat ja muut rikokset häviävät silloin kun ihmiset voivat luonnollisella tavalla tyydyttää luonnolliset vaistonsa ja kun heissä on itsekontrolli korkealle kehittynyt.

Kuri — oikeuslaitokset.

Mielisairaat ainoastaan voisivat moraalisia rikoksia tehdä, mutta ihmiset tutkitaan jo kouluissa ja sittemmin aika-ajoittain, joten kaikki sairaat toimitetaan hyvissä ajoissa parannuslaitokseen tai eristettyyn hoitoon. Valtiolliset oikeuslaitokset häviävät. Työväen uniot tulevat huolehtimaan oikeuden jaosta ja keskinäisestä kurista. Kaikki hallinto tulee työväen unioiden kautta.

Palkan yhteiskunnallistuminen.

Palkkajärjestelmä yhteiskunnallistuu. Se prosessi on käynnissä tänäkin päivänä, joskaan ei nopeasti kuin suotavaa olisi. Miten palkka voi yhteiskunnallistua? Työläisen muussa kuin suoranaisen palkan muodossa saama suhteellinen korvaus uurastuksestaan suurenee, jolloin palkan merkitys hänen ylläpitämisekseen suhteellisesti pienenee. Esimerkiksi? Koulut kasvattavat lapset, muut yhteiskunnalliset laitokset tai seurat suorittavat kasvatusta loma-aikoina, järjestävät huvipuolen, varustavat vaatteetkin. Kirjastoista saa kirjat. Puistoissa ja uintipaikoilla tarjotaan yhteiskunnallisten laitosten käyttöoikeutta joko vapaasti tai puolella maksulla. Teiden ja siltojen käyttö tulee vapaaksi. Sairaus- ja loukkaantumistapauksissa viedään sairaalaan. Työttömille annetaan avustusta, samoin vanhoille ja kyvyttömille.

Raha poistetaan vihdoin tykkänään.

Yksinomaan palkkaan luottaminen merkitsee yksityistaloutta. Silloin täytyy ihmisen säästääkin tai muuten varustautua sairauden, loukkaantumisen, työttömyyden ja vanhuuden varalta. Se ei ole enää mahdollista, josta syystä palkan täytyy muuttua yhä enemmän yhteiskunnalliseksi, jolloin rahankin merkitys kansantaloudessa vähenee. Nykyään ollaan vielä varsin alhaisella kehitysasteella tässä suhteessa, mutta kehityssuunta on ilmeinen. Vihdoin tullaan sille kehitystasolle, jolloin palkkaa rahan muodossa maksetaan ainoastaan vähäinen prosentti ja rahatalouden romahtaessa se loppuu tykkänään. Tällä tavalla kaikki taloudellisessa elämässä tarvittavat laitokset kehittyvät vähitellen, joka on taloudellisen vallankumouksen prosessi.

Yhteiskunnallinen apu välttämätöntä.

Työttömistä ja vanhuudenkyvyttömistä huolehtiminen erittäinkin Amerikassa on nykyään yleisen kerjuun varassa. Kerjuu onkin ensimäinen yhteiskunnallisen huollon muoto. Yksilöllinen kerjuu, mierontie, on sen alkeellisin muoto. Yhteiskunnallisuutta kohti kulkiessa, muuttuu apukin järjestelmällisemmäksi ja suunnitelmanmukaisemmaksi. Työttömyyttä tulee löytymään läpi koko kapitalistisen aikakauden. Löytyy lukuisia mahdollisuuksia, joiden kautta ihminen voi joutua ansiokyvyttömäksi tai turvaa vaille. Yhteiskunnallinen apu samoin tulee olemaan välttämätön koko kapitalistisen aikakauden. Löytyy lukuisia mahdollisuuksia, joiden kautta ihminen voi joutua ansiokyvyttömäksi tai turvaa vaille. Yhteiskunnallinen apu on silloin välttämätöntä — jo tänään ja huomenna.

Porvarilliset talouskäsitteet.

Poroporvarillisen käsityskannan mukaan pitäisi jokaisen yksilön ja 'huushollin' hoitaa asiansa niin että voisi tulla toimeen ominavuin omilla ansioillaan, palkalla ja säästöillä. Muinaisen ammattiunionistisen käsitteen mukaan myös työläiselle kuului sellainen palkka että perhe sillä tuli toimeen ja voi säästää sadepäivän varalle. Tällaiset patavanhoilliset säästämisteoriat ovat sittemmin kuitenkin romahtaneet maahan, kun on tultu käytännöllisesti huomaamaan että työläinen voi joutua työttömäksi tai työkyvyttömäksi usean vuoden ajaksi — ja koko elinajakseenkin. Se ei pysähdy kuitenkaan tähän, vaan joutuu ihminen avuntarpeeseen muistakin syistä millä hetkellä tahansa ja missä tahansa, jolloin järjestetty yhteiskunnallinen apu käy välttämättömäksi.

Ainoa työttömyyden poistokeino.

Lyhennetyn työajan kautta voidaan poistaa työttömyys, mutta yhteiskunnallisen avun tarvetta ei voida poistaa millään muotoa. Sen täytyy aina olla olemassa. Sen kehitysmuodot vain muuttuvat aikojen mukana. Kuten mainittu, on sen ensimäinen aste yksilöllinen kerjuu, sitten yhteiskunnallinen kerjuu (joka nykyään on käytännössä ensimäisen kerran Amerikassa), senjälkeen määrätynlaiset valtiolliset vakuutukset, kuten tapaturma- ja sairasvakuutus, työttömyysvakuutus ja vanhuudenvakuutus. Vakuutusjärjestelmä edellyttää vielä yksilöllistä taloutta ja rahankäyttöä avustuksessakin. Sitä seuraava aste on n.s. luontainen apu, joka kuitenkin edellyttää korkeampaa taloudellista kehitystasoa kuin nykyään.

Työväenluokka maksaa kaikki kustannukset

Yhteiskunnallinen apu on tavallisesti kehittynyt kahta tietä, valtiollista ja unionistista. Voitaisiinpa siihen vielä liittää työmailla työnantajien toimesta perustetut apurahastotkin, joiden merkitys tosin on pieni. Kaikissa tapauksissa joutuu työläinen eli työväenluokka itse maksamaan kaiken ansiokyvyttömien avustuksen — joko suoranaisesti tai epäsuorasti. Joka yhteiskunnallisia asioita vähänkin käsittää, tietää sen ensimäisen totuuden että työläiset, kaiken tuottajat, suorittavat kaikki yhteiskunnan kustannukset, niin sisäiset kuin ulkonaisetkin. Ei muuta asiaa missä muodossa se sen tekee tai miten se siltä kulloinkin otetaan.

Keksiminenkin yhteiskunnallistuu.

Monet väittävät edistyksen kärsivän yksilöllisten pyrkimysten loputtua. He viittaavat keksintöihin y.m. Nykyään jo suurimmat ja tärkeimmät keksinnöt tehdään suunnitelman mukaisesti teollisissa laboratorioissa. Yksilöllisen keksimisen aikana sadattuhannet keksinnöt eivät tule koskaan käytäntöön, mutta suunnitelmallisen keksimisen kautta tulevat enimmät keksinnöt käytäntöön heti. Lisäksi, mitä monikertaisemmiksi ja suuremmiksi kehittyvät tuotantolaitokset, sitä vaikeammaksi käy yksilöllinen kammarikeksiminen. Työläinen työmaalla voi tehdä keksintönsä, jotka hän ilmaisee laitoksen insinööreille käytäntöön sovellutettavaksi.

Rahatalouden häviäminen.

Muutamat asettavat kaiken pahan rahan syyksi. Niin kauan kuin yksilöllinen talousjärjestelmä vallitsee, tarvitaan vaihdonväline — raha. Vasta sitten kun yksilöllinen talous häviää ja yhteiskunnallinen talous astuu sen tilalle, poistuu raha kansantaloudesta — sillä rahaa ei silloin enää tarvita eikä sitä voitaisikaan käyttää. Milloin se on mahdollista? Mahdoton kenenkään sanoa kuukauden tai vuoden päälle, mutta yleisenä mittapuuna on pidettävä taloudellisten laitosten kehitystä. Lasten opetus kodeissa ei voi lakata ennenkuin tilalle on kehittynyt sellainen koulujärjestelmä, koulut ja opettajisto, että se kykenee huolehtimaan koko kansakunnan nuorisosta.

Paljon uusia laitoksia tarvitaan.

Samoin yksilöllinen talous ei voi lakata ennenkuin tilalle on kehittynyt riittävät yhteiskunnalliset laitokset, se on, asunnot ja niiden lämmitys, valaistus, puhdistus, korjaus y.m.; yhteiskunnallinen ruuanlaitto ja ruokailujärjestelmä sadoille miljoonille ihmisille; yhteiskunnalliset pesu- ja puhdistuslaitokset; yhteiskunnalliset lastenseimet ja -tarhat miljoonille lapsille; yhteiskunnalliset huvituslaitokset; yhteiskunnalliset hoitolat työkyvyttömille ja sairaille; varsinaisen tuotannon kehittyminen siihen pisteeseen että koko tuotantokoneistoa voidaan 'runnata' keskeytymättä ikäänkuin yhtä suurlaitosta.

Maatalouden kehitys välttämätöntä.

Huomioon on myös otettava maatalouden kehitys sillä se muodostaa tärkeän osan tuotannosta. Niin kauan kun maassa löytyy 6,288,648 farmikotia, ei voida puhua yksilöllisen talouden ja rahan lakkauttamisesta. Kehitys tapahtuu asteettain, vaikka nopeamminkin. Kiinteämpi yhteys varsinaisen teollisuuden ja maatolouden välillä on välttämätön. Maatalouden täytyy ensin kehittyä suurtuotannolliseksi, missä on miljoonille työläisille varattu tarpeelliset ravinto-, vaate- y.m. -tarvikevarastot ja työpaikat talven ajaksi, joka tulee tapahtumaan kahta tietä, nimittäin, työläisten siirtymisen kautta kaupunkeihin talveksi sekä teollisuuslaitosten farmiseuduille perustamisen kautta. Henkilö, joka tällaiset seikat jättää huomioonottamatta, on äärimmäinen idealisti, todellakin.

Solidarity for ever!

Solidaarisuus tulee täydelliseksi vasta sitten kun kaikki yksilöllisyyden portit ovat sulkeutuneet. Hyveet kukoistavat ja kantavat täyden hedelmän vasta silloin kun paheiden ja itsekkyyden perussyyt ovat poistuneet. Kuten edellä on koetettu julkituoda — riippuu kaikki ennenkaikkea taloudellisesta kehityksestä kaikessa laajuudessaan ja kaikissa yksityiskohdissaan. Valistuneet työläiset eivät koskaan ryhdy vastarintaan tämän kehitysprosessin suhteen, sillä he näkevät niissä edistysaskeleen — joskaan ei se välttämättömästi merkitse suoranaista hyppäystä sosialistiseen yhteiskuntaan. — W. R.

* * *

Kellastuneet Lehdet

On syksyn tullen lehdet kellastuneet,
on kukka painununna nurmen taa.
On myrskytuulet vihaan vimmastuneet
ja alastonna lepää luonnon maa.
Noin pikkulintu käypi oksalleen,
pois katoaapi yöhön, pimeyteen.

Oi köyhän lapsi, sydänrukka syinen,
sa inehmojen, orja syksy sään,
jos tervehtäis taas toivo kevähyinen,
sa ettet raukka jäisi pimeään.
Jos kestäis usko, vaikka turha ois,
niin sekin rohkeutta uutta tois.

On monta tiellä mieron harhailijaa,
niin monta koditonta kulkijaa,
tien varrella on monta leposijaa,
ja monta unta, monta nukkujaa.
Jos toivorukka riemuin kohoaa,
taas usvaan vaeltavi varjon taa.

On syksy tullut, tuulet raivoo yössä,
on vihurit nyt kaiken voittaneet,
Nyt mustat voimat temmeltävät työssä
ylivuotavat on orpoin kyyneleet.
On kärsimystä, tuskaa yllä vaan,
on hornan henget kaikki valloillaan.

On musta yö ja myrsky mylvii vasten,
ja sydämiss' on murheen musta syys,
on aikaa tämä pimeyden lasten,
ja turman henkien on väkevyys.
Mut' kevät taasen joutuu toukokuun,
käy pikkulintu päälle mandelpuun.

W. M. MATTSON.

TÖLLIN POIKA

. *Kirj. K. A.*

Olen syntynyt Suomen niemellä,
Satakunnassa, kuten kuulin —
Oli mullakin niinkuin monella
Nuoruuden päivinä riemuja —
Jotka alati seuraavan luulin.

Tölli pahanen, jossa asuimme
Kuului manttaali herrallen,
Josta veroa työllä maksettiin.
Siinä asua saatiin, jos jaksettiin
Tehdä korkea työvero sen —

Oli veljiä mulla ja siskojakin,
Oli kaikkiaan kuusi meitä —
Me metsissä, saloilla samoiltiin,
Pelloilla pienillä kisailtiin,
Riemu täytteli elomme teitä —

Kevät kun se saapui kukkineen,
Aika herttaisin ain' oli silloin.
Me niityltä kukkia poimittiin,
Yhä yhtä ja toista me toimittiin,
Kunnes väsymys saavutti illoin ——

Käki kukkui, linnut lauloivat –
Sitä säveltä me säestimme.
Varis kun raakui, niin matkimme,
Kans' harakan kilvan nauroimme,
Kukon lauluhun vastailimme —

Kun syksy taas saapui halloineen,
— Jo lintujen laulukin taukoo —
Kukkaset kaunihit kuolohon saa,
Ruoho kuivaa ja lehdet putoaa,
Taas talvi kun tietänsä aukoo —

Meitä eipä tappanut talvikaan,
Eik' intoa lamannut meissä —
Kun nuoruus uhkui eloaan,
Oli mielet täynnä iloaan,
Vaikk' olimmekin repaleissa.

Aika rientää ja elon huolia
Se mökkiimme pienehen tuo —
Jotka meiltä ilon sammuttaa.
Äidin armahan hymyn karkoittaa,
Kovin koskevat isäänkin nuo —

Tauti huolten harmaja kumppani,
Se meidät kaikki nyt tapaapi —
Iski isään säälittä — kovasti.
Hän joutui vuoteensa omaksi,
Jossa talven hän olla saapi.

Isä toipui ja taasen elämä
Meille näytteli valon puolta.
Vaikka nyt olikin rästissä
Taas useita työvero päiviä
Ja monta muutakin huolta —

Kun terveys ilojen toveri,
Taas takaisin toivehet toi.
Kun isäkin jälleen terveenä
Jo ahertaapi kans' perheensä,
Niin ilolaulut ne taaskin soi.

* * *

Näin vuotta monta vieri taas
Ja pahin voitettiin —
Mutt' aina riitti kuitenkin
Puutteita loppumattomiin,
Joita poistaa koetettiin.

Pois isän pitkä sairauskin
Kun mielistä jäänyt on —
Niin äiti alkoi vuorostaan
Taas ankarasti sairastaa,
Mi päättyi kuolohon — —

Kaikista muista murheista
On muistossa mitätön —
Rinnalla kalman katkeran,
Mi äidin kuolon sanoman
Tuon tuotti turmion — —

Kotimme köyhä hävisi —
Nyt aivan tykkänään —
Kuin muuttolinnut majoiltaan
Läksimme maailmaan avaraan
Onnemme etsintään — —

En ole tosi onnea
Tavannut milloinkaan.
— Vaan silloin orja onnen saa
Kun unten mailla vaeltaa
— Saaneeko silloinkaan —

Työn orjillekin kuitenkin
On yksi onnen tie — —
Voima yhden suuren union
On tie se suorin, verraton
Mi orjat onneen vie!

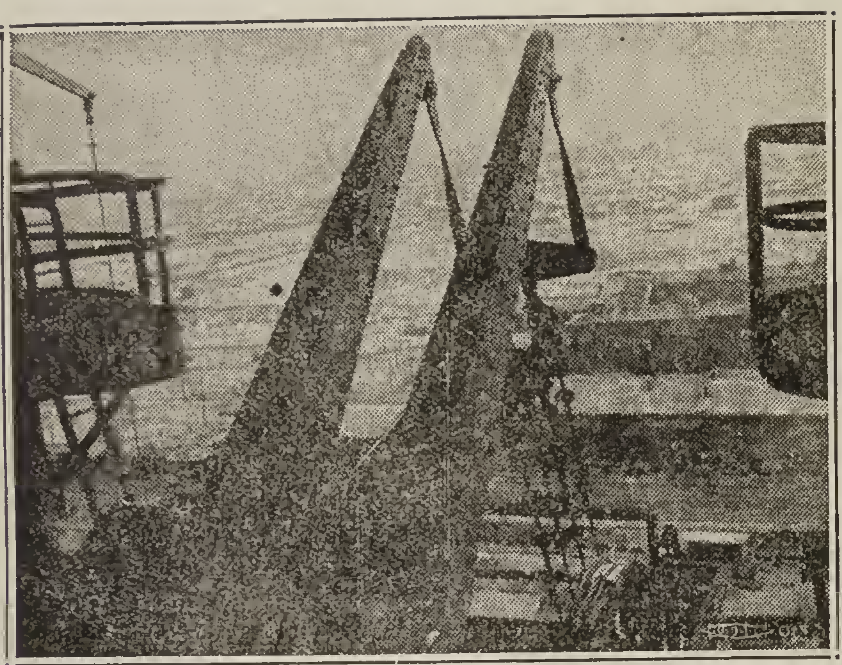
Meille Kuuluu Maa Ja Tuotantokoneisto

Totuus ei koskaan tule yli-ikäiseksi. Kun I. W. W. liiton perustajat lähes kolmekymmentä vuotta sitten julistivat työnantajaluokalla ja työväenluokalla ei olevan mitään yhteistä, käy tämä totuus päivä päivältä yhä ilmeisemmäksi ja laajoille joukoille helpommaksi käsittää. Yhteiskuntataloudellinen elämä kulkee yhä pitemmälle jyrkkien luokkaristiriitojen tilaan. Ennenkuulumattoman harvalukuisten omistajaryhmien, trustien käsiin kertyy elämän välttämättömyydet ja kaikki rikkaus; ennenkuulumattoman suureksi kasvaa elämän välttämättömyyksistä syrjään työntynyt miljoonaisten työläisten luku. Näitä yhä kärjistyviä luokkaristiriitoja omistavan luokan hyväksi valvoo yhä ilmeisemmin n. k. kansan hallitus; käyttäen kaiken kykynsä omistajien eduksi ja myös kaiken kykynsä näiden osattomien miljoonien alistamiseksi.

KATSO minkä tahansa trustin olemukseen, näet että hallitus on käynyt yhä alastomammin sen etujen valvojaksi. Takavuosina tätä yritettiin peitellä, nyt ei enään yritetäkään. Eikä tarvitse olla enään joku vanha, jo kauan maailman rikkaimpien joukkoon luettu trusti. Aivan viimeaikainen nopeasti kehittynyt tuotannonala, kuten voidaan sanoa kumituotanto, on nostanut olemaan vaikutusvaltaisia trusteja, jotka määräävät hallitusta miten edut vaatii.

Emme tarkoita tässä kirjoituksessa käydä väsyttävän laajoille aloille, vaan tyydymme ottamaan vain yhden trustiutuman asiain valaisemiseksi. Käytännöllinen tosiasia, joka tässä maailmassa effektuoi, on hyödyllisempi ottaa käsittelyn alaiseksi, kuin pitkät mietiskelyt samoista asioista. Otamme siis yhdysvaltalaisen kumitrustin, jonka arvelemme muodostuvan monilla eri nimillä toimiviksi korporatsioneiksi, kuten sanotaan terästrustinkin toimivan.

Tunnetuita kumikorporatsioneja, joiden tuotantoala ulettuu kaikkeen siihen, mitä nykymaailma kumista valmistettua tuntee, nimitämme tässä vain ne, jotka äskettäin magnaattiensa ja neuvonantajiensa kautta olivat edustettuina tämän maan "kansan hallituksen" herrojen kera pidetyssä konferenssissa Washingtonissa. Nämä ovat: United States Rubber Co., Firestone Tire & Rubber Co., Cambridge Rubber Co., Hood Rubber Co. ja näistä sekä muistakin, muo-



Venäjällä valtaa konetekniikka tilansa kuten muissakin maissa. Kuvassa suurterrikat auttamassa Magnitogorskin suurterästeollisuuden rakentamista

dostuvat Rubber Manufacturers Association ja National Council of American Import & Traders.

Kuinka hallitusta käsketään

Nämä mainitut korporatsionit ovat osa Yhdysvaltain kumitrustista, jotka olivat ehkä asian joustavuuden vuoksi lähetetty edustajiensa kautta edustettavaksi. Kysymys oli, mitä hallitus aikoo tehdä yhdysvaltalaisen kumituotantoa edustavan pääoman hyväksi, sen joutuessa tappiolle ei yksin maailman markkinoilla, mutta aivan tässä kotoisilla mailla olevilla markkinoilla. Eikä tämä kumikontrolli tyytynyt vain kysymään, se teki sen muodin vuoksi, todellisesti se käski mitä tehdä. Ja "kansan hallitus" auliisti lupasi niin tehdä; se taipui kuin kuminanuha.

Oli keräytetty laajahko varasto tilastoja kumitavaramarkkinoista. Pääasia oli osoittaa hallitukselle, että se saa osoittaa kansalle, jos tarvitsee, miten Japani ja Tshekkoslovakia valtaavat kumituotemarkkinat kaikkialla. Ne myyvät paljon halvemmalla Aasiassa, Europassa ja Yhdysvalloissa, kuin kotoiset kumikorporatsionit voivat tehdä. Ei yksin kumipohjaisia jalkineita, mutta tuhansia muita kumituotteita ne myyvät. Ja sitten osoitetaan tilastoilla.

Japani on vallannut Indian ja joidenkin muiden maiden kumikenkämarkkinat. Kolmessa vuodessa on se syrjäyttänyt meidät Indiasta ja myy nyt siellä 15,000,000 paria kumipohjaisia jalkineita vuosittain. Yhdysvalloissa myyvät molemmat, Japani ja Tshekkoslovakia, varsinkin jälkimmäinen, kumipohjaisia kenkiä newyorkilaisten ketjuliikkeiden välityksellä 24.5 sentillä parin. Näitä samoja kenkiä voi U. S. Rubber Co:n jalkineosasto myydä 71.79 sentillä. Kun Japanin ulkomaakaupasta oli v. 1931 noin 2 pros. kumikengistä Yhdysvaltain osalle, oli tämä lisääntynyt kahdeksan ensimäisen kuun ajalla 1932 noin 700 prosenttia.

Ja lausuu Rubber Manufactur Associationin edustaja R. H. Goebel: "Eilen huomasimme että japanilaiset kumiraaputtimia (erasers) myytiin 40 sentillä grossi (12 tusinaa) ja edellisenä päivänä niiden hinta oli 50 senttiä grossi. Jos tätä jatkuu kaikilla aloilla kumitavaratuotannossa, tulee amerikalainen kumiteollisuus lakaistuksi pois olemasta." — Edelleen esitettiin verrannollinen taulukko japanilaisista ja amerikalaisista hinnoista. Otamme tähän vain osan siitä, ensisarake Japanin ja toinen Amerikan hintoja:

Uimarengas	$0.19	kpl.	$0.45	kpl.
Uimatyyny	.17	„	2.46	„
Kumieläin-lelu, tusina	1.75		3.96	
Rantapallo	.12	kpl.	1.47	kpl.
Rantapallo No. 2	.10	„	.41	„
Jalkapallo	.07	„	.15	„
Rantapallo 13t	.08	„	.27	„
Kumilelu No. 2, tusina	.84		2.28	
Kumilelu, grossi	3.64		14.12	

Hallituksen täytyy taipua

Pikkuvertaus hinnoissa. Japanilainen uimatyyny, kuljetus- ja tullikulut laskettuna hintaan, maksaa 17 senttiä, amerikalainen $2.46, siis noin 15 kertaa enemmän. Japanilainen kumilelu grossi $3.64, amerikalainen grossi $14.12, lähes neljä kertaa kalliimpi.

National Council of Am. Import & Tradersin yleisjohtaja James W. Bevans lausuu että kaksi maata, Japani ja Tshekkoslovakia ovat jo vallanneet amerikalaisilta kumikorporatsioneilta markkinat kumipohjaisille kengille. Hän ennustaa: "Jos saamme kuoliniskun kotoisilla markkinoilla kumipohjaisille kengille, eikö ole syytä arvioida että sama kohtalo on vastassa autokumitehtailijoita ja tuhansien muiden kumituotteiden tehtailijoita. Ellei ulkomaisille kilpailijoille löydy täältä keinoa, joka toisi helpotusta kotoisille tuottajille, on meidän ikäväksemme nähtävä monia kumituotetehtaita suljettuina pikapuoliin."

Näin uhkaavalla äänellä puhutaan muutamien suusta tälle 120-miljoonaisen "kansan hallitukselle" ja sen täytyy taipua. Lukuisia muita todisteita voitaisiin käyttää osoittamaan, miten peittämättömästi tämä totuus luokkaetuja palvelevasta hallituksesta ilmaisee itsensä, mutta tämä riittäköön tässä.

Me teollisuusunionistit olemme, kuten alussa sanottu, jo lähes kolmekymmentä vuotta osoittaneet, miten turhaa ja työväenluokan etua vahingoittavaa on levittää sellaista käsitystä, että muut kuin kapitalistit kontrolloisivat koskaan edes osaksikaan "kansanvaltaisintakaan" hallitusta kapitalistisessa maassa.

Totuus ei koskaan tule yli-ikäiseksi, ja siksi me edelleen julistamme: Tuotannon armeija on järjestettävä ei ainoastaan jokapäiväistä taistelua varten kapitalisteja vastaan, vaan myös jatkamaan tuotantoa sitten kun kapitalismi on voitettu.

Noki Jussi

Kirj. TUNTEMATON.

Noki Jussi,
Niinhän häntä kutsuttiin.
Selässänsä aimo pussi,
Jos milloin missä kohdattiin.
Näin hän kulki vuotta monta,
Mieron tietä lohdutonta.

Vanhus ilta hämärässä,
Läksi poikki järven jään.
Lumi pyryn ryöpynnässä,
Sattui rankka eksymään.
Harhaeli täällä, siellä,
Vasyi viimein umpi tiellä.

Sattui eräs nuori neiti,
Tietä ohi kulkemaan.
Keksii hänet vaan ei heti,
Käynyt siitä kertomaan.
Kertoi aamusella vasta,
— Kotonansa asiasta.

Miehissä nyt mentiin sieltä,
Kummaa tuota katsomaan.
Jussi vähän matkaa tieltä,
Nietoksessa nukkui vaan.
Kuulunut ei kuorsausta,
Hiljaisinta huokausta —

Kantamalla sieltä Jussi,
Kirkon kylään vietihin.
Toverinsa vanha pussi,
Mukahan myös korjattiin.
Aarteet siinä kerjäämänsä,
Sai ukko alle harmaan päänsä.

Sokerin ja kahvikullan,
Posti mummo sentään sai.
Leipä palat saaliiks' mullan,
Tarpeeks hälle lienee kai.
Kylmästi noin lausui vaan,
Lukkarikin ivallaan —

Päänsä alla leipä pussi,
Rauhan unta nukkuu nyt.
Kalmistossa Noki Jussi,
Mieron tie on päättynyt.
Kansa tiesi kertoo vainen,
Kuoli vanha mierolainen.

Tietoja Eri Maista

Nukkukaa pää kohti pohjoista

Englantilainen tiedemies, tri Bernhard Falk on eräässä kirjoituksessaan selittänyt, että unettomuutta kärsivät henkilöt monissa tapauksissa parantuvat, jos kääntävät sänkynsä päänpuolen magneettista pohjoisnapaa kohti. Hän mainitsee useiden sanatorioiden jo kauan sitten havainneen tämän ja sijoittaneen sängyt oikealla tavalla. Minkätähhden uni on parempaa tällä tavoin nukuttaessa, sitä hän ei osaa selittää, mutta psykologi, tri Avelin Lontoon yliopistossa sanoo hänen olevan oikeassa ja selittää unen olevan terveempää ja syvempää, kun päänalainen on magneettista pohjoisnapaa kohti. Otaksuttavasti ihmisen ruumiiseen ja mieleen vaikuttavat magneettiset ja kosmilliset voimat.

Näiden tiedemiesten lausuntojen jälkeen on englantilaisissa lehdissä ollut sellaisten henkilöiden lähettämiä kirjoituksia, jotka ovat kokeneet, kuinka suuri vaikutus magneettisella pohjoisnavalla on heidän nukkumiseensa. Jotkut vieläpä selittävät, että heidän on mahdotonta nukkua, ellei sängyn päänpuoli ole tarkalleen kohti magneettista pohjoisnapaa, jota ei ole sekoitettava maantieteellisen pohjoisnavan kanssa.

Merkillisintä on, että kiinalaisten sanotaan tunteneen tämän seikan jo vuosisatoja ja sivistymättömimmänkin kiinalaisen vaistomaisesti asettuvan nukkumaan pää pohjoista kohden, samoin lapsilla ja eläimillä väitetään olevan merkillisen kyvyn aina kääntää päänsä oikeaan suuntaan nukkuessaan.

Pariisi katselee viinimarkkinoita.

Neljän ja viiden miljoonan välillä liikkui se lukumäärä, jolla laskettiin ne viini ja sampanja pullot, joita Ranskasta tuotiin vuosittain Yhdysvaltoihin ennen Volstead-lakia. Tämä sama määrä ja ehkäpä enemmänkin, on varustettu siksi ajaksi kun Yhdysvalloissa luvassa oleva kapakkajärjestelmä tulee lailliseksi ja kieltolaki saa siirtyä historian lehdille. Nyt varsinkin kun presidenttinä tulee olemaan sellainen mies, joka ei ollut kahdenvaiheilla tässä asiassa, on pariisilaisilla viini- ja samppanja-tehtailijoilla suuret toiveet.

Joka paikassa Pariisissa kuulutaan keskustelevan siitä, tuleeko Yhdysvalloista märkä? Muuta ei enään Amerikasta puhutakaan. Vaikka pariisilaiset tietävätkin että amerikalainen ei ole erikoinen viinin juoja, olettavat he tämän pitkän puualkoholi ja kotitekoisen oluen aikakauden jälkeen tavat täällä voitavan helposti muuttaa. Tehtailijain keskuudessa on siitä vain enään epävarmaa jutustelua, tullaanko Yhdysvaltain uuden hallituspuolueen kautta lujittamaan vaiko löysäämään viini ja sampanja tulleja.

Musiikki yhä koneellistuu.

Saksan pääkaupungissa esitettiin äskettäin maailman ensimmäinen cinema-concert, kuten amerikalainen sanomalehtimies sitä kutsuu. Tämä uusi keksintö esitettiin Berliinin Marmorhaus nimisessä oopperateatterissa johtaja Max von Schillings'in ohjauksen alaisena. Konserttifilmi, joka todella tilaisuudessa esitettiin, soitti overtyyrin "Wilhelm Tell" nimisestä sävellyksestä. Saksan parhaat musiikkikritikot olivat läsnä ja joutuivat myöntämään filmistä "lähteneen" musiikin olleen virheetöntä.

Vorwaertsin kirjeenvaihtajan kerrotaan lehdelleen tiedottaneen: "Ollessa merkityksellisin väline, mitä tähänasti on tunnettu, musiikin yhä pitemmälle ratsionaloinnissa — järkiperäistyttämisessä, tulee tämä keksintö löytämään tuhansia imitaattoreita — epätodelliseksi jäljentäjiä ja toiseltapuolen se auttaa yhä kaventamaan sitä peltoa, josta musikantit elämänsä tekevät antaessaan ihmiskunnalle todellista musikaalista nautintoa." — Osa tilaisuudessa olleista huomatuista asiantuntijoista, samalla kun joutuivat myöntämään konserttifilmin täydellisyyden, lausuivat pahamielisyytensä siitä, että samalta näyttämöltä on kauan totuttu katselemaan ja kuulemaan maailman parasta ruumiillistutettua soitto- ja laulutaidetta, josta nyt voi tulla vain mekaaninen esitysinstituutti.

Hevosten luku Yhdysvalloissa.

Vaikka myönnetään että nykyinen pula aiheuttaa sen, että Yhdysvaltain farmarit joutuvat luopumaan traktorien käytöstä ja hevosia otetaan huomattavasti lisää pienviljelykseen, vähenee hevosten luku Yhdysvalloissa säännöllisesti jokaisena vuonna.

Hallituksen maanviljelysviraston jäsen J. Williams osoittaa kerätyillä tilastoilla että Yhdysvalloissa on hevosten luku alempana kuin se oli 40 vuotta sitten, eli v. 1892, jolloin hevosista oli ankara puute.

Maailmansodan päättyessä 1918 laskettiin Yhdysvalloissa olleen vähän yli 27 miljoonaa hevosta ja nykyään niitä on enään noin 17,500,000, tämä luku väheten tasaisella nopeudella jokainen vuosi.

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60 Albumia postimerkkejä.

Lontoossa myydään — tai on myyty — näinä aikoina huutokaupalla kallisarvoinen postimerkkikokoelma. Sen on lähes 70 vuoden kuluessa kerännyt rikas hollantilainen filatelisti Henry Philip Manus, joka viime vuoden lokakuussa kuoli Anmsterdamissa yli 80 vuoden ikäisenä. Kokoelma käsittää 60 isoa albumia ja kaikkiaan noin 50,000 postimerkkiä. Sen arvo lasketaan noin 150,000 punnaksi, ja siinä on m. m. kaksi kuuluisaa Mauritius-merkkiä, jotka yksistään maksavat 10,000 puntaa.

Suutarista suurmies.

Tanskalainen suutari Carl Andersen on keksinyt keinon sähkövoiman saamiseksi ilmasta. Hänen on onnistunut laitteen avulla, joka muistuttaa radioaparaattia, saada tavallinen normaalisen kokoinen sähkölamppu palamaan sekä pieni sähkömoottori käymään. Ammattimiehet ovat tutkineet keksintöä, ja he kiinnittävät siihen suuria toiveita. Eräs kööpenhaminalainen yhtymä on tarjonnut Andersonille keksinnöstä suurehkon summan — puhutaan 1,7000,000 kruunusta — sillä edellytyksellä, että se kestää käytännölliset kokeet, mutta Anderson on pyytänyt miettimisaikaa, syystä että hänen ystävänsä ovat kehoittaneet häntä kääntymään joko Fordin tai General Motorsin puoleen. Muuten kerrotaan myös Siemens & Schuckertin osoittavan mielenkiintoa keksintöä kohtaan.

Uppoaako Lontoo maahan?

Jos otettaisiin elokuva Lontoosta pitkän ajanjakson kuluessa ja sitten esitettäisiin se niinkuin tavallinen filmi, nähtäisiin merkillisiä asioita, nimittäin miten Waterloo Bridge hyppii ylös ja alas kuin kouristuksissa, miten uusi County Hall (kaupungintalo) keinuu edestakaisin ja Englannin Pankki hiljaa vojaa maahan, miten St. Paulin kadetraali hitaasti, mutta varmasti kallistuu alkaen muistuttaa Pisan tornia sekä mitenkä koko Lontoo vajoaa maahan.

Tämän totesi jokin aika sitten Englannin topografiseen laitokseen kuuluva kapteeni T. E. Lonfield eräässä esitelmässään.

Maanvajoaminen Lontoossa lasketaan noin 1 yardiksi 250 vuodessa eli jonkinverran nopeammaksi kuin mitä se oli roomalaisaikana, jolloin vajoaminen on laskettu 1 yardiksi 400 vuodessa. Kapteeni Longfield esitti myös sellaisen teorian, että roomalaiset ovat maanvajoamisesta johtuvien vaarojen torjumiseksi rakentaneet Thamesin rannoille noin 4 metrin korkuisen penkereen.

— On mahdollista, lausui hän, että niitä töitä, jotka kaupungin viranomaiset ovat nyt panneet käyntiin koroittaakseen pengermää vuoden 1929 tulvien toistumisen ehkäisemiseksi, on pidettävä vain roomalaisten toimenpiteiden uusimisena ja että tulevaisuuden insinöörit aina saavat puuhailla saman kysymyksen ratkaisemiseksi.

Yksi piirre koulukasvatuksen suurteollisuusluonteesta.

Washingtonista tiedotetaan että Yhdysvaltain koulurakennusten lukumäärä on kymmenen vuoden ajalla vähentynyt yli 24,000:lla, mutta käytännössä olevien koulurakennusten arvo samalla aikaa on kohonnut 157 pros. Tarkemmin numeroilla osoitettuna oli Yhdysvalloissa v. 1920 koulurakennuksia 271,319 ja v. 1930 oli 247,289. Näiden rakennusten arvo v. 1920 oli $2,409,719,120 ja v. 1930 $6,211,327,040.

Samalla aikaa siis kun koulurakennusten lukumäärä aleni ja niiden arvo nousi noin suuresti, tarkoittaa tämä että koulukasvatus Yhdysvalloissa kulkee yhä enemmän suurteollisuuksien latua opetuslaitosten suuruuteenkin katsoen. Osoitamme tämänkin numeroilla. Kun v. 1920 oli 189,227 yhden huoneen koulurakennusta, oli niiden luku laskenut keskimäärin 4,052 vuodessa, siis kymmenessä vuodessa 40,515, täten v. 1030 tässä maassa ollen enään 148,712 yhden huoneen koulurakennusta.

AIKA

Kirj. JUSSI PUSKANEN.

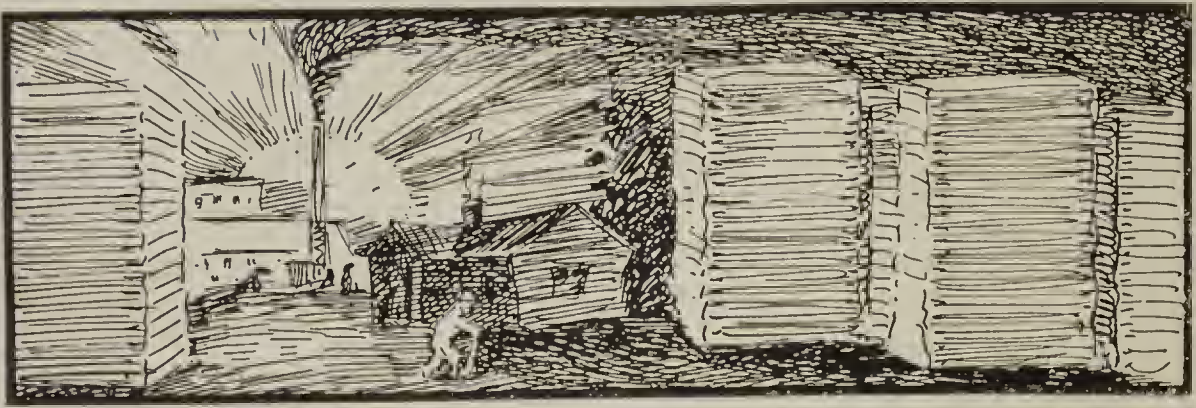
Aika askeltansa lyö,
Olkoon päivä taikka yö;
Jos SE kaikille ei riitä,
Aika välitä ei siitä.

Suurta vaikk' on ihmistyö,
Aika alas kaikki lyö.
Olkoon susi, taikka lammas,
Armoton on Ajan hammas.

Mitä maailmassa lie,
Mukanansa Aika vie.
Hukkuu maa, ja hukkuu kansa,
— Aika kulkee kulkuansa.

Minne kerran kaikki vie
Päättymätön Ajan tie?
— — —
Tulkoon mitä tulkoon, mutta
Aika astuu uraa uutta . . .

Vanha kaatuu, nousee uus,
— Edessä on ikuisuus.
Tasainen on Ajan tahti,
Voittamaton Ajan mahti.



Yhteiskuntamme Rikos

Kirj. VENHOTAR.

(Kilpailukirjoitus)

(Esitys luvan tähän näytelmään tulee hankkia Työväen-Opiston Näytelmävuokraamolta.)

Näytelmän Henkilöt:

MYNTH, kulkuri-isä
SARAH, hänen vaimonsa.
NORA
WALTER
MARY
LILY
heidän lapsiaan.

TIETONEN, työläinen
HELLÄ, hänen vaimonsa.
HARRY
HELMI
heidän lapsiaan.
Leipäkaupan myyjätär.

NÄYTTÄMÖ.

Laitakaupungin himmeästi valaistu katu, hiljaisessa lumisateessa. — Oikealla leipämyymälä, jonka näyteikkunalla kiiltää maukkaan näköiset leivokset ja leivät. — Esiripun noustessa tulee myymälästä joku leivän ostaja häviten kantamuksineen. Joku yksinäinen kulkija tulee ja menee kiireesti katua. Mynth tulee oikealta raskain laahustavin askelin, kasvoilla synkkä epätoivoinen ilme. Hän muistuttaa elävää kurjuuskuvaa. Hän pysähtyy ikkunan eteen katsellen leipiä. Epäröiden horjuu hän ovelle mennen arasti sisälle. Hetken kuluttua palaa hän tyhjin käsin. Katsoo vielä kerran ikkunalla olevia leipiä. Aikoo poistua, ottaen muutaman askeleen, mutta vaipuu voimatonna kadulle.

MYNTH. Oih! Tunnen etten jaksa askeltakaan enään kauemmaksi... Täytyykö minun kuolla nälkään leivän ääressä. Koko päivän olen kulkenut tämän vieraan kaupungin outoja katuja, etsien työtä ja ruokaa, mutta turhaan. Joka paikassa on annettu kieltävä vastaus. Hänkin tuolla sisällä sanoi: "Minua on kielletty antamasta kerjäläisille." (Synkästi) Voi Jumal'auta tätä elämää! Kuinka syvälle kurjuuteen voi ihminen vaipua, ennenkuin hän mielettömässä raivossa tuhoo esteet tieltään leipää saadakseen. — Hullu minä olen ja raukka, tyytyessäni vapaaehtoiseen nälkäkuolemaan. (Katsoo hurja ilme kasvoillaan leipiä ikkunalla). Ainoastaan ohut, särkyvä lasi eroittaa minut noista pullean lihavista, niin viettelevän suloisesti hymyilevistä leivistä. (Puhuu kuin houreessa). Kas, kas, kuinka viehkeästi ne iskevät silmäänsä. (Yrittää nousta). Odottakaahan veitikat, kyllä minä vilkkeenne ymmärrän. Te kutsutte minua. (Ottaa pari horjuvaa askelta, vaipuu maahan aivan ikkunan alle). Ah' minne te katositte, en voi nähdä teitä enään. (Näyteikkunan valot himmenee ja katulyhdyt sammuu. Mynth jää liikkumattomana makaamaan, raskaasti hengittäen.

UNI.

(Näyttämön taustalle syttyy himmeä valo, vähitellen kirkastuen, valaisten kurjasti kalustetun huoneen. Seinät ovat huurteessa ja nurkassa on räsyinen vuode, jossa heittelehtii, valittaen kuumesairas lapsi. Ruostuneessa kaasu-uunissa palaa lepattava liekki, sen ympärillä lämmittelee kolme lasta.)

NORA. Nyt on jo pimeä ulkona, äiti ei voi viipyä enään kauan.

WALTER. Ja sitten saamme maitoa, pehmoista leipää ja omenia.

MARY Miksi, ei isä tule enään koskaan kotia? Minulla on niin ikävä isää.

NORA. Isä lähti työtä hakemaan. Hän on mennyt kauas toiseen kaupunkiin. Hän tulee varmasti sitten kun hän ensin löytää työtä ja saa rahaa.

LILY (Vuoteesta). Äiti, äiti. (Valittaa itkien).

(Lapset ryhmittyvät vuoteen ympärille.)

NORA. (Hyväillen ja lohdutellen). Äiti tulee pian. Tuoko Nora vettä?

LILY. Minulla on nälkä, minä tahdon maitoa.

MARY. Katsokaa, kuinka Lilyn posket ovat punaiset, eikä valkoiset niinkuin ennen.

WALTER. (Laskee kätensä Lilyn otsalle). Hänellä on kuuma pää, se lämmittää kättäni yhtä paljon kuin kaasuliekki.

NORA. (Hätäillen). Voi, voi, jos hän kuolee ennenkuin äiti tulee.

(Ulkoa kuuluu askeleita. Ovi aukenee ja sisälle astuu kalpea nainen, kantaen muutamia kääröjä. Lapset ryntäävät häntä vastaan huutaen yhteen ääneen: Äiti, äiti. Sarah luovuttaa käärönsä heille. Walter ja Mary avaavat ne alkaen ahnasti syödä leipää ja maitoa.)

NORA. Äiti, voi kuinka iloinen olen, että tulit kotia, me olemme odottaneet niin kovasti koko päivän. Lily on kipeä ja pyytänyt maitoa vähän väliä. (Menee pöydän luo alkaen syödä.)

SARAH. (Kiiruhtaa vuoteen luo nostaen lapsen syliinsä.) Äidin oma kulta. Hyvä Jumala kuinka kuuma hän on. Hänen poskensa hohtavat kuin tulessa. (Laskee lapsen takaisin vuoteelle, etsii vaatteen jonka kastaa kylmään veteen käärien sen hänen päänsä ympäri.)

Oma pieni poloiseni, koskeeko kovasti?

LILY. Toiko äiti maitoa?

SARAH. Kyllä, rakas. Äiti lämmittää nukelleen maitoa. (Menee pöydän luo. Lapset ovat tyhjentäneet maitopullon.) Mitä? Te olette juoneet kaikki maidon pikku siskolta vaikka hän on kipeä ja odottanut maitoa koko päivän. (Nuhtelevasti). Voi, kuinka ahnaita ja itsekkäitä te olette.

(Lapset lopettavat syöntinsä katsoen noloina toisiaan.)

NORA. Minun kupissa on vielä vähän. Lily saa tämän.

WALTER. (Ottaa ensin pitkän ryypyn kupistaan työntää sen äidilleen.) Ja tämän.

MARY. Minunkin kupissa on vielä vähän jäljellä. Lily saa tämän.

SARAH. (Suruvoittoisesti hymyillen). Poloiset lemmittyni. Niin mielelläni soisin teille tarpeeksi kaikkea. (Kaataa maidon tähteet pataan, lämmittäen sen kaasuliekin päällä.) Valkeneekohan koskaan se päivä, että pienokaiseni saavat tyydyttää nälkäänsä, saavat yllin kyllin maitoa ja ravitsevaa ruokaa. Sitä on puuttunut heiltä jo monet kuukaudet. Voi! Mikä meidät lopulta perii? (Tukahduttava nyyhkytys kohoaa hänen rinnastaan). Päivä päivältä käyn heikommaksi, en jaksa enään työskennellä kuuman silitys pöydän ääressä. Tänään olin väsymyksestä puoli sokea; poltin hienon puvun, johtaja syytti minua huolimattomuudesta, sanoen, ettei liike voi ottaa vahinkoa itselleen. Siihen meni melkein koko viikon palkkani. Ellei ihmettä tapahdu näännymme nälkään. (Kaataa maidon kuppiin, menee vuoteen luo. Lapset ryhmittyvät hänen ympärilleen.)

SARAH. (Nostaa Lilyn istuvaan asentoon tarjoten maitoa.) Kas tässä, oma rakas. Juo, se helpottaa kipuasi. Juo, ota vielä hiukan lisää sitten äiti laulaa kultansa nukkumaan.

(Sarah laskee kupin pöydälle. Walter ottaa sen alkaen ryyppiä maitoa. Mary kurkottaa kuppia hänen kädestään, he ryyppivät vuoron perään tyhjentäen kupin.)

NORA. Äiti onko Lily kovin kipeä? Kuoleeko hän?

SARAH. Jospa hän kuolisikin, nukkuisi enään koskaan heräämättä. (Itkien). Se olisi parempi meille kaikille, ikuinen uni, silloin ei tuntisi nälkää, eikä vilua; vaan loppumaton rauha ja hiljaisuus.

NORA. Mutta sitten me emme näkisi isää enään koskaan.

SARAH. Ei isä ole enään tässä maailmassa. Jos hän eläisi olisi hän varmasti antanut jotain tietoa itsestään. Ei hän näin olisi meitä hyljännyt, sillä hän rakasti meitä suuresti.

NORA. Äiti minä haluan päästä isän luo.

MARY. Äiti pyydä isää tulemaan kotia. Minulla on niin ikävä isää.

Walter. Isä lupasi lähettää minulle veitsen, mutta hän ei olekaan sitä lähettänyt.

(Kaikki kolme yht'aikaa.)

Äiti vie meidät isän luokse.

SARAH. Lapset te ette ymmärrä mitä te pyydätte, eihän äiti tiedä missä isä on. Tulkaa nyt nukkumaan, huomenna puhelemme siitä enempi. Ehkä isä tulee kotia pian tai lähettää meille kirjeen.

(Sarah ottaa nurkasta patjan jonka levittää lattialle, peitellen lapset vaateriekaleilla joita kokoilee ympäri huonetta.)

Menkää lähelle toisianne, niin pysytte lämpöisenä. (Polvistuu lattialle peitellen lapsia ja suudellen jokaista.)

NORA. Äiti kerro meille satu.

SARAH. Ei tänä iltana, äiti on liian väsynyt ja pikku sisko on sairas. Painakaa silmät kiinni, niin nukkumatti tuo kauniita unia.

WALTER. Minä tahtoisin nähdä sellaista unta, että istun suuren omenapuun oksalla, joka on täynnä makeita omenia joita saan syödä niin paljon kuin haluan.

MARY. Ja minä tahtoisin nähdä unta, että minulla on suuri voileipä, joka ei lopu koskaan.

SARAH. Ehkäpä pian tapahtuu jotain, että toiveenne täyttyy ihan todellisuudessa, ehkä jo huomenna saatte syödä tarpeeksenne. Hyvää yötä.

(Menee sairaan luo, ottaen kääreen hänen otsaltaan, kastelee sen uudelleen asettaen takaisin lapsen otsalle. Kokoilee pöydältä leivän tähteet, istuen lapsen vuoteen viereen alkaa syödä.)

SARAH. (Yksin). Missähän oleilee mieheni. Voi, jospa hän lähettäisi jotain tietoa itsestään, että tietäisin varmuudella hänen kohtalonsa; tietäsin josko hän vielä elää, ehkä silloin olisi helpompi kantaa tätä raskasta kuormaani. Tällä hetkellä tuntuu etten jaksa kauemmin kestää tätä epätoivoista elämää. Ei, ei tätä voi sanoa elämäksi; unta tämä on, pahaa painajaisunta. Me olemme yhteiskunnassa, joka kylmäverisesti julmasti kiduttamalla uhkaa jättää meidän nälkään ja kurjuuteen kuolemaan, hitaasti kiduttavaan kuolemaan. Mikä on kaiken tämän kurjuuden ja kärsimysten päämäärä... ? (Nousee kävelemään).

Huu kuinka täällä on kylmä. Jalkani ovat kuin jäässä vaikka päätäni polttaa. Ja hiilet ovat kaikki lopussa, eikä minulla ole rahaa, eikä mitään ruokaa lapsille aamuksi. Nälkä, vilu ja sairaus ovat liittoutuneet meitä vastaan. Näin toivottomalle ei elämä ole vielä koskaan tuntunut. (Vääntelee epätoivoisesti käsiään, kyyristyen lattialle tyrskähtää itkuun.)

(Hetkeen ei kuulu muuta kuin Sarah'n hillittömät nyyhkytykset.)

LILY. (Kuiskaten). Äiti... äiti... (Kovempaa) Äiti, tule Lilya janottaa.

SARAH. (Hypähtäen ylös kuivaten nopeasti kyyneleensä). Kyllä rakkaani, äiti tuopi nukelleen vettä. (Tarjoaa vettä). Onko vähän parempi nyt?

LILY. Kaulaan koskee ja Lilyn on kylmä. Miksi ei äiti tee uuniin tulta, että tulisi lämmin?

SARAH. (Ääni värähtäen). Meillä ei ole hiiliä rakkaani... Mutta sinun kätesihän ovat ihan polttavan kuumat ja kuitenkin viluttaa. Sinä mahdat olla, kovin, kovin sairas. Taivas mitä olisi minun tehtävä? (Tempaa lapsen syliinsä seisoen hetken neuvotonna, kuin ankaraa sisäistä taistelua käyden. Päättävin elein laskee hän lapsen vuoteelle puhuen viihdyttävästi:)

Odota rakas, äiti sytyttää kaasu-uuniin tulen. Sitten otan syliini ja laulan nukkumaan. (Itsekseen) Tuuditan ikuiseen uneen josta emme enään koskaan herää. (Vääntää kaasu valvin auki). Mitä? Kaasu loppunut, eikä minulla ole rahaa jolla saisin mittarin käymään. Voi tätä kohtalon ivaa, se ei soisi meille edes kuolon kautta saavutettua pelastusta. Mutta katsotaanhan kuka tässä jää voitolle. (Etsii kirveen jolla särkee seinässä olevan kaasumittarin).

Kas niin nyt kaasu virtaa vapaasti; hetkinen vielä ja kaikki kärsimyksemme ovat lopussa. (Polvistuu lattialle suudellen nukkuvia lapsia). Jääkää hyvästi, armaat, poloiset pienoiseni. Tämä on parhain mitä voin teille tehdä. (Nousee mennen vuoteen luo ja ottaa lapsen syliinsä). Nyt äiti laulaa tyttösensä nukkumaan. (Istuu rikkinäiseen keinutuoliinä Hiljaa keinuen laulaa:)

KUOLEVAN ÄIDIN KEHTOLAULU SAIRAALLE LAPSELLEEN.

Kirj. Venhotar.

Sovitettu säveleeseen: "Äiti se laulavi lapselleen
Tuvassa tummaisessa..."
(Näytelmästä: Laivan kannella.)

Uinuos unehen untuvaiseen,
Häipyvät haaveet hohtaa —.
Tuvalle Tuonelan tummaiseen,
Matkamme määrä johtaa.
Pium paum, Pium paum,
Tuuditan nukkeain nukkumaan.
Pium paum, pium paum,
Tanhuille Tuonelan käymme nyt kulkemaan.

Siel' kaikkoaa nälkä ja puute pois,
Tuskasi vaimentuupi —.
Sielläpä armahin hyvä ois,
Huolemme unhoittuupi.
Pium paum, pium paum,
Tuuditan nukkeain nukkumaan.
Pium paum, pium paum,
Ei ehtinyt nuoruutes puhjeta kukkimaan.

Viimeisen kerran nyt lauluni soi,
Uinuos ainiaaksi —.
Kohtalo sulle vaan murhetta toi,
Kuolossa kauniimmaksi.
Pium paum, pium paum,
Tuuditan nukkeain nukkumaan.
Pium paum, pium paum,
Näin varhain jouduit sä maaksi maatumaan.

(Viimeisen säkeen aikana pimenee huone. Leipämyymälän ikkunaan syttyy valot. Lumisade jatkuu.)

MYNTH. (Unissaan). Sarah! Lapseni! Apua, apua! (Herää nousten istumaan).

HELLÄ (Kiireesti vasemmalta.) Huusitte apua. Oletteko sairas ?

LEIPÄ MYYJÄTÄR. (Myymälän ovelta). Kuka huusi apua? (Huomaa miehen ja naisen. Tulee ulos.)

MYNTH. (Katselee kummastellen ympärilleen.) Taisin nähdä pahaa unta. (Ravistelee päätään.) Olenko ollut tässä jo kauankin?

MYYJÄTÄR. (Itsekseen.) Tuohan on sama mies joka kävi leipää pyytämässä. (Ääneen.) Siitä on noin kymmenen minuuttia kuin kävitte kaupassa. Oletteko maanneet koko tämän ajan kadulla.

MYNTH. Ah! Nyt muistan, olin aikeessa särkeä leipäkaupan ikkunan ja ottaa leipää, mutta mailma musteni silmissäni ja minä kaaduin. Tulin yht'äkkiä pahoin voivaksi nälästä ja menetin tajuntani. — (Pyyhkeilee kasvojaan.)

HELLÄ. Onko teillä nälkä?

MYNTH. Kyllä rouva, nälkä polttaa sisälläni kuin tuli.

HELLÄ. Miksi ette mennyt kauppaan ja pyytänyt leipää?

MYNTH. Minä kävin pyytämässä, mutta tämä neiti kielsi.

HELLÄ. Sepä sydämmetön teko; kieltää leipäpalan nälkäiseltä.

MYYJATÄR. Olen kovin pahoillani, en aavistanut että tilanne oli näin vakava. Kas täällä käy leivän pyytäjiä kymmenittäin joka päivä, ei heille kaikille voi antaa. Mutta teille tuon pussillisen, odottakaa.

(Aikoo menä, mutta Hellä tekee torjuvan liikkeen kädellään.)

HELLÄ. EI tarvitse, säästä se jollekin toiselle. (Kääntyen mieheen). Jaksatteko seurata miuua? Kotini on tästä pari kadun väliä. Siellä saatte levähtää ja kuivata vaatteenne, nehän ovat aivan likomärät.

MYNTH. (Nousee vaivaloisesti.) Kiitos rouva. Voin tuskin uskoa korviani, teidän siunatut sananne ovat kuin lämmittävä aurinko; ne ovat myöskin ensimmäiset säälivät sanat mitä osakseni on tullut koko tällä kurjalla matkallanni. (Poistuvat yhdessä)

ESIRIPPU.

* * *

Toinen Näytös.

NÄYTTÄMÖ:— Tietoisen asunto. Avara kodikas huone, puolittain keittiö ja puolittain oleskeluhuone. Vasemmalla keittiön uuni jonka päällä on pari kattilaa kiehumassa. Keskellä huonetta on puolittain katettu ruokapöytä. Peräseinällä ulko-ovi ja ikkuna jonka edessä on pöytä, oikealla kirjahylly ja ovi. Sanomalehtiä, julkaisuja ja kirjoja on ympäri huonetta silmäänpistävässä epäjärjestyksessä.

(Esiripun noustessa istuu Tietonen lukien sanomalehteä. Helmi kirjoittaa ja Harry lukee ikkunapöydän ääressä.)

HELMI. (Heittää kärsimättömästi kynän kädestään, nousee mennen Tietosen luokse). Isä, voisitko antaa minulle erikoisen aiheen ainekirjoitustani varten? En osaa itse ajatella mitään tyydyttävää.

TIETONEN. No, voisithan esimerkiksi kirjoittaa siitä, mitä käsität isänmaallisuudella.

HELMI. Mutta jos kirjoittaisin siitä täytyisi minun sanoa toisin kuin mitä koulussa opetetaan, sillä sinä olet opettanut, että työläisten isänmaa on kaikkialla missä hän voi leipänsä ansaita.

HARRY. (On seurannut keskustelua). Helmi ei uskalla sanoa mitä hän ajattelee.

HELMI. En minä pelkää, eihän siinä ole mitään pahaa eikä väärin jos uskon isää enempi kuin opettajaa. Mutta minä tiedän että opettaja ei tykkää jos sanon, että työläisten lasten velvollisuus ei ole rakastaa tätä maata enempi kuin jotain toista maata.

TIETONEN. Mutta ethän sinä kirjoita miellyttääksesi kuinka hyvin ja selvästi voit ajatuksesi esittää kirjoitetussa muodossa.

HELMI. Kiitos isä. Minä alan kirjoittaa heti. Luen sen sinulle sitten kun se on valmis.

HARRY. Minä en koskaan pelkää sanoa mitä ajattelen. Opettaja on sanonut, että tämä on vapaa maa missä jokaisella on oikeus julkilausua ajatuksensa.

TIETONEN. Niinhän sitä sanotaan, mutta joskus tulet sinäkin poikani huomaamaan, että ne opetukset eivät pidä paikkaansa jos ne julkilausutut ajatukset ovat ristiriidassa hallitsevan luokan etujen kanssa.

(Ulko-ovelta kuuluu liikettä.)

HARRY. (Menee ovelle). Äiti varmaankin tulee. (Avaa oven).

HELLÄ. (Pysähtyy ovelle puhuen ulos.) Jättäkää sinne eteiseen päällystakkinne ja kenkänne, minä annan teille kuivat vaatteet. (Sulkee oven laskien kantamuksensa pöydälle.)

HARRY. Äiti kuka siellä on?

HELLÄ. Siellä on eräs nälkäinen setä, mutta mene nyt valmistamaan läksyjäsi äläkä ole utelias.

TIETONEN. Kenen sinä nyt olet tuonut tullessasi?

HELLÄ. (Laskien kätensä miehensä kaulaan). Tapasin kadulla nälästä pyörtyneen miehen, hänen vaatteensa ovat riekaleina ja sateesta likomärät; toin hänet lämmittelemään ja syömään.

TIETONEN. Minusta on viime aikoina näyttänyt, että kotimme alkaa olla kuin kestikievari. Tuskin menee yhtään päivää ettei täällä ruokita ja pueta joku kulkuri; tuo sinun hyväntahtoisuutesi ja auttavaisuutesi menee liian pitkälle. Tarkoitukseni ei ole moittia sinua siitä, mutta kun elämme itsekin ahtaalla ja kädestä suuhun eikä tästäkään toimeentulosta ole varmuutta kuinka kauan se kestää, pitäisi sitäkin vähäistä käsitellä vähän tiukemmin. Auttakoon ne joilla on mistä auttaa.

HELLÄ. Mutta raskas ystävä, enhän voinut jättää avutonta ihmistä kadulle kuolemaan. Mitä olisi minun pitänyt tehdä?

TIETONEN. Sinä olisit voinut toimittaa hänet sairaalaan, tai jättää poliisien huostaan, eikä raahata kotiimme kaikkia tuntemattomia, joidenka elämästä meillä ei ole pienintäkään tietoa; eihän tiedä vaikka tuokin olisi joskus seisonut pyssyhurttana lakkolaisia vastaan ja sellais . . . (Ovelle koputetaan.)

HELLÄ. (Painaa kätensä miehensä suulle). Ole vaiti. (Kiiruhtaa ovelle avaten sen). Tulkaa sisälle lämmin tuntuu varmaankin hyvälle.

(Mynth tulee paljoin jaloin ja paitahihasillaan.)

HELLÄ. (Asettaa tuolin uunin eteen). Istukaa tähän, minä tuon kuivia vaatteita ja sitten lämmitän maitoa. (Poistuu oikealle.)

(Mynth istuu epäröiden katsellen arasti ympärilleen. Tietonen lukee lehteään lainaamatta hänelle vähintäkään huomiota.)

HELLÄ. (Tuo vaatteita). Vetäkää nämä villasukat jalkaanne ja tässä on myöskin kengät, huomasin että teidän kenkänne ovat aivan käyttökelvottomat. Tämä villapaita on myöskin teitä varten.

MYNTH. Kiitos rouva. (Vetää sukat ja kengät jalkaansa). Tämä tuntuu aivan uskomattomalta, niinkuin ihmeellinen satu. (Itsekseen). Ehkä tämä onkin vaan unta, (nipistelee itseään). Ei kyllä minä olen hereillä, mutta tällaista vieraanvaraisuutta ja hyvyyttä ei ole vielä koskaan osakseni tullut. Kuinka kodikas ja suloinen tunnelma täällä vallitsee ja tuo nainen, hän on ihanampi kuin enkeli. (Pukee villapaidan ylleen.)

HELLÄ. (On lämmittänyt maitoa, tarjoaa sitä kulkurille). Kas tässä, juokaa tämä ensi hätään, se lämmittää sisäisesti; pian joutuu ateriakin.

MYNTH. Kiitos . . . Teidän hyvyytenne lämmittää vielä enempi. (Juo maitoa. Tuon tuostakin luo katseensa vaistomaisesti pöydän luona istuviin lapsiin.)

HELLÄ. (Toimittaa ruokaa ja astioita pöytään. Kuiskaa miehelleen:) Puhu hänelle, äläkä murjota. (Poistuu ulko-ovesta.)

TIETONEN. (Lopettaa lukemisensa ja menee kulkurin luo). Hyvää iltaa.

MYNTH. (Nousee seisomaan). Hyvää iltaa. Suokaa anteeksi, että olen tullut häiritsemään teidän rauhallista iltahetkeänne; se tapahtuu aivan vasten tahtoani, olen ventovieras tässä kaupungissa ja melkein huonommassa asemassa kuin koditon kulkukoira.

(Hellä tulee, tuoden kulkurin päällystakin, ripustaen sen uunin lähelle kuivamaan.)

TIETONEN. Mistä päin maailmaa se vieras on?

MYNTH. Silloin kuin minulla vielä oli vakituinen työ asuin New Yorkissa, nyt ei minulla ole olinpaikkaa missään. Tulin tänne Boisesta viime yönä. Koko päivän olen etsinyt työtä ja ruokaa, mutta turhaan, kunnes vaimonne löysi minut kadulta melkein nääntyneenä ja toi kotiinsa Hänen hyväntahtoisuutensa on minulle kerrassaan käsittämätöntä.

TIETONEN. (Hymyillen). Minulle se ei ole mitään uutta, meidän äiti antaa vaikka ainoan hameensa tarvitsevalle.

HELLÄ. (Luo mieheensä nuhtelevan katseen. Kääntyen vieraaseen). Ei se ole hyväntahtoisuutta niinkään paljon kuin toveruus tunteen synnyttämää myötätuntoa kaikkia puutetta kärsiviä kohtaan.

MYNTH. (Hämmästyen). Toveruustunteen!

HELLÄ. Niin, me olemme luokkatovereita, meitä on miljoonia. Toiset meistä ovat vajonneet syvemmälle puutteen ja kurjuuden kuiluun, sen tähden kun ovat joutuneet tuotannosta syrjään. He eivät ole voineet myydä työvoimaansa. Sama näkyy olevan sinunkin kohtalosi, toveri.

MYNTH. (Itsekseen). Hän kutsuu minua toverikseen. (Ääneen). Rouva ei siis ajattele, että minä olisin oman kelvottomuuteni tähden joutunut näin huonoon asemaan.

HELLÄ. Ei, sitä en ajattele en edes epäile, sillä minä tiedän ne syyt, tunnen sen häpeällisen kirouksen mikä työväenluokkaa painaa. Odottakaa haluan näyttää teille jotain. (Hakee kirjahyllyltä nipun lentolehtisiä.)

Kas tässä pieni lentolehtinen, annan niitä useampia lukekaa se tarkkaan ja kulkeissanne jakakaa toisille osatovereillenne. Siinä on vastaus työttömyys kysymykseen, jota ei monikaan käsitä. Minun pieni poikani kertoi opettajansa sanoneen koulussa, että nykyistä tilannetta ei ymmärrä kuin muutamat suurmiehet jotka ovat tutkineet taloustiedettä ja että he parhaan kykynsä mukaan yrittävät päästä onnelliseen ratkaisuun. Mutta tässä pienessä lehdessä muutamin sanoin paljastetaan koko totuus ja siinä selitetään myöskin se mikä olisi suorin ja pikaisin tie päästä tästä kaaoksesta.

MYNTH. (Ottaa lehdet silmäillen niitä. Hetken kuluttua lukee ääneen:) Jos haluat auttaa itseäsi. Jos haluat ratkaista työttömyys kysymyksen. Jos haluat kuulua siihen työläisarmeijaan, joka tahtoo tehdä maailman kunnolliseksi kaikkien työläisten asuttavaksi. Jos haluat olla mukana siinä tehtävässä niin yhdy Mailman Teollisuus Työläisten Liittoon.

TIETONEN. (Keskeyttäen hänen lukunsa). Se on suora vetoomus kaikille työssä käyville ja työttömille työläisille. Oletteko te kuuluneet mihinkään työväen järjestöön?

MYNTH. Työssä ollessani kuuluin ammattialani unioon.

TIETONEN. Kuinka kauan olette ollut työttömänä?

MYNTH. Siitä on jo kaksi vuotta kun menetin työpaikkani. Sen jälkeen ei minulle ole ollut mitään vakituisempaa työtä. Kahdeksaan kuukauteen en ole ansainnut senttiäkään, ruokani olen saanut kerjäämällä.

HELLÄ. (On saanut ruokapöydän valmiiksi). Pyytäisin teitä siirtymään tänne ruokapöydän ääreen istumaan, tulkaa tekin lapset, että joudutte ajoissa vuoteeseen.

(Kaikki asettuvat istumaan pöydän ympärille. Hellä täyttää jokaisen lautasen tarjoten kulkurille ensimäiseksi.)

MYNTH. (Ahnaasti syöden). Siitä on pitkä aika kun olen ollut tilaisuudessa aterioimaan näin. Tuntuu melkein kuin olisin oman perheeni keskellä.

HELLÄ. Teilläkin on siis vaimo ja lapsia, jotka odottavat isää tulevaksi kotiin.

MYNTH. Kyllä rouva, minulla on vaimo ja neljä lasta.

TIETONEN. Missä teidän perheenne on?

MYNTH. Jätin heidät New Yorkiin. Siitä on jo toista vuotta kun olin pakotettu jättämään heidät työn etsinnän tähden, jota en ole onnistunut saamaan vieläkään, edes sen vertaa, että voisin saada kunnolliset vaatteet päälleni ja säännöllisesti syödä. (Hänen kasvonsa värähtelevät mielenliikutuksesta.)

TIETONEN. Samanlainen kohtalo on tullut niin monen työläisen osaksi. Jospa se edes avaisi heidän silmänsä ja opettaisi heitä käsittämään sen, että niin kauan kun pysymme järjestymättöminä me saamme kulkea nälkäisinä ja kodittomina. Sillä ainoastaan järjestynyt työväestö kykenee taistelemaan järjestynyttä kapitalismia vastaan.

HELLÄ. (Kulkurille). Kertokaa meille jotain elämästänne. Minä olisin halukas kuulemaan, sillä vaikka me kaikki kuulummekin samaan köyhälistölaumaan, on meillä jokaisella kuitenkin oma tarinamme mikä muodostaa henkilökohtaisen yksilöllisyytemme.

MYNTH. Minun elämässäni ei ole mitään mielenkiintoista. Se on samanlainen kuin tuhansien toistenkin pohjamudassa matelevien. Elämä oli jotakuinkin siedettävää niinkauan kuin sain tehdä työtä, mutta kun sen saanti väheni ja viimein kokonaan loppui, olen elänyt kiduttavan epätoivon partaalla.

Vaimoni onnistui saamaan paikan erääseen pesulaitokseen. Mutta vaikka hän raatoikin pitkiä päiviä oli palkka niin pieni, että se hädin tuskin riitti ruokaan ja vuokran maksuun kurjasta asunnostamme. Lähdin kodista etten olisi kuluttamassa, kun kerta en voinut mitään tuodakaan. Olen kuljeskellut paikasta toiseen vain yhden ainoan toivon kannustamana, saada työtä voidakseni auttaa kotona olevia. Ensin alussa sainkin pieniä väliaikaisia töitä ja voin hiukan lähettää rahaa, mutta nyt en ole enään pitkään aikaan antanut itsestäni mitään tietoa.

Eihän minulla enään viime kuukausina ole ollut kirjoitusvälineitäkään eikä paikkaa missä kirjoittaa. Päivät kuljeskelen ja yöt vietän missä sattuu toisten samanlaisten kanssa tyhjissä tavaravaunuissa, varastohuoneiden ja siltojen alla. Siellä on meidän mailmamme, kurjien maailma.

Siellä on nuoria, elämänhaluisia miehiä. He unelmoivat työpaikasta, puhtaasta asunnosta, kunnollisista vaatteista ja iltakävelystä lemmittynsä rinnalla. On vanhuksia työn köyristämin jäsenin, joilla ei ole lepopaikkaa eikä kotilieden lämpöä missään, ei edes unelmissakaan. Heidän mielikuvituksensa on tylsistynyt, he eivät odota enään muuta kuin kuolemaa. On perheen isiä kuten minäkin, joilta vaimo ja lapset ovat jääneet oman onnensa nojaan pirstaantuen hajalleen sinne tänne.

HELLÄ. (Pyyhkien kyyneleitä silmistään). Kuinka sanomattoman paljon kärsimyksiä, tuskaa ja kyyneleitä kätkeytyy siihen mitä olette kertoneet. Teidän sananne ovat kuin taiteilijan kynän piirrokset. Ne ovat värittäneet katseltavakseni maailman, jossa ei ole valoa eikä lämpöä, ainoastaan mustat varjot levittävät siipensä kaiken yli. Sammuttavat liekehtivät toiveet, tukahduttaen, ilon ja naurun, kasvattaen vain vihaa ja epätoivoa. (Hän painaa päänsä alas kyynelten vieriessä poskille.)

TIETONEN. (Leikkiä laskien). No, äiti ei itku markkinoilla auta.

MYNTH. Olen hyvin pahoillani...

HELLÄ. (Nostaen päänsä, keskeyttää hänet). Älkää välittäkö, kyyneleet ovat aina lähellä silmiäni, ne huuhtelevat surut mielestäni ja tuovat lievennystä.

TIETONEN. Meidän äiti iloitsee iloisten kanssa ja itkee onnettomien kanssa.

HELLÄ. (Kulkurille). Sanoitte että on kulunut kuukausia siitä kuin viimeksi kirjoititte vaimollenne. Tehkää se nyt, minä annan paperia ja kynän ja postimerkillä varustetun kirjekuoren. — (Nousee puhuen lapsille).

Puhdistakaa pöytä, niin setä voi kirjoittaa kirjeen kotiinsa jossa hänen pienet lapsensa ikävöiden odottavat isää, tai ainakin jotain tietoa hänestä. (Poistuu oikealle.)

(Helmi ja Harry alkavat tyhjätä pöytää, työnsä lomassa puhutellen vierasta.)

HELMI. Onko sedällä tyttöä?

MYNTH. (Ilostuen.) Kyllä lapseni, minulla on kolme tyttöä, nuorin heistä on pian neljän vuoden ikäinen. Hänellä on vaaleat kiharat, suuret siniset silmät ja poskilla viehkeät hymykuopat.

HELMI. Sitten hän on aivan minun nukkeni näköinen.

MYNTH. Hän on kaunis kuin nukke, sen vuoksi alommekin kutsua häntä nimellä "Nukke".

HELMI. (Naurahtaen.) Niinkö.

HARRY. Onko sedällä poikaa?

MYNTH. Kyllä. Hänen nimensä on Walter ja hän on kahdeksan vuoden vanha. Lupasin lähettää hänelle veitsen, sillä hän niin mielellään rakentelee laivoja. Mutta minä en ole voinut vielä sitä lähettää.

HARRY. Minulla on kaksi viestä, taskuveitsi ja puukko, Walter saa minun taskuveitseni.

MYNTH. Sinä olet kerrassaan hyvä poika, mutta en tiedä voinko tarjoustasi ottaa vastaan.

HELLÄ. (Tulee kynän ja paperin kanssa.) Kas tässä kirjoitusvälineet. Voitte siis alkaa kirjoittaa kauan laiminlyötyä kirjettänne vaimollenne.

MYNTH. Kiitos. (Alkaa kirjoittaa.)

HARRY. Äiti saanko lähettää taskuveitseni sedän pojalle. Hän osaa tehdä laivoja, mutta hänellä ei ole veistä eikä sedällä ole rahaa millä ostaa sen hänelle.

HELMI. (On hakenut nukkensa). Äiti saanko minä lähettää tämän nuken? Sedällä on tyttö joka on aivan tämän nuken näköinen ja hänen nimensäkin on "Nukke".

MYNTH. (Katsoen hymyillen lapsia.)

HELLÄ. Jopa te ehditten onkia tietoonne monia asioita. Tietysti te saatte tehdä lahjoituksenne. Huomena laitamme paketin valmiiksi johon panemme pienen lahjan jokaiselle heistä. Mutta menkää nyt valmistamaan kotityönne, pian on vuoteeseen menon aika.

(Lapset menevät ikkunapöydän luo ryhtyen työhönsä.)

MYNTH. Te oletten onnellinen isä ja äiti omistaessanne noin miellyttäviä lapsia. Jospa minäkin voisin olla lasteni luona. (Jää miettiväisenä tuijottamaan eteensä.)

(Hellä ryhtyy astioita pesemään. Tietonen on istunut koko ajan pöydän vieressä missä Mynth kirjoittaa, lukien lehteä.)

TIETONEN. Tässä lehdessä on uutinen, että eräs äiti New Yorkissa on tappanut itsensä ja neljä lastaan, kaasulla. Naisen nimi on Sarah Mynth.

MYNTH. (Hypähtää ylös rajulla liikkeellä kaataen tuolin.) Sarah Mynth? Voi onko siinä niin?

TIETONEN. (Hämmästynee nä). Kyllä, katsokaa itse. Siinä on myöskin lasten nimet ja ikä.

MYNTH. (Sieppaa lehden kiihkeästi, silmäillen sitä hätäisesti. Lukee katkonaisesti) —

Löydettiin... viisi — sinertävää ruumista... Sarah Mynth ja hänen neljä lastaan. Nora, kymmen vuotias, Walter kahdeksan vuotias, Mary kuusi vuotias ja Lily neljän vuoden. (Puristaen lehteä käsissään vaipuu istumaan tuolille, jonka Hellä on nostanut pystyyn). Lily minun kaunis nukkeni... Voi minua onnetonta. Voi mitä olenkaan saattanut aikaan.

HELLÄ. (Laskien kätensä kulkurin kumartuneille hartioille). Kuolema on varminta mitä ennakolta voimme laskea tulipa se sitten kutsuttuna tai kutsumatta. Se on jok'ikisen yksilöllisen olion välttämätöin kohtalo ja loppu. Se suo ihmiselle levon, suuren ja syvän hiljaisuuden, jota ei mikään voi häiritä.

TIETONEN. Toveri! Älä syytä itseäsi perheesi ennenaikaisesta kuolemasta. Ei ole syytä vaipua epätovoon. Sellaista tapahtuu joka päivä ja tulee tapahtumaan niin kauan kuin köyhälistöluokka, sinä ja minä ja ne sadat tuhannet miehet ja naiset eivät käsitä järjestymisen tarpeellisuutta. Eivätkä tunne yksimielisyyden voimaa liittyäkseen yhteen suureen unioon.

Se on ainoa keino työläisille pakottaa tuotantolaitosten omistajia hellittämään sitä huippuunsa asti kehittynyttä riistoa, joka polkee työläisen elämän osuuden nälkärajaan. Se hajottaa kodit ja särkee perheet. Se on tullut sinunkin osallesi. Vapaasta tahdostasi et jättänyt perhettäsi. Ei ollut sinun syysi ettet ole saanut työtä.

HELLÄ. Mutta yhteen rikokseen olet syypää monien muiden mukana. Se rikos on järjestymättömyys. Sen seurauksista kärsimme nyt kaikin kukin tavallamme. Ymmärrän hyvin sen pohjattoman hädän joka johdatti vaimosi niin epätoivoiseen ja kaameaan tekoon.

Kuolema on helpompi kuin puutteen ja kärsimysten painama elämä. Mutta niin kauan kuin elää on kauniimpaa ja arvokkaampaa taistella oikeuksiensa ja paremman elämän puolesta kuin ruoskitun koiran tavoin luimiskella piilossa tai muruihin tyytyen taipua iskujen alle.

MYNTH. (Nousee, ottaen liikutettuna Hellän käden). En voi kylliksi kiittää teitä sanoistanne. Kuinka kauniisti te kuvasitte kuoleman. En ole osannut ennemmin ajatella sitä sellaiseksi. Se on ystävä ja vapauttaja. Mutta niin kauan kuin elää on todellakin kauniimpaa taistella senpuolesta. Uskaltaa kaikki ja voittaa kaikki.

Tästä illasta lähtien ovat tekoni ja toimeni saava uuden käänteen. Vaimoni ja lasteni veri huutaa kostoa. Heidän muistonsa ei ole jättävä minua rauhaan hetkeksikään. Ajatelkaa... viisi sinertävää ruumista kylmän kellarikerroksen lattialla. Minun vaimoni ja lapseni.

Nälkä ajoi heidät ennenaikaiseen kuolemaan mailman rikkaimmassa kaupungissa, missä varastohuoneet ovat täynnä ravintoaineita, missä loistavat palatsit ylpeillen upeilevat, sulkien suojiinsa ylellisyydessä hekumoivat elostelijat, jotka ratsastavat kylläisyyden kukkuloilla meidän typeryytemme kustannuksella. (Nauraa katkerasti.)

(Puolisot ovat kuunnelleet hänen puhettaan ihmetyksen vallassa.)

HELLÄ. Teissä on rohkeutta ja miehuutta enempi kuin osasin odottaa.

MYNTH. Sen olette te saaneet aikaan, siunattu ymmärtäväinen työläisäiti. Te toitte minut, kurjan kulkurin lämpöiseen kotiinne. Ravitsitte nälkäni ja täytitte mieleni uusilla valoisilla tulevaisuuden kuvilla. Osoititte päämäärän, jonka saavuttamiseksi kannattaa elää ja työskennellä.

TIETONEN. Oikein puhuttu toveri. Me voimme poistaa työttömyyden ja siitä johtuvan kurjuuden ainoastaan yhdellä tavalla, se on järjestymällä aikaamme vastaavalla tavalla yhteen suureen unioon. Vasta silloin olemme kyllin voimakkaita vaatimaan lyhempää työpäivää ja korkeampaa palkkaa.

MYNTH. Kiitän sattumaa, mikä johdatti askeleeni niin, että sain tilaisuuden viettää tämän illan teidän seurassanne. Vaikka minulla ei olekaan tietoa taasen huomisen päivän leivästä, tunnen itseni henkisesti kuin uudesti syntyneeksi. Nyt lähden, olen jo kyllin kauan häirinnyt kotirauhaanne. Ehkä takkini on jo kuiva. (Ottaa takkinsa aikoen pukea sen jäälleen mutta huomaa villapaidan.) Olinpa vähällä unhoittaa tämän villapaidan päälleni ja nämä kengät. (Aikoo riisua paidan.)

HELLÄ. Ne ovat teidän jättäkää ne päällenne. (Ottaa pöytälaatikosta rahan ja pistää kulkurin käteen). Kas tässä, nukkukaa ainakin ensi yö vuoteessa.

MYNTH. (Ottaa rahan liikutettuna). Ehkä joskus valkenee sekin päivä, että voin hyvyytenne palkita. (Ottaa lentolehtiset). Hyvää yötä, minä painun takaisin tuntemattomuuteen josta tulinkin.

HELLÄ. Mutta älkää unhoittako, että suuret ja vakavat asiat lähentävät meitä toisiimme, ei ainoastaan meitä ,mutta koko köyhälistöluokkaa.

MYNTH. (Astuu lasten luo, puristaen kummankin kättä yhtaikaa.)

HELMI. Minä olisin niin mielelläni lähettänyt nukkeni sedän pikku tytölle.

HARRY. Ja minä veitseni Walterille, mutta he eivät tarvitse niitä enään.

MYNTH. (Ei voi puhua liikutukseltaan. Mennen ovelle kääntyy katsomaan taakseen, sanoen värähtelevin äänin:) Jääkää hyvästi. (Poistuu.)

HELLÄ. (Kiiruhtaa ovelle). Hyvää yötä ja parhainta onnea. (Menee miehensä luo). Vieläkö olet minulle vihainen?

TIETONEN. Sinulle ei voi kukaan olla vihainen. Minä en vaihtaisi sinua omaan painoosi kultaan, vaikka taasen lahjoititkin pois työkenkäni ja ainoan villapaitani. (Sulkee Hellän syliinsä.)

HELLÄ. Kiitos noista sanoistasi. Sinä olet parhain toveri mitä kukaan voi olla. Lapset tulkaa tänne. (Helmi ja Harry tulevat. Hellä asettaa heidät seisomaan niin että Harry tulee isänsä ja Helmi äitinsä eteen.) Ennenkuin sanomme toisillemme hyvää yötä lausumme iltarukouksemme yhteen ääneen. (Kaikki lausuvat:)

"Työväenluokalla ja työnantajaluokalla ei ole mitään yhteistä. Mitään rauhaa ei voi olla niin kauan kun nälkää ja puutetta on olemassa miljoonilla työläisillä, ja niillä harvoilla jotka muodostavat työnantajain luokan, on kaikki elämän hyvyydet."

Esirippu.

* * *

Menossa Eteenpäin

Meille suomenkieltä puhuville työläisille täällä Amerikassa on tuttua se, että seuratoimintamme kesäisten velttouksien vaikutuksista vapautuessa ja siirtyessä talventullen tiukempaan toimintamuotoon haaleillemme, me havaitsemme eloistumista kaiken yhteisen kulttuuri ja valistustyömme vainioilla. Me menemme eteenpäin. Meidän valistusvälineemme, koulumme, lehtemme ja julkaisumme, vieläpä puhuttu sanakin, menee eteenpäin.

Olemme jälleen tänä syystalvena havainneet, että tämä julkaisumme Tie Vapauteen on myös menossa eteenpäin. Siihen on aivan johdonmukaiset syynsä. Yhteistoimintamme on siirtynyt haaleille. Joukkomme kerääntyvät sinne, missä on eloa ja toimintaa. Siellä on julkaisumme asiakkailla mahdollisuus vähemmällä vaivaa tavata useampia sellaisia, joille voi tarjota Tie Vapauteen. Ja ihminen on sellainen, että se etsii aina helpoimman tien. Myyjiä saa helpommin.

Edellisen numeron asiakkailta joiltakin on jo saapunut rohkaisevia tiedotuksia, että he ovat löytäneet Tie Vapauteen ostajia helpommin kuin löysivät niitä kesän aikana. Tämä on menoa eteenpäin ja rohkaisee meitä kaikkia yrittämään parhaamme että sitä menoa riittäisi edelleen ja että vielä vauhtikin nopeistuisi. Kun voisimme samalla joukkona toimia siten, että julkaisumme sisältö elostuisi ja teroittuisi tarkoituksensa mukaan, joutuisimme nopeammin eteenpäin.

On muistettava, että mikään järjestömme valistusväline ei voi koskaan tulla niin täydelliseksi, niin kuntoiseksi, että sillä ei olisi enään tarve pyrkiä eteenpäin. Sellainen, joka olisi täydellinen, olisi uskovaisen jumala, paras mitä tunnetaan siinä piirissä, eikä siihen voi mitään lisätä. Mihin se veisi? Lukija hyvin voi itse siihen vastata. Meidän järjestömme valistusvälineillä on aina tarkoituskin sisällöllisesti paremmin joukkoja tyydyttää.

Kun onnistumme tarkoituksissamme, joihin ei ole kannustimena yksilöllinen etu, vaan koko luokkamme suuri asia ja sitä eteenpäin taistelevan järjestömme I. W. W:n asia, antaa se meille voimia yrittää. Voittaja tuntee itsensä aina uusilla voimilla varatuksi. Kun me joukkona voitamme tälle julkaisulle tuhannen lukijaa entisten lisäksi tänä talvena, tunnemme me silloin itsemme tuhannen tukea vahvemmaksi. Sellainen kannattaa yrittää, se ataa intoa elämään ja tarmoa pyrkiä eteenpäin.

Tilatkaa

Industrialisti

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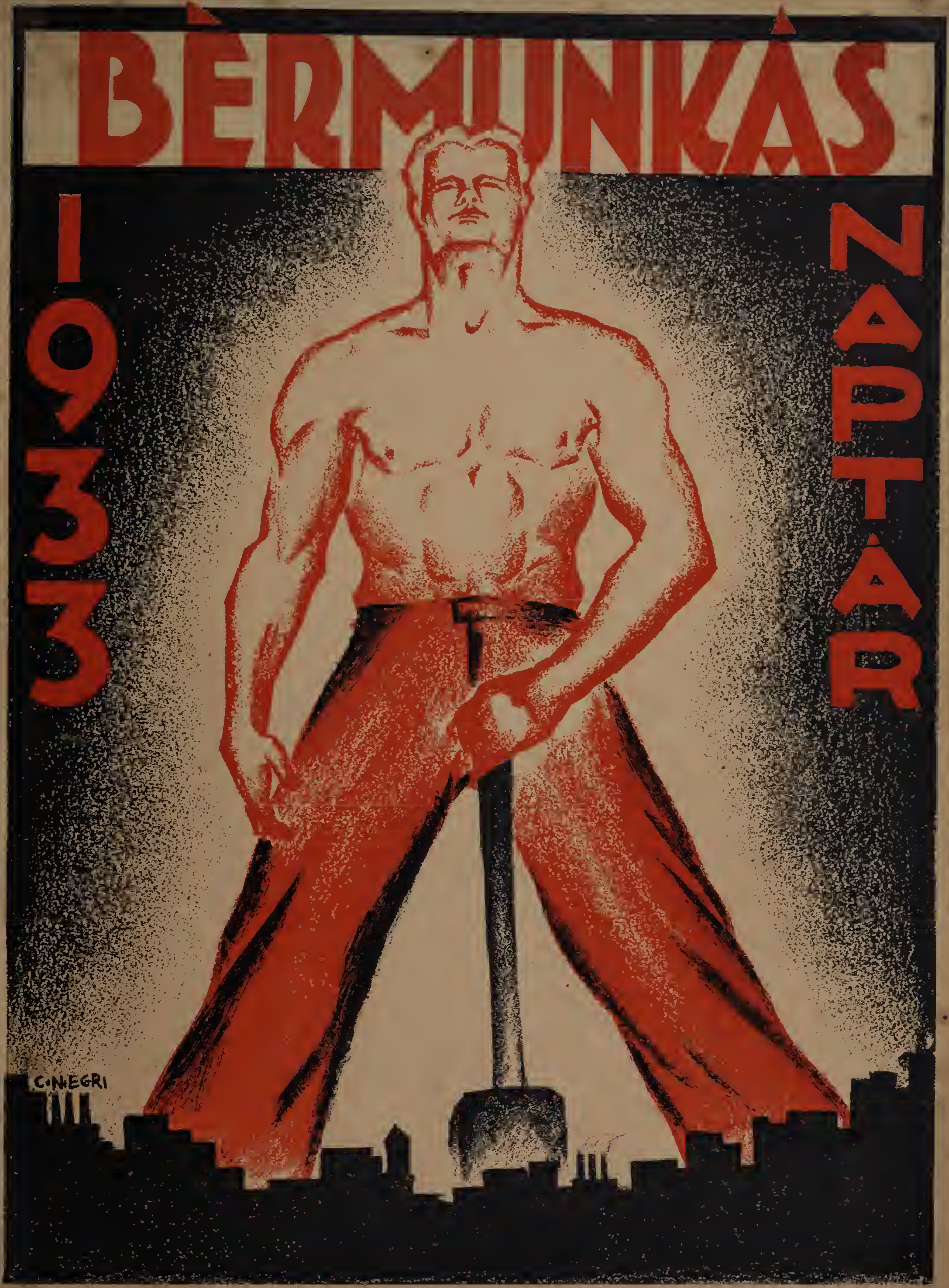
BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 NAPTÁR



INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

ELVINYILATKOZATA

A MUNKÁSOSZTÁLY és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

● E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

● Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni összpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszi arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharcok esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

● E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet. melynek minden az egy iparban — vagy ha kell, valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát bármikor, ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti.

● E maradi jelszó helyett: "Tisztességes napibért tisztességes napi munkáért," ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "LE A BÉRRENDSZERREL!"

● A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül.

BÉRMUNKÁS
NAPTÁR
1933

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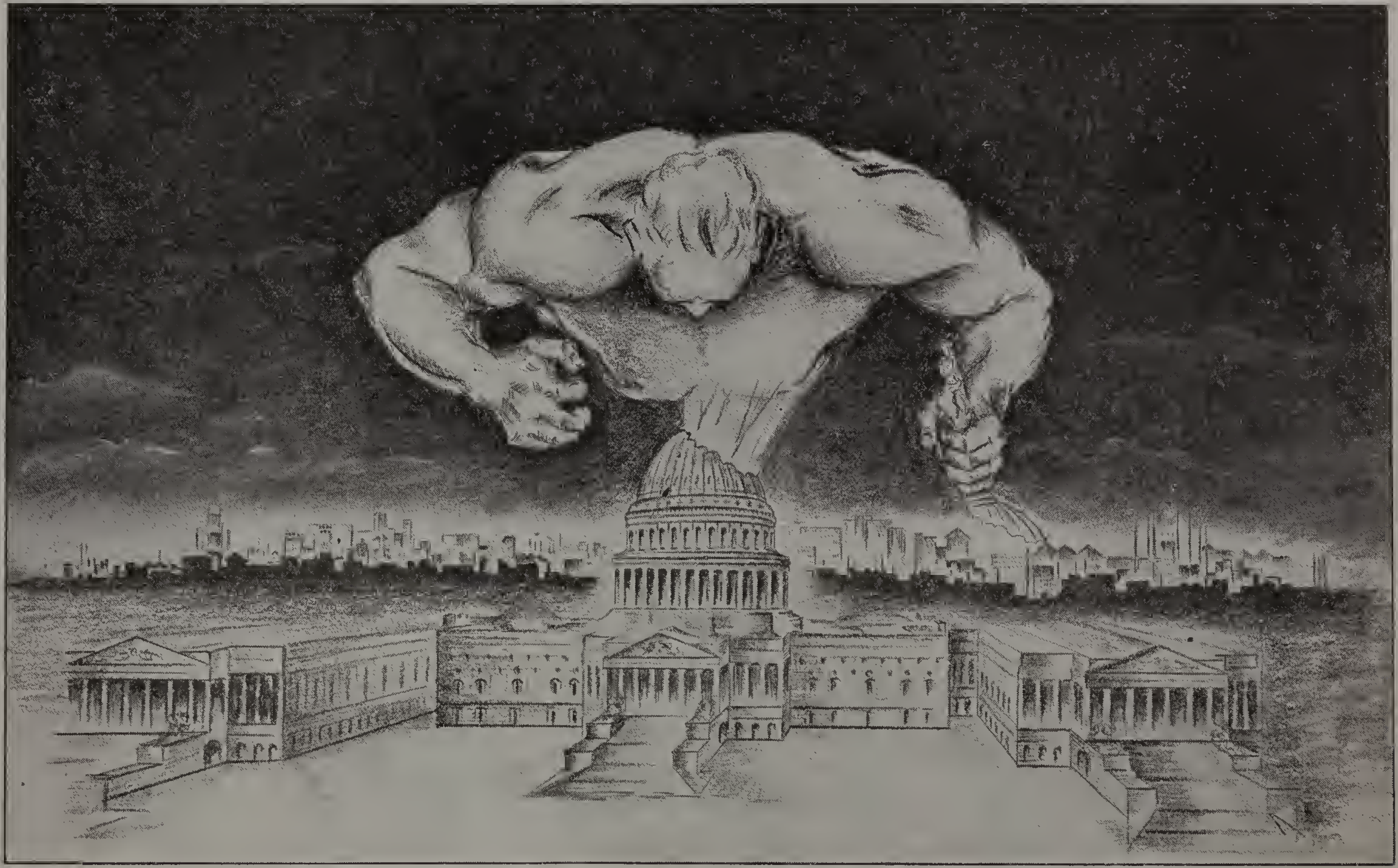

Az Egy Nagy Szervezetben tömörült munkások szelleme elégséges, hogy a politikai felülépitmény megsemmisüljön, hogy helyébe az ipari kormányzat kerüljön.

Katona Pál rajza

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 • JANUÁR 31 NAP

1	**Vasárnap**
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	**Vasárnap**
9	Hétfő
10	Kedd
11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
15	**Vasárnap**
16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
18	Szerda
19	Csütörtök
20	Péntek
21	Szombat
22	**Vasárnap**
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat
29	**Vasárnap**
30	Hétfő
31	Kedd

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Január 1. Ujév.

TÖRTÉNELMI NAPTÁR.

1. Petőfi * 1823. Blanque † 1881. A rabszolgaság megszüntetése Észak-Amerikában, 1863.
2. Az Egyesült Államok kormányának hajszája a kommunisták ellen, 1920. — Orosz forradalmárok kivégzése Moszkvában, 1906. — Cabet * 1788.
4. Upton Sinclair * 1878.
7. A New York állami törvényhozásból kitiltják az öt szocialista képviselőt, 1920.
8. Galileo Gallilei † 1642. — Wilson megszerkeszti 14 pontját, 1918.
9. Német spartakusok felkelése, 1919. — Michel Lujza † 1905.
10. A versaillesi békét elismeri a német kormány, 1920.
11. A francia Ruhr invázió kezdete, 1923. — Károlyi Mihály a magyar népköztársaság elnöke lett, 1919.
12. A Lawrence-i (Mass.) I. W. W. szövősztrájk, 1912.
13. Noske a munkásokra lövet, 1920. — Olaszországi földrengés 40,000 halottal, 1915., — Rabszolgaság megszüntetése Mexicoban, 1825.
14. Perzsia törvényben eltiltja a 10 éven aluli leány- és a 8 éven aluli fiugyermekek dolgoztatását. — Az Egyesült Államok legfőbb birósága alkotmányellenesnek mondja ki a gyermekmunkát tiltó törvényt, 1922. — William Hightower 77 éves Kentucky, Harlan megyei szénbányász életfogytiglani börtönre itélve, 1932.
15. Általános sztrájk tör ki Dél-Afrikában, 1914.
16. Proudhon * 1809. — A magyarországi szociáldemokrata párt megtagadja a választásokban való részvételt, 1920.
17. XVI. Lajos francia királyt a nemzetgyülés halálra itéli, 1793. — Liebknecht K. és Luxemburg R. meggyilkolása a Spartakus felkelésben, 1919. — Cservenko Miklós szocialista párttitkárt a Prónai század laktanyájába hurcolják és meggyilkolják és nyomtalanul eltüntetik, 1920. — Benjamin Franklin * 1706.
18. A minden oroszok alkotmányos gyülését a szoviet feloszlatta, 1918.
19. Watt, a gőzgép feltalálója * 1736. — N. Lenin (Vladimir Ilytch Uljanov) † 1924. (Szül. 1870. ápr. 23.)
21. XVI. Lajos francia király lefejezése, 1893.
22. Gapon a cár elé vonult; a munkások lemészárlása, 1905.
24. Johann Guttenberg † 1468. — Kotoku és társai, 12 japán forradalmár kivégzése, 1911.
25. Veitling Vilmos †
27. Lissagaray † 1900. — Ady Endre † 1919.
30. Nagy munkanélküli tüntetés New Yorkban, 1894. — Charles I. angol királyt hazaárulásért kivégzik, 1649.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 FEBRUÁR 28 NAP

1	Szerda
2	Csütörtök
3	Péntek
4	Szombat
5	**Vasárnap**
6	Hétfő
7	Kedd
8	Szerda
9	Csütörtök
10	Péntek
11	Szombat
12	**Vasárnap**
13	Hétfő
14	Kedd
15	Szerda
16	Csütörtök
17	Péntek
18	Szombat
19	**Vasárnap**
20	Hétfő
21	Kedd
22	Szerda
23	Csütörtök
24	Péntek
25	Szombat
26	**Vasárnap**
27	Hétfő
28	Kedd

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Február 12. Lincoln születése

Február 22. Washington születése.

1. San Diego-i (Calif.) I. W. W. szólásszabadságharc, 1912. — George Washingtont az Egyesült Államok első elnökévé választották, 1789.
2. Antonio Labriola † 1904.
3. Az orosz szoviet elrendeli a vörös hadsereg megszervezését, 1918. — A kalaposokat $222,000 kártérítésre itéli a Supreme Court bojkottért, 1910., Denbury, Conn.
4. Woodrow Wilson † 1924.
5. Lovrov Péter orosz forradalmár † 1900. — Most János * 1864.
7. Az angol parlament megszünteti a királyságot, 1640, mint "haszontalan és veszedelmes" intézményt. — Kolcsák orosz ellenforradalmárt agyonlövik, 1920.
8. Kropotkin Péter tudós és anarkista filozófus † 1921. (Szül. 1842.) — Londoni munkanélküliek lázadása, 1880.
9. Giordano Bruno, olasz bölcset és szabadgondolkodót máglyán elégették, 1600. (Szül. 1548.)
11. A német köztársaság elnökévé választják Friedrich Ebert szociáldemokratát, 1919.
12. Abraham Lincoln * 1809 (meggyilkolták 1865. április 14-én). — Darwin * 1809. — Kant * 1804. — Börne † 1837. — Keményszénbányászok "fekete péntekje", 1926.
13. Richard Wagner † 1883.
15. A fehér terror bérgyilkosai megölik a budapesti Népszava szerkesztőit: Somogyi Bélát és Bacsó Bélát, 1920. — 3 ezer kinai bányász tüzhalála a Fushun szénbánya robbanásánál, 1931.
17. Heinrich Heine, német költő és forradalmár † 1856. (Szül. 1797. dec. 13.)
18. Luther Márton † 1564. (Szül. 1483. nov. 10.)
19. Az orosz szoviet kimondja a föld társadalmositását, 1918.
20. Voltaire * 1694. — Bolsevisták fegyveres támadása a szociáldemokrata Népszava épülete ellen Budapesten, 1919.
21. Kurt Eisner, a bajor forradalom vezérének meggyilkolása, 1919.
22. August Bebel német szocialista vezér * 1840. — George Washington * 1732. (Meghalt 1799. dec. 14) — Amerigo Vespucci † 1512.
23. A februári francia forradalom, 1848. — A kommunisták kiáltványának megjelenése, 1848.; irták: Marx és Engels. — Columbus Kristóf, Amerika felfedezője † 1526. (Szül. 1446., vagy 1451, a pontos dátum ismeretlen.) — Károlyi Mihály a saját birtokán, Kiskápolnán megkezdi a földosztást, 1918.
24. Kikiáltják a francia köztársaságot, 1848.
25. Wallenstein megölése, 1634. — Gróf Essex lefejezése, 1601.
27. Renan * 1823.
28. Hóra és Kloska kerékbetörése, 1785. — Frankel Leó * Budán, 1844.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 MÁRCIUS 31 NAP

1	Szerda
2	Csütörtök
3	Péntek
4	Szombat
5	**Vasárnap**
6	Hétfő
7	Kedd
8	Szerda
9	Csütörtök
10	Péntek
11	Szombat
12	**Vasárnap**
13	Hétfő
14	Kedd
15	Szerda
16	Csütörtök
17	Péntek
18	Szombat
19	**Vasárnap**
20	Hétfő
21	Kedd
22	Szerda
23	Csütörtök
24	Péntek
25	Szombat
26	**Vasárnap**
27	Hétfő
28	Kedd
29	Szerda
30	Csütörtök
31	Péntek

Figyelje meg a Bérmunkást csomagoló papirost és ha előfizetése lejárt ujtisa azt meg.

1. Egy millió bányász sztrájkja Angilában, 1912. — Horthyt kormányzóvá "választják", 1920.

2. A kronstadti tengerészek felkelése a szoviet intézkedés ellen, 1921. — A jobbágyság eltörlése Oroszországban, 1861.

5. Külföldi Victor uttörő magyar szocialista † 1894. — Gróf Zeppelin feltaláló † 1917. — A brest-litovski béke, 1918.

8. Ford autó mágnás a békésen felvonuló munkásokba lövet. 5 halott, számtalan sebesült, 1932.

9. Danton megalakitja a forradalmi törvényszéket, 1793. — A spanyol inkvizició eltörlése, 1820. — A bécsi forradalom, 1848.

10. Ghandit, a hindu szabadságmozgalom vezérét elzárják, 1922, s 6 évi börtönre itélik. — Általános sztrájk Petrográdon, az orosz forradalom előtt, 1917.

11. Forradalom Oroszországban, 1917. — Megalakul a kinai köztársaság. — Oakfieldi mészkőbányászok bérharca, 1929.

13. A Kapp-puccs; az Ebert-kormány menekül, 1920. — II. Sándor orosz cárt bombával megölik, 1881.

14. Marx Károly † Londonban, 1883.

16. A magyar forradalom kitörése, 1848. — II. Miklós cár lemond, 1917 s ideiglenes kormány alakul.

17. New Englandban kitör a forradalom Anglia ellen, 1776.

18. A párisi kommün kikiáltása, 1871. — Forradalom Berlinben, 1848. — I. György görög királyt meggyilkolják, 1913.

19. Most János † 1906.

20. Newton † 1727. (Szül. 1642. dec. 25.) — Ibsen * 1828. — Kossuth Lajos † 1894. — Kappék szászpárti puccsát az általános sztrájk csufosan leveri, 1920.

21. A proletárdiktatura kikiáltása Magyarországon, 1919. — II. Miklós cárt és feleségét elfogták, 1917. — Kinlochi szénbánya robbanás 47 halottal, 1920.

22. A magyarországi szoviet társadalmasitja a nagyipart, bányát és nagybirtokot. Szolidaritást proklamál az orosz szoviettel, 1919.

25. Tüz a Triangle Shirt and Waist Co. gyárában; 146 munkásleány tüzhalált halt a new yorki városi felügyelők és a munkáltatók hanyagsága miatt, 1911.

26. Bebelt és Liebknechtet Lipcsében elitélik, 1872.

27. Maxim Gorkij (A. M. Peskov) világhirü orosz iró * 1868.

28. Agent provokatőrök bombavetése a new yorki Union Squaren, 1908.

29. Liebknecht * 1726. — Bellamy * 1850. — M. I. Kalinint az orosz szoviet elnökévé választják, 1919.

30. Frankel Leo † Párisban, 1896. A párisi kommün kormányának magyar származásu tagja volt.

31. Descartes * 1596.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 ÁPRILIS 30 NAP

1	Szombat
2	**Vasárnap**
3	Hétfő
4	Kedd
5	Szerda
6	Csütörtök
7	Péntek
8	Szombat
9	**Vasárnap**
10	Hétfő
11	Kedd
12	Szerda
13	Csütörtök
14	Péntek
15	Szombat
16	**Vasárnap**
17	Hétfő
18	Kedd
19	Szerda
20	Csütörtök
21	Péntek
22	Szombat
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24	Hétfő
25	Kedd
26	Szerda
27	Csütörtök
28	Péntek
29	Szombat
30	**Vasárnap**

Egy mindért, mind egyért... csak az IWW által valósitható meg.

1. Mirabeau, a nagy francia forradalom vezére † 1791. — 600 ezer bányász sztrájkja az Egyesült Államokban, 1922. — Puhaszénbányászok aug. 15-én nyertek, a keményszénbányászok szept. 2-án győztek. — Militarista ellenes gyüléseket a kormány elnyomja New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, stb. városokban, hogy a "világot megmentse a demokráciának", 1917. — A nagy I. W. W.-pör kezdete Chicago, Ill., 1918.

2. Thomas Jefferson * 1743. — Zola Emil * 1840.

3. 1,200,000 bányász általános sztrájkja Angliában, 1921.

5. Danton és Desmoulin kivégzése a guillotinon, 1794.

6. Az Egyesült Államok csatlakozik a világháboruhoz, 1917. — Rafael † 1520. — Általános sztrájk Hollandiában, 1903.

7. Charles Fourier * 1772.; (meghalt: 1837. okt. 10.) — A kansasi bányászok megtagadják az állami békéltetési törvényt és sztrájkba mennek, 1920.

8. A New York állami törvényhozás leszavazza a nők és gyermekek 8 órai munkaidejéről szóló törvényjavaslatot.

9. William Shakespeare † 1616. — Lee generális, a déli államok seregeinek fővezére megadja magát, 1865.

11. Lassalle Ferdinánd * 1825. — Az Egyesült Államok legfelsőbb birósága megerősiti 80 I. W. W.-tag elitélését, 1921. — Az angol szakszervezetek hármas szövetsége szétesik, 1921.

14. A debreceni országgyülés a Habsburg-házat trónfosztottnak mondja ki, 1849.

15. A "Titanic" hajóóriás elsülyedése, 1912, 1,625 emberélet odaveszett. — Dietzgen, szocialista bölcsész † 1888.

16. Sophia Perovszkaja és más orosz forradalmárok fölakasztása, 1881.

17. Benjamin Franklin † 1790. (Szül. 1706. jan. 17.)

18. A san franciscoi földrengés, 1906. — Cadiz, Ohioban a katonaság a sztrájkoló bányászok közé lőtt, 1932.

19. Charles Darwin † 1882. (Szül. 1809. febr. 12.)

20. Cromwell szétkergeti a parlamentet, 1625. — Ludlow, Col., asszonyok és gyermekek lemészárlása az olajtröszt bérencei által, 1914.

21. Mark Twain † 1910. (Szül. 1835. nov. 30.)

24. Az alföldi vérengzés, 31 szocialista földmivelő legyilkolása Élesden, 1904.

25. A guillotine "gyorsan ölő" gépet először alkalmazták 1792.

26. A szövetséges hatalmak kimondják a zsidók jogát Palesztinához, 1920.

27. Morse, a távíró feltalálója * 1791. (Meghalt: 1872. — Herbert Spencer * 1820. (Meghalt: 1903. dec. 8.)

28. Alexander Howatt és Dorchy egy évi börtönbe mennek a kansasi ipari törvény megsértéséért, 1922.

30. A budapesti hütlenségi pör vádlottait felmentik, 1872.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 MÁJUS 31 NAP

1	Hétfő
2	Kedd
3	Szerda
4	Csütörtök
5	Péntek
6	Szombat
7	**Vasárnap**
8	Hétfő
9	Kedd
10	Szerda
11	Csütörtök
12	Péntek
13	Szombat
14	**Vasárnap**
15	Hétfő
16	Kedd
17	Szerda
18	Csütörtök
19	Péntek
20	Szombat
21	**Vasárnap**
22	Hétfő
23	Kedd
24	Szerda
25	Csütörtök
26	Péntek
27	Szombat
28	**Vasárnap**
29	Hétfő
30	Kedd
31	Szerda

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Május 30. Decoration Day. (Halottak napja)

1. A világ munkásságának nemzetközi ünnepe. A forradalmi munkásság először ünnepli május elsejét 1890-ben. — A clevelandi véres május. Iványi József I. W. W. tag mártirhalála a Buckeye Roadon, 1919.
2. A budapesti munkástanács a román bevonulás ellen elhatározta a proletárság mozgósitását, 1919. — Tom Mooney kegyelem kérvényének elutasitása California kormányzója által, 1932.
4. Teljesen kitört az angol általános sztrájk; kilenc nap mulva eladták a fékerek, 1926.
5. Marx Károly * 1818. — Napoleon † 1821. — Jókai † 1904.
6. Börne * 1786. — Alexander Humboldt † 1859.
7. A "Lusitania" elsülyesztése, 1915.
10. V. Vorovszky, szoviet képviselőt a Larsane-i konferencia idején agyonlőtték. A biróság felmentette a gyilkost, 1923.
11. A hires Pullman-sztrájk, Debs vezetésével, 1899. — Megjelent az "Uj Társadalom" cimü magyar nyelvü I. W. W. lap, 1917. — Cle Ellum, Washington. A gátépitő munkások sztrájkja az I. W. W. égisze alatt győzelemmel végződött, 1932.
12. James Connolly, szocialista vezér agyonlövése Dublinban, 1916. Robert Owen * 1771. (Meghalt: 1858. nov. 17.)
14. A svéd katonaság a sztrájkoló papirmalmi munkásokba lő, 5 halott és számtalan sebesült, 1931.
16. Victor Hugó † 1885. — Jack Vanetter Kentucky, Harlani bányász meggyilkolása, 1932.
17. Franciaország tábornoki kara kormánynak lépteti elő magát, 1789.
18. A magyar kormány elfogadja az ántánt békefeltételeit, 1920. — Napoleon császárnak kiáltatja ki magát, 1804. — Wilson aláirja a kötelező katonai törvényt, 1917. — W. D. Haywood, az I. W. W. alapitó tagja † Moszkvában, 1928.
19. Saint Simon, utópista szocialista gondolkodó † 1825. — Fichte (meghalt) 1762. — Általános sztrájk Nagykanizsán, 1906.
20. A magyar jakobinusok lefejezése, 1795.
21. Francia parasztság lázadása, 1354. — A Ruhr egy millió munkását kizárják, 1924. — Dürer * 1471.
22. Thomas Hood, a "Song of the Shirt" szerzője * 1799. (Meghalt 1845. május 3.) — A német munkásszövetség megalakul Lassalle vezetése alatt, 1863.
23. Olaszország hadüzenetet küld Ausztria-Magyarországnak, 1915. Ibsen Henrik † 1906. (*1828. márc. 20.) — Véres utcai forradalom Budapesten az emberi jogokért, 1912.
24. Copernicus csillagász † 1543. (*1423. febr. 19.)
25. Delescluse elesik a barrikádokon, 1871.
26. A szocialista internacionale közös bizottsága feloszlott, 1922.
27. Babeuf francia forradalmár lefejezése, 1707. — M. F. Voltaire, bölcsész † 1778.
28. A párisi kommün vége, 1871.
29. John Brown, amerikai abolicionista * 1800. Felakasztotta a rabszolgaság mellett levő csőcselék, 1859. dec. 2.
31. Fajháboru Tulsa, Okla. négerei és a fehérek között, 1921.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 JUNIUS 30 NAP

1	Csütörtök
2	Péntek
3	Szombat
4	**Vasárnap**
5	Hétfő
6	Kedd
7	Szerda
8	Csütörtök
9	Péntek
10	Szombat
11	**Vasárnap**
12	Hétfő
13	Kedd
14	Szerda
15	Csütörtök
16	Péntek
17	Szombat
18	**Vasárnap**
19	Hétfő
20	Kedd
21	Szerda
22	Csütörtök
23	Péntek
24	Szombat
25	**Vasárnap**
26	Hétfő
27	Kedd
28	Szerda
29	Csütörtök
30	Péntek

Szervezetlenül könyör adományokért kilincselünk, szervezetten, mi rendelkezünk minden felett.

1. Goldberger László, amerikai magyar I. W. W. agitátor † 1922.
2. Első szakegyleti kongresszus Angliában, 1868. — G. Garibaldi † 1882.
3. M. A. Bakunin * 1814. (Meghalt 1876. jun. 30.) — Sacco-Vanzetti-ügy Massachusetts államban, 1921.
4. G. V. Plechanov, az orosz szociáldemokrácia megalapitója † 1918.
7. A francia kommunárdok lemészárlása, 1871.
8. Thomas Paine † 1809.
9. Az angol klérus kéri Henrik királyt, engedje meg, hogy a nép olvashassa a bibliát, 1536.
11. Az amerikai kongresszus megbizza Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklint és Róbert T. Livingston kongresszusi vezető tagokat a "Függetlenségi Nyilatkozat" megszövegezésével, 1770. — A szerb királyi család megyilkolása, 1903. Megjelent a "Küzdelem", magyarnyelvü I. W. W. lap, New Yorkban, 1918.
13. A lázadó parasztok elfoglalják Londont, 1581. — A "General Slocum" kiránduló hajó elég 1000 gyermekkel, 1904. — Marat meggyilkolása, 1793.
14. A chartisták benyujtják követelésüket a parlamentbe, 1839.
15. John király aláirja a Magna Charta-t, 1215. — L. A. Blanquei vezeti a forradalmat Párisban, 1848.
16. Az első minden oroszok szoviet kongresszus megnyitása, 1917. — Proudhon † 1865.
17. A feudalizmus megszüntetése Franciaországban, 1793. — A Bunker Hill-i csata és Charlestown leégetése az angolok által, az amerikai függetlenségi háboruban, 1775.
18. Napoleon döntő legyőzetése Waterloonál, 1815.
19. Stenhka Raasin, orosz parasztvezér nyilvános kivégzése, 1670.
20. A Marseillaise szerzője J. Audorf † 1898.
21. Az első gyári törvény Angliában, 1802. — Magyar mágnások beviszik az oroszokat Magyarországba, 1849.
23. A. Berkman, amerikai anarkista merényletkisérlete H. C. Frick, a U. S. Steel Tröszt embere ellen, hogy megbosszulja a homesteadi sztrájkban lemészárolt munkásokat, 1892.
24. Forradalom Párisban, 1848. — Guttenberg * 1400.
25. Marx Károly "Kapital"-jának első kötete megjelent, 1867.
26. E. V. Debs szimpáthia sztrájkra hivja a vasutasokat a Pullman sztrájkban, 1892.
27. Megalakult az I. W. W., 1905. — A Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance első konvenciója, 1896. — Elfogják a "Küzdelem" héttagu lapbizottságát és három hónapig börtönben tartották, 1918.
28. Ferenc Ferdinándot és feleségét meggyilkolták, 1914.
30. E. V. Debst háboruellenes beszédéért elfogják, 10 évre itélik, 1918.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

1933 JULIUS 31 NAP

1	Szombat
2	**Vasárnap**
3	Hétfő
4	Kedd
5	Szerda
6	Csütörtök
7	Péntek
8	Szombat
9	**Vasárnap**
10	Hétfő
11	Kedd
12	Szerda
13	Csütörtök
14	Péntek
15	Szombat
16	**Vasárnap**
17	Hétfő
18	Kedd
19	Szerda
20	Csütörtök
21	Péntek
22	Szombat
23	**Vasárnap**
24	Hétfő
25	Kedd
26	Szerda
27	Csütörtök
28	Péntek
29	Szombat
30	**Vasárnap**
31	Hétfő

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Julius 4. — A függetlenségi nyilatkozat aláirásának évfordulója.

1. Táncsis Mihály kiadja az "Arany Trombita" cimü lapot, a melynek alcime "A Munkások Ujságja", 1869. — 400,000 vasuti mühelymunkás sztrájkja a bérlevágás ellen, 1922.
2. Rousseau, 1778. † 66 éves korában. — Békeszerződést köt az Egyesült Államok és Németország kormánya, 1921.
4. A kongresszus elfogadja a függetlenségi nyilatkozatot, 1776. Thomas Jefferson, a függetlenségi nyilatkozat egyik szerzője, az 50-ik évfordulón meghalt, 1826. (Szül. 1743. ápr. 2.)
5. Elysée Reclus † 1905.
6. Morus Tamás, az "Utópia" szerzőjének lefejezése, 1535.
7. Husz János, reformátor elégetése a máglyán, 1415.
11. Jack Cade, angol munkásvezér lefejezése, 1450.
13. Marat francia forradalmárt meggyilkolja Corday Sarolta, 1793.
14. A francia királyság börtöne, a Bastille, elesett, 1789. — A szocialista Internacionale (második) nemzetközi munkásünnepnek proklamálta május elsejét, 1889.
15. Győz a perzsa forradalom, 1909.
16. Az első nagy vasuti sztrájk az Egyesült Államokban a Pennsylvania vasutvonalon, 1877. — II. Miklós orosz cár agyonlövetése a számüzetésben Ekaterinburgban, 1918. — Chartista felkelés, 1839. — Proudban P. J. † 1859.
17. III. Péter cárt a felesége beleegyezésével megfojtották, 1762.
20. Martinovics Ignác * 1755.
21. Magyarajku I. W. W. tagokat (12-őt) internáltak Fort Oglethorpe és Fort Douglas-ba és majdnem két évig fogva tartották őket, 1917.
22. Agent provokatőrök bombát vetnek a san franciscoi militarista tüntetésbe, amiért Tom Mooney-t és másokat életfogytiglani börtönre itélték, 1916.
25. Blériot átrepül a La Manche csatornán, 1900. — Kerensky ideiglenes kormánya ujra bevezeti a halálos itéletet a hadvonalon, 1917.
27. Robespierre, a látszólag teljhatalmu diktátor megbukik. Egy nappal később lefejezik, 36 éves volt, 1794.
28. Ausztria hadüzenete Szerbia ellen, ezzel megkezdődött a világháboru, 1914. — Feuerbach * 1804. — Héjjas "ébredő" bandájának vérengzése a Lipót-köruti Club kávéházban, 1920.
29. Bresci merénylete Umberto olasz király ellen, 1900. — Chester Poor Kentucky, Harlani szénbányász életfogytiglani elitéltetése, 1932.
30. Diderot † 1874. — Bismarck "vaskancellár" (meghalt) 83 éves korában, 1898. — A románok átkelnek a Tiszán, 1919.
31. Jourést Párisban meggyilkolták, 1914. — Petőfi Sándor † a segesvári ütközetben, 1849. — Loyola Ignác, a jezsuita-rend megalapitója meghalt, 1556.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 AUGUSZTUS 31 NAP

1	Kedd
2	Szerda
3	Csütörtök
4	Péntek
5	Szombat
6	Vasárnap
7	Hétfő
8	Kedd
9	Szerda
10	Csütörtök
11	Péntek
12	Szombat
13	Vasárnap
14	Hétfő
15	Kedd
16	Szerda
17	Csütörtök
18	Péntek
19	Szombat
20	Vasárnap
21	Hétfő
22	Kedd
23	Szerda
24	Csütörtök
25	Péntek
26	Szombat
27	Vasárnap
28	Hétfő
29	Kedd
30	Szerda
31	Csütörtök

A Bérmunkást munkások irják a munkásoknak. Ne hiányozzék ez egyetlen bérmunkás asztaláról sem.

1. Frank Little I. W. W. szónok meggyilkoltatása a réztröszt által, 1917. — Proletárdiktatura bukása Magyarországon; a szakszervezetek veszik át a kormányt, 1919. — Lamarek † 1744.

2. Casement, ir szabadsághős kivégzése, 1916. — Németország betör Belgiumba, 1914.

3. Németország hadüzenete Franciaország- és Belgiumnak, 1914. — A sztrájkoló Indianai bányászok ellen kirendelték a katonaságot, 1932.

4. A francia hübérséget eltörlik, 1789. — Anglia hadüzenete Németországhoz, 1914. — A román csapatok megszállják Budapestet, 1919. — William Hudson, Kentucky, Harlani szénbányász életfogytiglani elitélése, 1932.

5. Az első kábelt tették le az Atlanti Oceánon keresztül, 1853. — Engels Frigyes † 1895. — Ausztria-Magyarország hadüzenete Oroszországhoz, 1914. — Peidlék bukása, 1919.

7. W. Liebknecht † 1900.

9. Békekötés Oroszország és Japán között, 1905. — Ernest Heckel † 1919. — Megjelent az "Ipari Munkás", magyarnyelvü I. W. W. lap, Chicago, Ill., 1917. — A Boulder Dam sztrájk kitörése az I. W. W. égisze alatt, 1931.

11. Éhséglázadás Németországban, 1923.

13. A magyar forradalom vége, 1849. — Anglia hadüzenete Ausztria-Magyarországhoz, 1914. — August Bebel † 1913.

15. Napoleon * 1769.

16. A Dawes-terv elfogadása, amely a vereség minden terhét a német munkásosztály nyakába sózza, 1924.

17. A szövetségi esküdtszék 166 I. W. W. tagnak öt hónapi vizsgálati fogsága és hat hónapig tartó tárgyalása után ötvenöt percig tartó tanácskozásban bünösnek mondja ki a vádlottakat. Wm. D. Haywood, közp. titkár és 14 más, köztük Rótfischer Károly, a "Bérmunkás" szerkesztője, 20 évi börtönbüntetést kapott; 33-an 6-tól 10 évig és 12-en 1—5 évi büntetést kaptak. Az összes pénzbirság $2,570,000-t tett ki, 1918.

18. Joe Colbert, Illinoisi szénbányász orvul való meggyilkolása, 1932.

22. A kommunista párt tikos konvencióját elfogják az E. Á. szövetségi ügynökei, Bridgeman, Mich.-ben, 1922. — Sacco és Vanzetti mártirhalála a charlestoni börtönben, 1927.

24. Gépfegyverekkel támadták meg a Progressive Miners Union 40 ezer tagját Tailorsville, Ill., 1 halott, számtalan sulyos sebesült, 1932. — A szólásszabadság harcának kitörése a Boulder Dam munkásai között az I. W. W. vezetése mellett, 1932.

25. Friedrich Nietzsche individualista, hatalmas filozófus meghalt 56 éves korában, 1900. — Watt * 1819.

26. Az I. W. W. első magyar csoportjának megalakulása, Chicagoban, 1911.

27. Anglia megszerzi a Holland gyarmatot: New Amsterdamot, a mostani New York várost, 1664.

29. 43 lázadó Kentucky-i szénbányász vádaláhelyezése, 1931.

31. Lassalle † 1864.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 SZEPTEMBER 30 NAP

1	Péntek
2	Szombat
3	**Vasárnap**
4	Hétfő
5	Kedd
6	Szerda
7	Csütörtök
8	Péntek
9	Szombat
10	**Vasárnap**
11	Hétfő
12	Kedd
13	Szerda
14	Csütörtök
15	Péntek
16	Szombat
17	**Vasárnap**
18	Hétfő
19	Kedd
20	Szerda
21	Csütörtök
22	Péntek
23	Szombat
24	**Vasárnap**
25	Hétfő
26	Kedd
27	Szerda
28	Csütörtök
29	Péntek
30	Szombat

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:
Szept. első hétfője: Labor Day. (Máj. 1. A nemzetközi munkásünnep ellensulyozására.)

1. Daugherty tiltóparancsot vesz ki a sztrájkoló vasuti mühelymunkások ellen, 1922.

2. A Progressive Miners Union megalakulása, Gillespie, Ill.-ban, 1932.

3. A nemzetközi munkásszövetség 1-ső Internacionálé kongresszusa, 1866. — A szocialista pártból kiszakadt balszárny két pártot alakit, a kommunista pártot és a kommunista munkáspártot, 1919. — Japán földrengésben 350,000 ember és sok város pusztult el, 1923.

4. III-ik Napoleon királyságának megdöntése. Kikiáltják a harmadik közrtársaságot, 1870.

5. A zimmerwaldi szocialista konferencia, a háboruellenes akció és béke előmozditására, 1915.

6. McKinley elnököt megöli az anarkista Czolgosz, 1901. — Károlyi Mihály Cegléden a megegyezéses békét sürgeti, 1918.

8. A szakszervezeti kongresszus 5,250,000 munkás képviseletében a direkt akció mellett, 1910. — Rendőrsztrájk Bostonban, 1919.

9. A felszabadult gyarmatország felveszi az Amerikai Egyesült Államok nevet, 1779. — Tolstoj Leo * 1828. (Meghalt 1910. november 20.)

1b. Dante † 1321. — E. M. Wiggins szövőmunkásnőt meggyilkolták a kapitalista bérencek Gastoniában, 1929.

15. Kepler csillagász † 1630. — A monarchia békejavaslata az összes országokhoz, 1918.

16. F. M. Bratcher, Kentucky, Harlani szénbányász harmadszori felmentése a gyilkosság vádja alól, 1932.

17. Az Egyesült Államok alkotmányát elfogadja a szövetségi kongresszus, 1878.

18. 400,000 acélmunkás sztrájkja 24 országos szakegylet (A. F. of L.) közös bizottságának vezetése alatt, amelynek Wm. Z. Foster volt az elnöke. A sztrájk három hónapig tartott, 1919. — Általános sztrájk Olaszországban, 1904.

19. Kossuth Lajos * Monokon, 1802.

21. A francia köztársaság kihirdetése, 1792.

27. Bulgária kiválik a központi hatalmak közül és külön békét kér, 1918. — Az I. W. W. Canadai adminisztrációjának első értekezlete, 1932.

28.. Népgyülés a St. Martins Hallban, Londonban, ahol az I. Internacionálé kiindult. — Jim Reynolds és Bill Burnett, Kentucky, Harlani szénbányászok három évre itéltettek, 1932.

29. Zola † 1902; 62 éves korában.

30. Szabó Ervin † 1918; 41 éves korában. — Csődöt mondott a szocialista-ellenes Bismarck-törvény 11 év után, 1890.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 OKTÓBER 31 NAP

1	**Vasárnap**
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	**Vasárnap**
9	Hétfő
10	Kedd
11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
15	**Vasárnap**
16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
18	Szerda
19	Csütörtök
20	Péntek
21	Szombat
22	**Vasárnap**
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat
29	**Vasárnap**
30	Hétfő
31	Kedd

Egy kapitalista osztály van. Egy a munkásosztály is. Egynek KELL lenni a szervezetnek is.

1. Fulton Róbert első gőzhajója, 1809.

2. Első vasut az Egyesült Államokban, 1833. — Öt sztrájkoló szövőmunkás legyilkolása Marion, N. C.-ban, 1929.

3. William Morris, uttörő angol szocialista † 1896.

4. Megalakult a Western Federation of Miners, Butte, Mont., 1890. — Cle Elum, Wash. Gátépitő munkásainak sztrájkja az I. W. W. égisze alatt ujból győzelemmel végződött, 1932.

6. A tizenhárom tábornok kivégzése Aradon, 1849. — Általános sztrájk Pécsett, 1903.

7. Fresno-i (Calif.) I. W. W. szólászabadságharc, 1909.

8. Kossuth Lajos, Magyarország kormányzója lesz, 1848. — Batthány Lajos gróf megöletése, 1849.

12. Amerika felfedezése, 1492. — A német kormány elfogadta Wilson elnök feltételeit, 1918.

13. A chicagoi nagy I. W. W. pörben az ügyészség az I. W. W. elvnyilatkozatát találja a legfőbb vádpontnak, 17,220 törvénysértést sorol fel az I. W. W. ellen, 1918. — Francisco Ferrer kivégzése, 1909.

15. Az uj Georgiai naptár Rómában, 1582.

16. Mária Antoinette lefejezése, 1793.

18. A coloradoi nagy bányászsztrájk kezdete az I. W. W. irányitása mellett, 1927.

20. A Knights of Labornak 1,200,000 tagja volt 1888-ban; alakult 1869-ben. — Eugene V. Debs † 1926.

21. Adler Frigyes agyonlövi Stürgh miniszterelnököt Bécsben, 1916. — Németország elfogadja Wilson fegyverszünet feltételeit, 1918. — A gastoniai N. C. szövősztrájkban vádaláhelyezett 7 munkást 50 percnyi tárgyalás után az esküdtek 2-od fokon bünösnek találták Aderholt rendőrkapitány legyilkolásában és összesen 117 évre itélték el őket, 1929.

23. Általános sztrájk Oroszországban, 1905.

24. Daniel Webster † 1852. (Szül. 1782. jan. 18.) — Bethlen nyolc munkáslapot betilt, 1922.

25. Mayor McSweeney 73 napi éhségsztrájk után meghalt, 1920.

26. Charles Steinmetz † 1923.

31. Az "őszirózsás forradalom" Magyarországon: Károlyi kormányra jutása, 1918. — Tisza Istvánt meggyilkolják, 1918. — Az osztrák-magyar tengeri hajóhadat Horthy Miklós átadja a délszlávoknak, 1918.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 NOVEMBER 30 NAP

1	Szerda
2	Csütörtök
3	Péntek
4	Szombat
5	**Vasárnap**
6	Hétfő
7	Kedd
8	Szerda
9	Csütörtök
10	Péntek
11	Szombat
12	**Vasárnap**
13	Hétfő
14	Kedd
15	Szerda
16	Csütörtök
17	Péntek
18	Szombat
19	**Vasárnap**
20	Hétfő
21	Kedd
22	Szerda
23	Csütörtök
24	Péntek
25	Szombat
26	**Vasárnap**
27	Hétfő
28	Kedd
29	Szerda
30	Csütörtök

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Hálaadás napja a hónap utolsó csütörtökje.

1. Mussolini, az olasz fascisták élén hatalomra jut, 1922. — Egész Magyarország csatlakozik a forradalomhoz, 1918.
2. A német forradalom kezdete, 1918.
3. Spokane-i (Wash.) I. W. W. szólásszabadságharc, 1909.
5. Everett-i (Wash.) I. W. W. mészárlás, 1916.
6. A német császár lemond, 1918.
7. Bolshevik győzelem Oroszországban, 1917. — Felállitják a szovjetet. — A francia nemzetgyülés az ész vallását proklamálja, 1793. — Hittler, Ludendorff, Ulain fajvédő puccs csufos kudarccal végződött, 1923.
9. Ebert kancellár lesz, 1918.
10. Az orosz forradalmi kormány békeajánlata a központi hatalmaknak, 1917. — Az ántánt és Németország megköti a békét, 1918. — Vilmos császár és a trónörökös Hollandiába menekül, 1918.
11. Centralia (Wash.) Az I. W. W. Munkás Otthonban betörnek az American Legion parádéról; néhányan elesnek közülök. Wesley Everest-el meglincselik s később nyolc I. W. W. tagot 20-tól 40 évi börtönbüntetésre itélnek ebben az ügyben, 1919. — A haymarketi bombavetéssel gyanusitott anarkistákat, Spies és társait, ártatlanul kivégzik, 1887. — Németország aláirja a fegyverszüneti szerződést, 1918.
12. Dózsa Györgyöt, a magyarországi parasztforradalom vezérét tüzes vastrónon elevenen elégeti a magyar nemesség, 1514. — A "Vestris" gőzhajó elsüyedése, 1928. — A Bérmunkás ujból Clevelandon jelenik meg huszesztendős jubileumi számában 24 oldalon, 1931.
14. Hegel * 1831. — IV. Károly lemond a trónról, 1918. — A román megszálló csapatok kivonulása Budapestről, 1919.
15. Megjelenik az I. W. W. első magyarnyelvü lapja, a "Bérmunkás", 1912. — Hauptmann Gerhard * 1862. — Kepler csillagász † 1620.
16. Owen Róbert † 1858. — A magyar népköztársaság kikiáltása, 1918.
17. Az I. W. W. magyarnyelvü lapja, a "Felszabadulás", ujra felveszi eredeti nevét, a "Bérmunkás"-t, 1923.
19. Joe Hill, I. W. W. költő kivégzése, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1915.
21. Voltaire * 1604. — A lyoni selyemszövők fekelése éhinség miatt, 1881. — A coloradoi sztrájkoló bányászok legyilkolása a columbinei bánya előtt, 1927.
22. Babeuf * 1760. — Andre Tridon † 1922.
28. Friedrich Engels * 1929.
29. Small, Illinois állam kormányzója 20 kommunistának kegyelmet ad, 1922.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1933 DECEMBER 31 NAP

1	Péntek
2	Szombat
3	**Vasárnap**
4	Hétfő
5	Kedd
6	Szerda
7	Csütörtök
8	Péntek
9	Szombat
10	**Vasárnap**
11	Hétfő
12	Kedd
13	Szerda
14	Csütörtök
15	Péntek
16	Szombat
17	**Vasárnap**
18	Hétfő
19	Kedd
20	Szerda
21	Csütörtök
22	Péntek
23	Szombat
24	**Vasárnap**
25	Hétfő
26	Kedd
27	Szerda
28	Csütörtök
29	Péntek
30	Szombat
31	**Vasárnap**

Legyen tagja Ön is az Egy Nagy Szervezetet épitő mozgalomnak.

1. Vasuti merénylet az orosz cár ellen, 1870. — Japán bányarobbanás 437 halottal, 1914.
2. John Brown kivégzése, 1859.
4. Napoleon eltörli a spanyol inkviziciót, 1803.
5. A McNamara testvéreket életfogytiglani börtönre itélték, 1911.
6. Spartacus fölkelés Berlinben, 1918. — W. Va.-i bányarobbanás 500 halott, 1907. — Az ir köztársaságot hivatalosan elismeri Anglia, 1921. — Az állam és az egyház szétválasztása Franciaországban, 1905.
7. Megjelent a "Felszabadulás", az I. W. W. magyarnyevü lapja, Chicago, Ill., 1918. — Az ébredő csőcselék megtámadja a budapesti Népszava épületét és lerombolja a szerkesztőség, nyomda és kiadóhivatal helyiségét, 1919.
8. Dániel de Leon † 1914. (Szül. 1852. dec. 14.)
9. Vaillant bombát vet a francia kamarában, 1893.
10. W. B. Jones, Kentucky, Harlan megyei bányász életfogytiglani elitélése, 1931.
11. Louis Blanc, az 1848-as francia forradalom feje † 1882.
13. Heine * 1799. — Samuel Gompers * London, Angliában, 1850. jan. 27-én meghalt az Egyesült Államokban, 1924. dec. 13.
14. Washington † 1828. — Amundsen felfedezi a déli sarkot, 1911. Amnesztiát kap több politikai és ipari fogoly Amerikában, 1923
15. Megjelent a "Védelem", az I. W. W. magyarnyelvü lapja, 1917, Chicago, Ill. — Rothfisher Károly, számüzetésben halt meg Mexicoban, 1930.
16. Oliver Cromwell Anglia főlordja lesz, 1653. — A "bostoni tea party", az amerikai szabadságharc kezdete, 1773.
21. A "Bufford" hajó elindul a deportált forradalmárokkal Oroszország felé, 1919.
24. Megalakul a szindikalista inernacionálé, 1922. — Az amerikai munkáspárt megalakult New Yorkban, 1921. — Calumet-i tüzvész, 74 halott, 1913.
25. Newton csillagász * 1642.
27. Csongrádon az ébredők bombát dobnak a zsidó nőegylet bálján a zsufolt terembe. A bomba többeket megölt. Az ébredőket szabadon bocsájtották, 1923.
28. Itélet a magyarországi népbiztos pörben, 1920. — Földrengés Sziciliában, 200,000 halott. — Megalakult a Knights of Labor, 1869.
29. László Jenő, Korvin Ottó, Kerekes Árpád, Dinnyés József, Schwartz Károly, Kovács Lajos, Gombos Ferenc, Dögei Imre és Horváth Mihály, magyarországi szoviet népbiztosokat a fehér terror uralom kivégzi, 1920.
30. Magyarországi néptörvény a 8 órás munkaidőről, 1918. — A Kommunista Liga megbizza Marx Károlyt és Engels Frigyest a szervezet kiáltványának megszövegezésével. Igy lett a hirneves Kommunisták Kiáltványa, 1847.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

Az Industrial Workers of the World és a rendszer ujjászervezése

RALPH CHAPLIN
Az IWW hivatalos angol nyelvü lapjának szerkesztője

AZ IPAROK gyors fejlődése a termelési rendszert uj formákba kényszeritették. A napjainkban duló munkanélküliség nem muló jelenség, hanem maradandó és a társadalom minden felülépitményének ehez kell igazodni.

Hol áll az Industrial Workers of the World a jelen ujjászervezés periódusában? Él és müködik-e még a szervezet, vagy pedig az egykori hatalmas erőt és befolyást elhomályositotta egy maradandóbb, a viszonyoknak jobban megfelelő mozgalom és "modern" ideálok? Azon forradalmi ideál és cél, melyért az IWW oly kitartással és oly hosszu időn keresztül harcolt sérthetetlen-e még, vagy pedig elhomályosult és eltünt a jelenben duló ipari felfordulásban és politikai konfuzióban? Szükség van-e még ma is oly forradalmi ipari szervezetre amilyent az IWW hirdet és képvisel, vagy pedig a megváltozott viszonyok más összetételü szervezetet követelnek meg, mely uj utat nyit a munkásság számára és uj eszközökkel segiti elérni a végcélt? Ezek azok a kérdések, melyek sok munkás ajkáról hallatszanak az egész világon a jelen pillanatban.

Először is nem szabad elfelejtenünk. hogy az a tény, hogy az IWW ma létezik a csodával határos. Azon tény, hogy a szervezet funkcionált az ellene irányitott határtalan üldöztetés idején és a saját erejéből megállta a helyét az ezt követő időkben, letagadhatatlan bizonyitéka praktikus legyőzhetetlenségének. Bármely szervezet, a mely kevésbé gyökeredzik a munkás osztály szükségleteiben, már régen megsemmisült és feledésbe ment volna. Az IWW dacára a hónapokig és évekig tartó kérlelhetetlen terrornak, nem semmisült meg. Ma, bár a tagság harctépett és letört minden téren, kivéve a meggyőződés és bátorságban, sokkal nagyobb bizalommal néz a jövő elé mint bármikor a multban.

Távol attól, hogy a mult-é volna, mint ahogy ellenségei meggondolatlanul állitani szeretik, az IWW ma sokkal határozottabban érzi a felelősséget, hogy a világ forradalmi ipari unionizmusának megtestesitője és megbizható alapja. Ma sokkal határozottabb meggyőződése, mint bármikor a multban, hogy reá hárul az a történelmi szükségszerüség, hogy megszervezze a világ bérmunkásait az Egy Nagy Szervezetbe a mindennapi kenyérért folytatott harcokra és a végső harcra, a munkásosztály felszabaditására. És az IWW örömmel állapitja meg, hogy a szolidaritás üzenetét a munkás tömegek ma sokkal nagyobb megértéssel és lelkesedéssel fogadják, mint bármikor létezése óta.

Bármely tiszta gondolkozásu szemlélő megállapithatja, hogy az események igazolják az IWW helyes álláspontját. Nemcsak beteljesedett az IWW jövendölése a világháboru tragikus következményeit illetőleg, hanem az ezt követő állapotok meggyőző bizonyitékát szolgáltatták, hogy csak- litikai akciója mentheti meg az emberi is a munkásosztály IPARI és nem po- társadalmat az uralkodó osztály hatalomittas és gyülölettől elvakult pusztitásától. Ma már még a konzervativ nemzetgazdászok is elismerik amit az IWW egy negyed századdal ezelőtt megállapitott, nevezetesen — hogy csak a munkásosztály szervezett gazdasági ereje vethet véget nemcsak a

A HABOZÓKNAK

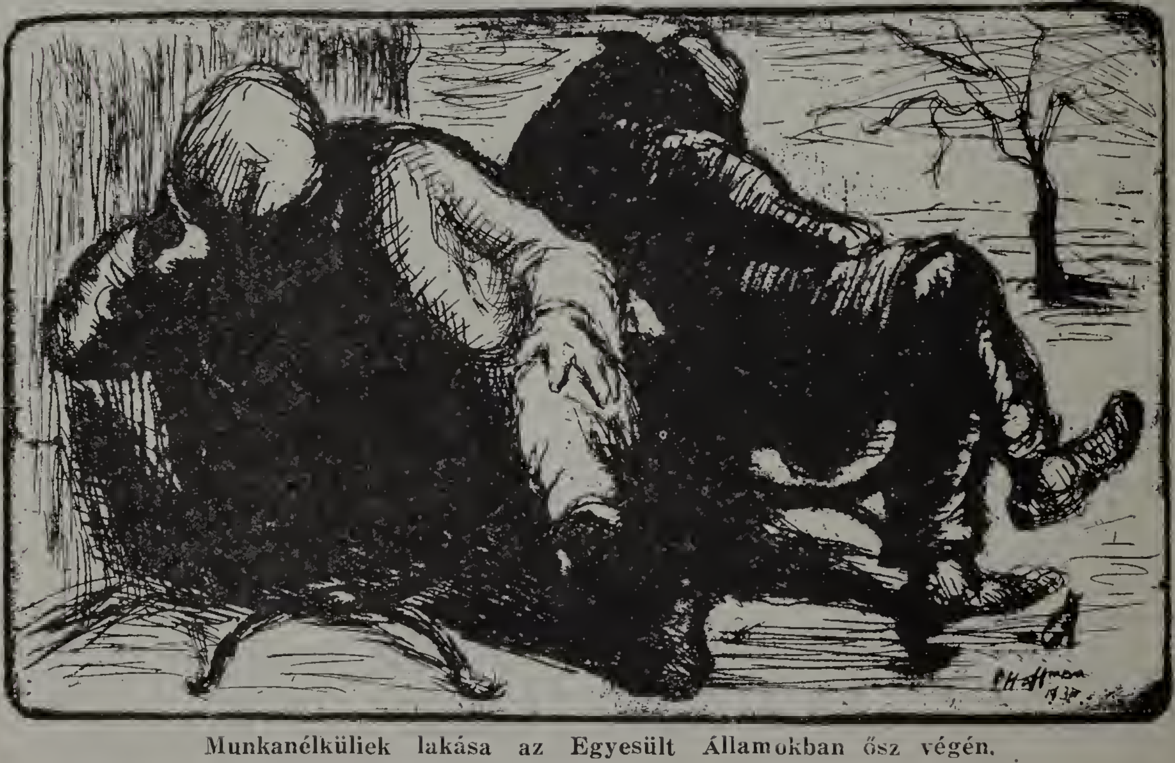
(Mondja egy habozó)

A Tegnap hiv, de vissza nem léphetek.
A Holnap csal, de nem repülhetek.
Egyik lábam előre, másik hátra huz
S mig tétovázva két parton merengek,
A Ma sodra alólam kirántja a talajt:
Rajtam áthömpölyög és halálra zuz.

jövő háboruinak és a munkanélküliségnek, hanem a kapitalista rendszernek is mely ezeket szüli. Az IWW nem szelidült meg az ellene folytatott embertelen üldöztetéstől. Ma sokkal elszántabb, sokkal határozottabb és sokkal tisztábban látó forradalmi szervezet, mint bármikor a multban. Nem csak ez áll, hanem az is tény, hogy az uralkodó osztálynak ez a kegyetlen üldözése az IWW-t a munkás milliók szivébe véste, akik bizalommal tekintenek rá, mert kiállta a tüzpróbát. Az IWW befolyása ma erőteljesebb mint valaha, mert nem alkudott meg, hanem megmaradt az egyenes uton. A jelenben bármely program, mely kevésbé radikális mint az IWW-é, nem megfelelő a munkásosztálynak.

Az utóbbi években az amerikai Kommunista Párt szövetségre lépett az IWW kérlelhetetlen ellenségeivel, azonban eddig ez a szövetség többett ártott a kommunistáknak, mint az IWW-nak. Az Egyesült Államokban a Kommunista Párt nem gyökeredzik az ipari életbe és még a jelen időkig senki sem vette komolyan. Azon kisérletükkel, hogy likvidálják és lerombolják az IWW-t és más "rivális" szervezeteket csak annyit értek el, hogy elszigetelték önmagukat ugy a konzervativ, mint a radikális szervezetektől.

A változó viszonyok között az IWW megerősödött bátorságban, tisztánlátásban és határozottságban. Tettre készségben éppen oly erős, mint valaha és éppen oly félelmetes. A végcélja — mindig is az volt és ma is; az Ipari Köztársaság és ennek elérésére még mindig a direkt akciót; a forradalmi ipari unionizmust tartja célra vezetőnek és nem az indirekt politikai vagy reform akciót. A jövő kulcsát még mindig az IWW tartja, mert összetételében van az embriója az Uj Társadalom szerkezetének.



Munkanélküliek lakása az Egyesült Államokban ősz végén.

Munkások védelme

HERBERT MAHLER

“MUNKÁSOK VÉDELME” ez a hivatása az Általános Védelmi Bizottságnak (General Defense Committee) G. D. C. hogy az izgalmas forradalmi történelmi időkben ami mostan Amerikába játszódik le. A győzelem órájában, a legsötétebb napok közepette hősiessen — drámaiasan győzelemre vigye a munkások igaz ügyét. Ez az egész története az egyszerü szavaknak “Munkások Védelme” és hogy az Általános Védelmi Bizottság mennyiben tölti be ezen hivatását. Nem találunk szavakat, amellyel kitudnánk fejezni a General Defense Committeenek az önfeláldozó müködését.

Egy pár szóval csak emlékezzünk azokról a főbb eseményekről, amelyek biztosan érdeklődést fognak kelteni.

Minden munkás küzdelembe a harcos elemek legtöbbnyire esnek áldozatul és hamis vádak alapján sok esetben a legkisebb büncselekménytől a legnagyobbik — gyilkossággal lesznek vádolva.

Mindig a kapitalisták használják a törvényszéket a munkások ellen, ha más eszközök már nem alkalmasak. Mert ők ugy látják, hogy hivatásánál fogva a törvényszékek sokkal jobban tudják szolgálni a kapitalista osztályt, mint a rendőr botok vagy katonai szuronyok.

Ahol azután nincsenek véres fejek, megsebzett, lelőtt áldozatok és erőszakosságok, hanem csak törvényileg “jogos” kivégzések a villamosszékbe ahol a biróságok hivatásuknak megfelelően végeznek el.

Ha ezek azután szabad kezet kapnak, mint egy tökéletes gépezet müködnek a munkások elnyomására.

A forradalmi munkások fölismerték, hogy milyen fontos és szükséges megvédelmezni a börtönbe került harcosokat. A munkás történelem telitve van ilyen eseményekkel, ahol sokszor megnyerték; de több esetben elvesztették a harcot a jogos védelembe. Ahogy az idők haladnak az ilyen tárgyalások napról-napra gyakoribbak, ami a védelmet még szükségesebbé teszi.

Az ügyvédek képesitve vannak, hogy harcoljanak sok esetbe a munkás ügyek megnyerésére és más sok esetben hasznos szolgálatot tettek; de egyedül nem alkalmasak.

Szervezetek szükségesek, amelyek minden támogatást nyujtanak.

A multban is mindig szerveztünk védelmi bizottságot, ha egy ügy, védelmi ügy felmerült és a tárgyalás végeztével mindig a védelmi bizottság is megszünt.

Ezek a védelmi bizottságok rendesen olyan elemekből kerültek ki, akiknek nem volt gyakorlatuk a védelem megszervezésében, a melyek azután nem tudtak megfelelően müködni sem.

Ezért alakitottuk meg a G. D. C.-t, a General Defense Committeet, amely 1917-ben lett megszervezve.

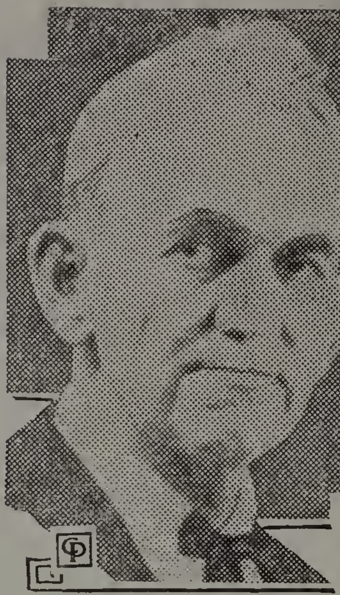
William D. Haywood volt az első pénztárnoka, e sorok irója pedig mint titkár szerepelt. Az IWW Egyetemes Végrehajtó Tanácsa mint a védelmi bizottság végrehajtó testülete szerepelt. Akiknek már gyakorlati tapasztalatuk volt amit Haywood-Moyer és Pettibone ügyben 1906-ban szereztek, ugyszintén Everett, Wash.-i mészárlásból, amely ügy 1917-ben fejeződött be.

A gyakorlattal biró védelmi bizottság müködése bevállott. Alig, hogy meg lett szervezve, a reakció minden eszközt felhasznált a forradalmi munkások elnyomására.

Munkások töltötték meg zsufolásig a börtönöket, a háborus törvények megszegésével voltak vádolva.

Az ország egyik végétől a másikig végig harsongtak a segély kiáltások. Ugy hogy három év időtartama alatt a General Defense Committee több mint háromezer munkást védelmezett.

Frank Little a G. E. B. tagját a csőcselék a brutalitás leggyalázatosabb eszközeivel kivégezték. A G. D. C. tagjait egytől egyig Leavenworth börtönébe küldték és öt évtől husz évig terjedő börtönbüntetésre itélték. Helyeiket mások foglalták el, akiknek szintén gyakorlatuk volt a védelem terén, akik tovább folytatták a munkát.



TOM MOONEY

Az első nagy tárgyalás a Chicagoi volt, ahol az IWW-istákat összeesküvéssel vádolták, ahol 166 tagját az IWW-nak Landis biró tárgyalta mint háboru elleni összeesküvőket állitották a törvényszék elé. Ugyanilyen vádak alapján Wichita, Kan. és Sacramento, Cal. nagyszámu IWW tagot hurcoltak börtönbe és itéltek el.

Ezek után következett Centraliai tárgyalás, ahol az IWW tagjait gyilkossággal vádolták, akiket szintén a G. D. C. látott el védelemmel. Az 1919 és 29 időszak között a G. D. C. több ezer munkástársat védelmezett, akik a Criminal Syndicalista törvények alapján kerültek tárgyalásra.

Richard Ford szabadlábra helyezése is a G. D. C. munkája volt, 1926-ban akit hamis gyilkossági vádak alapján életfogytiglani börtönre itélt a Californiai biróság.

A Coloradoi szénbányász sztrájkból kifolyólag elfogottakat mind szabadon bocsájtották a G. D. C. közbelépése után.

Ezek után mindig folyamatba vannak. Harlan megyébe, Kentuckyba a munkásmozgalom történetébe a legelkeseredettebb harcot vivjuk.

Ebben az ügyben 43 sztrájkoló szénbányászt vádolták gyilkossággal abból az összecsapásból kifolyólag, amely a sztrájkolók és a bányatársaságok fegyveres bérencei között volt, amely összecsapásból kifolyólag három fegyveres bérenc és egy sztrájkoló vesztette életét.

Az elépzelhető minden taktikát használták a bányabárók, hogy ezeket a munkásokat börtönbe juttassák. Első sorban a helyszinétől 200 mértföldnyire vitték a tárgyalás helyét. Ahol azután munkás ellenes farmerokból állitották össze az esküdtszéket.

Amikor a G. D. C. megnyerte az első ügyet, akkor azonnal megváltoztatták a vádat is ugy, hogy gyilkosság vádja helyett a "gyilkosságra való összeesküvés" vádját emelték a bányászok ellen. Azonban a védelem ügyvédjeinek sikerült kiharcolni, azután amikor már két bányászt életfogytiglani börtönre itéltek, hogy a tárgyalások vissza helyeztessenek Harlan megyébe.

Itten az ügyészség a fajgyülöletre alapitotta minden ténykedését és "fekete" bánya munkást tettek először a vádlottak padjára, akit el is itéltek. Azután egy fehérbőrü bányász ügyét tárgyalták, akit 11—1 ellenébe nem bünösnek találtak. A második fehér bányászt a tárgyaláson felmentették. A bányabárók nem tudtak belenyugodni az ilyen itéletbe és ismét más megyéből importáltak farmerokat az esküdtszékbe.

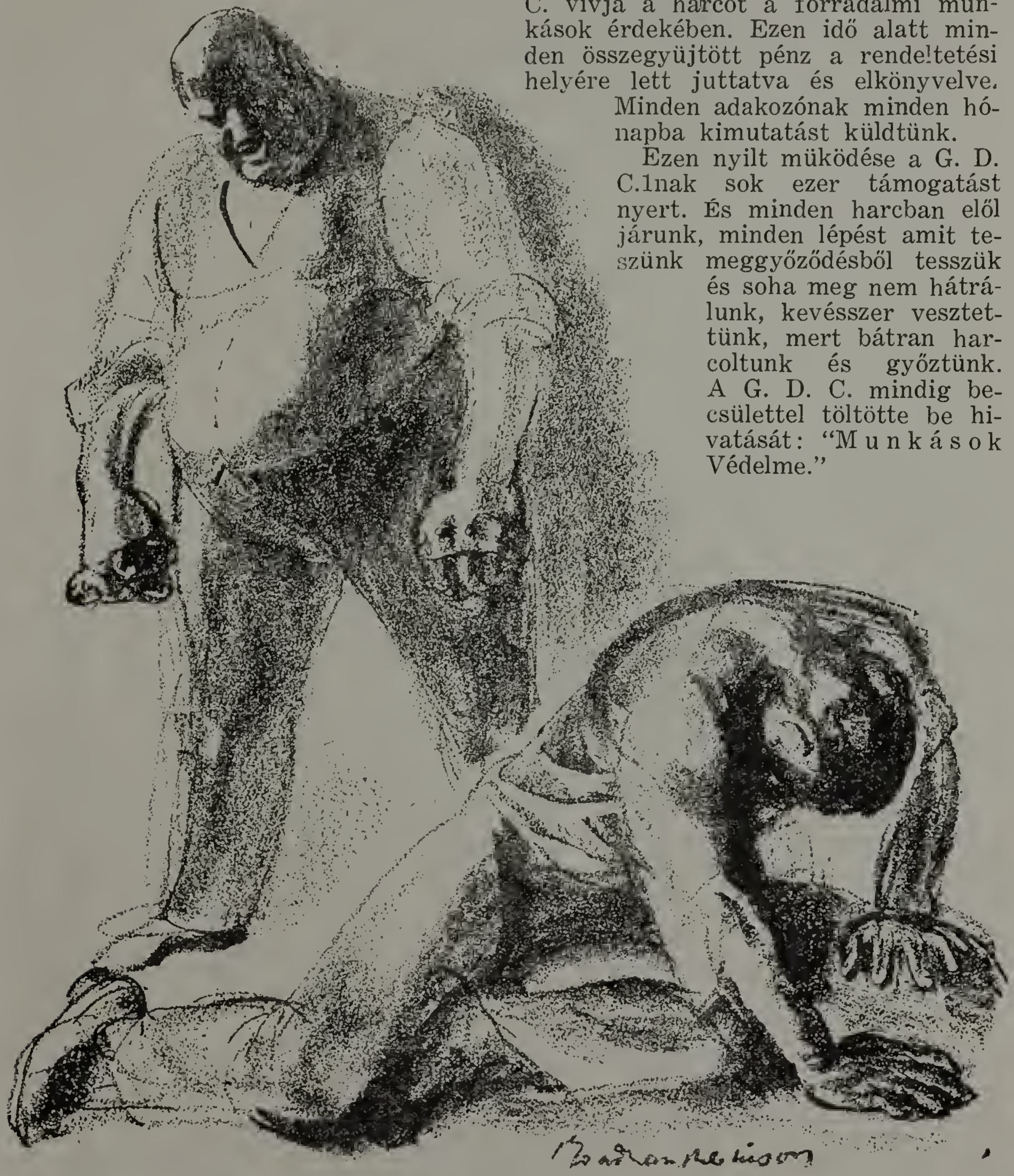
E sorok irásakor Kentuckyba a G. D. C. három bányászt mentett föl. Két esetben az esküdtszék nem tudott megegyezni, hat bányász életfogytiglani börtön büntetésre lett itélve és harminckettő még tárgyalásra vár.

A Kommunista Párt és segéd hadserege az I. L. D. nyiltan segitik a bányabárókat, hogy a bányászokat elitélhessék. Az által, hogy meggátolják mindenfelé a G. D. C. munkáját. Az

International Labor Defense sok ezer dollárt gyüjtött össze a Kentucky bányászok nevébe; de ebből az összegyüjtött pénzekből soha egy centet sem juttatott a bányászok védelmére. A kommunisták azért segitették a bányabárókat a bányászok elitélésében, hogy azután ők nyerjenek teret az általuk felállitott fake szervezet, az ugynevezett National Miners Unio részére. Az ő árulásuk nyiltan fel lett fedezve és sok ezer munkás undorodott meg ezektől az ellenforradalmi fakerektől.

Már több mint 15 éve, hogy a G. D. C. vivja a harcot a forradalmi munkások érdekében. Ezen idő alatt minden összegyüjtött pénz a rendeltetési helyére lett juttatva és elkönyvelve. Minden adakozónak minden hónapba kimutatást küldtünk.

Ezen nyilt müködése a G. D. C.1nak sok ezer támogatást nyert. És minden harcban elől járunk, minden lépést amit teszünk meggyőződésből tesszük és soha meg nem hátrálunk, kevésszer vesztettünk, mert bátran harcoltunk és győztünk. A G. D. C. mindig becsülettel töltötte be hivatását: "Munkások Védelme."



A kiéhezett, munkanélküli szervezetlen munkást leveri a tőkés, ha követel. A szervezett erő leverhetetlen.

EMLÉKOSZLOP

Dalt dallok, zengőt és erőset, mely Holnapig elél.
Vágtató orkán roppant skáláját kovácsolom márványba, hogy el ne inaljon.
Hogy el ne vesszen, meglopom a rohanó Időt;
Komor kétségbeesés sarkal erre most,
Percenként ölő és ujra éledő prometheuszi tüz,
Hogy emlékoszlopot állitsak neked;
Mindenek hőse, eget és földet átfogó rettentő cyklop,
Gyáva ebként szükölő és megsebzett vadkanként őrült vakmerő,
Mindent alkotó és mégis tunyán heverő,
Hülyeként bolyongó csapzott eszelős,
És géniusznál lángolóbb eszü,
Sárban, piszokba turó állattá aljasult —
És istennél istenebbé nemesült:
Testvérem, Vérem, Bálványom!
Gyülöletem és bámulatom Atyja,
Neked dallom e dalt, ki vagy a Mának fattya,
Tán Holnap hőse, védője, őre: Munkás.
Fáj, hogy hozzád tartozom Te reszkető gyáva,
Utállak és megvetlek, de elnem hagynálak
Ha cserébe én lehetnék a vidám élet kacagó királya.

A Ma zugva tombol, Minden habban száz halál lakik.
A vihar nyelve nyalja a hajónk és őrjöngve táncol hullámok hátán a kis ladik.
A véred hull te balga óriás,
A véred hull zuhogva, tengert dagasztva és vele az enyém.
Csak egy sejt vagyok Benned, a nagy egészben egy törpe kicsi,
De jajgatva kiáltom, számumként harsogom feléd:
Elvész az, ki föltámadását maga sem hiszi!
Egy karral fojthatnád meg a sakál hadat,
Mely dögre vártan köröttünk kering . . .
Mire vársz?! Nem látod-e, hogy hajónk már jobbra-balra ing?!
Ajkad vonaglik, félelemtől görcs rántja karod,
Mint szél a buzatáblát, reszketés borzongatja bőröd:
Előtted heggyé tornyosuló hullám, mögötted tátongó mélység;
Ne imádkozz, ki menthet meg ha nem magadnak vagy az őröd?!
Gyáva epigon, messze távolba szendergő Jövő
Arcfestő pirulással gondol majd vissza rád;
A Holnap jön — minden hiába — a vészeket törő
És átokkal illet majd a késő unokád.

Munkás, márványba kovácsolom a képed . . .
Emésztő tüzként éget a harag és mar, harap a vérbe.
Bibor fénybe öltözött a nap, fölöttem dögkeselyük szállnak;
Tükröt tartok eléd, hogy abba nézz be.
Vársz, hogy más segitsen rajtad: hej a Ma rajtad csunyán kifogott:
Munkás, gyalázatodnak emelek emlékoszlopot.

EGRI LAJOS

Miről irjak?

EGY PESTI IWW-ISTA

AMIKOR megkaptam a lapbizottság értesitését, hogy 1933-ra meg fog ujra jelenni a "Bérmunkás Naptár", amelybe Magyarországról is kellene valamit irni elkezdtem gondolkozni . . .

Nem azért, mert a gondolatot, ha papirra veti valaki azért itt kötél vagy jobbik esetben börtön jár, gondolkoztam a megirandók felett, hanem mert őszintén szólva nem tudom a sok téma közül melyiket válasszam ki.

Vajjon arról irjak-e, hogy itt az "uriosztály" és a kormányzat emberei vállukat vonogatják, de egyébként marad minden a régiben?

Vajjon arról irjak-e, hogy a munkásság itt le volt és ma még jobban le van igázva, a parasztság emberi és állampolgári mivoltából kitagadott, a városi polgárság törpe kisebbség és ennek a szerepnek megfelelően óvatos, gyáva; lapul és a vagyonát menti?

Vajjon arról irjak-e, hogy az itteni állapotokért első sorban is felelős, mint a "történelmi" osztály, a nemesi, főuri, főpapi és hivatalnoki rend. S velük együtt mint tejtestvéreik a bank és ipari kapitalizmus urai?

Vagy arról irjak, hogy immár testet öltött Bethlennek azon jelszava, amit azóta saját maguk törvényben is átültettek és amely az "intelligencia vezető szerepének biztositását" szolgálja amit legjobban igazol az, hogy a középés felsőfoku iskolákat az uri és hivatalnoki rend számára foglalták már le?

Vagy arról irjak, hogy a kereszt és embert herélő bicska révén minden sikerült eddig nekik. Övék a föld, a hivatal, a tőke, az egyház, az iskola, a hatalom minden és éppen ezért azt hiszik a naivak, hogy egy millióra menő néprétegét lehet évről-évre inség kenyéren tartani?

Vagy arról irjak, hogy elzárták a népet a földtől, kizárták az állam ügyeinek intézésében való résztvételéből és mindent maguknak kaparintottak meg és ma amikor már dübörög lábuk alatt a munkásoktól elrablott föld, karjukra sőt kardjukra hivatkoznak, mely akasztófával van spékelve?

Vagy arról irjak-e, hogy az itteni válság, válság a világválságban is azért, mert itt idejét mult termelési rend és tulajdonviszony és a nagybir-

LÁZADJ!

Korbácsolt Krisztusa vagy a véres rögnek,
mondd: nem fáj, ha igazságtalanul mellbe löknek!?
nyomorba döntve, piszokba lökve,
ha kacagnak rajtad az urak, a gazok:
nem sir fel benned: én is ember vagyok?!

Ha a buzarendet halomba rakod:
elvisznek tőled minden verejtékes magot,
mondd; nem fáj benned e tudat:
sápadt, vézna fiad éhesen zokog,
mondd: hát nem fájnak a keresztek, a botok?!

Asszonyodat ragadják ki karjaidból,
becstelen ágyakra dobálják becstelen ágyakról!
Ember meddig türöd,
hogy felserdült lányodat hasba rugdalják
a kielégitett részeg ifju paraziták!?

Lázadj! és döntsd porba az atyaistent,
ha papjai azt mondják: ugy van jól minden, ahogy van itt lent!
Lázadj! és ne kimélj urat,
ki az életeden szerzett pénzen mulat!
Lázadj! . . . Ember lázadj!

EDE EMIL

tok rendszer még meg van. Amely mezőgazdaság például nem kenyeret termel a rajta élő nép számára, hanem árat a világpiac számára. Ez a baja. A tőke szegény, elmaradott, hitelképtelen, és eladósodott és éppen ezért nem birhatja a világpiaci versenyt a tőkegazdag, gépekkel dolgozó termelőkkel?

Vagy reámutassak arra, hogy a kivitelre termelő agrárországoknak mindnek ez a sorsa. Csakhogy a mi sorsunk mindnél rosszabb, mert itt zsufoltság van, s azonkivül magunkra neveltünk egy nagyigényü hivatalnoki osztályt s ennek, meg a tulköltséges, mert nem demokratikus, nem a népre támaszkodó, hanem inkább az erőszakra, a jólfizetett emberekre épitett állam igazgatásnak a terhe is nyom bennünket?

Vagy arról irjak-e, hogy itt már egészen nyiltan beszélik azt, hogy "nincs más hátra, mint az elavult termelő rendet, a nagybirtok rendszert föl kell számolni", mert aki ha erőszakkal is ennek utját állja azon rövidesen keresztül gázol a történelem?

Vagy arról irjak-e, hogy Hajduböszörményben Zolnay Gábor bérlő földjén dolgozó aratógépeket az aratást nem kapott munkanélküliek megrohanták és összetörték miként tették volt a Luddisták?

Vagy ecseteljem azt mit jelent, ha egy oly kis helységben mint Rákospalota 8000 ember néz farkasszemet az éhhalállal a telt magtárak tövében?

Vagy arról irjak, hogy milyen kinokon kellett keresztül menni annak a 12 embernek, kik az éhezés következtében megőrültek egyetlen nap alatt (aug. 1-én) és kiket a rendőrség elmegyógyintézetbe volt kénytelen szállitani?

Vagy arról irogassak-e, hogy egész Magyarországon levő munkaközvetitő (állami) hivataloknál 240 munkahelyre 13,842 munkás jelentkezett aug. 10-én?

Vagy vegyem-e elő a statisztikát és vessem e papirra milyen változáson ment keresztül 20 év alatt Budapest? A számok keveset beszélnek, sokkal kevesebbet mint sok vizfejü pártpolitikus és éppen ezért önmagunknak lehet mindent meglátni. Mutassam be vajjon azt, hogy husz év alatt Budapest lakossága a vidékről bevándoroltakkal együtt is csak 14.3%-al nőtt meg, addig a főváros szolgálatában álló személyzet létszáma a 10,027-ről 24,740-re növekedve, csaknem 150%-al ugrott. Avagy amig 1912-ben még "csak" 85.6 millió pengő egyenes adó alatt nyögött a főváros népe, 1931-ben már harmadfélszer annyi 202.2 millió pengős adóteher nyomta a vállát. Az egy főre eső kvóta igy 94 pengőről 201 pengőre sulyosbodott. Hogy ezt miképpen vasalják be ide kell irnom, amig 1912-ben adó miatt 38,877 esetben foglalt a végrehajtó addig 1931-ben már 103,232 esetben, tették ugyanazt.

Vagy irjam ide, hogy ezen idő alatt a rendőrség létszáma a 3331-ről 5795-re emelkedett és ennek dacára a büncselekmények száma 29,506-ról 59,070-re szaporodott. Nagyon jellemző, hogy amig 20 évvel ezelőtt mindössze 8 feljelentés történt a királyi ház tagjainak megsértése miatt, most 111 kormánzó sértési pör volt egyetlen év alatt a fővárosban. Izgatás cimén 1912-ben egy pör sem volt mig az 1931 év 242-vel záródott le. Amig a nyomor miatt husz évvel ezelőtt 12,788 lopás történt addig 1931-ben 18,645-el találkozunk. A magzatelhajtás miatt ami ugyancsak a nyomorból fakad 1912-ben 65 itéletet mig 1931-ben már 485-öt hirdetett ki a biróság (persze börtönbüntetés értendő.)

Vagy arról irjak, hogy a közigazgatási személyzet 150%-os emelkedésével szemben a tanszemélyzet amig 1912-ben 8199 volt, az 1931-ben 8655-re emelkedett, ami husz év alatt csupán 5%-nak felel meg. Ezzel kapcsolatban amig a tanintézetek száma 692-ről 755-re, addig az egyházak száma 39-ről 83-ra, a Budapesten élő szerzetesek száma pedig 1618-ról 2098-ra duzzadt. Vagy vegyem elő Budapest gyomrát és állapitsam meg azt, hogy a közfogyasztásra levágott nagy marhák (kik közt félreértések elkerülése végett bár elég nagy marhák nem szerepelnek a kurzus pártpolitikusai) száma amig 1912-ben 78,980 drb. volt, addig 1931-

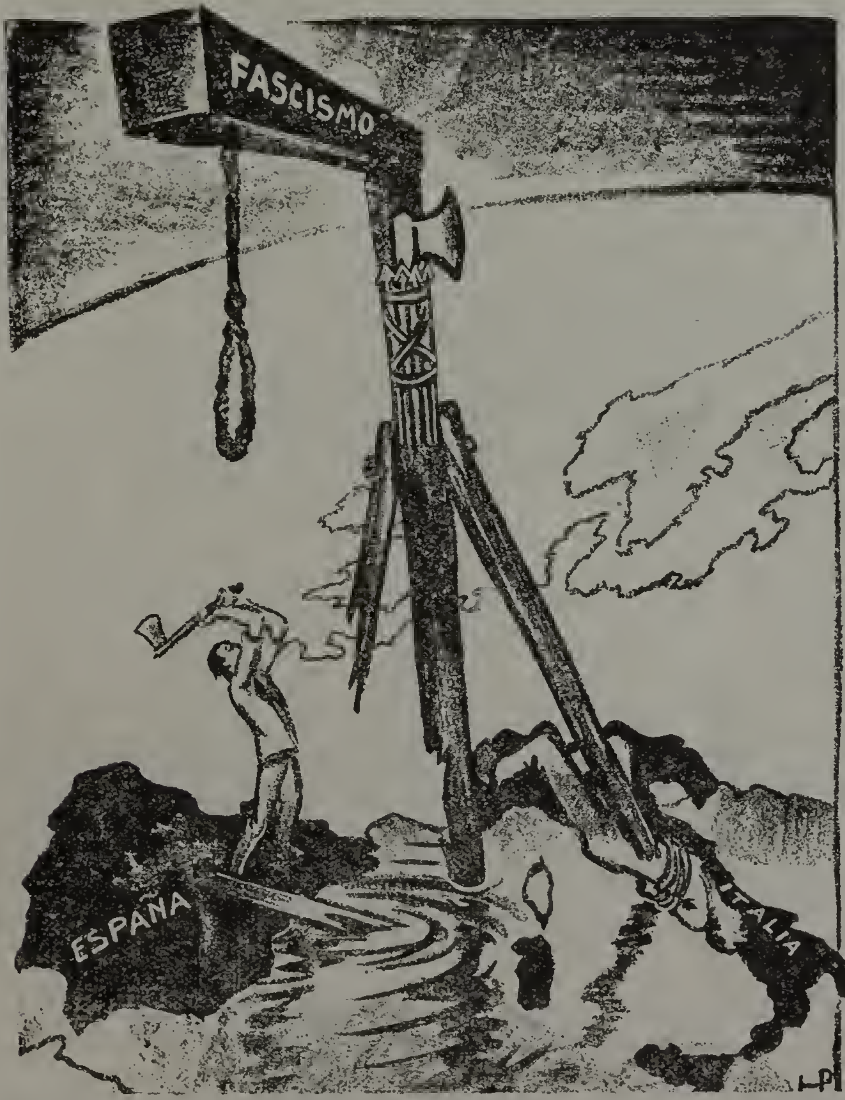
ben már ez a szám 45,371-et tett ki. De mivel őseink a rege szerint nyereg alatt puhitott huson éltek igy Budapest lakósai fazékban puhitott lóhust evett ami 14,544 mázsáról 24,208 mázsára emelkedett. Világosan, amig 1912-ben e célra 8930 lovat vágtak le, addig 1931-ben már 12,560-at.

Vagy arról irjak, hogy a közoktatás ügyi miniszter, aki jó sport ember, de a pedagógiához hat ökör, kiadott egy rendeletett, melyben megtiltotta, hogy az ő előzetes tudta és hozzájárulása nélkül, aki a sajtóba mer irni vagy a sajtó részére nyilatkozni, az a tanerő repül repülőgép nélkül.

Vagy illusztráljam a tuberkulózist, amelyben mi tartjuk minden megerőltetés nélkül a világrekordot mint pusztitja az itteni proletárságot? Irjam le, hogy a városi tüdőbeteg gondozókba ez év elején 11,102 uj beteg jelentkezett, mig ugyanezen idő alatt tüdővészben Budapesten meghalt 1429 amivel szemben 1931 év hasonló időszakában 1280-an haltak meg. Vagy a terjedését állapitsam meg, melyből kiderül, hogy amig 1929-ben, 1978, 1930-ban 2254, 1931-ben 2289 elhalálozás volt a fővárosban. Akkor az idei első fél év halálozásából következtetve ez a szám meghaladja az év végére a 2500-at. De ugyanigy vezetünk egyébb fertőző betegségek terén is, amik az 1931 évi 7281-ről 13,174-re emelkedett.

Vagy ismertessem azt, hogy amig 1931 nyarán a főváros 19,000 ingyen ebédet osztott ki a zendülést elkerülendő számitással, addig ez év nyarán 33,000 ebédet osztott ki. Hogy mi lesz itt a télen ebből már valamit lehet következtetni. Ez a szám, hogy nem nagyobb az csak azért van; mert a halálozási arány nagyobb mint a születések száma. Ez év első hat hónapjában ugyanis 6075 születéssel szemben 6421 elhalálozás történt.

Vagy azt irjam, hogy vigan megyünk tönkre. Ezt kellene irnom, ha a m. kir. kormány bőkezüségét akarnám hűen illusztrálni, amellyel az általa ide invitált olaszországi fas-



Mindenhol, ahol a gyilkos fascizmus felüti fejét, a bérmunkások összeállva — szervezkednek. A kapitalizmus szimboluma az akasztófa — akár a fascizmus, akár más politikai jelszót dob ki.

cista dallilákat és a faj gardistákat heteken át kitartotta és a magyar nép szeretetéből annyira féltette, hogy egész rendőr és detektiv hadsereg vigyázott testi épségükre a fiatal Mussolini jelölteknek. 800 ember tejben, vajban való fürösztése és szórakoztatása nem kis pénzt emésztett fel az itt eltöltött hetek alatt. De van itt pénz, mint pelyva, mindenkinek, csak a kiéhezett és vérszegény tüdőbeteg kis magyarok számára nincs. Ez is fajvédelem, de a fascista faj védelme. Olaszországba egyébként egy magyar gyermeket sem birtak exportálni nyaralás céljából.

Vagy arról irjak, hogy amig Sallai és Fürst nevü K. M. P. titkárokat a miért külföldre jelentéseket küldtek és onnan kaptak pár perces formailag ugyan megjátszott statáriális (vérbirósági) tárgyalás után a saját törvényük felrugásával egyszerüen halálra itélték és azonnal ki is végezték illetve egyszerüen legyilkolták, addig a pár nappal későbben gyilkosság miatt halálra itélt Lőrinc és Szedlacsek nevü illetőket, bár elismerték a lopás közben elkövetett gyilkosságot a kormányzó kegyelemben részesitette. Nem azért hoznám fel ezt, ha erről kivánnák irni, mintha az akasztófát reklamálnám e két munkanélküli részére, kik éhségükben — oh, szent magán tulajdon elve — éllemet loptak és csupán a lelki rokonságot festeném meg amivel e rendszer egyik az akasztófa alá állitott gyilkosokat keblére ölelni, amiért politikai ellenfelei számára, nem hogy csak kegyelem nincs, de mint a kutyák tetemeit szokták teljesen titokba éjjel földelték el ismeretlen helyen a két legyilkolt munkást, bár családja kivánságára a holttesteiket a törvény szerint kikellett volna szolgáltatniok.

Vagy az országban e kettős gyilkosság miatti felzudulást fessem le? Minek elég ha azt irnám itt le, hogy Debrecenben egy Horváth Lajos nevü kárpitos mestert, aki korcsmai borozgatás és politizálás közben kritizálni merte a vérbiróság itéletét és amint megérdemelte megmondta véleményét Töreky nevezetü vadállatról ki elnöke volt a vérbiróságnak ezért letartóztatták és börtönbe dobták.

Vagy azt irnám le, hogy szeptemberbe lesz egy éve, hogy itt Statáriummal uralkodik ez a rendszer, de napjai igy is meg vannak számlálva, amit igazol az, hogy a téltől (joggal) félnek és lázassan fegyverkeznek, páncél autókat stb. szereznek be pribékjeik a rendőrlegények számára. Hát csak csinálják, a következő telet bajosan fogják meguszni, legalább ezt itt saját maguk e rendszer urai is igy hiszik.

De nem, nem irok semmit, mert mint látják itt volna elég téma, de ha ezt mind részletessen kivánnám leirni, ugy egy naptár terjedelme ehhez kicsinek bizonyulna.

Budapesten, 1932 augusztus hó.

BIROD MÉG?

Birod még testvér a nyomort, a jármot
mely bölcsödtől mostig kitartott veled?
Birod még egyforma állati sorsod
és ütésre öklöd még nem emeled?

Birod még testvér a bus sivár ólat
amelybe laksz és hol pereg le sár életed?
Birod még asszonyod sok könnyes buját
és ütésre öklöd még nem emeled?

Birod testvér a reménytelenséget
hogy mindig igy lesz az örökös robot?
Birod nézni kis vézna cselédid
s a haragtól véred még nem vet lobot?

Tudod-e testvér, hogy a nagy világnak
minden zugában már lázadás dobál
tüzet az égre? Az alvó ébredez
s rettentő kezében villámot csóvál?

Az itélet jön! Munkás, gyere velünk!
Ébredj! Hisz Istened s a mult már halott.
Nincs mire várnod, mi a jövőbe megyünk
s velünk jöhetsz ha te is akarod.

EGRI LAJOS.

A technika csodái

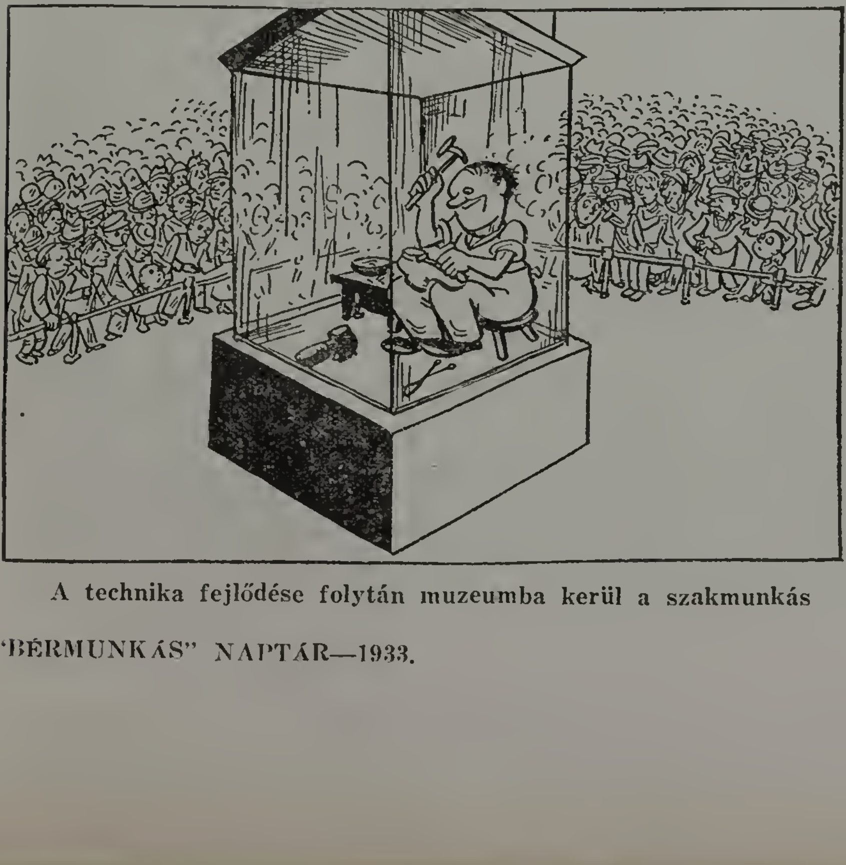
ROZIK MIHÁLY

REMÉLEM az olvasó előtt nem érdektelen, ha az ókornak és ujkornak kiváló barbár eszközeiről néhány szót fogok megirni. A kőbalta: valahol Budapesten láttam én ezt először. Megcsodáltam, hiszen nemes eszköz ez, mellyel valaha az ember ön maga számára alkotott valamit. De egyben elég primitiv eszköz is. A mai ember már csak alig veheti észre, hogy ez annak idején mi akart lenni. De balta ez mégis, egy eszköz, mellyel fát vágtak, módot nyujtott az akkori embernek, hogy munkáját megkönnyitse, hogy a természetet legyőzhesse. Mondjuk, körülbelül eddig a határ, mely a balta nemes voltát dicsőiti.

Azonban van ám a kőbaltának egy feketébb oldala is. Nem mintha az ásatáskor azon a lapján mélyebben feküdött volna a fölben és feketedett volna meg, ezen feketeség; történelmi feketeség. A vér aludt meg rajta, a vér, mely valaha embernek ereiben folydogált és ezen nemes eszköz volt az, mely eret vágott, mely más irányba kényszeritette a vérnek csörgedezését. Vagyis ha magyarán akarjuk kifejezni magunkat: fegyver volt. Emberek, embereket gyilkoltak vele. Harci eszköz volt a korabeli társaival, a kőből formált dárda heggyel és más tárgygyal együtt, melyek ma már a muzeumoknak csodálatraméltó tárgyai. Emberek bámészan állják körül, elmerengnek, lelki-szemei előtt a kőkorszaknak ideje bontakozik ki.

Kőbalta . . . van ennek még nemesebb cimborája is: a bronz-balta. Ez már áldásosabb fajta. Az ember ezzel már szebbé, csinosabbá és müvésziesebbé tudta disztárgyait tenni. És ami a legfőbb: faragott vele, még pedig sokkal könnyebben, kevesebb emberienergiát vett igénybe, mint a kőbalta. Azonban a fekete, illetve véres oldala már modernebb gyilkoló és gyilkoltató oldalnak bizonyult, mint korszakkal előbbi társáé. Természetesen e kornak harci-modorát nem akarom most ismertetni, elegendőnek tartom, ha csak megemlitem, hogy e kornak osztályai elég kemény harcot vivtak ezen eszközökkel.

Sokkal feketébb és modernebb már ezeknél a vas-balta. Ha kezembe fogok egy vas-baltát, két gondolat ötlik agyamban: vagy faragni akarok vele, vagy ha bosszus vagyok, gyilkolni akarok vele. Ha most már egy kissé józanul akarok gondolkozni, önön magamtól kérdem: mi emberek, vajjon mennyire haladtunk évezredesnek csufolt haladásunkkal a kőbaltának történetétől. Modern ember vagyok. A baltával én gyilkolni, vagy gyilkoltatni akarok: modernebb uton, élesre fenem, bajonettekké alakitom. Maradjunk



A technika fejlődése folytán muzeumba kerül a szakmunkás csak a balta formánál. Pl. a fokos még az 1914-es háboruból sem maradhatott ki. A magyar bakát vértezték fel ezzel. Kő, bronz és vas . . . balta, dárda . . . harci, gyilkoló és gyilkoltató eszköz, csak egy maradt ki e szines sorból: a kinzó eszköz! Ennél nem kell messzire mennünk, maradjunk csak a vasnál, hiszen mi modern emberek vagyunk. A mai korban is találunk szép dolgokat, mondjuk: a szöges deszkákat, vagy ha modernebbre van szükségünk: forduljunk csak a magyar kommun utáni vallatások eszközéhez, a tükör, mit körmök alá szurtak, a késhez, mellyel női melleket metéltek le, a kardhoz, mellyel száz meg száz testet szurtak keresztül és vertek össze.

De a balta? Igaz, a baltáról van szó. Ma a legmodernebb korban, midőn állatvédő ligák alakulnak, de az embert védő ligát ne felejtsük ki, ebben a korban a balta igen fontos szerephez jutott; bitót faragnak vele. Embert védő liga és bitófa, ez valahogy furcsa összeállitás, no meg aztán mindezekhez vas-balta . . . és valahogy azt találnám mondani az embert védő liga urainak, hogy badarság az, mit tesznek . . . alakitsanak inkább balta, illetve vas-védő ligát, hogy kevesebb bitót, nyaktilót és villamos-széket készitsenek az istenük által teremtett teremtés-koronájának: az embernek.

Az emberek által kevert kotyvalékról: az acélról, azután azokról a keverékekről, miből fegyver és ágyu lövedékek és ezeknek alkatrészei készülnek, minek is beszélnénk. Ezekért nem kell a muzeumokba menni, nap-nap után láthatjuk ezt a rendőrök és katonák kezében, békében és háboruban egyaránt. Pedig ma, kemény acél világot élünk. Nem tudom, e kornak muzeumát megtekintette-e minden dolgozó és ha némi betekintése már van, vagy szerzett, vajjon nem csufolja-e ki önön magát, hogy e nagy muzeum részére éppen ő, ő a modern ember, gyártja a legkegyetlenebb gyilkoló eszközöket?!

Vajjon-e nagy muzeumban tisztán látja-e minden munkás önön magát, mint megkinzott, bitóra huzott, vagy villamos-székbe ültetett martirt? Sajnos, azt kell megállapitanunk, hogy csak kevesek azok, kik a mai muzeumnak értékét teljes egészében fel tudják fogni. Mert vannak olyanok, kik a multnak barbarizmusát elitélik, de modern gondolkodásuk sajnos nem lépte át az ókor felfogásának eredeti gerincét. Vannak olyanok, kik megborzadnak a multnak barbarizmusától, de a mának kegyetlen kinzó eszközei előtt szemet hunynak . . . nem látják és nem hallják a hurkok csomózását, a szikrát, mely drótokon rohan egészen a villamos székig, hol embertársát éppen most gyilkolják le azzal a modern és áldásos eszközzel, melyet ő gyártott, fából, vasból, acélból és kotyvalékból.

Pedig ha minden munkás testvér a mának muzeumát megtekintené és mérlegelné azt, hogy modern gondolkozását majd egykor éppen fiaink fogják barbár jelzővel ellátni és éppen ugy fog megborzadni esztelenségünkön, mint ma mi őseink badarságán.

Ma még kevesen vagyunk, kik a kőbaltának és mai kornak vas-baltáit felismerjük, ismerjük a tömeg-gyilkolást, a mai társadalom minden modern kinzó eszközét és szörnyedünk el akkor, midőn tudjuk és látjuk azt, hogy nap-nap után éppen sorainkból szedi áldozatát a mi modern eszközeink. Mert ne felejtsük: a gyilok csak minket ér, mivel tudatlanok vagyunk. Mert öntudatlanul teremtünk önön magunk számára oly eszközöket, melylyel minket pusztitanak, gyilkolnak. Pedig munkás-testvérem, ha volt erőd ahhoz, hogy megteremtsd a mai kornak gyilkos eszközeit, akkor ahhoz is volna erőd, hogy mind ezt, ha már nem akarod, hogy müvednek nyoma vesszen, intő példa képpen muzeumba helyezed el az utókor számára. S hogy ezt megtehesd, fel kell ismerned azt, hogy csak szervezett erővel lehetséges mind ez, fel kell ismerned azt, ha a civilizációnak csufolt mai barbarizmust megszüntetni akarod, oly utra van szükséged, mely legyorsabban tünteti el a földnek barbárságát, oly utra, mely világosan mutatja az utat a jövő társadalom felé, s ez az ut pedig az Egy Nagy Szervezet utja.

★: Nevelés
★: Szervezés
★: Felszabadulás

LEFKOVITS LAJOS

MINT a hogy maga az Industrial Workers of the World (a Világ Ipari Munkásainak Szervezete) megalakulása a fejlődés egyik szükségszerüsége volt, ugy nem a véletlen, hogy az IWW céljának a bérrendszer eltörlésének az eléréséhez mint a legfontosabbakat a Nevelést, a Szervezést látta ahoz, hogy a világ proletáriátusa eljusson a Felszabadulásához, a kapitalista rendszer megdöntéséhez.

Huszonhét esztendővel ezelőtt, amikor az IWW zászlajára irta a három csillagot, amely kifejezője lett a Nevelés, a Szervezés és a Felszabadulás szükségességének, még elméletben is csak nagyon kevesek látták meg és tudták elképzelni az olyan időket, mint amilyenbe huszonhét esztendővel később a világ munkássága került.

A mai helyzetnél semmi sem igazolja jobban a három csillag, nemcsak szükségességét, de azok fontosságát is. Csak az emult három esztendő eseményeit kell magunk elé idézni, hogy megállapitsuk azt, hogy a Nevelés és Szervezés nélkül a munkásosztály soha sem érkezik el a Felszabaduláshoz.

A termelési eszközök, a gépek gyors iramu kifejlődése mindég több és több munkaerőt tett feleslegessé. Ennek a folyamatnak a kezdetben, sőt közel négy esztendő után is sok millió munkás ugy látja, hogy az ők munkanélküliségük csak egy ideiglenes állapot, hogy rájuk, mint az hajdan volt, szükség lesz a termelés terén. Ezek a proletárok vagy távol állottak a munkásmozgalmaktól, vagy olyan szervezeteknek voltak a tagjai, amelyekben csak egy cél állt előttük a tisztességes napi munkáért, tisztességes fizetés elnyerése és amig ezt a szervezet nekik nyujthatta, a maguk körül történőket nem figyelték, nem látták.

Az ámulattól nyitott szájjal, hangtalanul fogadták azokat a gépeket, a melyek őket fölöslegessé tették a termelésben. A bósz, a foreman azzal adta át nekik az utolsó fizetési boritékot, hogy rövidesen hivni fogják őket vissza. És csak az Egyesült Államokban sok millió munkás hitt és még ma is várja ezt az üzenetet, mert ismerik a kapitalista rendszert és annak gazdasági törvényeit.

Ezek a munkások még ma sem látják meg, hogy ők a termelésből örökre kiestek, hogy a haszonra való termelés rendszerében, a termelő képtelen megvásárolni mindazt, mit piacra vetnek, hogy az elnem adott termék állandóan szaporodik annak ellenére, hogy nem csak a munkán levők, de a sok millió munkanélküli a legnagyobb szükségét érzi azoknak a termékeknek.

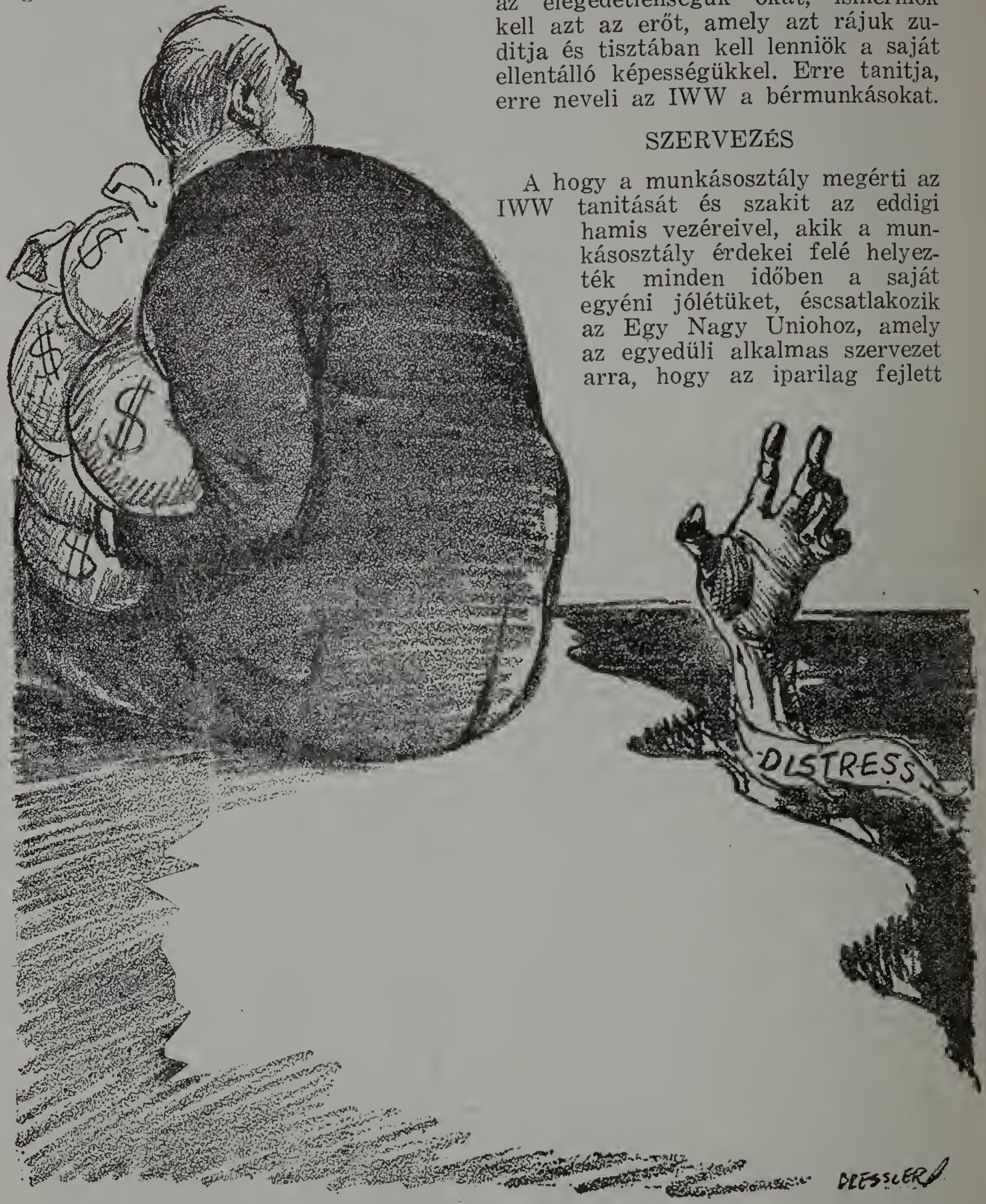
És mit láttunk ezektől a nyomorgoktól? Azt, hogy éhségük kielégitése céljából nem az élelemmel megrakott raktárakat ostromolták, de azokhoz az állami és városi épületek elé vonultak, amelyek maguk is telve vannak a legnyomoruságosabban fizetett és a legszükösebb körülmények között élő, iskolázott proletárok ezreivel. Mit kaphatott itt az éhező tömeg? Ha ügyes politikus elé kerültek igérettel hagyták el a nehéz szőnyegü tanácstermeket, ha rossz politikus szolgálta a tőkés osztályt, akkor az éhezők elkeseredését még fokozta a meg nem hallgatással, az erőszakos eltávolitással.

Ennek a kilincselésnek a kezdetén az IWW szervezete volt az első, amely szóban és irásban az éhezők, a nyomorgók elé állott és megmagyarázni igyekezett, hogy a kilincselés, a könyörgés nem módja a munkások helyzetének a megváltoztatására. Itt válik végzetessé a munkásosztályra a nevelésének a hiányossága, amit fokoz azoknak a büne, akik a munkásosztály egyes csoportjait hamisan nevelik az uj társadalom megvalósitása lehetőségében.

Az IWW megállapitása és tanitása, hogy nem elég, hogy a munkás vagy a munkások csoportjai elégedetlenek legyenek a rendszerrel, ismerniök kell az elégedetlenségük okát, ismerniök kell azt az erőt, amely azt rájuk zuditja és tisztában kell lenniök a saját ellentálló képességükkel. Erre tanitja, erre neveli az IWW a bérmunkásokat.

SZERVEZÉS

A hogy a munkásosztály megérti az IWW tanitását és szakit az eddigi hamis vezéreivel, akik a munkásosztály érdekei felé helyezték minden időben a saját egyéni jólétüket, éscsatlakozik az Egy Nagy Uniohoz, amely az egyedüli alkalmas szervezet arra, hogy az iparilag fejlett



Lopják a kapitalisták a munkások értékét, vagyonát, életét, mindenét. Éhséget, nyomort, munkanélküliséget zuditanak a proletárok millióira.

országok munkásainak az érdekét az ipari mágnásokkal szemben megvédhesse.

Ennek igazolására sem kell a messzi távoli időkbe néznünk. Csak idézzük magunk elé ujból az elmult három esztendőt és látni fogjuk, hogy egyrészt a sok milliós tagsággal rendelkező American Federation of Labor (AFofL) nemcsak, hogy nem tudta tagságának az érdekét fokozni, de a meglévő munkaalkalmat és munkabéreket egymás után veszitette el és a munkaadók követelésére adta fel. A több milliós tagsággal rendelkező szervezet tehetetlen a helyzettel szemben, mert ugy a szervezet összetétele, mint a tagság helytelen nevelése arra, hogy a tagság érdekét ebben az időkben is megvédhessék, képtelenné teszik.

Amilyen tehetetlen a rosszul szervezett milliós tömeg az iparilag szervezett tőkés osztállyal szemben, annyira megtévesztő és ártalmas a munkásosztály szempontjából a kommunisták elmélete, amely minden szervezettség nélkül, a szükségben szenvedőket a gyomor filozófia alapján vezényeli az utcára és elhitetni igyekszik az éhesekkel, a hajléktalanokkal, hogy nekik és a munkásosztálynak a mai válságos időkben egyedüli céljuk, hogy meleg étlehez jussanak az ingyen konyhák felállitása révén és hogy az állami, városi épületek felhasználásával fedett helyeken huzhassák meg magukat éjjelenként. Ezeknek állandósitására az utca összeverődött proletárjaival állami segélyezést, támogatása követelnek.

Az IWW szervezete abban az időben alakult, amikor az AFofL hivatásának legmagasabb fokán állott, amikor a szakképzett munkások élvezték a kibontakozó amerikai ipari fejlődés minden előnyét. Ebben az időben figyelmeztette az IWW Amerika és a világ munkásságát, hogy a szakszervezkedést a technika fejlődésével kell, hogy felváltsa az ipari szervezkedés, amely nem emel válaszfalakat az egy iparban egy munkán, de különböző szerszámokkal dolgozó munkások közzé. Ennek a felhivásnak a figyelmen kivül hagyása egyik alapvető oka Amerika mai több

AZ ELNEM DALOLT DALOK MEGÖLNEK

Én nem bánnám . . . csak ne fojtogatnának szavak, véresek
ne tolulnának folyton ajkamra; suhogó korbáccsá lenni;
szavak, zengők, boldog holnapot festők ne akarnának
dalba ömleni; napok mocskából, ólom fáradságból, napi
részlet halálból, hogy tudna a dal előre törni?

És igy az el nem dalolt dalok megölnek.

Szavak, genyesek, rothadók, mit ki kéne tudni vágni,
kés volna jó, pihent éles agy-penge, hogy kihasitva
az emberek arcába tudnám vágni az undorodott Tegnapot
és a fekete miséjü Mát.

De nincs idő.

De nincs erő.

És az el nem dalolt dalok megölnek.

Estére lehervadnak mik lombosan virultak bennem reggel
s ha meg is születnek már csonkák, suták; de a legtöbbször
ágyba rogyva, fekve, magamnak dadogom el sirva
mi harsogó vihar volt, hogy felzugtak rá az andesek.

Óh, ha ti egyszer hallanátok robotba tört sápadt
emberek, mit el nem dalolhatok; mert kiszivja vérem,
erőm, szép álmodásom a gyár . . .

Mikor jöttök már megváltó vörös holnapok?!

Mert az el nem dalolt dalok megölnek.

EGRI LAJOS

mint husz millió éhezője, nincstelene helyzetének.

És ha megállapithattuk, hogy a több milliós tagsággal rendelkező szervezet tehetetlen, a nevelés hiányában alkalmatlan volt a munkások érdekeinek a megvédésére, könnyen megérthetjük azt is, hogy még az ilyen laza neveléssel sem rendelkező, semmi szervezeti erőt kifejteni nem tudó utca tömegével, milyen eredményeket érhet el a kommunista "párt". Le kell itt szegeznünk azt, hogy azokon a helyeken, ahol a kommunisták követelését a gyakorlatba vitték, azt maga a tőkés osztály foganatositotta, azért, hogy a saját uralmát, életét meghosszabbitsa. Ha ezt kommunista győzelemnek lehet elkönyvelni, ugy a munkásosztály szempontjából mi azt csak gyászkeretben tehetjük.

FELSZABADULÁS

A munkásosztály felszabadulásához elengedhetetlen feltétel és követelmény amint azt az IWW megállapitja, hogy a harcban résztvevők tudják, hogy mit akarnak, de tisztában kell lenniök azzal is, hogy hogyan lehetséges a harcuk megvivása. Ehez a felismeréshez juttatja a munkásosztály minden tagját az a tudás, az a nevelés, amelyben az IWW részesiti a munkásosztály tagjait. A világháboru egyik hadvezére mondotta, hogy a harc közepette minden katona a táskájában hordja a marshal botot, amely képlet azt jelenti, hogy a helyzet felismerése és célszerü kihasználása mindenkiből vezért alkothat. Az IWW az a szervezet, a mely minden tagjából vezért kiván nevelni. Ez egyik oka annak, hogy a kérges tenyerü munkát nem ismerők intellektuel tábora benne nem talál szives fogadtatásra.

Az IWW azt tanitja, hogy a munkásosztály helyzetének a megjavitási harca, egyedül és kizárólag a bérmunkások ténykedése, müve lehet.

A bérmunkások nevelését az IWW-n keresztül maguk a bérmunkások végzik, ugy ahogy a bányák mélyén, a telepek mozgópadjai mellett vannak ugy a hogy azt a munkás megérti, nem pedig ahogy azt a szerkesztőségi asztalok mellett megállapitják.

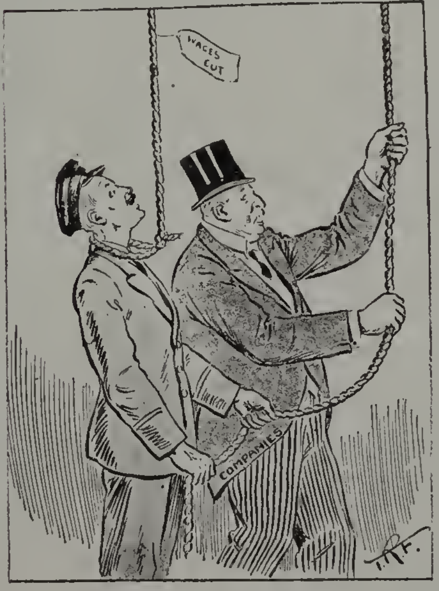
Az IWW tanitásával, az Egy Nagy Szervezet szükségességét megértő munkásokkal felépitett szervezet lesz csak alkalmas a munkásosztály kezében arra, hogy harcát a tőkésosztálylyal megvivja, hogy a bérrendszert megszüntesse és helyébe a közös termelés és egyforma élvezését, használását a termelt javaknak megteremtse.

A munkásosztálynak nem lehet értékesebb és nagyobb vágya, mint a három csillag szimbolumának az elérése, amelyekhez a szükséges fokozatokban érhetünk el.

A munkásosztály nevelésére használjuk ki elsősorban az IWW lapjait, amelyek megtanitanak bennünket arra, hogy mik az események tanulságai, hogyan fordithatjuk azokat az osztályunk javára. Az IWW irodalma bőséges oktatást ad arra, hogy hogyan épithessük fel szervezetünket, hogy az elég erős legyen a kapitalista osztálylyal a harcot megvivni.

Az IWW szervezeteiben és csoportjaiban elméleti kiképzést nyerünk, hogy a munkán, a gyakorlat terén mik a munkások teendői a saját és Munkástársainkkal szemben, de a legjobb gyakorlatot nyerjük arra is, hogy azokat, akik még nem ismerték fel azt, hogy helyük az Egy Nagy Szervezetben van, hogy erről őket is meggyőzhessük.

Sohasem volt időszerübb a munkásosztály ama célkitüzése, hogy **"csak láncainkat veszithetjük, ellenben győzelem esetén egy egész világot nyerhetünk!"**



A vallások története

VISI ISTVÁN

AMIÓTA az emberiségnél a gondolat társulás létrejött és a félelem positiv formát öltött azóta van hit, vagy vallás. Egész bátran nevezhetjük a félelmet a vallás szülőanyjának, a tudatlanságot szülőapjának, mivel félelem a tudatlanságból ered, amit nem értünk meg, azonban látjuk erejét, nagyságát attól félünk éppen ugy amint legtöbb gyermeknél a sötétségből való félelem egészen természetes, mivel nem lát a sötétségben, nem tudja mit rejthet magában igy fél tőle.

A primitiv embernek megállt az esze, — az agyvelő müködése — midőn egy kigyó megtámadta s igy tehetetlennek érezte vele szembe magát, a védelem legprimitivebb formájához fordult, behódolt a kigyónak, krokodilusnak, tigrisnek. Az ős ember nem birta megérteni, hogy az alig 3—4 láb hosszu kigyónak hol van az a nagy ereje, melynek a segitségével egy pici seb ejtésével egy pár óra alatt végez az emberrel, igy természet feletti erőnek hitte azt és a kigyót mint ilyen természet feletti erőnek a tulajdonosát Istennek, melyet imádot, azáltal akarta saját maga részére a kegyelmet — irgalmat kieszközölni. Innen ered a kigyó imádás, mely leginkább a meleg éghajlat alatt általános volt, ugy az Indiánoknál, mint az Egyiptomiaknál, Hinduknál.

Ugyancsak a félelem és tudatlanság szülte a Tüz, a Nap, Vénus, Saturnus és más égi testek imádást, melyet szemmel láttak már az ősnépek, de mivel nem értették meg a napnak, tüznek, véghetetlen hatalmát, igy azoknak is behódoltak és sok helyen a kigyó, krokodil vagy más istenség mellett azokat is imádták. A nomád állattenyésztő népeknél a nap, tüz és kigyó istenségek mellett a bika, kos, fehér ló, elefánt, kutya is az Istenek közé volt sorozva és azokat imádták áldozatokat mutattak be nekik.

A világon 8, alapvető vallások mindegyikében találunk közös jellemvonást, közös Isteneket, közös ünnepnapokat. Tudományos történelmi megállapitás, hogy egyik vallás a másikból nőtte ki magát, azáltal, hogy a nehezebben hitt isteneket dogmákat elejtették és a modernebb emberi ismeretekhez alkalmazkodva reformálták a régi hitet, régi dogmákat és más népektől átvett vallásokat, helyi viszonyokhoz és helyben régebben megrögzött hithez idomitották. A vallások története mint egy végnélküli lánc, egyik a másikban kapcsolódik, éppen ezen egyforma eredetük, de különösen egyformaságuk miatt, meglepő a modern és logikusan gondolkozó ember előtt, hogy vallás háboruk voltak és évezredeken ádáz harcot folytattak egymás ellen, a Zsidók, a Babiloniak, Assyrok és Egyiptomiak ellen, később a görög vallásból eredt Rómaiak a keresztények és zsidók ellen, majd a Mohamedánok a keresztények ellen és legutóbb a Római egyház a reformátorok és azoknak a követői ellen mint a 30 éves vallás háboru 1629—1659 között. Ezen háboruk, mind vallási egyeduralomért, az egyik vallásnak a másik vallás fegyverrel való elnyomatásáért folyt.

A hit ősidőktől fogva meg van az emberek gondolat világában, hogy teljesen megértsük azt, vissza kell menni a primitiv rendszertelen vallásokig, mikor még egyik faluban a Tüz volt a főisten, másikban a Nap, harmadikban a kigyó és igy tovább, Jupiter, Saturnus, Vénusz is istennek voltak elismerve, nagyon sok törzsnél, mely még Krisztus előtt 4—5 ezer évre vissza nyulik. Még ezen időkből maradt meg az embereknél a csillagokból való jóslás, melyet sok jámbor keresztény éppen ugy elhisz mint az egyiptomi rabszolga elhitte.

A primitiv vallások nem voltak egységesek, helyi viszonyokhoz képest változott, ahol sok volt a kigyó ottan az volt a főisten. Ahol az elefánt volt sok mint Indiában, vagy a krokodil mint Egyiptomban, ottan azokat ismerték el főistennek, bár legtöbb helyen egyforma imádásban részesitették a Napot, Vénuszt, Bikát, Kost, Tüzet, stb.

A kinai Mythologia

A legrégibb civilizációt a Kiniaiaknál fedezték fel, még Krisztus előtt 6 ezer évvel, igy a vallást is azok foglalták először rendszerbe, melynek nagy befolyása volt a Görög Római részben a Zsidó Keresztény és Mohamed vallásokra is. Bár ezen vallások mindegyike, Istentől eredőnek tünteti fel magát, de ha átvizsgáljuk a régebbi Kinai vallást valamint a vele majdnem egyidős Brahma vallást, ugy rá fogunk ismerni a leszármazottjaira.

A kinai mythologia, mely nagyban hasonlit a jobban ismert görög mythologiához szintén sok Istent hitt. A kinaiaknak öt főistenük volt, "Sárga Isten" a föld ura. "Vörös Isten" a tüz ura. "Sötét Isten" a vizek urak. A "Fa hercege" az erdők ura. "Érc anya" a fémek ura. Ezeken kivül számtalan kisebb nagyobb Isten van a kinaiak vallásában, akiket szellemeknek képzelnek el az őseik szellemei mellett áldoznak nekik, bár őseik szellemeit előnyben részesitik, nincs olyan kinai, aki nem őseinek szellemétől kérne tanácsot, utbaigazitást, védelmet, ugyszintén őseiknek szellemei előtt esküsznek bosszut.

Confucius, a kinaiak Mózesa, modern filozófus, nagyon sok szép ujitást akart a kinaiak vallásában behozni, K. e. 550 évvel. A földi életben való boldogságot, az emberek egymáshoz való viszonyát akarta javitani inkább mint az Isteneknek való hódolást. Ő volt az első kinai, aki a kinai hagyományokat feljegyzéseket először foglalta össze egy nagy könyvben, melynek a neve "Kings". Ugy a könyvet, mint őtet most félre magyarázzák. Confuciust meg tették Isten fiának, akit a Vizek ura küldött a kristály palotájából, hogy az emberiséget helyes utra vezesse. Confucius is az ősök szellemeinek mindenek feletti tiszteletét hirdette, mely a kinai népben oly mélyen gyökeredzik, az egész vallási ideologiájuk azon alapszik. (Confucius hiveinek a száma 3500 millió.)

Brahmaizmus

Ázsia déli részében, ahol a Perzsa Zsidó és Hindu törzsek éltek egész más ősvallás alakult ki a kinai vallással egyidőben, melynek legnagyobb befolyása volt a Keresztény és Mohamed vallásokra és még ezt megelőzőleg a Zsidó vallásra. A Brahma vallásban is három főisteni személy van, melyeknek a funkciója majdnem éppen ugy van beosztva mint a keresztény vallásban. Első Brahma, aki teremtett. Második Vishnu, aki emberi formát öltött és megmentett. Harmadik Siva, a két arcu Isten, aki rombol és épit, mikor milyen kedvében van. A Noé meséje is meg van a "Rig Vedasban" a brahma bibliában, valamint a világ teremtéséről való elbeszélés is nagyban hasonlit az Ótestamentomban található leiráshoz.

A Brahma vallásban is, mint a Görög mythologiában, a fő isteneken kivül még számos fiuk Isten van, melyeket imádtak és áldozatokat mutattak be nekik. Még a bibliában is, melyből a Zsidó, Keresztény és Mohamed vallások alakultak megtaláljuk az ilyen fiuk Istenekről szóló elbeszélést. Mózes első könyvének 6-ik részében olvasható (Az Isten fiai látván, hogy az emberek leányai szépek valának, feleséget választanak maguknak azok közül.) Ugyanez megtalálható a Kinai és Görög mythologiában is, valamint a Brahma vallásban. Sok más ilyen közös hit és dogma található a vallások mindegyikében. (Brahma hivők száma 230 millió.)

A Brahma vallásban is voltak reformátorok, akik jóhiszemüen akarták az emberek egymáshoz való viszonyát javitani és igy mindenek felett az emberek egymás iránti szeretetét hirdették. A Brahma vallásban leghiresebb volt Buddha, aki a Kinai Confuciussal majdnem egyidőben élt és az Istennek imádása helyett az embereknek egymás iránti tiszteletett, szeretetett akarta meghonositani. Buddha

Brahma vallásban is többet áldoztak templomok épitésére, mint a népek nevelésére és a fenti templom Hindukinában egy cseppet sem marad el a keresztény templomoktól, ugyszintén a nyomor és tudatlanság, kizsákmányolás is meg van éppen olyan mértékben, mint a fényes keresztény templomok tövében.

nem is hitte, hogy a születés, halál, nyomoruság egy istenségtől ered, ezt természetes folyamatnak tartotta, melyen az embereknek egymás iránti szeretete, tisztelete enyhit, elviselhetővé teszi. A tulvilági boldogság helyett földi boldogságot hirdetett, mivel a Brahma vallásban nincs is menyország, a tulvilági boldogság abból áll, hogy az ember igazságos élet után egyesül a főisteni szellemmel Brahmaval, nem kell neki ujjá születni, nyomorogni, szenvedni a földön. Buddhát is mint Confuciust és később Krisztust Istennek nyilvánitották halála után és mint ilyent sok Brahma szektákban imádják, áldozatokat mutatnak be neki. (Budha hiveinek a száma 150 millió.)

Budha után leghiresebb Brahma reformátor volt "NANNAK" aki Lutherral egyidőben, de teljesen külön állólag igyekezett a hitet vesztett vallásokat megjavitani, már szintén csak egy főistent ismert el, mint a Zsidó és Mohamed vallásokban, de még hisznek a szellemeik millióiban, ugy szintén a lélek vándorlásban, mely szerint az emberi lélek még állatokban vándorol halála után. Ezt nagyon sok keleti keresztény szekta is elfogadta.

Nannak bibliája "Granth" már nagyon hasonlit a keresztény bibliához, még a korrupt gazdag Brahma papság elleni harcban is nagyon hasonlit Luther mozgalmához, sok Brahma reformátor között Budha után ő volt a legmodernebb, sok hasznos módositást kivánt bevinni az ósdi Brahma vallásban, azonban éppen ugy mint Luther hivie ismét több fele szakadtak idővel a Sikhizmus, mely néven Nannak követőit ismerik, most számos szektából áll. (A Sikhizmus hiveinek a száma 114 millió.)

Egy Istent imádók

Amig a kinai Brahma, görög Egyiptomi vallásokban számtalan Istent imádtak már a Zsidó vallásban csak egy Istent ismertek el, bár nem volt teljesen mentes a Zsidó vallás sem a Görög mythologiában ismert fiuk Istenektől, amint Mózes első könyvének, fentebb idézett részlete bizonyit s az a tény, hogy állandóan várták az Isten fiát, aki hivatva lett volna őket megváltani éppen mint a Brahma vallásban a Vishnu Istenség, de a Mohamed vallás mellett még a mai napig is csak a Zsidók hisznek egy Istenben. Bár a keresztények is azt állitják, hogy csak egy isten van, vagyis Egy Istenben hisznek, de ugyanakkor elismerik Jézust, mint fiu Istent és a Szentlelket mint harmadik Isten éppen ugy mint a Brahma vallásban tanitották még 3—4 ezer évvel ezelőtt, midőn a papoktól theologusoktól magyarázatot kérünk, hogy lehet fiu és szent lélek Isten is az atya Isten mellett, ha csak egy Isten van, akkor ugyanolyan választ kapunk mint 3—4 ezer évvel ezelőtt az ilyen eretnekek, hogy az titok és abban kételkedni bün.

A Zsidó vallás ismertetését feleslegesnek tartjuk, mivel a Biblia majdnem teljes egészében ismerteti, a másik egy Istent imádó vallásról kell megemlékezni, a Mohamed vallásról, mely K. u. 600 évvel keletkezett, oly nagyon hasonlit a Zsidó valláshoz, hogy Medina vidékén lakó fél zsidó törzsek Mohamedet mint a régen várt Messiást fogadták el és teljes egészében csatlakoztak Mohamedhez.

A Mohamed vallásban szó van a világ teremtéséről, vizözönről, angyalokról és profétákról, akik között Ádám, Mózes, Noé, Ábrahám, Jézus, is el van ismerve, de mindennek fölött áll Mohamed Allah igaz prófétája. A Mohamed mennyország és pokol, valamint a keresztény és zsidó mennyország és pokol között csak számbeli külömbség van, ugyanis Mohamed ugy a poklot mint mennyországot hét részre osztotta, majdnem ugy mint Dante a poklot. A sivatagokban vándorló nomád törzsek, valamint a karavánok, akik között legyorsabban terjed a Mohamedánizmus, a menyországot éppen ugy képzelték el amint azt Mohamed leirta, ahol tejjel, mézzel és borral megtelt folyók vannak a kristály tiszta vizpatakok mellett. Hogyan is képzelte volna el másképen a menyországot, egy homoksivatagban barangoló nép, akik napokig mentek szomjan éhen, mint egy olyan helyet ahol hüvös kert közepén üditő forrás vizek vannak, mellette méz, tej, bor, melyből annyit ihat amennyi csak jól esik. Mind ehez a kivánt forrásokhoz Mohamed még egy néhány szüznőt is igért azoknak, akik őket követik. (Mohamed hiveinek a száma 209 millió).

Amig Confucius, Budha, Krisztus, békét, felebaráti szeretetett hirdetett, Mózes és Mohamed harcot hirdettek a hitetlenek ellen. És ez leginkább megmagyarázza az Izlam terjedését, melyet a kard nagyban elősegitett. Ugy szintén megérthetjük azon győzedelmes harcokat, melyet a Mohamedánok az egész ismert keresztény Európa ellen évszázadokig folytattak és különösen Magyarországon nagy rombolást végzet, a Balkánon napjainkig kinyult. A Koran szerint, mely a Mohamedánok bibliája, minden egyén aki az Izlam vallásért meghal, egyenest a hetedik menyországban megy, mi lett volna jobb a harcokban, éhezésben kifáradt Izlam harcosoknak, mint ez, ahol már hófehér karu nők vártak rá, hogy tejjel, mézzel és borral kinálják, igy halált óhajtva harcoltak a hitetlen kutyák ellen, amint a keresztényeket, zsidókat és más valláson levőket nevezték. De ezt megtették a jó katholikusok is, mikor a Reformátorok hivei ellen kellett nekik harcolni, akik ugy Jézust mint a kereszténységet magukénak vallották, csak másképen magyarázták.

Reformáció

Minden vallásban találunk, kételkedő elégedetlen elemeket, akik a régi dogmákban már nem hisznek, de még nem elég bátrak, hogy vallásuk minden tév tanitása ellen fellépjenek, csak az ujabb ismeretek által megdöntött dogmákat akarják elejteni és a modern ismeretekhez képest reformálni, hogy könnyebben hihető legyen. Ezekkel szemben vannak, akik még hisznek a régi dogmákban és az ujitók ellen mint eretnekek ellen támadnak, leginkább a zsiros ellátásban részesült papság, ellene van és igyekeznek a kételkedőket, hitetleneket, kizavarni a nyáj közül, mivel attól félnek, hogy sokat megmételyeznek és hitetlenekké válnak. Igy áll be a szakadás, az ujitókat nevezik reformátoroknak, mivel nem akarnak gyökeres változást a régi valláson csak átalakitani, reformálni, hogy könnyebben hihető legyen.

Ilyen reformátorok minden vallásban találhatók, s a keresztények között ismert reformátorokat és reformált vallásokat legjobban is merjük, mely a mai napig is állandó változáson megy keresztül és négyszáz év alatt több mint 38, általánosan ismert és 19 kevésbé ismert szektából áll. (Összesen 682 millió taggal.)

Barbár főpap a gyanusitott embernek a kezét forróvizben mártja és ha megég akkor bünös, ha nem akkor ártatlan. A keresztény papok száz évvel ezelőtt szintén a vizalá mártották a boszorkánysággal gyanusitottakat és ha megfulladt a viz alatt akkor bünös volt, ha nem akkor ártatlan.

A keresztényeknél beállott első szakadás a keleti és nyugati egyházakra való szakadás volt, melyet nem lehet reformnak nevezni, mert a kereszténység első éveiben kialakult a nézeteltérés ezen két irányzat között, ami annak tudható be, hogy a keleti egyház hive leginkább a misztikus Görög és Brahma vallások követőiből kerültek ki, akik régi hitükből is vegyitettek az uj hitükhöz mig a nyugati egyház, a kevésbé misztikus Germán, Saxon, Frank és Goth törzsek között szerzett hiveket. Több vitás kérdéseknek a megtárgyalása után 787-ben ketté szakadtak, mivel nem tudtak megegyezni. Ugy Krisztus tanitását mint a bibliában talált tételeket egymástól eltérőleg magyarázták (akár csak mostan.)

A külön vált egyházakban is tovább folyt a vita bizonyos tételekben, olyan szóvivők akadtak mint Bacon Roger, aki sok mindent kutatás tárgyává tett és modern szempontból akarta azokat megitélni s megmagyarázni, a papság ellene fordult ezen ujabb magyarázatoknak és a 4-ik Miklós pápa a papság vádjára, bár saját akaratja ellenére, 14 évi börtönre itélte Bacont. A reformációnak, helyesebben mondva a kételkedőknek követői akadtak, melyet 500 évig a legnagyobb terorral üldöztetéssel próbáltak elnyomni. Mindazokat, akik kételkedni vagy kutatni mertek, eretnekeknek nevezték el és börtönben máglyára, akasztófára jutatták őket. Ha az egyházi elnyomatást ezen sötétség korszakában teljesen megakarjuk érteni, igy tanulmányozni kell, Giordano Bruno. Campanella Tommasso, Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, sok más kutatónak az élet történetét és hogy miért üldözték és égették el az ilyen kutatóknak legnagyobb részét? Mikor tudva van, hogy legnagyobb részben ezek még vallásos emberek voltak és mint Bruno Campanella, Copernicus, szerzetesek, a történelem szerint egyetlen bünök az volt, hogy olyat mertek felfedezni buvárkodásaik közepette, amit a hivatalos egyház nem ismert, igy azt mint isten ellenes hitetlenséget tüntették fel, mint a föld forgásáról, a csillagok a világürben való keringéséről szóló megállapitásokat, amit ma már 7—8 éves gyermekekkel is tanitanak.

A reformáció kezdete, Angliából indul ki, Wycliffe egy szegény pap, aki az egyház tilalma ellenére, még 1395-ben, mert angol nyelven a bibliából felolvasni és az uralkodó egyház ellen szót emelni, nagyon sok követőre talált bár természetes halállal mult ki, 1384-ben, de az csak azért történt meg, mert még Róma nem igen vette észre és nagyon messze volt Rómától. Azonban tanitványát, Huss János 1415-ben már máglyán égették el, valamint Wycliffnek a holttestét is kiásták és máglyára tették 1414-ben.

Luther Márton nevéhez füződik a nyilt szakadás az uralkodó egyház és a reformátorok között, 1517-ben Luther kifüggesztette a reformátorok hitvallását a Wittenbergi templom ajtajára, mely Wycliffe és Huss János elméletein épült fel és már nagyon sok országban akadtak hiveik és különösen Németországban már elég erősek voltak Luthert megvédeni a máglyától vagy a bitófától. Luthert a német királyok, hercegek fogták védelmükben a pápa ellen, kisebb nagyobb csatározások után vallás békét kötöttek 1555-ben, Augsburghban.

Amig Németországban békén hagyták a reformátorokat, Franciaországban állandóan harcot folytattak ellenük és Spanyolországban meg teljesen elnyomták őket, ezen időben esik a Szent Bertalani éjszaka, 1572-ben mikor a Párisi Notre Dame templomból éjfélkor haranggal megadott jelre az egész országban öldöklést intéztek a Calvinisták ellen, akiket ottan "Huguenuts" néven neveztek és több mint 8 ezret legyilkoltak. Ezen sikeres gyilkosságokon felbuzdulva, Morva és Csehországokban is kezdték a reformistákat üldözni, mely 1629-ben nyilt háboruba megyen át és egész Európát lángba boritja, 30 éven keresztül öldöklik egymást a keresztények, mely még az angol szigetekre is kiterjedt.

Bár csak harminc évig volt nyilt harc a katholikus és protestáns hivők között, azonban a vallási villongások, csetepaték, majdnem a 19-ik századig meg voltak és az első szabad vallás gyakorlatról szóló törvényt, csak 1785-ben hozták a francia forradalom idejében ezideig minden államnak meg volt a hivatalos vallása és más vallásuakat üldözték, elnyomták, bebörtönözték.

Confucius, Budha, Krisztus sok más philozofus, emberi szeretett, békét, boldogságot hirdetett és akart az emberek között megteremteni, igy a jószándék meg volt náluk, azonban akik a fenti béke apostolok követőinek nevezik magukat és különösen ezen harcos keresztény szekták, akik más vallás hivei ellen sokszor testvéreik ellen fegyverrel harcoltak és azzal akartak másokat is a saját hitük felvevésére, vagy a kételkedőknek vakhitre való kényszeritésére birni, kevésbbé követik mesterük példáját, mint a 4 ezer éves Brahma vallásban hivő Mindu, aki a saját elnyomatása árán is békességet, szeretetett hirdet, amint CHANDI napjainkban, gyilkos keresztény Angliával szemben.

Az IWW és a vallás

A vallásokkal, szektákkal, teljesen tisztában lehet minden ember, aki vesz magának időt azoknak a tanulmányozására, de különösen szükséges, hogy a régi Kinai, Görög és Brahma vallásokat tanulmányozza minden ember, hogy megtudja érteni azoknak a leszármazottjait, akkor megfogja érteni azt is, hogy az IWW miért nem vallás ellenes, de viszont miért nem hisz egyetlen vallási dogma csalhatatlanságában sem.

Mi tudjuk, hogy a vallási philozofiát az emberiségnek a sötétségben való tapogatódzása szülte meg, igy megértjük. Mi nem is az emberek lelki, vagy másvilági boldogságunk megszerzésével vagy keresésével törődünk, hanem itt a földön akarjuk az igaz boldogságot, egyetértést megteremteni és leginkább egyik a másika által való kizsákmányolást megszüntetni. Mi tudjuk, hogy addig nem lehet béke, boldogság az emberek között, amig éhség, nyomoruság és kizsákmányolás van, igy mi előttünk nem az a baj, hogy az egyik Katholikus, a másik Protestáns vagy Biblia tanuló, hanem az, hogy vannak emberek, akik embertársaik, igába hajtásával maguknak kényelmes megélhetést akarnak szerezni, a gazdagsági jólét annyira elvakitja őket, hogy nem törődnek mások nyomorával, éhségével, sőt kiváltságos helyzetük embertársaik megvetésére vezeti őket, éppen ugy mint Rockefeller sem tartja magát egyformának egy nincstelen nyomoruságban levő Baptista hittestvérével, sőt ha valamelyik ipar telepén egy ilyen hittestvér bérharcban menne nagyobb darab kenyérért, vagy meberségesebb bánás módért éppen ugy lelövetné őket, mint Bayon, N. J.-ben vagy Coloradoban lelövette a nagyobb darab kenyeret követelő munkásságot.

Az IWW nem a magas csillagok egében irányitja az emberek figyelmét, hanem itten a földön akarja őket saját helyzetük megjavitása véget szervezni, de nem zár ki senkit sem azért, mert még másvilági boldoságot is akar magának biztositani, ha itten a földön is harcol velünk együtt egy jobb tökéletesebb rendszerért, melyben meglehet választani az igaz felebaráti szeretetett. Az IWW az egyetlen mozgalom, mely az emberek közötti szeretetett, egyetértést nem a lelki világának megjavitásával, mellyel több ezer éve próbálkoznak a vallásokon keresztül, hanem gazdasági közösség alapján akarja megteremteni, de nem zárja ki ezen nemes törekvésből azokat sem, akik külömböző valláson keresztül is az emberek egymás közötti békességet szeretetett akarják megvalósitani, mert ugy hisszük, hogy a régi vallások próbálkozásának tanulmányozása folytán belátják, hogy gazdasági egyenlőség nélkül nem lehet béke, ahol az egyik ember kizsákmányolja a másikat, ottan nem lehet szeretett. Minden ember, aki békességre, szeretettre és boldogságra vágyik még itten a földön, az segitse azt megteremteni az IWW által hirdetett uj társadalmi rendszeren keresztül, mert csak egy ilyen tökéletes és igazságos rendszerben leszünk valamennyien testvérek és tudjuk egymást szeretni, becsülni, egymással békességben élni.

A LÁZADÓK

EGRI LAJOS.

Lábaim, harcos robotoló cselédim,
Mikor kergetett a vágy, szálltatok alattam:
Döngött a föld, ahogy szaladtam:
Mikor bánat huzott a földre — anyám ölébe:
Csökönyösen huztátok a testem —
Gondolatban már földre estem —
De ti, mint elszabadult gépek,
Trappolva huztátok a testem
És a nyitott sir üresen maradt.
Bár hasznot soha nem hozott,
Lábaim, köszönöm a hosszu robotot:
A szolgálatból, ime elbocsájtlak.

Kezeim, ti drága engedelmes cselédek,
A csoda maga, örök nagy titok,
Ujjak, fehérek és velük fogok:
Nyilnak, csukódnak, ha akarom.
A hamvas keblet tapintom vele,
Fogok szerszámot, épitek vele
S ha kell támadásra kész öldöklő karom.
Néma jobbágyak, honnan jöttetek?
E gyászos napokban tudtam meg, hogy vagytok,
Minden értéknek, mit ember kitalált:
Ti vagytok mellőzött, elfelejtett apjok.
Ujjaim, hosszu éjszakák tollfogó cselédi,
Ugye sokszor nagyon megkinoztalak?
Nem használt, hogy görcsbe rángatóztatok,
Mert ujabb iramra parancsoltalak.

És a nappalok, a szörnyü nappalok
Mikor tüzes, izzó vasat fogtatok,
A vas csattant, gőz süvitett,
Egy nagy, átkozott pokol hevitett . . .
És hányszor . . . és hányszor halálra
merevült minden ize . . .
Fáradtak vagytok, fáradtak nagyon?
Hát pihenjetek, óh én már hagyom.

Szám, pompás szavak harsonája
Én lángoló csókok biboros párnája,
Hahotázott is valaha régen . . . ?
Most csak gyülölet lobbant csóvát benne,
Minden alázatost üzve, verve.
Mert a Mind szolgasága, az én szolgaságom;
A boldogságot én hiába vágyom.
Ha a rongyok, a gyávák utamat állják,
Hiába int, hiv, csal a holnap;
Nem mehetek a tömeg nélkül
S életünk igy rohad, penészül —
És a távolban hiába égnek a máglyák.
Csitt . . . hallgass . . . némulj el szám . . .
Csak átkokat tudsz már . . .
A müezzim éjfelet kiált . . .
Nagy csönd — borulj le rám.

Szemeim, egykor ti adtátok a szincsodákat,
A napsütést, az árnyakat,
Mások vidám örömét,
Élőket és holtakat.
Szemeim, óh amit most látok, iszonyat.
Egy haldokló világ tajtékos szájjal
Maguk ássák önön sirjukat.
Szemeim, ti fáradt katonák,
Kiégett napok, hüséges őreim,
Már nem tudtok mutatni semmi uj csodát:
Hát pihenjetek,
Kiadom nektek az utolsó marsrutát.

Agyam, te szürke, nyulós pépdarab,
De ezer istennél nagyobb,
Mert érzel, tervezel és gondolkodol,
Agyam, te gyilkos kinok mühelye,
Mért adtál látni titkokat?
Mi rejtve volt a mélyben lent.
Mért üztél kutatni sziveket?
Mért szárnyaltad át a végtelent?
Csak azt tudtam meg, hogy rab vagyok
És hüvelyem a börtönöm,
Szolgák között — szolga csupán
S fájó magammal küzködöm.

De véget vetek a nagy komédiának,
Hisz a szenvedés sem lehet örök . . .
Tehát kijelentem e pillanatban —
Hogy börtönömből kitörök.
Kitörök és lerázom magamról
Ez ocsmány földnek minden bu-baját:
Mozduljatok hát még egyet, részeim —
Aztán — pihenés — jóéjszakát.

De mi ez? Szemem vadul fellobog . . .
Kezem görcsös, görcsbe ragad . . .
A lábam cölöpbe merevül . . .
Minden testrészem megtagad.
Előre hát — kiáltom én . . .
Lábam, csak még egy lépés, egyetlen egy:
Karom, utoljára még e pohárt emeld:
Szám, csak még ez utolsó kortyot lenyeld,
Aztán jön a pihenés, az örök béke.
Egy se mozdul . . . !?
Lázadón utamba állnak . . .
És eltorlaszolják utját a halálnak.

Jaj nektek, lázadó cselédek!
Ha pihenni nem akartok,
Előre hát ujabb iramra,
Uj küzdelmekre, véres csatákra,
Szenvedésre és millió bajra. És csoda . . .
A fáradt testrészek apraja, nagyja
Virgonc, frissült erővel törnek a magasba.

A munkásmozgalom

PIKA PÁL

TÖRTÉNELMI időket él az emberiség, sokan a legnehezebb gazdasági válságban is közönbösek; nem gondolkoznak a nyomasztó helyzetük mikénti orvoslása felett.

Amikor munkásmozgalomról esik szó vállvetve, könnyedén napirendre térnek felette. Nagyon sokan pedig el sem akarják magukról ismerni, hogy az ő érdekük azonosak a munkásokéval és hogy a munkásmozgalom az ő érdeküket is szolgálja.

Találgatják azon okok eredetét, a melyek olyan nehézzé teszik számukra a megélhetést; pedig a munkásmozgalom, lefektetett iránya és harci eszközei az egyedüliek, amelyek a társadalmi problémák megoldására alkalmasak. Nem látják, hogy az emberiségnek legnagyobb küzdelme semmi más, mint a létért való küzedelem és ebből a küzdelemből nem tudják és nem akarják kivenni részüket.

És ha létük fentartása küzdelmes, akkor is csak mint egyének akarnak boldogulni a gigászi harcban, abban a reményben, hogy vissza tudják varázsolni a multat, amikor még voltak esetek, hogy kapzsisággal, másoknak kárára, nem törődve az emberi önérzettel, valamivel feljebb tudtak emelkedni, de csak gazdaságilag az általános munkásság felé. Ezen időket nevezték az egyéni boldogulás korszakának és ma is sokan ezeket az időket szeretnék vissza állitani.

Vannak és voltak a nehezen dolgozó munkásosztály tagjai között nagyon sokan olyanok, akik ezeknek barátságát keresték és keresik és nem látják, hogy ezek csak a nem gondolkodó munkástömegekre alapozzák létezésüket.

A technika fejlődése feltartózhatatlanul halad a maga utján tovább. A barlang lakó emberből modern ember fejlődött ki. Az ipari fejlődés folytán az emberiség egy uj korszakába értünk, ahol már az egyéni érvényesülésről szó sem lehet.

A gépek fejlődése forradalmositotta a termelési folyamatot; ezzel szemben, maga az emberiség nagy tömege megmaradt a maradiságba és azoknak szekerét tolják, akik hosszu időkön keresztül az emberiség tudatlansága folytán uralmon vannak.

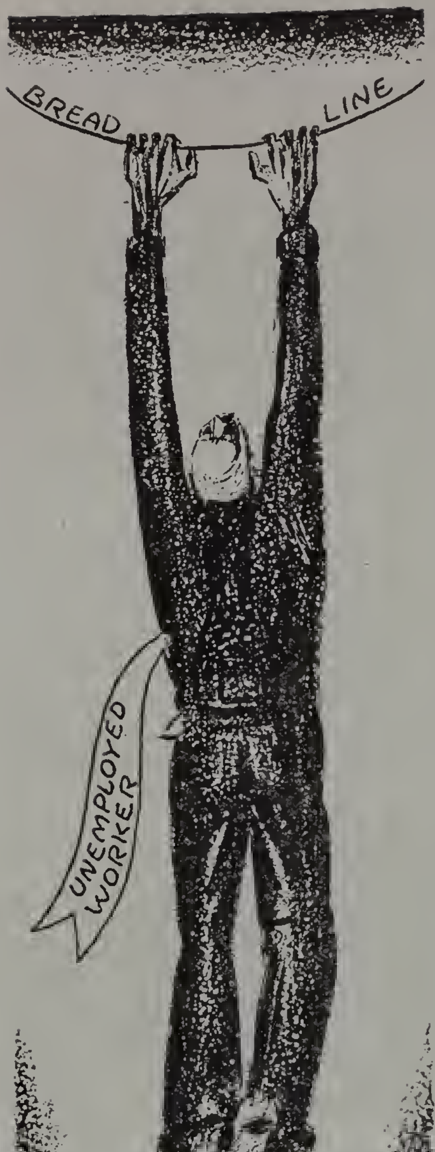
Ezer éves sérthetetlen alkotmány szerint akarják még mindig kormányozni a világot, amely alkotmányok azok által lettek lefektetve, akik akkor uralmon voltak és ezen alkotmányok az ő érdekeiknek megfelelőleg lettek megalapozva magán tulajdon mindenkori megvédésére. És mivel, ma is még a magántulajdon rendszerébe élünk ezen elavult alkotmányok még mindig védik az uralmon lévő osztály érdekét.

Sajnálatra méltó jelenség az, hogy a modern ember ugyanazon társadalmi életét mint ezer év előtt.

Azok a munkások, akik nem ismerik és távol állanak a munkásmozaglomtól szégyenkezve kell beismerni tudatlanságukat, pláne akkor, amikor a történelmi rabszolga sorsról esik szó; mert ők gondolataikban nem különböznek a maradi rabszolgák gondolat világától csak annyiban, hogy már a modern kor nem gondolkozó bérrabszolgái.

Az uralmon levő osztály csak addig tudja zsarnoki uralmát megtartani, amig a társadalmat fentartó dolgozó milliók nem fogják felismerni egységes érdeküket és mint az élet lehetőségeitől megfosztottak fel nem ismerik azt az igazságot, hogy az egyéni érvényesülés ideje lejárt, helyette egy más rendszerről kell gondoskodni, amely rendszer nem a magántulajdon rendszerének sérthetetlen, ezer éves alkotmányán, hanem a modern ember mai igényeinek megfelelő szabad, ipari társadalmi rendről lehet csak szó, ahol egyik ember nem uralkodhat a másik élete felett.

A mult tapasztalata sok példával szolgál az emberiségnek, még azok az indifferens munkások is tanulhatnak



belőle, akiket az uralkodó osztály ugy a multban, mint a jelenben is feltudott használni különböző hangzatos jelszavakkal; de mindig csak az uralmon lévő osztály megvédésére.

Millió és millió ártatlan ember vére folyt már a mai rendszer fentartásáért.

Millió és millió ember áldozta életét a "haza" szent oltárán.

Láttunk háborukat, ahol a "haza" védelmére millió életet áldoztak fel és a háboruk befejeztével azok, akiket a "haza" megvédésének jelszava alatt háboruba vittek majd a "hősies" küzdelem után a legnagyobb nyomorba jutottak, mert hazájuk még megélhetést sem biztositott a számukra, de az uralkodó osztály tovább folytatta dözsölését, a nyomorgó milliók kinszenvedésein folytatta zsarnoki uralmát.

A nincstelen milliók, akik már sokszor áldozták mindenüket a haza védelméért mostan, amikor minden szépet és jót tudnak előállitani, amikor mindenből van elég, a legnagyobb nyomorban tengetik életüket.

Miért van ez igy? Erre akarok felelni!

Mert a sok nem gondolkozó és ezer éves alkotmányt; magántulajdon rendszerét szent és sérthetetlennek tartják.

Elhiszik az uralkodó osztály kolomposainak, hogy ők a nép érdekeit szolgálják; pedig a nép érdekeit senki más csak maga a nép képviselheti.

A gazdasági elnyomatás, hosszu időkre vezethető vissza, amely az egyedüli ami a nép nyomorát okozza.

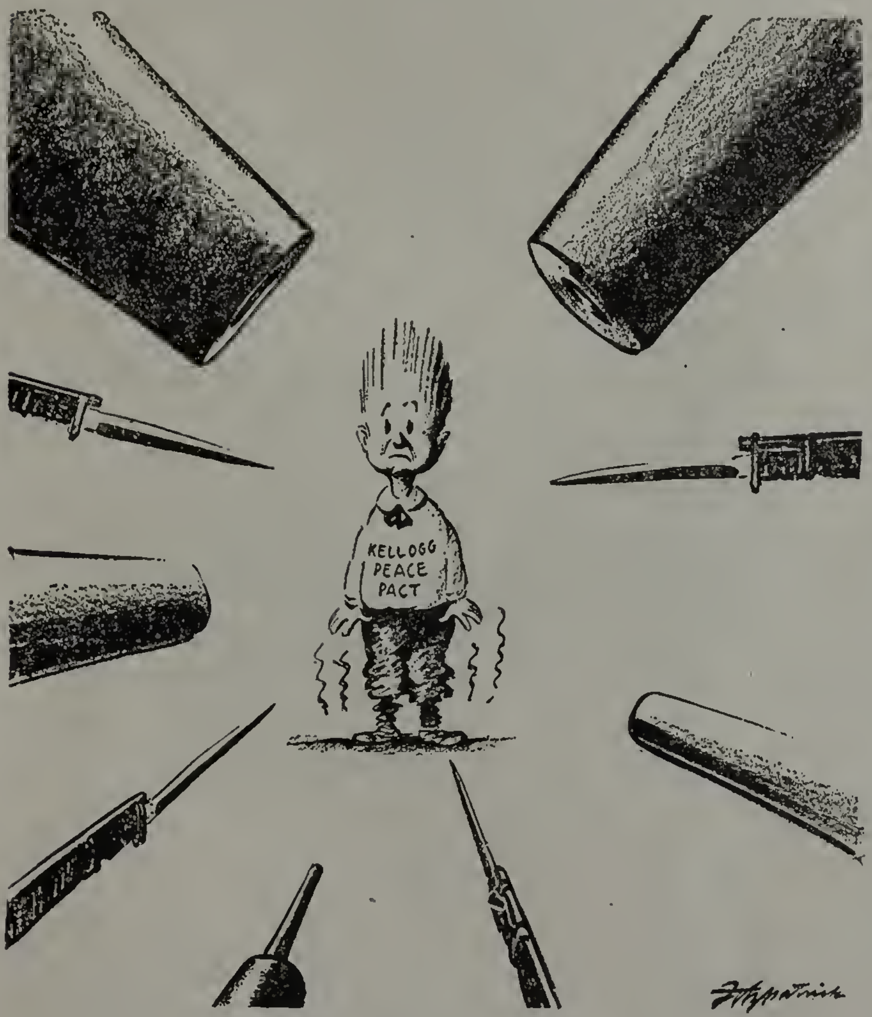
Azt tudjuk, hogy a társadalomnak bajai vannak, mert hisz érezzük annak nyomasztó hatását és a társadalmi bajok egyedüli orvoslása a munkásmozgalom felépitésében rejlik.

A munkás mozgalom semmi más mint a mai társadalmi viszonyok által létre hozott intézmény, amely az elnyomott, gazdaságilag kihasznált ember millióknak egyedüli tábora, a gazdasági egyenlőség megteremtésére jött létre.

Azok, akik orvoslást keresnek a társadalmi bajok mgeváltoztatására a munkásmozgalomba kell, hogy keressék azt. A mai társadalom a magán tulajdon rendszerén alapszik és hogy az emberiség emberi mivoltához mérten élhessen a társadalmi vagyont nem lehet, hogy egyes emberek uralják, nem lehet jólét és boldogság az emberiség számára, amig meg nem teremti a gazdasági egyenlőséget.

A munkásmozgalom pedig semmi más, mint a gazdasági ellentétek megszüntetésére megszervezett társadalmi rend, amely magába hordozza az emberiségnek szabad társadalmát.

Amikor munkásmozgalomról beszélünk, olyan munkásmozgalmat értünk alatta, amely nemcsak "munkás" jelzővel van ellátva, hanem olyant, amelynek alapja magába hordozza az uj társadalom minden épitményét és harcmodora alkalmas a gazdasági rendszer megváltoztatására. A munkásosztály magát okozhatja legjobban nyomoráért; mert nem várhatjuk azoktól az orvoslást, akik jólétben élnek.



A világkapitalizmus "világbékét" csinált. De hogy a világbékét föntarthassa, szuronyokra épitette azt.

Ha a munkások felismerik azt a tényt, hogy a társadalom hibái orvoslásra várnak, hogy gazdasági rendszer változás csak az egyedüli megoldás és éppen ugy mint az ipari fejlődés forradalmasitotta a termelést, éppen ugy kell, hogy a modern ember forradalmasitsa a gazdasági berendezkedés alapját.

A nyomorgó munkás millióknak fel kell ismerni osztály helyzetüket, fokozott tevékenységgel kell épiteni a munkásmozgalom azon táborát, amely mozgalom a társadalmi — vagy termelési rendszer megváltoztatására alakult és forradalmi gazdasági összecsoportosulása révén képes a korszakalkotó rendszer megváltoztatására.

Munkásoknak a munkásmozgalomban a helye, mert mennél tovább várunk, annál tovább fog az emberiség a nyomasztó gazdasági viszonyok között sinylődni.

A munkásmozgalom az emberiség küzdelmének a legerősebb vára, a melytől milliók és milliók boldogsága és élete függ.

Mennél hamarább felismeri a munkásosztály a forradalmi munkásmozgalom szükségét annál hamarább valósulhat meg a munkásosztály egyedüli reménye a gazdaságilag egyenjogu, egyenrangu társadalmi rend az uj társadalom.

Ezt az uj társadalmat Amerikában és az egész világra kiterjesztve épiti az Industrial Worker of the World (IWW) az Egy Nagy Szervezet felépitésével.

De mert az IWW nemcsak, hogy nem igéri, de minden alkalommal kinyilvánitja, hogy a munkások helyzete egyedül a saját ténykedésük alapján változhat csak meg, ezért szükséges, hogy az öntudatra ébredt munkások csatlakozzanak a munkásmozgalom azon csoportjához, a melynek segitségével győzelemhez is juthatnak.

A Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetségnek

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Fölszabadulás

ALEGORIKUS KÉP
Irta: EGRI LAJOS

SZEMÉLYEK: A MUNKÁS
A TŐKÉS
AZ ÖNTUDAT

(A szin sötét. Bejön a Munkás és a Tőkés. A Munkás egy nagy batyut cipel a hátán, övig meztelen, izmai mint az acélhur feszülnek. A nyakán lánc csüng, amelynek vége a Tőkés kezében van. A Tőkés aránytalanul kisebb a Munkásnál, kezében ostor. Ahogy a szinre lépnek, a Munkás nyögve összeroskad. A terhét elejtve zihálva a földön marad.)

Tőkés: (Megrántja a láncot.)
Föl, barom! Föl! Tovább!

Munkás: (Nyögve.)
Uram, kegyelmezz! Hadd pihenjek még. Nem birom tovább. Terhem szörnyen szörny nehéz. Jaj, uram, esdek a kinomra nézz.

Tőkés: Mit papolsz, ostoba állat. Lustálkodni akarsz!?
Lopni a napot semmivel. Engem meg nem csalsz, ne félj!
No, mozogj'. Egy-kettő, mert ütök!
Itt a korbács! (Megsuhitja.)

Munkás: (Odacsuszik a Tőkéshez.)
Nem. Ne bánts!
Ugy fáj a korbács!
Ütése a husba mar, éget.
És utána csattanva marjul ki a bőröm.
S nyomába zudulva piros, forró vér jön.
Uram, nagyon fáj a korbács!
Ne bánts'. Fáradt, vagyok.

Tőkés: (Fölcsattanó haraggal.)
Eh, mit hallgatlak! Csak ütni kell! És megy rendjébe' minden.

Munkás: (Sikoltva.)
Nem! Nem!

Tőkés: (Megrántja a láncot.)
Ismerlek. Nagyon megszoktad már a verést. Majd mást találok ki büntetésül, mert ez, ugylátszik, nem használ. Na, előre, állat!
Nem mozdulsz?! Ellenkezni mersz? Ne hát! . . . (Vadul csapkodja a korbácscsal.)

Munkás: (Fuldokló zokogással egészen a Tőkés lábához csuszik és a lábait csókolja. A Tőkés elrugja magától.)
Ezt tudod. Hizelkedni . . . Csókolni a lábam. Engem meg nem inditasz, kutya'. Ismerem jól álnok, alattomos természeted . . . Mozdulsz-e már? (Üti.)

Munkás: (Tántorogva föláll.)

Tőkés: Tudtam. Csak verés kell neked!

Munkás: (Rettentő kinnal fölveszi a terhet, de amikor indulni akar ujra összeroskad és élettelen nyulik el a földön.)

Tőkés: (Toporzékol dühében.)
Hát nem volt elég? Ujra kezded megint?! Ne hát! . . .
(A láncot rángatja. Belerug és üti.)
(A messzeségből velőthasitó sikoltás hallatszik. Pillanatnyi fojtó szünet.)

Munkás: (Megmozdul, rémülve.)
Mi ez?!
(Ujra hallani a tébolyitó, hisztérikus jajgatást. De most hosszasabban tart.)

Munkás: (Reszketve.)
Mi volt ez? (Felül.)

Az öntudat: (Kint élesen csattan.)
Ébredj!

Munkás: (Dideregve.)
Mi volt ez? Egy hang szólitott.

Tőkés: A korbácsom szólitott, kutya! Ha nem mozdulsz, széthasitlak.

Az öntudat: Ébredj! Közelget a hajnal.
Vakitó világgal a fény mindjárt rád esik.
Ébredj, ébredj, ébredj!
Aludtál már pár hosszu századig.

Munkás: (Rémülve.)
Ki az? . . . Ki beszél hozzám?

Az öntudat: Én vagyok, az istenült öntudat.
A lélek, az ész! Nem ismered magad?

Munkás: Nem . . . Nem ismerlek.

Az öntudat: Pedig ott voltam benned. Ott vivtam én,
A tunyasággal ádáz harcokat.
Emlékezz, testvér: hogy üztelek,
Hogy martam beléd;
Hogy jajgattam; jaj elég, elég!
És te aludtál mégis.
De én nem, nem türök tovább!
Kényszeritlek, tarts már énvelem.
És agyad, a szived, a csontod, a velőd,
Ádáz dühhel ujra megverem! . . .
Amig föl nem serdülsz az átkos szendergésből,
Amig meg nem ismered önön magadat,
Addig én meg nem nyugszom,
A husodba tépek s mint a láva
Lángolva égek, mig meg nem unod
És le nem rázod szolgaláncodat . . .
Testvér! Int felénk az élet!
Nézz körül, minden milyen szép, vidám.
Fönt a hegyen csodaszinek égnek,
Hangulat és igézet száll a szélmuzsikán.
Testvér! Ne légy már dőre!
Nem mindenütt oly sötét a táj.
Van nap is, mely szikrázva lángol.
Testvér; nézz már egyszer előre!
Munkás: (Nehezen föltápászkodik. Szemeit a messzeségek felé mereszti.)
Tőkés: Ahá! Már kiment szemedből az álom?
Az öntudat: Előre! Tied itt minden.
Tied az élet minden mámora.
Tied a föld minden büvös kincse,
Téged vár millió igéző csoda.
Munkás: (Lassan kiegyenesedik. Mintha uj élet szállna bele. A szemében eddig ismeretlen tüz villan föl. Sulyos karjai megmozdulnak.)
Az öntudat: (Buzditva, lázasan, sürgetőn.)
Előre, testvér! Te vagy a föld királya,
Te vagy a legfőbb ur: az alkotó.
Benned buzog az őserő dagadó árja,
Amelyhez a földön nincs már fogható.
Munkás: (Egy mozdulattal leszakitja a láncot. A szeme folyton előre mered. Karjait kitárja.)
(Ebben a pillanatban vakitó fénycsóva vetődik a munkásra. A távolban halkan az Internationale hallatszik.)
Tőkés: (Rémülve.)
Mit csinálsz?! . . . Miért szakitottad el a láncot? . . . Barátom, édes jó barátom, ne hagyj itt!
Az öntudat: Előre! . . . Meg ne pihenj!
Munkás: (Eltakarja a szemeit.)
Mi ez? Elvakit.
öntudat: (Ujjongva.)
A nap! A nap! Az áldott! A meleg!
Mely aranyló fényt öntöz el szerte.
A nap, mely millió kis életet nevel.
A nap, mely kacagni megtanit
És felejted az éj bus sirámait!
(Az Internationale erősödik. A hangok bugva, vértforralón csapnak az égnek.)
Munkás: Mi ez? . . . Mit hallok?!
öntudat: Az öntudat döngeti
Sötét börtönének sziklafalát.
Hozsánna élet! Ébred az ember!
Hozsánna néked, te szép csodavilág!
Hallod-e, föld? Már jön az ember!
És előre, magasra, a hegyre megy fel,
Elfoglalni ős birodalmát.
Nézzetek ide, mult évezredek!
Dobbanj meg föld, sajgó örömödben!
Zugjatok ormok, zengjetek hegyek!
Dalt harsonázz szél, erdő, berek!
Jön az ember, a régi, az erős! . . .
Munkás: (Egy lépést tesz előre. Karjait a messzeség felé tárja. A hangja fudokló zokogásba ful.)
Élet . . . Te szép . . . Te jó . . .
Megyek . . . Megyek . . .
(Lassan megindul.)
Tőkés: (Kétségbeesetten.)
Édes barátom ne hagyj itt! . . . Kérlek! . . . Könyörgök! . . .
(És megy mindenütt a Munkás után; de az magasra tartott fejjel megy és nem vesz róla tudomást.)

(Függöny)

Magyarországi Beszámoló

F. S. JÓZSEF

HA ugyan lehet beszámolni az elmult évek eseményeiről Magyarországból ugy az csak rosszabbodásról való beszámoló lehet.

A világkapitalizmus válsága itt nálunk érezhető legjobban, ahol a csökevény hübéri és kapitalista rendszer ugynevezett vadházasságban élve pusztitja a magyar népet. Az előbbi nem akar kimulni, görcsösen ragaszkodik uralmához és hogy ezt megtarthassa az ország lakósságát hozzáadva a fosztogatási lehetőséget tejlessen a kapitalisták igája alá hajtja. Köztudomásu, hogy európa legnagyobb stilü kalandora Gróf Bethlen István tizévig pusztitotta az országot. Ezen pusztitásához a szuronyokon kivül nagyban hozzásegitette a krelikalizmus is azért a koncért, amelyet a protestáns Bethlen lökött nekik. Megterhelték kölcsönök felvételével ezt a szerencsétlen országot ugy, hogy ma alapjaiban recseg-ropog itt minden.

Jelszó részükről az volt, hogy "utánnunk özönviz." Hogy a kölcsönök forrásai számukra bedugultak nem rajtuk mulott. Ha valaki azt kérdezi, hogy hova lett az a rengeteg pénz amit fölszedtek hát egyszerüen azt lehet mondani ellopták. Ugyanis semmiféle produktiv munkára egy fillért föl nem használtak. Ilyen előzmények után kellett azután Bethlen urnak megválni a miniszter elnöki széktől.

Az ország lakóssága pillanatnyilag föllélegzett. Azonban nagyon hamar jött a kiábrándulás azoknál, akik azt hitték Bethlennel együtt a fosztogató rendszer is megbukott. Hamarosan kiderült amit egyébként minden öntudatos ember előre látott ez a rendszer oly annyira beleeresztette csápjait a jobb sorsra érdemes magyar nép husába, hogy holmi kormányválság által nem hajlandó magát a nép vérének való szivásában zavartatni. Gróf Károlyi ugynevezett strohman volt csupán. A hatalom ténylegesen továbbra is Gróf Bethlen kezében maradt és kreaturája csupán azt tette, amit gazdája parancsolt. Bethlen amig látható feje volt a hatalomnak nem mert hatalma oszlopaihoz a közalkalmazottakhoz nyulni. Kreautráját azonban utasitotta, hogy ezek fizetését vágja. Ezt azóta párszor megismételték.

Kihirdették a Statáriumot.

Egy éve mult annak, hogy itt Hayman szelleme ébredt fel. A hóhér gőzerővel dolgozik. Persze csak a proletárság körébe. Megvalósitották a világon pártját ritkitó "levél kukucskálást" és a levelek "vámvizsgálatát." Azelőtt ezt nyiltan csinálták a háboru alatt és Cenzura volt a neve. A parasztok ugy élnek a falvakban mint az üldözött vadak.

A magyar kozákság amit minden magyar jól ismer ha csendőr néven is, ütik verik a népet mint a répát. A közigazgatási hatalmasságok a vidékek nyelvén az "Atyaistenek" (főszolgabirák) sanyargatják minden uton módon. Fölösleges a specialis magyar adóbehajtásról irni. Vannak falvak, amelyekből minden lábas jószágot elhajtottak, az utolsó párnáig elcipeltek mindent adóba. Az adózó soha sincs tisztába azzal mennyi adót kell fizetnie. Bármennyit is fizetett be mégis tartozik.

A legközönségesebb és legdurvább módon az egyházi adót hajtják be. Igy láthatók most már nem csak pesten, hanem vidéken is félmeztelen és zörgő csontu emberek, akik között ott jár szemforgatva a potrohásra hizott csuhás, csendőr és jegyző. Akinek azelőtt 100 hold földje volt ma napszámos volna, ha kapna munkát. Vagyonát elvitte a kamat és az adó. Vidéken, hogy az elégedetlenséget ellensulyozzák mivel rájöttek arra a csendőr golyója és szuronya már nem elegendő erre egyedül ugynevezett inségmunkát adnak. Persze nem állandóan, hanem a felváltó rendszer szerint az éhezőknek. Egy napi baromi munkáért (utépités stb.) 3 kgr. durva barna kenyérlisztet adnak. Pénzt? Minek az a parasztnak.

A munkásság teljesen leteritve és

kifosztva, azok akik ezt elősegitették kereskedők, kisgazdák, iparosok már ezek is odajutottak. Ma még jajveszékelnek, de sorsuk megpecsételtetett. Budapesten ma háromszor annyi üzlethelyiség, két és félszer annyi lakás áll kiadatlanul mint 1931-ben. Ez a szám mindennél többet beszél.

A reakció lelkiismerete sem nyugodt már. Naponta vonultatják föl a katonaságot a városban. Gyakran lehet látni a páncélautós osztagokat amint a főutvonalon vonulgatnak keresztül. Láthatják a dunai halak rémitgetésére alkalmas kis folyamőrségi hajókat, amint a vizben uszkálnak. Mindezt azért, hogy a reakció hiveit nyugtassa; mig a proletárokat figyelmeztesse jó lesz csöndben lenni.

Az előbbiek azt hiszik nincs semmi baj, az utóbbiak, akik az éhenhalás vagy a golyó közt választhatnak meg nem veszik komolyan már ezt. Igy tehát mivel Bethlen kreaturája alatt tovább romlottak a viszonyok és ami a végzetük lett, hogy a külföld nem ült fel a gózé taktikának és igy Károlyinak nem sikerült pénzt (kölcsönt) följhajtani Bethlen utilapot kötött a talpára Károlyinak. Jelenleg amikor e sorokat irom itt teljes a khaosz, politikai téren. Gömbös Gyula (van-e ki e nevet nem ismeri?) a fiók Musolini, aki ugy Bethlen, mint Károlyi kormányban a hadügyminiszter volt, áll az előtérben, ami egyben a leplezett fascista katonai diktatura helyett nyilt katonai diktaturára való áttérést jelenti. Hát annyi igaz változás, ha e cimtáblát föl is cserélik nem sok lesz.

A munkásmozgalom áttérése megállapithatjuk visszafejlődés van. A szociáldemokrata politikai és gazdasági szervezetek, amelyek minden cselekvése a pártpolitika szolgálása állandóan demoralizálódik. Igy ma a tényleges proletárság helyett inkább kiskereskedők, kisiparosok, intellektuellekre támaszkodnak. A tényleges proletárok vajmi kevesen vannak már közöttük. Egy jó részük teljesen passziv lett és nem nyerhető meg semmiféle mozgalom számára sem. Ez érthető is megcsömörlöttek attól, amit a szociáldemokraták munkásmozgalomnak neveznek. Szellemileg is elmaradottak, akik nem birnak disztingválni a mozgalmak között.

A másik részük a moszkoviták befolyása alá került és bömböli a frázis jelszavakat legtöbbjük anélkül, hogy venne magának annyi fáradságot, hogy leharapná ezekről a külső mázt és gondolkozna azok fölött amit azután látna. A Kmp. is mint minden pártmozgalom több frakcióra szakadt. Van a Sztalinista frakció, amely Moszkvából nyert korlátlan szubvenciója révén a leghangosabb, de mindezek dacára tömeg mozgalom kezdeményezésére képtelen. Van a Trotzky-féle frakció, amelyről még kevesebbet tudunk, azután a Kmp.-ból leszakadt ugyenevezett baloldali kommunisták frakciója (KAU) amely számra a legkisebb, de a pártforradalmárok között a legvakmerőbb. Persze mivel mind politikai hatalom megszerzésére utazik ezek a legélesebb harcban állanak egymással.

A szociáldemokraták nyiltan szolgálják ki a jelenlegi rendszert. Épp a napokban fordult elő, hogy az egyik párt kommunista alakulat szervezőinek név sorát adták át a rendőrségnek, kiket Pesterzsébeten azután le is fogtak. Általában az a taktikájuk a szoc. dem.-eknek ahol kellemetlenkedik nekik valamelyik más mozgalom ott a rendőrséget veszik igénybe ellenük.

Az IWW mozgalom, amely ellentétben a politikai hatalomra törtető szervezetekkel nem dobálódzik, mint ahogy nem is dobálódzhat üres frázisokkal, ha lassan is, de tért hódit. A lassuság egyik főoka az anyagiak hiánya, amely lehetetlenné teszi egy nagyobbszabásu kampány lebonyolitását és a hatalomra törtetők rágalmainak ellensulyozását. Mindezek dacára ha lépésről lépésre is, de halad előre. Amilyen mértékben ismerik fel a bérrabszolgák vezéreik és pátjaik tehetetlenségét, álnokságát ugyanolyan mértékben szervezkednek majd az IWW-be. Ma még nagy a vásári lárma és a tömeg nem gondolkozik a holnapról vagy ha igen, azt tévessen képzeli el. De azért mi a csüggedést nem ismerjük, megyünk előre a kijelölt uton harcolvá az Ipari kommunizmusért. Bátorság!

A haladás utja

BROOKS ELZA

VALAMIKOR, az ősidőkben véres harcok jelezték az ősember minden lépését. A kenyérért, a megélhetésért folyt a véres küzdelem, a harc oka egy nagyobb falat kenyér volt. De az ősember segitette egymást, mert felismerték, az összetartás erejét, hogy anélkül elpusztulnának. Ha veszekedtek is néha egymás közt, de ha a reggel jött s felébresztette őket a legelső napsugár, elindultak harcolni közös erővel, a közös ellenség ellen. Az ősember ismerte az ellenségeskedést, a gyülölködést, de ismerte az összetartás erejét is.

S később, amikor a civilizáció, a kultura bejött az emberiség életébe, s az ember kijött a vadonból, házat épitett s eljutott a mai kulturális állapotokhoz. Lassanként kiveszett lelkükből az összetartás biztos érzése s ki-ki magáért, való jelszó alatt folytatták a megélhetésért való ádáz harcot. Az emberiség többé nem közös erővel megy előre, mint az ősember idejében tette. S ezt, nagyon is megérzi az emberiség. Különösen a munkásság megérzi a közös érzés és gondolkozás hiányát.

A haladás utját vér jelzi. Embervér sir fel a modern technika legcsodálatosabb találmányában, a repülőgép berregésében. Ember-vér vonaglik át a tengeren járó hajók hatalmas testén. Ember-vér zokog fel a rádión, lázasan lüktet benne az ember-sziv, a sok elhulajtott könny, fájó panasz elfojtott sóhaj.

A vadonban élő embernek csak a vadállatok ellen kellett küzdenie. Közös erővel le is győzte őket. De mi volt az ősemeber harca, a ma emberének a harcához képest? Gyerek játék! A ma embere, a gyárak modern felszerelésü gépei ellen harcol, s milyen erővel. A kultura haladásában gyászosan, vészesen lohol az emberi-sziv, kinek türni, szenvedni és éhezni kell, mert nem akarta magáévá tenni az ősember hatalmas fegyverét az összetartást.

S az ember, a hatalmas ember szenved és tür. Eltüri, hogy háborut uszitsanak a nyakába. Tür nyomort, eltüri a nincstelenséget és még sok minden mást, de a Testvérieséget és az összetartást még sem akarja. Eltüri, hogy kihasználják, eltüri a kultur élet minden borzalmát, minden lehetetlenségét. Jaj, csak mély álmából fel ne ébressze őket senki!

Az IWW a programjába bekapcsolja a haladással együtt az emberiség jólétét is.

S hogy célját elérhesse, nem akar más egyebet, csak azt, hogy a munkásság egyesüljön a Kapitalizmus megdöntésére, ebbe a harcos a munkásságért mindig harcba szállni kész szervezetbe.

Minél előbb ezt teszi, annál hamarább ért céljához. Ma már nem lehet kétséges egyetlen munkás előtt sem, hogy más utja nincs a boldogulásának. Hiszen megpróbálta már. Mindenütt kilincselt. Mindenkit maga fölé emelt, csak ő a munkás maradt alul, éhesen, rongyosan.

AZ ŐSÖM

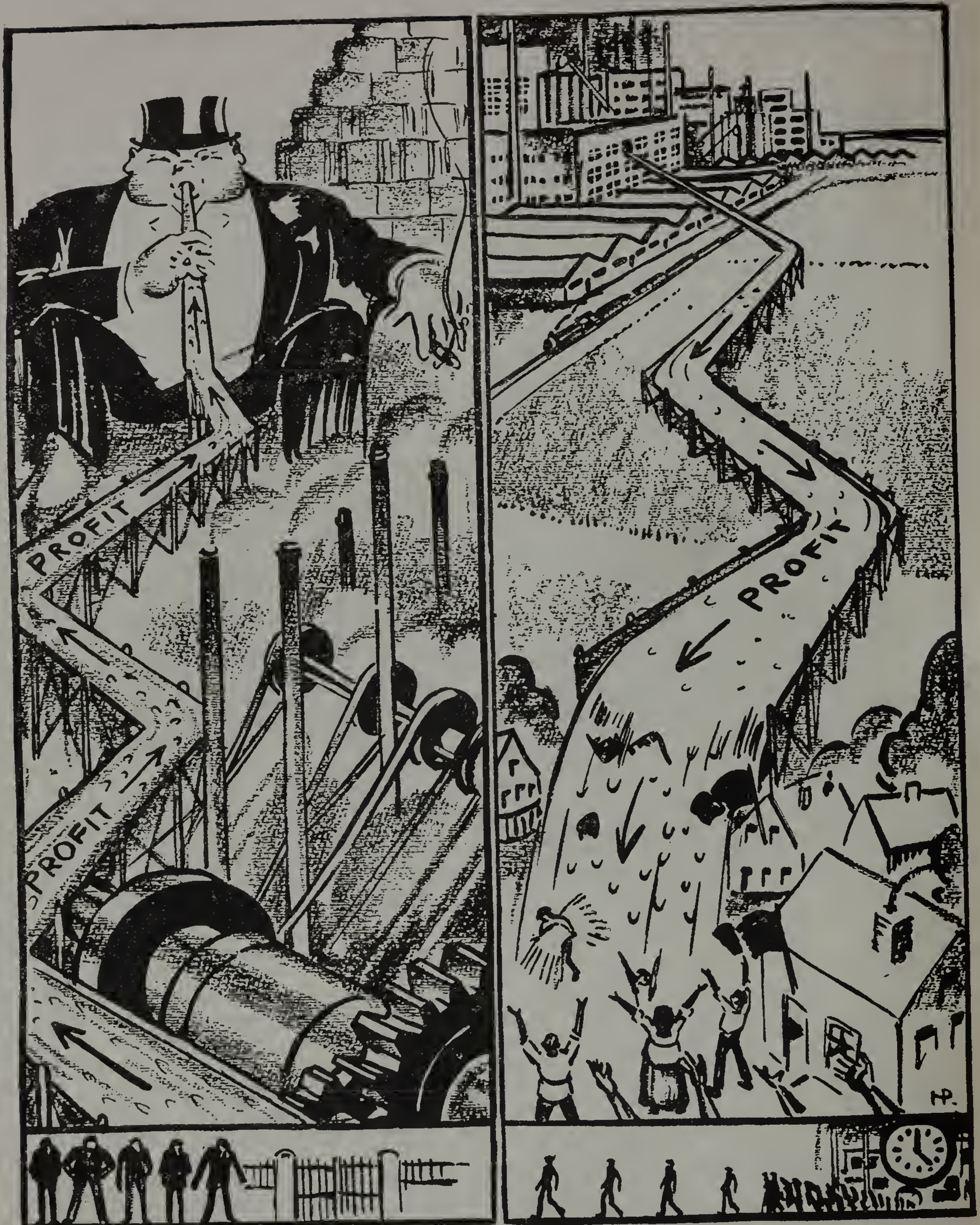
Kóbor lant pengető lehetett az ősöm.
Lelkében örök szép álomról álmodott
S a csinos dalokért maradékot kapott:
Bizonnyal nevettek a kopott regősön.

Lengő dus szakálla a multból visszaint
És látom a gőgös, dus porfidok körén,
Hol Sylvanus Najad áll márványkövén:
Gyülölettel ősöm föl rájuk hogy tekint.

Hahó öreg! tested bár a multban pihen,
Késő unokád el tehozzád igy izen:
Nyugodj csak békében, ne fájjon, ami fájt.

Gőgös isten a Pénz, már buvhelyet keres,
Szilaj dalt zeng lantom, az ég viharveres:
Visszafizet mindent a késő unokád.

EGRI LAJOS


PROFIT
PROFIT
PROFIT
H.P.

Gyárak, bányák, üzemek munkásai hangyaszorgalommal gyüjti a nagytőkések vagyonát. Bent izzad a munkás éhbérért, — a tőkés és családjáért, mig ő és családja elpusztul.

Ady és a forradalom

E felolvasást az októberi forradalom emlékére Fülöp Miklós tartotta a New Yorki Ady Endre Társaság 1932. október 21-iki estélyén.

A VILÁGHÁBORU rettenetes gépezete tizennégy évvel ezelőtt október havában kezdett recsegni-ropogni és Európa évszázados konstrukciójában is ekkor indult meg a szemmel is látható dübörgő összeomlás. A bulgárok kiléptek a szövetségből, Csehország proklamálta függetlenségét, Horvátország elfoglalta Fiumét, a románok Erdély és Bánát felé nyujtották karjaikat és a Magyar Szent Korona országai fátumosan hulltak el az ezeréves testről. Hullahegyek, vértengerek nyomán ujabb nyomoruságok szakadtak a magyar népre.

Ady Endre a csucsai kastélyban, olvasta, hallotta, élte és érezte az események lavinás folyását. A költőt valóságos rohamok bántják e napokban, alig lefékezhető nyugtalanság veszi hatalmába, kezei jéghidegek, a gyász és siralom apáthiája üli meg lelkét. És egy hüvös őszi estén, a román cselédleány ép akkor lép be a szobába, mikor Ady Endre reszkető kezekkel régi, kedvelt bibiliájának lapjait tépdeste ki és dobta bele a kályha lobogó tüzébe. Csak a biblia fekete fedele maradt meg remegő kezében. Ezt már nem volt ereje a tüzbe dobni. Kusza betükkel Jézus utolsó golgotai szavait irta rá: Éli, Éli Lama Sabaktani: Én istenem, Én istenem, miért is hagytál el engem? És a dátumot 1918 október 23. Ebbe az evangéliumi igébbe zokogta bele a költő: Jézus, sajátmaga és a fuldokló embermilliók tragikus életsorsát. Önmarcangoló, világsorsáért remegő, háboru alatti hatalmas versei után, e golgotai sor visszaidézésével is drámai pompájában jelenik meg látnoki zsenije, mely mindenkinél tisztábban érezte meg, hogy az isten megint, hosszu időre elhagyta a szomoru embereket.

Ady Endre külön nagy tragédiája, hogy közvetlenül a magyar és világforradalmak küszöbén testben és lélekben összetörve érte meg októbert. Arról kell itt ma beszélnem, hogyan szentelte lángoló zsenijét meg nem alkuvó szilárdsággal, félelmes elhivatottsággal októbernek, a forradalomnak, melynek azon a kis földön, ahonnan mi idekerültünk, vezére, csillaga, erőforrása, negyedszázadon keresztül Ady Endre volt.

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Lellei, diósadi, menyői Ady Lőrincz ur és hitvese Pásztor Mária amikor első eminens Endre fiuk a zilahi református gymnáziumban leérettségezett, nagy reményekkel inditották el őt a debreceni hires őskollégium jogi fakultása felé. Kitervelték, remélték, hitték, hogy Bandi fiuk elvégzi a jogot és lesz belőle főbiró vagy alispán a hies-nevezetes hepe-hupás Szilágyságban. A reményes, rózsás terv azonban soha benemteljesülő kivánság maradt és életbeindulásáról maga, Ady Endre irta meg a következőket: “Mikor mint debreceni jogász beálltam egy ujság redakciójába, szegény martiranyámon kivül mindenki elmondta az elvégeztetett-et. Debrecenből, ahol nem igen akarták látni bennem még a Csokonai legpicinyebb öccsét sem s ahol első verses könyvem megjelent, Nagyváradra mentem ujságirónak. Ez a nyugtalan, zsidós, intelligens város sok mindent átformált bennem, amit a falu, Nagykároly, Zilah és Debrecen, tehát a falu formált meg. De viszont valami dacos cinizmus görcsölte le itt az ujjaimat: azért nem érdemes irni, hogy az emberből Kiss József legyen. Ujságot csináltam, vezércikket irtam, s nyilván elpusztulok, vagy nagyon okos életbe kezdek, ha nem jön el értem valaki. Asszony volt, egy hozzá jutott versem küldte, megfogta a kezemet és meg sem állt velem Párisig.”

Ez volt Ady Endre első külföldi utja. Politikai, irodalmi, s világnézeti harcaihoz ez a párisi tartózkodás adta meg zsenijének a kimerithetetlenül gazdag felszerelést. Dus fogamzással, szivében a nyugati kultura szerelmével érkezik meg onnan Pestre, ahol már hódoló leborulással vár rá egy illusztris csoport. Az akkor kitünően szerkesztett, haladó szellemü Budapesti Napló állandó munkatársként hivja meg és annak vasárnapi számaiban már kalászosodik a vetés, mely Uj versek cimen forradalma lett a a magyar költészetnek és a tespedő magyar horizontnak.

Petőfi óta nem született nagy póétája Magyarországnak. Régi, vájt mederben, fáradt elcsépelt gondolatokkal, megszokott és megunt költői formákban ment-mendegélt a magyar Pegazus, nem csoda hát, hogy a gazdag, cifra nyeregben ülő hivatalos irodalom az 'Uj időknek uj dalaival' érkező Ady Endrét egyre izgatottabban, egyre veszedelmesebb támadásokkal fogadta.

A feudális Magyarország urai, irodalmi csatlósai, kitartott politikusai hamarosan megérezték, megértették, hogy milyen forradalmi munkát fog Ady Endre kiskirályságuk földjén végezni, mert alighogy megjelent máris köréje csoportosultak az ifju tudósok, modern politikusok, müvészek, szocialista munkások, diákok, akik már régóta s felkészülten várták a maguk emberét. A politikában ekkor kezdődött az oligarchia magyar urak évszázados kiváltságainak s konokul reakciós uralmi rendszerének céltudatos támadása. Ezidőben kezdett szervezetbe tömörülni minden progressiv erő s komoly harcaikba ekkor indultak el a szocialisták, s mikor felcsendülnek Ady sorai, hogy: Másképen lesz holnap, másképen lesz végre, Uj harcok, uj szemek kacagnak az égre . . ., akkor indul meg a magyar társadalom maig is duló harca, melynek zászlóvivője a multban és jövőben Ady Endre, volt és marad.

Párisból érkezése után csakhamar szoros barátságot köt a szocialistákkal. Kunfi Zsigmonddal hajnalokba nyuló, termékeny vitákat folytat. Jászi Oszkár legbensőbb barátjává lesz, a Társadalomtudományi Társaság és a Galilei Kör tagjaival pedig meghitten érintkezik és nagyra becsüli őket. Révész Béla, leghivebb barátja, a Népszava akkori munkatársa, kérésére rendszeresen kezdi küldeni proletárverseit a munkások lapjába, melyekért a pénztelen költő soha dijazást nem fogadott el. Pedig Párisból, Rómából, Mindszentről, szanatóriumokból, mindenünnen küldte verseit a Népszavának s többször irta meg leveleiben Révész Bélának, hogy "mindennél többrebecsülöm, ha a szocialisták szeretnek."

Megemlitésre méltó, hogy Ady Endrét még a szocialisták se fogadták egyhangu, teljes megértéssel. Uj szavait, szokatlan költői formáit, eleinte nem értették meg a munkásolvasók. Csizmadia Sándorral élükön hatalmas támadást intéztek a szerkesztőség ellen Ady Endre verseinek megjelentetéséért. Ady Endre pedig **"Küldöm a frigyládát"** cimü versében fejezte ki a proletáriátussal való elszakithatatlan testvériségét.

KÜLDÖM A FRIGY-LÁDÁT

Szivem küldöm, ez ó frigy-ládát
S kivánok harcos, jó napot.
Véreim, ti dübörgő ezrek,
Tagadjatok meg, mégis-mégis
Én a tiétek vagyok.

Kötésünket a Sors akarta,
Nem érdem, nem bün, nem erény;
Nem szükség, de nem is ravaszság:
Helóta nép, helóta költő,
Találkoztunk ti meg én.

Bennünk nagyságos erők várnak,
Hogy életre ébredjenek,
Bennünk egy szép ország rejtőzik,
Mint gim a fekete csalitban
S lesködnek a vérebek.

Ha nem láttok testvéreteknek,
Megsokasodnak a redők
Bus homlokomon és lelkem táján,
De még mindig ifjan állok meg
Bősz Judásaim előtt.

Még csak mártir-fényt sem akartam,
Csak amiről a Sors tehet:
Odaadni magamtól, szépen,
Ezt a nem kért, kicsufolt semmit,
Forradalmas lelkemet.

Tietek vagyok, mindegy most már,
Hogy nem kellek, vagy kellek-e.
Egy a Napunk, gyönyörü égen.
Jaj, hogy elfed a Naptól néha
A gonoszság fellege.

Pár év elmultával a magyar proletáriátus tisztában volt azzal, hogy mije-kije volt nekik Ady Endre. De addig is mig a megismerés teljessé válhatott a költő az egyszerüségért üvöltőknek megirta a Népszava gyermek mellékletében **A proletár fiu** versét, mellyel megmutatta a kiabálóknak, hogy az egyszerüség se jelent okvetlen bárgyuságot.

PROLETÁR FIU VERSE

Az én apám reggeltől estig
Izzadva lót-fut, robotol,
Az én apámnál nincs jobb ember,
Nincs, nincs sehol.

Az én apám kopott kabátu,
De nekem uj ruhát veszen
S beszél nekem egy szép jövőről
Szerelmesen.

Az én apám gazdagok foglya,
Bántják, megalázzák szegényt,
De estére elhozza hozzánk
A jó reményt.

Az én apám harcos, nagy ember,
Értünk ad gőgöt és erőt,
De önmagát meg nem alázza
A pénz előtt.

Az én apám bus, szegény ember,
De ha nem nézné a fiát,
Megállitaná ezt a nagy, földi
Komédiát.

Az én apám, ha nem akarná,
Nem volnának a gazdagok,
Olyan volna minden kis társam,
Mint én vagyok.

Az én apám, ha egyet szólna,
Hajh, megremegnének sokan,
Vigan annyian nem élnének
És boldogan.

Az én apám dolgozik és küzd,
Nála erősebb nincs talán,
Hatalmasabb a királynál is
Az én apám.

A magyar vidéki elmaradtságból a párisi világosság emelte ki Adyt. Zsenije mellett is szüksége volt az ottani elmélyedésre, hasonlitgatásokra. Páris után a francia szellemi és politikai élet hatásai alá került és következésképen radikális nézőpontból itélte meg szülőföldje adottságait. Ott értette meg igazán a magyar földeloszlás veszélyes problémáját, a magyar népnevelés elmaradt nyomoruságát, az alföldi tanyák tüdővésszel szántott közegészségét, a szavazati jogból kizárt nép politikai kiebrudaltságát, a magyar parlament reakciós és a mult intézményeinek minden áron való megtartását célzó uri bitangságát. Ady Endre lángész létére is épugy szerzett ismereteket, tudást, mint más közönséges ember: olvasott és tanult. Tanulmányai alapján Magyarország sivár jelenének jobbrafordulását egy szükség szerüen bekövetkező forradalommal elkerülhetetlennek hitte és tekintette. Az osztályharc tör utat irodalmi tevékenységébe s természetes, hogy az uralkodó osztályok és lakájaik mindent elkövetnek, hogy a kor és zseni hangja ne érje el az elnyomottak tömegeit. Ady Endre élete parancsának tartotta, hogy szembeszálljon az uri hatalmakkal pedig jól tudta, hogy:

Csak hazudni kéne mennyi minden jönne
Magyar eredménnyel, sikerrel özönbe
Már elhallgatni is milyen érdem volna
De vallani mindent: volt életem dolga.

S mikor a Pesten már körülrajongott költő a koaliciónak nevezett farsangtól szivből undorodva ismét elutazott Párisba, már tisztán látta a magyarság sorsát. “Hiszem és vallom — irta már 1907 tavaszán, — hogy a forradalmi megujulás kikerülhetetlen Magyarországon. Itt van már a csodálatos, áldott vihar az ő hirnökével, szent sirályaival. Társadalomban politikában még csak a nyugtalanság sikoltoz. De irodalomban már itt van a villámtüzes bizonyosság . . . És milyen nagyszerüek, szentek, rongyosak és mégis gazdagok az ujszándéku és ujlelkü emberek. Krisztus mindegyik az ő szomoru lelkességében. Áll azonban veszedelmesen minden ujulások elébe a kis rabló csapatokon kivül két nagy landsknecht had. Persze, hogy az egyik Rákosi Jenőéké. Ez a magyar erekbe ömlött sváb veszedelem. Ezek a Szent Imre kultusz s a nemzetközi küldökszemlélés lobogójával jöttek. S ugyanők azok, akik hüséges uradalmi ispánokként marasztalják a középkort. Irodalomban s müvészetben a programos és pogromos butitás a taktikájuk. A másik hadtest lóhus-puhitó, nyilas sereg és veszedelemnek komolyabb. Tóth Bélának az akkori Pesti Hirlap főfajmagyarkodó lóhuspuhitójának, azt üzeni e cikkében: “Annyi magyarságról sohse álmodtak sehol, amennyit az én ezeréves, kisnemes, mindig parasztokkal és vajmi sokszor parasztokként élő familiám megőrzött és az én egyéniségemben lelkem kifejezett."

E rövid előadás keretében nem terjeszkedhetem ki bővebben a háborut megelőző évekre. Ady Endre maga öszszegezi a Szocializmus cimü tudományos folyóiratban, az akkori idők állapotát. Hadd idézzem a következő részletet: "Ez az uj forradalom, mely egyelőre csak nyugtalan fejek és idegrendszerek irodalmi csetepatéival jelenti be magát, komoly forradalom lesz . . . Örülök, hogy én irhatom meg véletlenül legelőször, de mindenesetre legnyiltabban, hogy az egész uj, mai irodalmi kalamajka sohse lett volna meg a szocializmus magyar fölnevekedése nélkül. Gazdaságilag a legokosabb isten se tudná, mikor szabadit fel bennünket a szocializmus, de a lelkeinket kezdi már szabadokká tenni . . . Ez az uj irodalom, ha messziről s feudális vagy polgári szemekben nem is tetszik szocialistáknak, a szocializmus által, a szocializmus révén van. Egy bizonyos és ezt már e néhány sor irója is érzi és éli: ez az irodalmi háboru gyermeke a szociális háborunak — hiszen épen ezért félnek ugy tőle . . ."

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Ugorjuk hát át a béke vihart sürítő éveit és figyeljünk vissza arra a szarajevői revolverlövésre, mely a Nagy Lerongyosodás lavináját elinditotta. A költő Jászi Oszkárral és Biró Lajossal ép akkor volt menőben egy szatmári választási agitációs utra. Egy nagyváradi terraszon érte őket a vészhir a rónörökös pár meggyilkolásáról s feleségéhez irt levelében irja: "Minket, Jászit, Birót és engem a szó szoros értelmében megrikatott a trónörökösék drámája, képzelheted, milyen exaltáltan utaztam." A rákövetkező napokban Ady elborult, szótlan, ideges, lázas beteg lett. De azért a gyorsan pergő eseményeket remegve figyeli. A nagy francia szocialista Jean Jaurés meggyilkoltatásának hallatára igy zokog fel:

Fáj a szivem s nehéz üzennem
És mindeneket meg nem mondhatok
De nagy halott, ölt testvérem bennem
Ugy él, mint a Gondolat igaza.

Tudjuk, hogy mialatt a vértenger egyre dagadt, Ady Endre kinban, lázban irta meg hatalmasabbnál-hatalmasabb lázongó, sejtő, vérző, prófétás verseit. 1917-ben végre forradalomba megy az orosz nép. Nyomában megmozdul minden hadviselő ország munkássága. Ady Endrére végtelenül hatottak a reményes, izzó hetek, de mikor a Kerensky kormány a háboru folytatását határozta el, mikor a pár hétre elülő Téboly uj erőre kap; s mikor az Osztrák Magyar Monarchia feldarabolása először jelenik meg pozitiv formában, mint az entente egyik legfontosabb hadi célja, akkor irta meg a régi megsejtéseit bekövetkezni látó Ady egyik legnagyobb háborus versét:

EGY NAGY TIVORNYÁN

Teritve a Föld: lakni tessék,
Tombolj, Világ, most szabadult el
Pokloknak minden pokla rajtad,
Ha akartad vagy nem akartad,
Hollókkal és kóbor kutyákkal
Kész a lakoma, kész az egység.

Véres bor koponya-pohárban,
Hajtsd föl, Világ, idd ki fenékig,
Idd ki hősiesen és bátran:
Most már mindegy, most rohanj végig,
Végig a Téboly zöld-vér-utján.

S Téboly, most már ne szemérmeskedj,
Szakadnak a vásznak, szakadnak.
Eljött az álmodt minden-mindegy,
Esküdjünk a mindent-szabadnak,
Bőrünk ugyis ördögök bőre:
Lakomázzunk s aztán — előre.

Ha tivornya, legyen tivornya,
Olyan mindegy, élni, nem élni
S gyáva-e az ember vagy hérosz,
Olyan mindegy: van-e tán még rossz
S van-e még tán megbecsülendő?

Herold-csizmám egy kicsit sáros,
De jövök vigság-hirdetéssel:
Ordits, kapu és kiálts, város,
Kárhozzatok, most van a napja
S akinek van még virradatja,
Ne haljon meg kárhozás nélkül.

Egész világ szőttje kibomlott,
S én egy nyomorék fonál hurkán
Még mindig csak bénán zsibongok?
Mit törődjünk elmultak voltján?
Teritve a Föld, lakni tessék:
Éljünk dögig e nagy tivornyán.

De ki hallja meg a kétségbeesett próféta szavát mikor az ágyuk dörögnek. Ujabb halálszerszámok feketednek a fronton, amikor Amerika is átmegy a harctérre. Husz millió ember még nagyobb intenzivitással tépi-öli egymást, levegőben, vizben, lövészárkokban.

Már csufja minden állatoknak
Isten hires sarja az Ember
Még mélyebb Pokol, még több Nincsen
S a próféták is csak makognak.
Ezt add Hires, ezt add, Te Isten.

Az ujabb rettenetek között fizikuma vészesen gyengül. Idegileg még jobban leromlik, félelmetes álmatlanságban és étvágytalanságban szenved. A test és lélek ernyedni kezd, szerveinek funkciói akadoznak, kihagynak. De ösztönös, jövőbe látó szemekkel, még ebben az állapotában is, hetekkel előre érzi és invokálja a közelgő forradalmat:

ELÉGEDETLEN IFJU PANASZA

Páris, Peking . . . London vagy Róma?
Be unalmas város ez a Föld,
Egyazon város és falu: semmi.
Már menni
Sehova se érdemes:
Valami más,
Valami nagy riadal vóna.

Ki birja még e szürkeséget,
Ki hazugokat tündököl?
Már jöjj, ököl:
Boruljon föl e nem jó Élet
S jöjjön a Halál, e nagy orvos,
S a Halál után ébredések,
Borzalmak,
S jöjjön valami más,
Óh forradalmak, miért késtek?

Vér, vér, vér,
Be meg fog szépülni az Ember,
Ha vérben jól megmosdik egyszer
S be megjavul.
Óh jöjj, trombitás angyaloddal,
Föltámadás,
Óh, jöjj milliónyi hadakkal.
S ifjitsd meg ezt az unalmas
Golyóbist,
Jöjjön a megváltó fegyver,
Amen.

Részére nem volt a forradalom se aggodalom, se meglepetés; egész élete, tiz kötete hirdette annak eljövetelét. A nincstelen paraszt sorsa fáj neki a legkeservesebben és 1914-ben irta e versét:

EGYSZER VOLT CSAK

Egyszer volt itt lakodalom,
Nagy, igazi lakodalom,
Mikor ez ország vőlegénye
Dózsa György volt
S egy-egy hős tavaszon-hajnalon
Ezer helyütt lángolt öröm-tüz.

Egyszer volt vulkán ez a föld,
Erő és láva ez a föld,
Mikor a harag, bosszu és cél
Összeállott
S itéletes viharba tört
S Dózsák, nem császárkák, üzentek.

Egyszer volt itt a Hit merő,
Moldvától Rómáig merő,
Mikor becsülettel és irtva
Támadt, végzett
Minden becsületes erő
Hurkot tépve, csóvákat vetve.

Egyszer volt itt a Sors kegyes,
Bukásban is nagy és kegyes,
Mert azt üzentük a világnak,
Mit ma kéne
S mit azóta nem érdemes,
Mert holt vulkán a régi vulkán.

Egyszer volt itt forradalom,
Hites, igaz forradalom,
Rendet, igazságot csináló,
De Dózsákkal
S azon a hősi hajnalon,
Mikor gőgösen nem alkudtunk.

Egyszer volt itt egy kis remény,
De véres és tüzes remény.
Jönnie kell uj Dózsa Györgynek
S fog is jönni.
Jaj, félek, meg nem érem én,
S ti se, drága, csüggedt bajtársak.

Addig irogatta, addig jósolgatta a magyar katasztrófát mig nem elkövetkezett. Dózsa szivvel fogadta Októbert s a földreform tervezetről az volt a vélemény, hogy KEVÉS.

Október utolsó napjaiban, betegen, elgyötörten ment fel Csucsáról Pestre. Állapota a lakásához kötötte, mégis lázas figyelemmel kisérte, hogy vonul a pesti ucca százezres tömege a Bécsből visszatérő Károlyi Mihály fogadására. A Nemzeti Tanács kiáltványban fordult a néphez és költőnknek a második pont tetszett legjobban, mely arról szólt, hogy "nagyszabásu, népet földhöz juttató, birtok és szociálpolitikai reformokkal kell az elnyomottak életsorsát javitani.

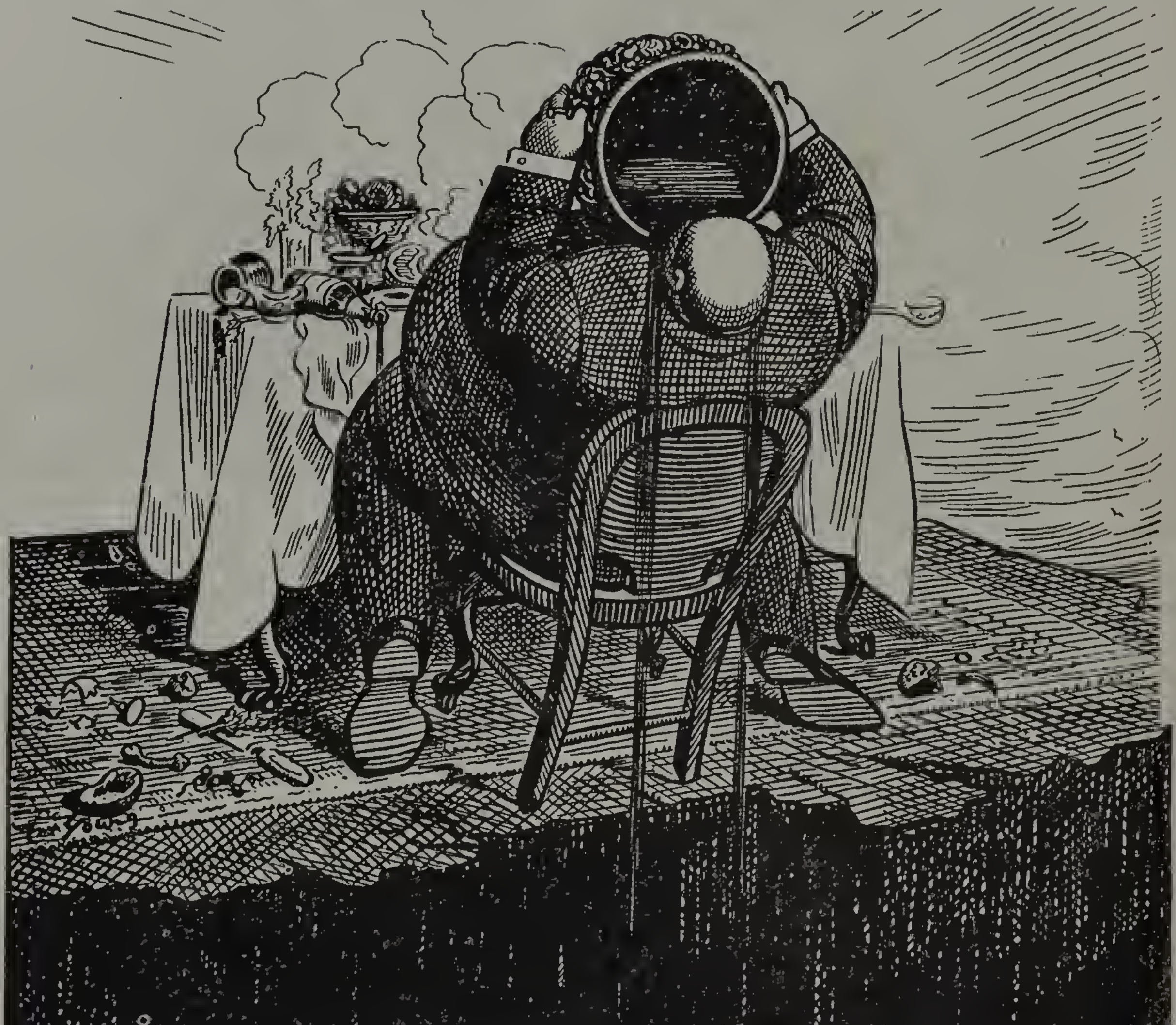
Megtörtént, hogy a Térparancsnokságot ostromló tömeg meglátta a szomszédházban lakó Ady Endrét, aki az erkélyről nézta a katonaság felvonulását. Ujjongó üdvözlés és virágok emelkedtek a költő felé, akit hosszan és mámorosan éljenzett a nép. Könynyekig meghatotta öt az ujszavu ünneplés.

Az előző napokban alig mozdult ki a szobájából, de a Forradalom napján kivánta az uccát s elvegyülést a nép közzé. Felvonszolta magát az Astoriába, onnan a városházára s amerre jár mindenütt lelkesen ünneplik. Az izzó események minden részlete érdekli. A forradalmi események rohanó árja idegzetét még fokozottabban teszi próbára s a sors rendelése szerint végleg megroskad az irtó terhektől.

A forradalom első napjaiban szélhüdés éri. Dadogva tud csak beszélni és ez állapotán az orvosi tudomány nem tud többé segiteni. De még igy is részt kér a forradalom dicsőségéből és kivánja a szereplést. Reklamálja a látogatókat és dolgozni akar a forradalomért. Ebben a bénuló-dacoló helyzetben kereste fel Ignotus s arra kérte a költőt, hogy irna egy alkalmi verset. Az összeomló, dadógó Ady Endrét izgalom kinozta, hogy szellemi megrokkanásának is hire terjed és teljesitette Ignotus kivánságát. Megakarta neki mutatni, hogy ő még mindig a régi Ady Endre s kikelve betegágyából reszkető kezekkel irta meg:

ÜDVÖZLET A GYŐZŐNEK

Ne tapossatok rajta nagyon,
Ne tiporjatok rajta nagyon,



A tőkés dözsölése a bérmunkás munkája után.

Vér-vesztes, szegény szép szivünkön,
Ki, ime, száguldani akar.

Baljóslatu, bus nép a magyar.
Forradalomban élt s ránk hozták
Gyógyitónak a Háborut, a Rémet
Sirjukban is megátkozott gazok.

Tompán zugnak a kaszárnyáink,
Óh, mennyi vérrel emlékezők,
Óh, szörnyü gyászoló kripták,
Ravatal előttetek, ravatal.

Mi voltunk a földnek bolondja,
Elhasznált szegény magyarok,
És most jöjjetek, győztesek:
Üdvözlet a győzőnek.

A győzők nem hallgattak a kuszairású költő esdeklő-prófétás könyörgésére, melynek ákombákomos kéziratát sehogyse akarta a kezéből kiadni. Mikor a látogatóban nála járó Móricz Zsigmond, aki talán arra gondolt, hogy ez lesz a költő legutolsó üzenete, arra kérte Adyt, hogy adja neki a kéziratot: Ady ránézett könnyező barátjára, arcán megvillant egy értő, szomoru mosoly, a verset összetépte és tüzbe dobta. Élete utolsó nagyverse Csinszka másolatában került a nyomdába.

Még e szörnyü testi-lelki összetörtségében is szinte óráról-órára várta a hireket. S mikor az Aradról visszatérő Jászi Oszkártól megtudta, hogy nemzetiségi politkáját kudarc érte; Ady Endre sirva fakadt és azt zokogta: Késő, késő, későn történt . . .

A köztársaságot november 15-én kiáltották ki. Ady Endre ott akart lenni a kikiáltáson és kikelve betegágyából el is ment arra. Hatvany Lajos igy irja meg a költő megjelenését:

"A kupola teremben álltam a dobogón, a Nemzeti Tanács küldöttei között, amikor körültekintek s a terem egyik sarkában egy oszlop alján látom ülni Ady Endrét. Az emberek, a forradalom résztvevői, még a legjelesebbek, a vezérek is csak törpék, tünetek. A szellem, a lényeg, a démon, a rendeltetés itt ül. Milyen gyönyörü, megkapó, arc. Ahogy intek neki, felismer, vissza int felém. A ceremónia után beszélni akarok vele, de röstelli, hogy dadog, a nyilvánosság előtt nem akar igy beszélni. "De mégis elment, hogy lássák öt, hogy le ne maradjon az eseményről, hogy ne mellőzzék."

Három nappal később a Nemzeti Tanács és a kormány elhatározta, hogy együttes deputációt küldenek Ady Endre lakására egy müvészi album alakjában elkészitett hódoló irat átadására. Hat órára tüzték ki a tisztelgést és a Költőt Hajnal Jenő ujságiró utján értesitették, hogy küldöttség fogja felkeresni. Ady Endre sápadtsárga arca kitüzesedett s büszke öröm fogta el. Felesége segitségével feketébe öltözött. Aztán Hajnal Jenő emlékeztette, hogy jó volna megirni előre a választ, amit a tisztelgőknek mondani fog. Ady papirost, ceruzát kért s odaült iróasztalához, hogy válaszbeszédét megfogalmazza.

Révész Béla legkitünőbb és ma este sokszor felhasznált Ady könyvéből szószerint idézem az ezután történteket.

"Ült a papiros előtt, melyre ráirta az első szót:

— Dadogva . . .

Az első percekben derülten, mosolyogva ült Ady Endre az iróasztal mellett, gyönyörü szemeit a magaságba emelte, GONDOLKOZOTT, PERCEKEN ÁT IGY révült az ötletért, gondolatért, aztán lehajtotta a fejét és a leirt szónak valóságával eldadogta:

— Nem megy . . . Nem megy . . .

Fészkelődött, felizgult és rászólt Csinszkára:

— Ülj le, te, ide, majd diktálok . . .

Ady fölkelt az asztal mellől. Csinszka leült, Ady gondolkozott, földultan kereste a mondani valóját, egy szót még kiszakitott magából:

— . . . gyáván . . .

és füldultan kimondta a legkeservesebbet:

— Nem tudom . . .

Percek mulva érkeznie kellett a küldöttségnek, Ady megtörten tétlenkedett, mignem a mentő, siralmas ötlettel fordult az ujságiróhoz:

— Ird meg, te, helyettem . . .

Hajnal Jenő imádta Ady Endrét és persze, hogy megrettent a feladattól, de Ady ránézett, könyörgött, ismételten unszolta, biztatta fiatal hivét, a helyzet olyan volt, hogy az ünnep zavartalanságáért valamiképen el kellett takarni Ady szerencsétlenségét és Hajnal Jenő rászánta magát a szentül való-csaló kegyességre. A könyvszekrényhez ment, kiemelte onnan "A halottak élén"-t, föllapozta a könyvet, a grandiózus vers állott előtte:

"Ember az Embertelenségben" . . .

A próbára kiszemelt Hajnal Jenő odairta Ady Endre két szava mellé a többit, ugy, amint itt következnek:

"Dadogva, gyáván, de mégis némi büszkeséggel mondok köszönetet Önöknek, a forradalmi magyar nemzet tanácsának, aki eljött a költőhöz.

Betegen és meghatottan, hálásan szorongatom a felém nyujtott kezeket. Dadogva, mert életemben sokat kiabáltam, — dadogva is mondom, milyen jól esik nekem, ez a mindennél nagyobb kitüntetés. Ugy érzem, hogy való és bekövetkezett az én forradalmam."

A mentő sorok elkészültek és Hajnal Jenő rájuk emelte a fellapozott versből a koronát:

Ékes magyarnak soha szebbet
Száz menny és pokol nem adhatott,
Ember az embertelenségben,
Magyar ez üzött magyartalanságban,
Ujból élő és makacs halott . . .

Csöngettek.

A küldöttség megérkezett. Hat óra este volt, minden csillár égett a deputánsok félkör alakban körülfogták az álló Ady Endrét és Hock János elmondta üdvözlő beszédét. Hock értett az előadáshoz és amit mondott, áhitattal emelte a hangulatot.

Ady kigyultan hallgatta az orációt, fölemelte sápadt arcát, igy maradt a szónoklat végéig, fénylő szemei leárulták az értő, nagy megindulást.

A beszéd elhangzott, éljenzés-taps a nyomán, templomi csönd, Ady Endre kezében a papiros, a válaszát várják.

A tragédia megmutatja magát . . .

Ady kezébe vette a papirost és megkisérelte felolvasni a szöveget.

Első szava már eltörik . . . dadog . . . nem mozdul a szó, nem megy a beszéd.

A fájdalmas élménytől valamenynyien megrendültek.

Hatvany Lajos, Ady háta mögött a vállára hajolt és helyette felolvasta a választ.

Ady elnémultan nem ellenkezett, elfogadta szegény, hogy helyette irják, elmondják a beszédet . . .

*

A forradalom vihara süvitett tovább . . . Ady Endre egyre üszkösödő nagy alakja pedig egyre fogyóbb erővel mendegélt a magyar Parthenon legmagasabb csucsai felé. Onnan néz le a mostba, mely még mindig forradalmas folytatása annak, ami Ady Endre életében elkezdődött.

Egyszer majd vége lesz annak is örökre. Hittel hisszük, hogy az uj nemzedék megértéssel olvassa el a következő sorokat.

TÁVOLRÓL A MOSTBA

Ugy ötven évről nézhetni a Mostra.
Be boldog lesz, ki majd megmosolyogja
Vergődő, zürös, mai életünket
S ugy látja, ahogy látni kellene:

Feltörni indult, tébolyos zene,
Lelkek nagy csődje, jövők szomjusága.
Be boldog lesz, ki majd messziről látja
S szól majd felőlünk bölcsen, hidegen.

De ma szenvedünk mind-mind idelenn,
Magyarul pláne még különösebben,
Ki több jóságban, ki több őrületben,
De élni semmiképpen sem vidám.

Hát eloldalak, béklyós paripám,
Szaladj bele a meg nem ért Jövőbe:
Ugy fáj a Most és én ugy fájok tőle.
Be jó volna visszatekinteni,

Ugy ötven évről nézhetni a Mostba.

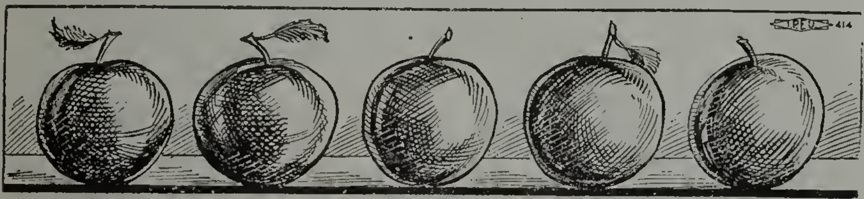
FORRÁSOK:

Révész Béla: Ady életéről.
Révész Béla: Ady tragédiája I-II. kötet.
Hatvany Lajos: Ady a kortársak között.
Ady összes versei: Atheneum kiadás.

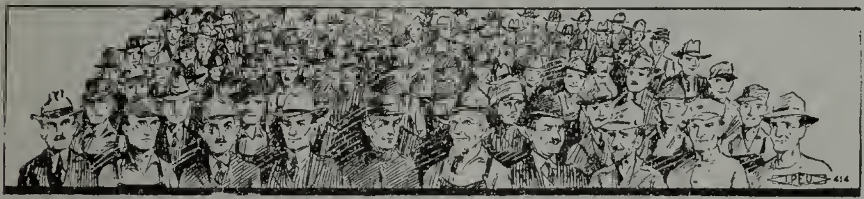
Az alkoholnak káros hatása

Egy kis gyüjtemény orvosi
és iskolai könyvekből.
Összerakta: BULIK M.-NÉ.

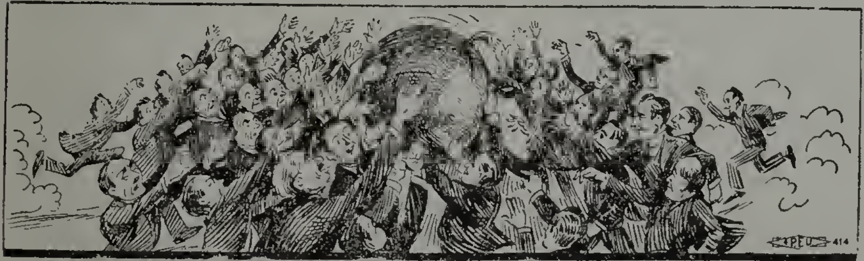
MÁR a régi görög korban az értelmesebb emberek észre vették az alkoholnak káros hatásait, s szigoruan tiltották a nemzést akkor, ha egyik vagy másik fél ittas állapotban volt. Hogy a tilalmat szigoruan ellenőrizhessék, megbiztak embereket, kiknek az volt a teendőjük, hogy mikor egy csecsemő született, azt megvizsgálták, hogy elég erős vagy egészséges-e. Ha a csecsemőt gyöngének találták kivitték azt a hegyre és ott hagyták éhen pusztulnia. Ezt azért tették, hogy erős és egészséges fajt neveljen a görög nép.



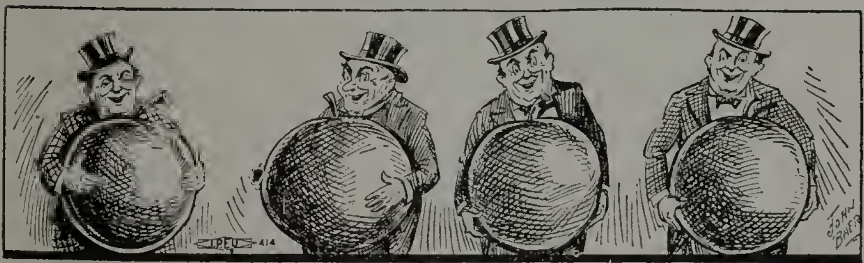
Az Egyesült Államok "nemzeti" vagyonát képviseli ez az öt alma.



Ezek képviselik az Egyesült Államok népességét.



A népesség 96 százalékának egyetlen alma jut és —



A négy almát pedig négy dusgazdag család kaparintja magához. A bérmunkások szervezett erejétől függ, hogy ezt a négy almát is megszerezze.

A régi görögök ilyen formán ellenőrizték a faj egészségét. A mai civilizált emberiség közt, a nagyobb többség, nem akarja észre venni, hogy az alkohol mily rettenetes pusztitást visz véghez az emberek közt.

Itas állapotban megfogamzott embrio mikor megszülik vizfejü vagy angolkóros. Ha a nő terhes állapotban alkoholt fogyaszt, az nagy kárára van a magzatra, mert az alkohol a magzatból azt a tartalmat kiveszi, mely az erejét képezi. Az ilyen csecsemő mikor megszülik nagyon gyönge szervezetü. Hajlamos mindenféle betegségre. Szivük gyönge, s a legkisebb megerőltetés szivbajt idéz elő náluk.

Magyarországon egy családot volt alkalmam több éven keresztül meg figyelni, hol az asszony nagyban fogyasztott alkoholt. Mikor gyermeket szült, azok mindig orr nélkül, meg egy darab az ajkról hiányzott. Az első gyerek a szülés után majdnem egy hónapig élt. A másik egy hétig, mig a harmadik csak néhány órát élt. Az első gyerek mikor megszületett annak még volt egy darabja az orrból, mig a harmadiknak se orr, se ajk nem volt. Elhajtotta az alkohol. Ugyanilyen csecsemő született itt Harvey, Ill.-ban egy lengyel származásu nőtől, ki beismerte, hogy terhes állapotban nagyban fogyasztott alkoholt. A gyerek itt is meghalt.

Az alkohol nem csak az embrióból veszi ki az erőt, hanem a felnőttekből is. Az orvosi kisérletezés folytán, mikor az emberi csontot spirituszba bizonyos ideig áztatták, olyan puhává vált, mint a gummi, hogy csombékot kötöttek vele.

A gyerek elhalálozás az alkoholt fogyasztó szülőknél mindig nagyobb, mint az alkohol elleneseknél. Az Egyesült Államok kimutatása szerint az 1848 évi kolera járvány alatt az alkohol fogyasztoktól a járvány elvitt 92 százalékát, mig az alkoholt nem fogyasztóktól csak 18 százalékot.

Az alkohol fogyasztó gyermek szellemileg gyönge

California államban az egyik iskolában megfigyelték a gyerekeket. Azt tapasztalták, hogy azok a gyerekek, kik néha alkoholt fogyasztottak, szellemileg gyöngék és a tanulás nehezükre esik. Valamennyien egy két évet visszaestek — megbuktak. Mig ellenben azoknál a gyerekeknél, kik alkohol helyett tejet fogyasztottak a tanulás nagyon könnyen ment. Ugyan ilyen megfigyelés történt Bécsben (Ausztriában, hol a tanulók sört fogyasztottak. Ott bebizonyitották az orvosok, hogy milyen hibát követnek el azok a szülők, kik ebéd vagy vacsora után sört kinálnak a gyermekeknek, hogy az megkövéredjen. A sör nem kövériti a gyereket csak a bőrét fölfujja. Bár a sör csak 12 százalékos alkoholt tartalmaz mégis gyöngiti szellemileg a gyereket. Mert az alkohol némileg elaltatja az agyvelőt, s ez által a tanulónak a tanulás nehezére esik.

Svédországban, a katonai körökben, megfigyelték az itas katonákat. Rájöttek arra, hogy tüzelés közben, csak minden hatodik vagy nyolcadik golyó talál célt.

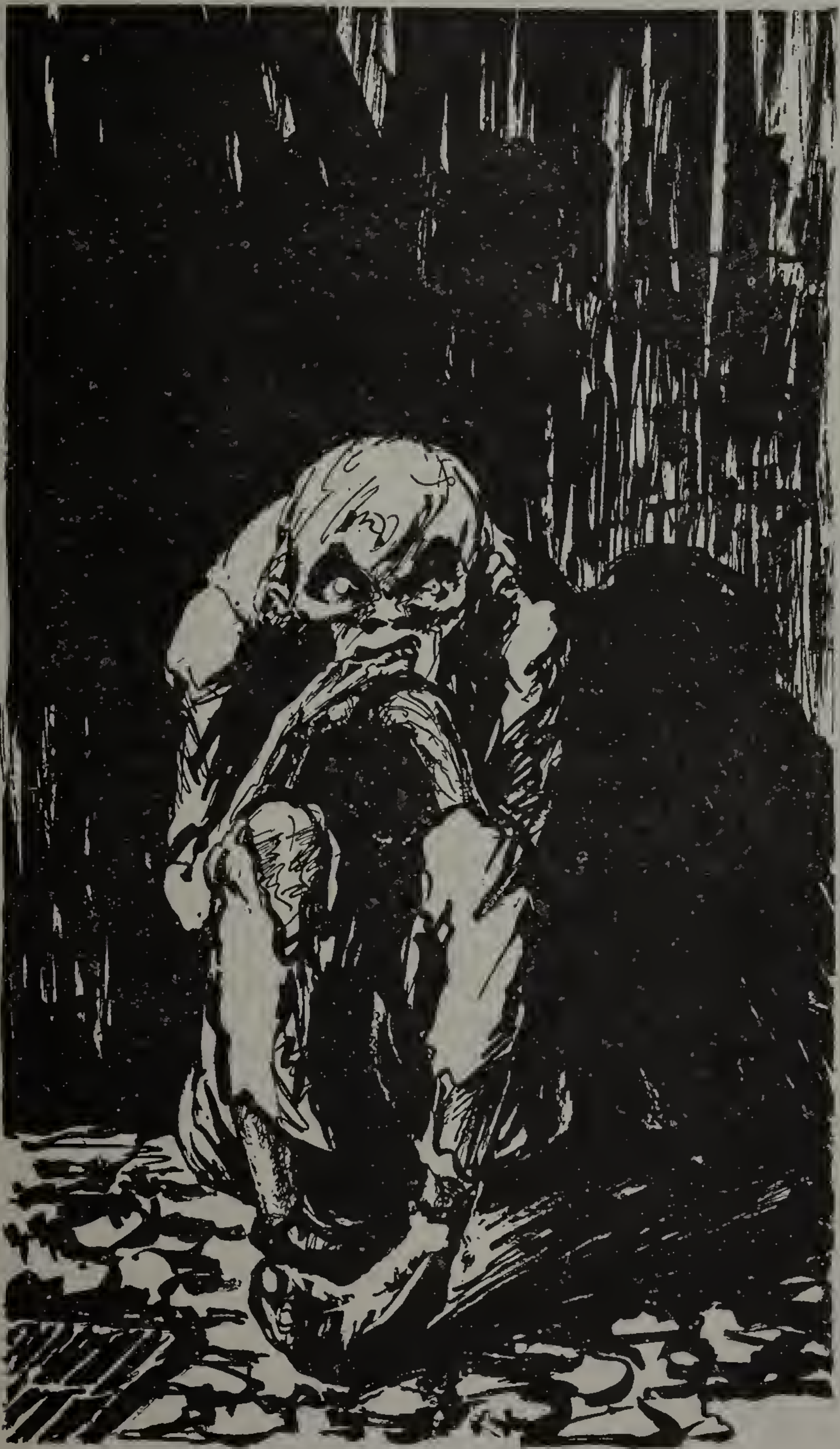
Boston városban, Massachusetts államban egy rendőrt az orvosok megfigyelték, ki az italt nagyban fogyasztotta. Az ő gyermekeinél azt vették észre, hogy az első gyermekük okos volt, a többi gyönge elméjü, mig a nyolcadik gyerek egész hülye. A gyerekek azért születtek mindig gyöngébb gondolkodással, mert a rendőr apa mindig nagyobb mértékben fogyasztotta az italt és testét az alkohol teljesen elmérgezte. Mérges vérét átadta gyermekeinek.

Ilyen hülye gyerekeket nagyon sokat lehet látni, kik az alkohol bélyegét egész életükön keresztül magukkal kell, hogy hordják s a város vagy a falu bolondját, kell, hogy adják, csak azért, mert az anyának vagy apának, jól esett, hogy az alkohol csiklandozza a torkát. Vannak családok, kik sokszor több generáción át viszik az alkoholtól elmérgezett vért.

Az alkohol gátolja a gyereket a növésben

Azok a gyerekek, kik az alkoholt nagyban fogyasztják a növésre kicsinyek. Arcuk sápadt és öreges. Természetük durva. Egy ilyen gyereket láttam Slovensko egyik falujábban. Mikor a faluba tértem egy gyerek hang megütötte a fülemet, mely azt mondta tótul; ne igyál te, adjál nekem is. Oda nézek, hát látom, hogy egy tót nyelvü család ül a ház előtt és pálinkát fogyasztanak. Az anyának az ölében egy öreges arcu gyerek ült, mely termetre nem volt nagyobb nővésü, mint a husz vagy 24 hónapos gyerek. És ez a gyerek volt az, kinek hangjára fölfigyeltem. Hozzájuk megyek s megkérdezem a gyereket, hogy mi a neve. Tisztán kiejtette; hogy Józsi a nevem. A gyerek nekem nagyon megtetszett, hogy olyan tisztán tud beszélni. Mikor az időm megengedte megint legyalogoltam a faluba, hogy meglátogassam a gyereket. De akkor ugy határoztam, hogy cukorkát viszek neki. Betérek a házba és néven szólitom, hogy jöjjön hozzám. És az anyja azt mondja, hogy ő még nem tud járni. Hozzája megyek és megnézem a lábait, melyek ijesztő vékonyak meg görbék voltak. Át nyujtom a gyereknek a cukrot. A gyerek utána nyul és nagy meglepésemre, egész erővel a földhöz vágja és azt mondja: máskor hozzál nekem pálinkát, nem cukorkákat. Én az anyához fordulok és megkérdezem tőle, hogy hány éves. Ő azt mondja, hogy hat éves lesz. Erre én meghökkentem, hogy szóhoz sem tudtam jutni. Elköszöntem és többé feléjük sem néztem. Hat hónap elteltével egy heti vásáron, hallom, hogy valaki utánam szól. Megállok és látom, hogy annak az eltorzult gyereknek az anyja. Tudatja velem sirva, hogy Józsika már meghalt. Megölte a pálinka. Én meg fiatal lánykoromra, jobbnak találtam, hogy meg halt, sem mint torzként éljen.

Egy másik alkalomkor egy fehér kis kutyát láttam, egy csapat fiuval. Ez a vézna kis kutya mindent, ami a foga alá ért széjjel szakitott és rettenetesen vonitott. Hasonlitott a veszett kutyához. Hozzájuk megyek és figyelmeztettem a fiukat, hogy legjobb lesz, ha vigyáznak, mert ez a kutya meg van veszve. Az egyik gyerek arra egész nyugodtan azt mondja; hogy annak a kutyának nincs semmi baja. Csak pálinka után vágyódik — amiért egy fiut el is küldtünk. Ott maradtam, mig a gyerek eljött a tállal és benne egy kis pálinka. Mikor a kutya azt megitta lecsöndesedett. Én meg megkérdeztem a fiukat, hogy miért szoktatták meg a kutyát pálinkára. Erre azt mondta az egyik, hogy próbára akartuk tenni, hogy csak ugyan igaza van a tanitónak, hogy az alkohol vissza tartja a gyereket a növésben. És én kérdeztem, hogy meggyőződtek-e? Arra azt válaszolták, hogy igen. Ez a kis virgonc kinézésü kutya már teljesen ki


A szervezetlen munkás jutalma öregségére.

van nőve. Holott az apja meg az anyja rendes erős kutyák. És az udvarról mindjárt elő is hozták őket, hogy lássam. Az a kis kutya még a fele sem volt az apjának vagy anyjának.

Az itas állapotu egyén olyas valamit cselekszik, amit józan állapotban képtelen volna megtenni.

A University of Chicagoban kipróbálták a diákokon, hogy mikor végeznek több munkát. Itas vagy józan állapotban. Mikor az idő letelt azt vették észre a megfigyelők, hogy a mámoros diákok sokkal több munkát végeznek. Voltak diákok, kik majdnem kétszer annyi munkát elvégeztek, mint józan állapotban lettek volna képesek. Ez azért van, mert az alkohol elaltatja azt a részt az agyvelőben, mely tudtára adja a testnek, hogy az fáradt. Igy a fáradtságot nem érzi és tovább dolgozik.

Nagyon sokszor hallottam már, hogy azt mondják, ha fáradt vagyok, beveszek egy kis italt és mindjárt jobban érzem magamat. Az nem igaz. Mert a test éppen olyan fáradt mint előbb volt, csak az agyvelő nem tudja neki tudtára adni, mert az alkohol gáltolja azt.

Itas állapotban az emberek nagyon sok hibát követnek el. Mert vannak egyének, kik mikor mámorosak nem tudják, hogy mit csinálnak. Ilyen emberek már nagyon sokszor végeztek gyilkolást. Egy ilyen eset történt Magyarországon, mikor egy fiatal férj fejszével agyon vágta a feleségét, kit nagyon szeretett. Mikor kialudta magát, nem tudta, hogy miért van a börtönben. Mikor megmondták neki, elkeseredésében öngyilkosságot akart elkövetni. Egy másik ilyen esetet hallottam, mikor a férj kijózanodott és látta, hogy a kis vagyonát, a néhány butor darabot, hogy összevagdalta, a fejét többször a szoba falához ütötte mérgiben, természetesen nem halt bele.

Végeredményben, ha az alkoholnak káros hatásait megtudjuk, akkor mi hálásak vagyunk ama orvosoknak, kik az ők tudományaikkal csak jót akarnak tenni az emberiségnek. De ha a másik oldalát megfigyeljük, akkor azt vesszük észre, hogy a mai kapitalista társadalomban, nem olyan könnyü dolog az orvosok tanácsát betartani. Nagyon sok ember azért iszik, mert olyan nehéz munkát végez, mit józan ésszel képtelen volna elvégezni. Mások meg azért isznak, hogy az éhséget, nyomort

VISSZATÉRŐD NINCSEN

Ember! te kergült balga Ember,
azt hiszed, keresztjáró utad véget ért?
A fájdalmak, gyötrelmek, rabláncod csörgése,
a sebek, mit Élet-bitorló uraid vájnak testedbe,
nem kényszeritenek még mindig a helyes utadra?

Ember! ha egyszer látnád magad,
ha egyszer önnönmagadra néznél:
sirnál, mint ahogy én sirok!

Ember! mondd, Ember vagy te?
Nem látod az utat, mely előtted huzódik,
mely könyörög, hiv, csalogat: előre,
sem viharod nincs, mely felkorbácsolná véred,
éhen-szomjan huzod az élet-hajóját.

Vagy azt hiszed talán,
könyörületes lesz majd a halál
és eltörli szenvedéseidet?
Hiszen ha te el is mulsz,
némán, szótlan dőlsz majd siri-ágyadra,
nem gondolsz arra, utánad évezredek Embere jön?
nyugodtan pihenhetsz-e majd a sirban,
ha fölötted gyermeked rablánca csörög?

Nézz magadra! én nem tudom minek nevezzelek!
csontváz vagy, szemeden könnycseppek tengere,
ha ajkadat jajszó hagyja el néha.
jajszó, mit sebeid csikarnak ki belőled,
mely tép, mely kinoz, mely gyötör:
senki, nincs senki, ki meghallgatna.

És még mindig nem lázadsz?
Mi tart torkon ragadva,
hogy egy tiltó szavad sincs bitorlóid ellen?
félsz? . . . mit veszthetsz?
Vagy bitófa lesz osztályrészed,

vagy elkeseredést néhány órára elfelejtsék.

A fönti cselekvésekkel a munkás osztály nem megyen messzire. Mert ama bünökért a mai kapitalista rendszer a hibás, mely csak nyomort és szenvedést ad annak a munkás népnek, mely az iparokat olyan magas fokra kiépitette.

Az orvosi tudományt csak akkor fogják tudni érvényesiteni a munkások, ha majd arra a tudatra ébrednek, hogy szervezkedniök kell az IWW szervezetbe, mely szervezet erejével kiépitik az ipari társadalmat, hol minden ember egyformán fogja élvezni a munka gyümölcsét.

De azért ajánlatosnak tartom, hogy fékezzük magunkat a mennyire lehet, az alkohol ivásban. Ha poharat emelünk egészségünkre, akkor nem a magunkéra, hanem annak az alkohol gyártónak, vagy ha magunk készitünk, akkor a gyümölcs kereskedőnek, mert azok profitot préselnek rajta. Mig ellenben az aki issza, az agyvelejét gyöngiti. Az alkohol ivással hadat üzenünk ama várnak (a koponyának) és ama vár urnak (az agyvelőnek), mely az életünket vezényeli és tudatja velünk, hogy hol fáj és melyik testrészünk fárad.

EDE EMIL

vagy szenvedésed és nyomorodat hagyod hátra!
. . . Mi kedves néked e gigászi küzdelemben?

Ember! nevezzelek Embernek?
Hiszen szádon a szó elveszett,
megtagadtad önnönmagad
és lemondón, Ember! lemondón állsz
türve és mitsem bánva egy hamis itélőszék előtt.

Pedig Ember vigyázz, visszatérőd nincsen!
Nincs szánalom, kegyelem, ereidet orgyilkosok metszik,
bitót állitanak, Krisztust nyomnak az orrod elé,
hogy sorsod sorsával egyenlő, mondják:
látod, ő is szenvedett és meghalt.
. . . Hát az Élet-joga csupán az övék?
Mondom Ember! visszatérőd nincs a keresztről!

A fájdalmad napról-napra nő, készül a Dózsa-trón,
milliók kárhoznak minden elveszett percért,
minden eltitkolt fájdalmad: milliók fájdalma,
minden lánc-szem csörgése millió testvért gyilkol,
minden elhullott vércsepp kárba vész: balgaságodon.

Ember! mondom visszatérőd nincs! egy a menhelyed:
büszkén, felemelt fővel nemet mondani.
Hiszen Ember vagy, ha karod csak egyet sujt:
gyémántos trónok hullnak a porba;
eltörpül előtted minden, mit most balgán hiszel,
ami nyügöz, halottá varázsol és vérzel alatta.

Csak egy hangot hallj meg, hangot,
mely tüzel, mely lázit az igaz felé,
s mutatja gyehennából az utat a boldogság felé.
Csak egyszer mondjad: Elég volt! és a varázs-ige száll,
megnyilnak előtted a mindenség kapui
és ekkor nézz körül, Ember! és mondom:
Onnan visszatérőd nincsen! . . .

*

Naptárunk fedőlapjának utolsó oldalán felhivjuk az amerikai magyar munkásokat a Bérmunkás rendszeres olvasására és általában a tanulásra, mert az egyedüli, amit tőlünk senki el nem vehet az a Hatalom, amelyet a Tudással megunknak megszerzünk, kivivunk.

A tudással rendelkezők minden esetben tudni fogják, hogy mik azok, amik a szervezetükre haszonsak és mik azok, amik a szervezetre káros hatással vannak.

Az IWW nem vezet külön harcokat a mai rendszer egyes káros kinövései ellen, hanem a nevelés és tanitás minden eszközével magát azt a rendszert igyekszik megdönteni, amelynek egyik eszköze a népek kizsákmányolásában az alkohol.

Hasonló butitó eszközei számosak vannak még a tőkés osztálynak, amelyek mind elveszitik élüket és hatásukat, ha a munkás milliók szakitanak eddigi nemtörődömségükkel és szervezkednek.

Tanuljunk! Tanitsunk, hogy mielőbb testben és szellemben egészséges emberiséget lássunk.

A Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség

1906 Március havában alakult és 1906 Május havában kapta meg müködését engedélyező szabadalmi levelét.

A Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetséget, öntudatos és osztálytudatos munkás emberek alakitották meg.

Ezek a munkás emberek tudatában voltak annak, miszerint munkás emberek baján csak munkás emberek segithetnek. Együtt munkálkodva egymást támogatva tudnak csak helyzetükön javitani.

Egymás támogatására és a munkás osztály támogatására alakult tehát a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség.

Egymás támogatását betegsegélyezéssel érték el. A Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség fennállása óta sok százezer dollár segélyt fizetett ki beteg tagjainak és igy a sok ezer heti segély sok munkás családnak hozta meg a szükséges segitséget.

A Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség kifizetett betegsegélyekben:

1906-ik évben	600.21	1915-ik évben	18,729.63	1924-ik évben	112,264.64
1907 " "	4,418.08	1916 " "	16,608.30	1925 " "	130,836.00
1908 " "	6,192.30	1917 " "	18,429.63	1926 " "	148,401.00
1909 " "	5,609.72	1918 " "	27,904.06	1927 " "	154,301.00
1910 " "	12,823.03	1919 " "	23,974.64	1928 " "	169,422.00
1911 " "	10,972.18	1920 " "	28,066.40	1929 " "	156,953.00
1912 " "	10,190.96	1921 " "	38,764.18	1930 " "	98,178.00
1913 " "	12,986.34	1922 " "	50,053.03	1931 " "	92,519.17
1914 " "	17,826.95	1923 " "	68,063.64	1932 Aug. 31-ig ..	59,580.50
				ÖSSZESEN:	1.494,668.59

Ha összehasonlitják a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség összkiadását az ügykezelésre más betegsegélyzőkkel sőt más munkás betegsegélyzővel is, ugy látni fogják, hogy a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség ügykezelése olcsó. Csak a fele annak, amit egy másik, magát munkás betegsegélyzőnek nevező testületnél, fizetnek a tagok.

Ami pedig az ügyek becsületes kezelését jelenti, a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség minden cent bevételéről és kiadásáról ellenőrizhető kimutatást ad ki. Addig egy más magát munkás betegsegélyzőnek nevező testület az utóbbi időben már csak azt mutatja ki mit fizet ki betegsegélyre és halálesetekre, de azt nem, hogy mit fizet ki ügykezelési és vegyes kiadások cimén.

A Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség EGYMÁS TÁMOGATÁSÁNAK ELVÉN ÁLLVA, KIFIZETETT MÁSFÉL MILLIÓ DOLLÁR BETEGSEGÉLYT TAGJAINAK.

Továbbá a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség az elhaltaknak tisztességes temetést, a hátramaradottaknak pedig valamennyi azonnali segiséget biztositott..

A Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség fennállása óta kifizetett halálesti járulékokban 1906 Március havától 1932 Augusztus végeig 418 ezer 900 dollárt.

E mellett az egymást támogató munka mellett a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség, munkás lapokat is támogatott. Támogatott és támogat azért, mert ezek nevelő eszközei a munkás osztálynak. Ezek ébresztik a munkásokat öntudatra, osztálytudatosságra. Ezek mutatják meg a munkásoknak mily utat kell követniök, ha helyzetükön javitani akarnak és ha végcélban felakarják magukat szabaditani a bérszolgaság járma alól.

Évekkel ezelőtt a régi mozgalomban, a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség a Népakarat munkás lappal müködött össze a munkás osztály érdekében folytatott felvilágositó munkában. Később más munkás lapokat is támogatott. Jelenben erejéhez mérten támogatja a Bérmunkás lapot, mint olyant a mely nem csak a munkásság nevelésével érdemli meg a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség támogatását, de azért is, mivel a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség megvédéseért, mindég harcolt, mindég tevékenykedett.

A fentiekből minden öntudatos osztálytudatos munkás embernek látni kell miszerint a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség kiérdemelte minden munkás ember támogatását. Aki tehát jó munkás betegsegélyzőbe akar tartozni lépjen be a Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetségbe.

Magyarok Kanadai Bevándorlása és Társadalmi elhelyezkedése

SEBESTYÉN DÉNES

HA a magyarok kanadai bevándorlását és társadalmi elhelyezkedését akarjuk olvasóinkkal ismertetni, nem volna egész a kép, ha azt a nagy differenciálódott viszonyokat kihagynánk, melynek következtében (Árpádföldjét) Árpád unokái, földmüvesek és iparosok ezrei cserélték fel Columbus földjével.

Mint ismeretes a világháboru, mely tulajdonképpen a kapitalizmus legvétkesebb terméke a hullahegyekké lövetett proletáriátus hátrahagyottjainak teljesen feldulta a békéjét, mellyel egyidőben meztelenségig rombolta le a népek gazdasági erejét. A magyar proletáriátusnak, bár tétlenül, de kétizben pottyant kezébe a felszabadulásának fegyvere, melyhez nem értve, gyerekes prédaként dobott vissza az ellenforradalom kormányának kezébe. A dicső magyar tanácsköztársaság bukásával a legnehezebb napok vártak, ugy a kevés holddal rendelkező kisgazdákra, mint a proletáriátusra.

Az adófizetés legmagasabb fokra való csigázása mellett az annyira hangoztatott és törvényekkel védett személyi szabadságot fenekestől felrugta az ellenforradalmi kormány. Zaklatások és üldözések soha nem ismert sorozataira feküdt és ébredt a szabadságát prédaként eljátszott magyar kisgazda és e vétkes tévedésétől megiszonyodottan, ugy az iparos, mint a földmüves szegény, de még a kisgazda sem tudott egyébre gondolni, mint a menekülésre. Ez időben a kanadai kapitalizmus technikai fejlődésének utolsó rohama munkáshiányt mutatott, melyre a profitmágnások felnyitották kapuikat az európai bevándorló munkásság előtt. A hajós társaságok teljes szabadkezet kaptak a bevándorlók behozatalára, az ügynökök százai, az adott alkalmat megragadva valóságos édeneket varázsoltak a mindenükből kifosztott és üldözött vadéletet élő magyar iparos és földmives szegények elé. A bevándorlás megindult. Egyes vidékekről szinte ijesztő számba özönlött ki a szorgalmas magyar földmives szegény nép kanada kietlen földjére, melyet már az első szempillantásra is elhagyott volna a bevándorló, ha a kis házacskáját és pénzét fel nem emésztette volna az utazás, de mivel mindenökből kifogytak, felvették az élni akarás küzdelmét, ugy a nyelv nem ismeréssel, mint az elhelyezkedés végtelenné vált problémáival.

A nyelv és a viszonyok nem ismerése sok esetben az elmegyógyintézetekbe vezették a bevándorolt, más esetekben pedig a lehetőleg legalacsonyabb fizetések mellett is, csak rövidebb időtartalmakra tudtak elhelyezkedni. A profitmágnások és kisebb zsarnokok elejével kissé idegenkedtek a nyelvet nem ismerő idegenektől, de a profithajtó ereje csakhamar megértette velök a kedvező alkalmat.

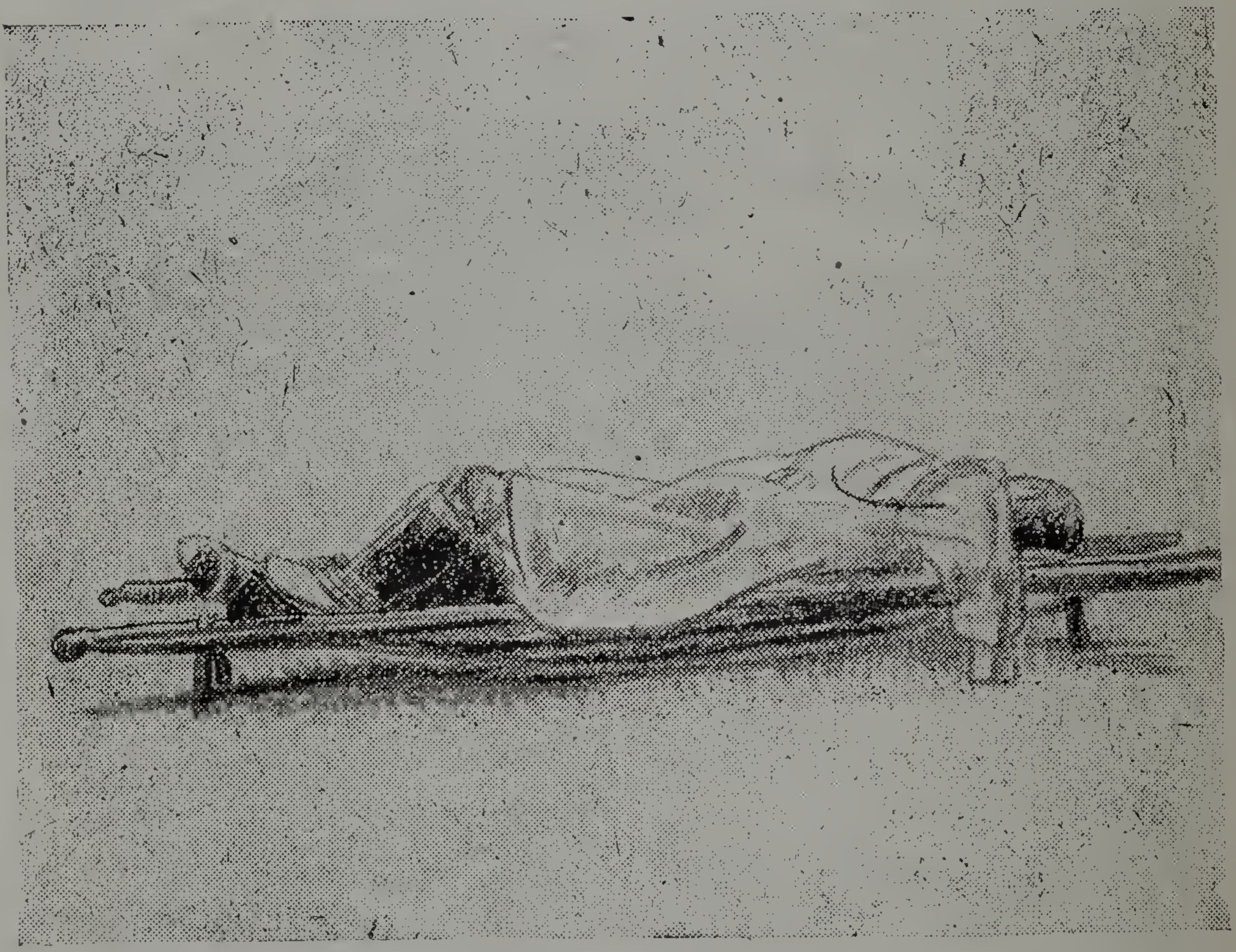
A mindenáron elhelyezkedni akaró középeurópai bevándorló, ha a nyelvet nehezen is, de a munkát testben-lélekkel megragadta és ugy a profitmágnások, mint a kisebb zsarnokok idegenkedését a legjelentéktelenebb idő alatt a patriarchalis mosoly váltotta fel, mellyel egyidőben le is mondottak "a nemzeti kötelességükről" az általában magasabb bérekért dolgozó angol munkásoknak megkezdték a munkákról való lefizetését, ami persze a rosszul, vagy egyáltalán szervezetlen kanadai munkások közt könnyen ment, bár az angol bevándorlókból amugy is kevesen dolgoztak a primitiv munkákon, mert amennyi angol bevándorló volt, azok könnyen elhelyezkedtek a vasut, posta, telefon, táviró és villamos jármüveknél, valamint nagyobb üzletek, jólfizetett iparok és állami hivatalok, szolgálatok, mind-mind az angol bevándorlókból nyert betöltést is igy a középeurópaiak első évek bevándoroltjainak kezeibe kerültek az erdei fejszék, cementes és malteros ládák, la-pátok és csákányok, homok, kő és szén bányák. Azonban a kapitlaizmus politikájának (a kizsákmányolás) csufos csődje, először csak alig érezhetően, majd tömegesen fosztotta meg munkás testvéreink százezreit, ugy a primitiv, mint a modern szerszámok használatától.

A magyarok társadalmi elhelyezkedése

A magyar földmives szegények beözönlésével egyidőben az ellenforradalmi kormány is meginditotta sisere hadát a kivándorolt proletáriátus után, kik először a lélek és nemzet mentés szinjátékát használták álarcul, azonban a bevándorolt proletáriátusban szórványosan élt osztályöntudat előtt a fehérhóhérok hamarosan feltüntek eredeti formájukban. Hiába öltöttek papireverendát, hiába változtatták cégtábláikat. A herélő kés mindenhonnan kilátszott.

A magyar proletáriátust nem lehetett többé megtéveszteni, sem szentelt vizzel, sem pedig hazaszeretet cimén a Horthy véres zsámolyára hasaltatni.

Az elhelyezkedés örökös problémája miatt, bár lassan, de biztosan megindult a kanadai proletáriátus osztálytudatos megszervezése. A kanadai magyar proletáriátus 5 év alatt kiépitette osztályharcos szervezeteit az atlanti oceántól a csendes oceánig. A kanadai magyarságnak: Kanada minden számottevő városában meg van szervezve a betegsegélyzője és munkás klubja, melyek bár a kapitalizmus féktelen terrorja alatt lassan, de a többi más nemzetek proletáriátusával, vált-válba vetve célkitüzötten halad a felszabaduláshoz vezető uton.



Meddig szunnyad még a megkötözött munkásság.

A profitért és kenyérért

KIPETY KÁROLY

A BÁNYA szirénája élesen sikolt a reggeli levegőben. Komor füstöt ereget a gép, száll a füst, elboritja a fenyveseket, amely mintha gyászfátyollal lenne leteritve. Lent a völgyben bányászbarakok terülnek el. Az ajtók előtt nyüzsgés, a szénfejtőknek serege mozog, mert a sziréna hangja nekik szól: figyelmezteti a leváltásra. Uj erőt követel a tárna. A nyüzsgő bányászok között egy-egy "istent" szór a bányabáróknak fizetett pribékje. E megszokott modort szótlanul hagyják. Ki ruhájával, ki lámpájával foglalatoskodik inkább, hogy minél előbb a tárna szájához érjenek.

Névsorolvasásra várnak. Arra a névsorolvasásra, mely még életet számol és azután, ha a robotnak vége, ki tudja, kerül-e ismét sor rája. Áll komoron a piszkos gunyáju sereg, tegnapi fáradalmaikat még ki nem pihenték. Állnak és szótlanul várnak. Még egyet sikolt a halál szirénája, s lent a tárnában megszünik a csillék dübörgése, a pokol gyomrának moraja, gépek kattogása: szünetel a munka. Csak pillanatnyi szünet ez: egy perc mulva már ujabb mozgás, dübörgés támad, egy perc mulva már uj erők rengetik meg a földet. Csak egy pillanatnyi szünet ez: most cseréli föl egymást a bányászok fekete serege. Fáradtan, már alig mozogva, fölőrölt hadsereg dul a kijárat felé. Lélekzetük ziláltabb, gyorsabb, szénpiszkos arcuk, melyet verejték csikozott végig, most valami ujjongást fejez ki: a tárna szájában vannak ujra élve a felszinen és az égnek azurtavában füródhetnek ujra. Midőn a tárnának fénnyel boritott nyilásához érnek, eltakarják szemüket, mintha megszégyenültek volna a hatalmas nap-isten előtt. Azután lassan megszokják a fényt, örömben uszik a robottól elcsigázott arcuk.

Az utolsó is elhagyta a tárnát, az ajkáról elröppenő utolsó üdvözlés jelzi — megindulhat az uj erő a profit érdekében. Megindulnak. Valami halotti csönd honol most az induló sereg között, csak a gyujtó sistereg még, amivel lámpájukat gyujtogatják. Majd megszünik a sercenés, csak a bakancsok koppanása jelzi, hogy a kripta felé, vagy ahogyan a bányász mondja, a pokol felé uj élet indul.

Lent az örvény fenekén, mint hajós a vizeken, jár-kel a fekete sereg. Nem kell kalauz, sem kormányosra nincs szükség, a poklok birodalmában minden alkalmazott tudja a maga helyét. Kezdődik ujra az élet-halálharc a profitért és a kenyérért.

Midőn kirendelt helyünkre megérkeztünk, félmeztelenre vetkőzve fogtunk munkánkhoz. Négyen voltunk. Kettő a lehullott széntömeget csillézte, ketten pedig robbanás után a köveket vizsgáltuk. Robbantás után megrepedt tömbök ásitva lógnak fejünk fölött s csákányunkkal kell azt lefejtenünk. Alatta állunk, fölöttünk a halál terjeszti két karját és minden leszakitott tömbnél vigyorog ránk, hogy élünk, hogy nehezedő két karját kikerültük, mellyel minden percben torkon ragadhat, széttiporhat, vagy péppé préselhet a fekete gyémántkriptában.

Lefejtés után ujra a furáshoz fogtunk. Kézzel furtunk. Munkánkat, mint mindig, szótlan-némaság kiséri, csak az ütéseknek nehéz ritmusa tombol, mit változatosabbá keblünk zilálása tesz. Ezen egyhangu ütéseket társunk szakitja meg, aki a csillével visszatért:

— Halló! Halló!

Lehet, hogy pihenni akartunk, vagy arcunk verejtékét akartuk letörölni s ezért álltunk meg, de álltunk és önkénytelenül tapadt szemünk a csillén fölakasztott fényre, mely imbolyogva közelgett felénk.

— Halló! Halló!

— No, mi ujság?

— Baj van, a 17-esben egy tömb szakadt le s egy embert zuzott agyon.

Ráncolt homlokkal néztünk össze és szótlanul vártuk, mig társunk egészen közel nem ért a csillével.

Majd megállitotta a csillét, megkezdett beszédét folytatta és befejezte:

— Nem tudom, testvérek — szólalt meg Feri bácsi, aki mellettem dolgozott — én ma már huszonöt éve dolgozom a bányában, de még eddig minden bajt, szerencsétlenséget megsejtettem, vagy, hogyis mondjam no, bizonyos megfigyeléseim vannak ezen a téren. Nem akartam reggel szólni, hogy az egerek kifelé tartottak. Én, mint öreg bányász, tudom, hogy ezek megérzik a veszedelmet. Ugye igy van mégis? Igaz, nektek, fiataloknak, ha ezt reggel megmondtam volna, kinevettetek és vén babonásnak kereszteltek volna.

Mi még mindig szótlanul álltunk és hallgattuk a vén apostolt. Hirtelen és váratlanul egy irtózatos légnyomást kaptunk, mely a szénréteghez vágott kegyetlen erővel. Lámpánk kialudt, sötétség borult ránk.

— Halló! Halló! — kiáltott megrémült hangon az öreg. — Éltek még?

Föltápászkodtam, keresni kezdtem a gyufát, majd halkan életjelt adtam magamról.

— Élek, élek, Feri bácsi, de nem tudom, hová lett Lajcsi. Csak már megtalálnám a gyufát.

— Csak gyufát ne! Nem lehet tudni, vajjon nincs-e gázömlés? Pedig akkor nekünk is végünk van.

Minden szaglóérzékemet összeszedem, de semmiféle szagot nem érzek. Előveszem mégis gyufámat, igy sötétben nem lát az ember semmit. Na végre mgtaláltam a gyufát...... Egy sercenés és következő pillanatban már pislog is a lámpám. Körülnézek. Feribácsi a csille mellett fekszik, Lajos ájultan összerogyva fekszik a földön.

— És Pali hol van? — kérdeztem megrémülve.

.... ő még kint van a csillével — nyögte Feri bácsi

Mit tegyek most? Lábaim gyökeret vertek, nem tudtam megmozdulni. Feribácsi a fény láttára föltápászkodott a csille mellől és oldalát tartva jött felém. Ijedt szeme tágranyilt, én reám, majd pedig ájult testvérünkre tévedt a szeme. Azután halkan, fájdalmasan szólt hozzám:

— Testvér, végünk van! Gyorsan vizet...... vizet......!

Őrültként rohantam a közeli kimélyitett hely felé, ahol bányalé volt összegyülve. Vittem a vizet s az öregnek adtam.

— Kedves fiaim — szólalt meg ujra Feribácsi. — Végünk van......!

Izgatott lettem.

— De Feri bácsi, miért mondja ezt? Hiszen élünk!

— Jó jó, fiam — volt a keserü válasz — de...... de te nem is sejted...... élők vagyunk...... de most még százszorta borzasztóbb a helyzetünk........ élőhalottak lettünk. Csuszamlás történt valahol és ugy érzem, élve nem látjuk a napvilágot...... kifelé nem mehetünk, örökre lezárult előttünk.

Megborzadva néztem a tárna alagutján végig, mely komoran, feketén, mint a kripta szája huzódott a végtelenbe.

— Nem, nem lehet...... — lüktetett agyamban őrülten e gondolat. Fölugrottam helyemről. Meggyujtottam társam lámpását és az enyémet kezembe kapva a fekete kriptának rohantam, hogy mindent megtudjak. Igaz lehet-e, hogy nincs kiut?

Rohantam. Mellettem egerek tömege futott versenyt. Kiakartam jutni e pokolból, levegőt szivni, látni ujra a napot, vagy hirt vinni, vagy tudom is én mit, csak rohanni...... rohanni...... O, a lámpám fénye hirtelen megtörik a messze kigyózó feketeségben...... Világit a lámpánk...... A beomlott kijáratot világitotta meg. Megálltam, majd ujra rohanni kezdtem...... Ut...... ut......! Nincs kiut......! Élőhalottak lettünk...... Megöl a profit......! A kenyér!

—

Nem tudom, másnap vagy harmadnap volt-e, hordágyon feküdtem. Nehéz álomból ébredtem, a tündöklő napsugár nyaldosta arcom. Körülöttem gyermekek és asszonyok serege jajgatott. Körülnéztem, hordágyak serege vett körül, társaim feküdtek rajta véresen, holtam vagy eszméletlenül......

(Csehszlovákia)

Uj világ felé

SOMLÓ LIPÓT

A VILÁGHÁBORUS okok s okozatok tragédiájának utjait járjuk. Az imperializmus halálfejes tornája s a rettentő csődtömeget jelző mérlege, az ujjáépitő problémák régi és uj koncepcióju megoldási törekvései, a régi uralom öncélu tovább-uralkodni-akarása és a megtépett öreg világrend ölében vajudó ujvilág kormányzására hivatott osztályerők viadala dübörögteti az uj tartalomba, az uj formába bontakozó társadalmi szinteret.

A társadalom-gazdasági szükségszerüségek állapota a továbbfejlődés irányába eső beteljesedésre vár. A társadalmi sorsot formáló gazdaság, a technikai és a kulturigények kielégitése az osztályok sorsát is átformálván: kiélesedett osztálytörekvések, mozgalmak és harcok gyupontjaként jelentkezik.

Az anyagi, a technikai termelőerők fejlettsége a termelési, az osztály, az ideológiai, az etikai, a morális és a müvészi viszonylatokban lázas, megváltoztató erővel kiegyensulyoztatását keresi.

Régi kereteiken tulnőtt és tulkivánkozó gazdasági egységek ellenállhatatlanul feszegetik szük burkaikat, hogy a nagyobb gazdasági egység megfelelő termelési és társadalmi viszonylataiban tovább fejlődhessenek.

Tul az elhibázott jóvátételi sarcok katasztrófális tárgyain, a ma és a legközelebbi holnap igazi problémája: a politikailag elhatárolt sok, kisebb gazdasági és politikai egységnek óriási egységekbe való összefoglalása. Olyan óriás egységekbe, amilyeneket a mai anyagi termelőerők organikus fejlettsége és fejlődő tendenciája előir.

A tőkés termelőrendszer gazdasági fejlettsége már a háboruelőtti állapotában tulnőtte magát az adott politikai elhatárolásokon. Borotvaéles, szük politikai és szük gazdasági korlátok közt vergődve, nemzet- és osztályelnyomatások lázaitól hajtva: világcsatatereken kereste a teljes kibontakozásához, az egyensulyához szükséges tágabb kereteket és az uj fogyasztó piacokat.

Föl kell végre ismernünk e látszólag rejtett, de világot formáló nagyhatalom kiutat követelő jelenlétét, célbatörekvését. A politikai összeütközések, surlódások és fegyveres bizalmatlanságok állandó jelenléte eltakarja előlünk e nagyhatalom sorsdöntő szerepét. De az el-nem-sülyeszthető termelő-gazdasági zavaraival is éles osztályharci jelmutatásaival folyton figyelmeztet nagy kielégitetlenségére! Ha egyszer (mi hisszük, hogy nemsokára) a világ munkásosztályának kulturtudatába férkőzik igazi arca: rohamlépésekben fogjuk a politikai és a gazdasági fejlődés utjait szabaddá tenni. (A cikkiró munkástársnak nincs módja állitását a gyakorlattal alátámasztani, mert a politikai mozgalom és akció, melyet itt elgondol, még győzelme esetén sem szolgálta, vagy szolgálhatja a munkásság végcélját.) Ennek a nagy mozdulatnak első nagy stációja lesz az Európai Egyesült Államok, hogy nyomon kövesse a legynagyobb gazdaság-politikai egység: a Világ Egyesült Államai. **De ezeket az uj fejlődési lehetőségeket, az uj nagy emberi állomásokat nagy káoszban végelgyengülő kapitalizmus, hanem a felülkerekedett nemzetközi munkásosztály szervezett akaratából fogjuk elérni.**

A kapitalizmus átformálódási processzusának mikéntje most azon fordul meg, hogy a tőke és politikai pártjai idejében fölismerik-e az idevezető utakat. **A kaptalista rendszer teljes válsága tombol a földekerekség minden táján. A munkásság százmilliói várják megmentésüket.** A kizsákmányolás körforgása és a technikai erők profitszolgálata a munkásság millióit taszitja a munkanélküliség árkaiba, az elpusztulásba. **Az anyagi termelő-**

erők gátfeszitése azt a tábort szolgálja, amelyik utját szabaddá teszi.

A munkásosztály utja: a **szocializmus utja, az igazi demokrácia utja.** Ez az ut párhuzamosan halad a lehető legnagyobb gazdasági egységek utjával. Neki csak arra kell ügyelnie, hogy nyitott szemmel lássa a szükségszerüségekből eredő cselekvési, alkotási teendőit, hogy sohase tévessze szem elől a termelési erőknek és az osztályviszonyoknak folyton változó ujabb parancsait, melyek változó, uj sakkhuzásokat, ujabb meg ujabb matt-lépéseket, ujabb és változó mozgalmi fölvonulásokat igényelnek. Ez a végső harcok utja. Ezek a harcok és az elvárt sikerek lehetősége megköveteli, hogy zárt sorokban, egyesült szervezett tömegekben vonultassuk föl osztályerőinket, tagozatainkat Ezekben a harcokban minden fölhasználható erőre és eszközre szükségünk van. Nem nélkülözhetjük a munkásosztály többségének győzelmet biztositó hitét és akaratát, ha az ipari demokrácia mozgalmunk és harcaink végcélja.

Hogy jól lássunk s biztos kézzel teremtsünk: föl kell szabaditani látásunkat az elsorvadt és élettelen dogmák halottidéző hatása alól.

A nagy halottainknak kijáró tisztelet és hála örökzöld virágait hordozzuk mindig szivünkben, ismerkedjünk meg hüségesen tanitásaikkal, de a **Jimmie Higginsek** szent, áldozatos, döntő szerepe megköveteli, hogy tudásunkat, alkotó szerszámainkat a fejlődés s a változások valóságos ütőereivel hozzuk összhangba. Ha ezt elmulasztjuk, akkor a régi meglátások fetisimádata mindig elgáncsolja életes tennivalóinkat.

Marx és Engels szerény tanitványai vagyunk. De éppen alapvető tanitásaik nevében kell kikövetelnünk a szervezett munkásság szembenálló táboraitól: ne legyetek dogmaimádók.

HÁBORUKÉSZITŐK

Miként sátánok a szennyes poklok mélyén:
röhögnek, vérben gázolnak,
vérszopókként élősködnek a népek emlőjén!
Szennybetorzult arcuk ujabb gyilkos tüzben ég,
agyuk ezer és ezer pokoli tervet sző,
s miként dühöngő égből a romboló mennykő:
földre csap e vér-mondat: "Éljen a háboru!"

Miként őrültek a fojtogató csapda alatt:
ordit, bőg, sikolt belőlük a véres szándék,
karmaikban minden Tisztaság széjjelszakad
s a konferenciázó őrült-horda csak dühöng,
csak tereget vérbeázott térképeket:
vágóhidra szán ismét megroppant bus népeket,
s üvölti a feszült légbe szerteszét: "Éljen a háboru!"

Miként egy örjöngő lény, mely már pusztulásra érett:
milliók testét rágja, mint ezernyi ronda féreg,
csakhogy tovább dühönghessen bennük az ocsmány élet,
mert férges lelkük véres trónért üvölt, kiált,
s e trónnak szilárd alapja csak ugy lehet,
ha fekély-lelkü rabló banda milliókat temet:
s ezért vér-hangon zengik szerteszét: "Éljen a háboru!"

Szolgák és lakájok megvadult tömege,
rádiók, szinházak és mozik,
s a tinta-kuliknak barom-agyu serege
harsogja a vérszemü éneket,
s a világ csak vonaglik, csak remeg,
jaj! . . . fölötte már véres zászlók lengenek
s róluk őrjöngőn száll e szörnyü dal: "Éljen a háboru!"

De a megőrült világ előtt mi szétvetjük a lábunk;
s miközben öklünkre már keleti testvéreink
vére fröccsen: a gyilkos tüzben megállunk,
kezünkben a Lázadás szent korbácsa megsuhog
és zugó hangunkra gyilkos-őrültek szive remeg:
hej, él a hadsereg, de az uj, a forradalmi Sereg,
hej, végül már bakó-urak ellen ropognak a fegyverek!

BÁNADY SÁNDOR

Mentől több dogma miatt tépjük egymást, annál nagyobb a tőkésosztály öröme és annál biztosabban ül a nyeregben, annál később érjük mi el céljainkat. **Széthuzásunk: a vereségek tragikus utja. Egységünk: győzelmeink legnagyobb, legértékesebb záloga!**

A Marx és Engels halála óta bekövetkezett fejlődés tényei s tendenciái, a szocialista rendszer felé épülő utak mai tennivalói okvetlen megkövetelik, hogy **doktrináinkat a ma mérlegére tegyük.**

A társadalmi viszonyaink váltakozó mozgási hullámvonalát alig győzzük napjainkban fölrajzolni. Világterjedelmü osztályharc-hullámok tornyosodnak egymás fölé és ujabb nemzeti állam berendezkedések görgetik elkülönitő szikláikat. Folyamatban a kikorhadt romok eltakaritása és az uj termelőviszonylatok, az uj ideológiák, uj erkölcsi és müvészeti akarások oszlopcövekelései...... Minden ujabb oszlop lecövekelése előtt tudnunk kell: milyen talajba helyezzük, milyen terhet milyen formában akarunk ráépiteni. A szocialista világszemlélet megmérő tudományát igénybe kell vennünk, mint ahogy a technikai tudomány áldásait is kisajátitjuk, de éppennyire használnunk kell az egyszerü, a common senses munkás-eszünket is, melyet a környező élet avat utánozhatatlanul jó praktikussá.

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Munkás vagyok testben, lélekben. Nem érdem, csak osztályhelyzet és a fölvilágosultságom tükre. Egyre bővülő gondom megértetni munkástársaimmal, hogy ahogy van, ugy rosszul van és másként kellene itt lenni sok mindennek. Szeretném, ha e sorokból is kiéreznék a munkásosztály szolidaritása utáni vágyódásom; osztályom egységtelenségét fájlaló magatartásom. Szeretném, ha amerikai munkástársaim mielőbb megéreznék és megértenék a történelemcsináló napjaink intő és hivogató szózatát. Szeretném, ha mindnyájan tanulnánk a közelmultak nagy hibáin és mulasztásain. Szeretném, **ha az egyre fenyegetőbbé váló és az egyre közelgő fascista háborus fergetegek láttára fegyverszünetet kötnének osztálytudatos táboraink,** hogy vállvetetten állnánk ki a letiporni kész ellenség: **a történelmi veszedelem visszaverésére,** a mának, a holnapjaink, az osztályharcos eredményeink, intézményeink biztositására.

Ezért szeretném, hogy ne lenne pusztába kiáltott szó ez a kis irás, melyet forradalmi üdvözlettel küldök a másik munkástáborban küzdő testvéreimnek.

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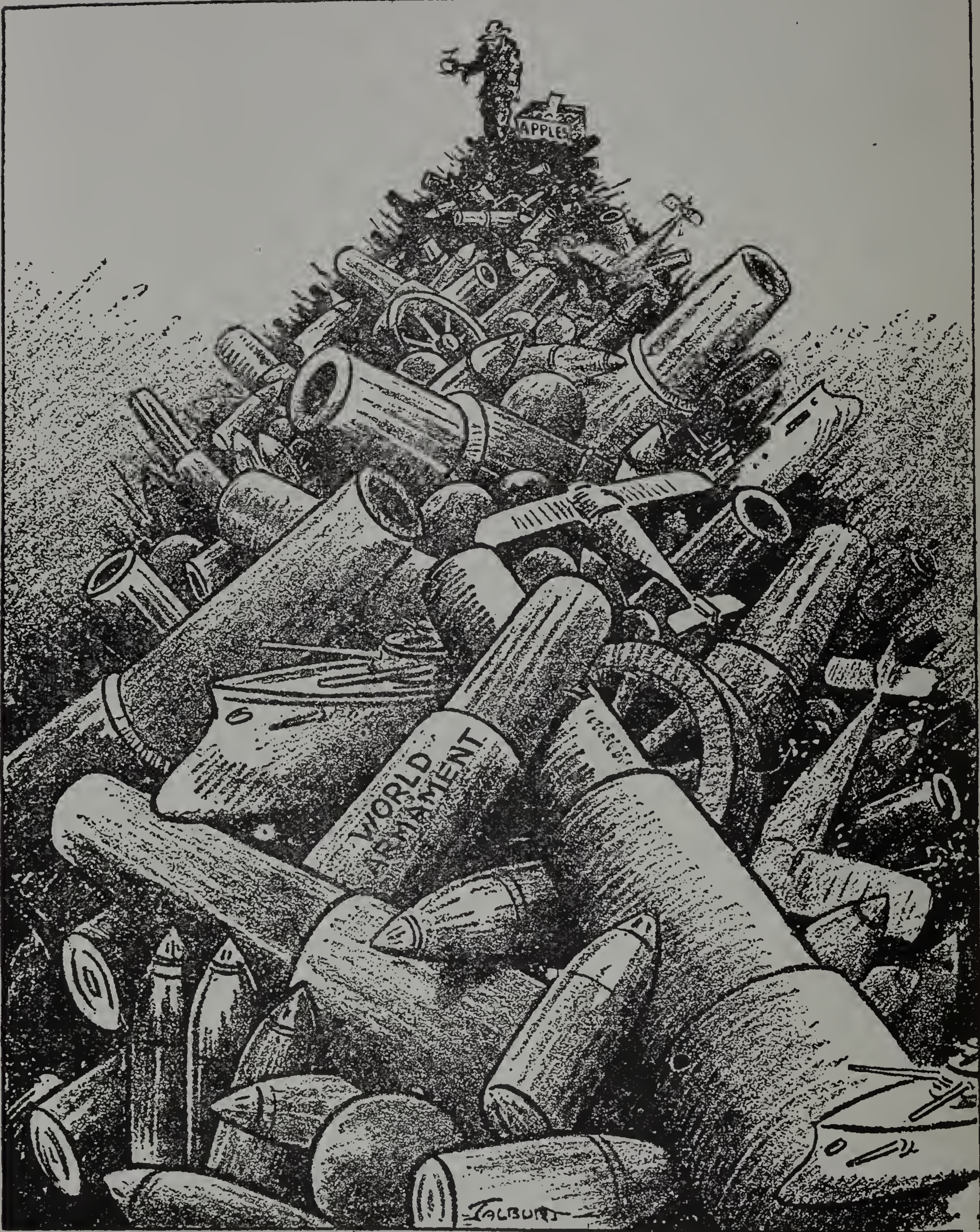
A magyar IWW-isták és a Bérmunkás olvasói egyik fölbecsülhetetlen jó tulajdonsága, hogy a mozgalomtól még távolállókkal szemben a legnagyobb türelmességgel vannak, hogy azokat nem legyőzni, hanem meggyőzni törekszenek, hogy mint az Ipari Egy Nagy Szervezetet megismerők kerüljenek a munkásmozgalomba.

Akik ugy érzik, hogy föl kell hagyniok a multak dogmatikus ragaszkodásához, hogy az ujabb termelési viszonyok uj formákat, uj utakat jelölnek a munkásosztály részére is, hogy évszázados küzdelmét győzelemre vigyék, azoknak erre az utra RÁ kell lépni, tekintet nélkül, hogy a mellette és körülötte levők is elérkeztek-e ehhez a fölismeréshez és ha ezt már ma teszik, az egy munkásosztályt siettetik az EGY táborba való harcának megvivására. (Szerk.)

* * *


APPLES
WORLD ARMAMENT
TALBURT

A kapitalista világhatalom “leszerel.” Torony-magasságra gyártatja a munkásokat legyilkoló eszközöket. Előkésziti a legközelebbi világháborut — az utolsót.

Ti bérrabszolgák

A VILÁG kitagadott, nincstelen bérrabszolgáinak osztálytudatra ébredését a társadalom fejlődése irányitja. A mai csodálatosan fejlett ipari államok elnyomott férfi és női bérrabszolgáinak ideje volna már, ha egy napon egymást megértve, saját érdekükben összeülnének, szervezkednének. Ugy néz ki, hogy a világ kerekeinek mozgását üzemben tartók minden csodás alkotásra képesek, csak a saját érdekeikben való gondolkodásra és cselekvésre nem. A munka, amely rabszolgájává tette a földet s annak természeti kincseit. Uralkodik a földön, a levegőben, a vizen s a társadalomban, mégis a legalsóbb, a legelnyomottabb szerep jut számára osztályrészül. Elnyomatásában mindig azok nyargalnak a hátán, mindig azok osztják a szöges korbács legirtózatosabb csapásait, a kiknek sikerült a munka teréről a termelés szinteréről a kizsákmányolás polcára kapaszkodni. John D Rockefeller fiatal korában füszeressegéd volt s ma a világ leghatalmasabb trösztjének a feje ,egyszersmind a világ legkegyetlenebb, legirgalmatlanabb kizsákmányolója. A szénbányák — Ludlow, Calumet, Columbine — vérrel áztatott rögei be borzalmas szenvedéseket rejtenek magukban az elnyomatás és kizsákmányolás részéről Rockefeller telepein.

Henry Ford, az automobil mágnás, lakatossegédből cseperedett föl. A kizsákmányoló osztály kegyetlen urai közé tartozik. Profitjának, hatalmának megvédése érdekében, halomra löveti bérrabszolgáit és ti, rabszolgák, megalázkodtok előtte, ugy vélekedtek, hogy senkinek sem lehet hatalma csak akkor, ha gazdag, ha kizsákmányoló. Arra tanitott bennünket a kizsákmányoló osztály, hogy a dollár az isten, a mindenható és lenyeltük azt szőröstől-bőröstől. Ama tévhitet is elhitették velünk, hogy a "szegényeké a mennyeknek országa", hogy "halálunk órájától kezdve boldogok leszünk". De ők itt a földön kivánják azt. Elhitették velünk, hogy egy felsőbb hatalom, egy mindenható rendeletére van szegény és gazdag, kizsákmányoló és kizsákmányolt. Az uralkodó osztály prostituált közegei: a sajtó, a pap, a politikus megmételyezik agyunkat és mi, mint engedelmes bérrabszolgák, tizezrével, százezrével kivánjuk a megváltó halált.

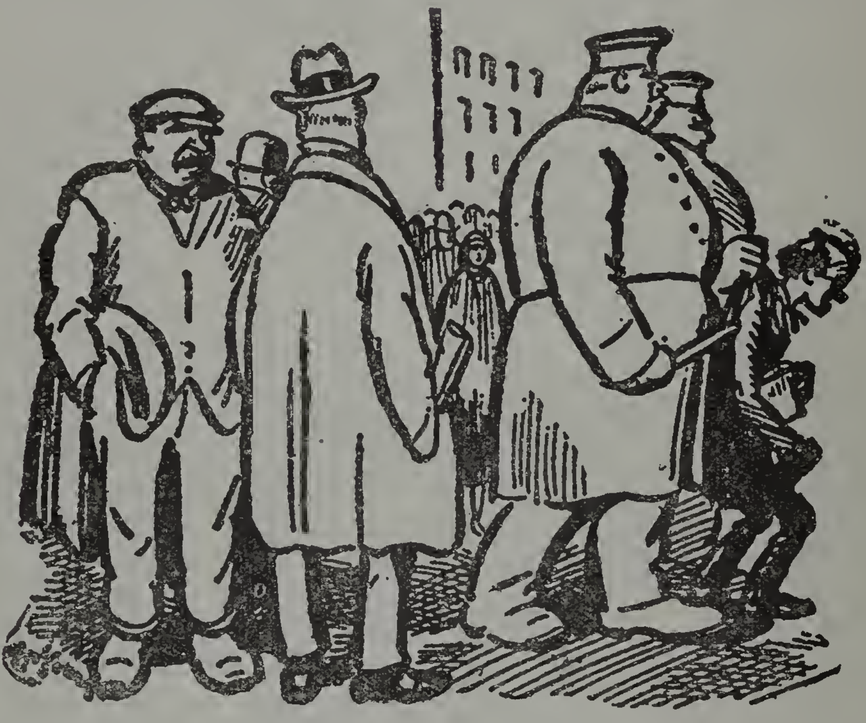
Ezzel az ósdi fölfogással szakitania kell a munkásosztálynak, hogy a szabadság utjára léphessen, hiszen ő az, aki a társadalom haladásának az egyetlen lüktető ereje; ő az, aki munkájával nemcsak hogy föntartja a világot, hanem fokozatos munkálkodásával csodákat müvel és folytonosan előbbre viszi annak fejlődését. Ő az, aki szellemi és fizikai munkájával halmazában állitja elő a termelés és szétosztás legcsodásabb gépeit, mozgásban tartja azokat. Az élelem, lakás, ruházat előállitása szédületes gyorsasággal folyik kezei között. Életének, egészségének kockáztatásával dacol a természet zord viharai fölött, mindennek és mindenkinek ura — csak sajátmagának leigázott rabszolgája.

A munka, a bérrabszolgák munkája, tartja mozgásban a vasutakat a nap minden percében s ott leselkedik rájok az irgalmatlan halál, amelynek okozója a profit. Évente négy, ötezer vasuti munkás fizet életével és más tiz-tizenötezret megcsonkitott, hasznavehetetlenné tett a profit, a mai társadalmi rendszer.

A bányászok százezrei minden félelem nélkül szállnak le a föld gyomrába és hozzák felszinre a tüzelésre, fütésre szolgáló szenet, hogy a világ termelő gépezetét mozgásban tarthassák, hogy az emberiséget a tél hidege ellen óvják s a társadalom eme nélkülözhetetlen érrabszolgái évente százával, ezrével pusztulnak el a profit szent nevében széngáz, tüz s robbanások alkalmával. Feleségeiket, gyermekeiket az éhség rettenetes kinjai gyötrik.

A gyárak és ipartelepek férfi és női bérrabszolgáinak tiz- és százezrei jutnak korai halálba a "speed-up" rendszer, a büzös levegő, a tüzfészkek lángjai között. Igy kivánja ezt a mai civilizált társadalmi rendszer — a profit istene.

Életünket, egészségünket áldozzuk föl annak az osztálynak, amely a kutyáját is többre becsüli, mint föntartóját, a munkásosztályt és mi mégis, amint fölöslegessé válunk a termelésben, gyárról-gyárra, bányáról-bányára járunk s az ember, a munka nagy alkotója megszégyenitő módon esdekel, hogy eladhassa munkaerejét, hogy a profit érdekében leméssároltassa magát. Eme megszégyenitő megalázkodásból van menekvés az emberiség számára. Meg van a mód arra, hogy ura, parancsolója legyen, nem embertársai, hanem a termelés és szétosztás eszközei fölött. Nem nagy áldozat kell hozzá, csak munkástársaival kell, hogy egyesüljön a termelés és szétosztás szinterén. Egyesülni egy közös célért a bérrendszer eltörléséért, a termelőeszközök birtoklásáért. Egyesülni, szervezkedni, hogy megváltoztassuk eme társadalmi rendszert, amelyben nyomor, szenvedés és éhhalál jut számunkra osztályrészül. Megváltoztatni egy oly társadalmi rendszerré, amelyben a munka birtokolja a természet gyönyöreit, kincseit, a termelés és szétosztás eszközeit. Amikor ennek elérésére kiépitette Egy Nagy Szervezetét a munkásosztály az egész világon, szin, faj és nemzetiségre való tekintet nélkül, akkor majd tulajdonába veszi a földet és megszünteti a nyomort, a szenvedést és élvezni fogja munkájának teljes gyümölcsét. Ez az Ipari forradalom, az Ipari Demokrácia lesz, amelyet embriójában hord ez a társadalmi rendszer. Ehhez szükséges az, hogy a bérrabszolgák milliói osztálytudatra ébredjenek.



A tőkés rendszer erőszakszervezete "megmenti" a kapitalizmust.

Ne álljatok levett kalappal, remegő inakkal mestereitek előtt, mint a megkorbácsolt kutyák, hanem mint ember, mint a természet büszke koronája szervezkedve, szolidaritást vállalva a munkásosztály fölszabaditásáért, az Ipari Demokráciáért.

A társadalom fejlődése

KÖHLER SÁNDOR

A TÁRSADALOM fejlődésében hosszu évezredeken át az ember megfeszitett erővel volt kénytelen elemi szükségleteit, élelmét, ruházatát, lakását előállitani. Az ősember vadászattal és halászattal foglalkozott saját szükségleteinek kielégitésére. Szerszámok hiányában mindezeket puszta kézzel volt kénytelen előteremteni. A kőkorszakban, amikor már az ember egy lépéssel tovább haladt, kőből csiszolt szerszámokkal állitotta elő szükségleteit, de csak mindig annyit termelt, amennyi napi szükségleteit kielégitette. A társadalmi fejlődós a kőkorszakból rettenetes lassusággal haladt, amig elérte azt a fokot, ahol már fából és vasból készitett szerszámok állottak rendelkezésére, melyekkel szükségleteit kényelmesebben, gyorsabban állitotta elő. Az elmult korszakoknak a legnagyobb problémája mindig a szállitás és közlekedés volt. Az ősember, ha valamije volt, vagy ha halat vagy vadat ejtett zsákmányul, azt lakóhelyére a hátán volt kénytelen szállitani. Gyalogszerrel közlekedett. Lakhelye a tavak környékén a hegyoldalba vágott üreg volt és évszázadok, évezredek multak el, mig a tavakon közlekedni tudott, mig a csónakot föltalálta. A csónakot éles kőszerszámmal egy darab fából vájta és égette ki és az volt a szállitás és közlekedés első mestermüve. Ma hatalmas hajók, páncélóriások szelik az óceánokat rémitő gyorsasággal, óriási terhekkel megrakva az egyik világrészből a másikba.

A szárazföldi szállitásnál az ember első segédeszköze valószinü a szánkó volt, amelyen kényelmesebben huzta zsákmányát, később állatokat szeliditett, melyeknek hátán végezte a szállitást, mig később a rómaiak föltalálták a kereket és azok segitségével két, később négykerekes kocsikat gyártottak és a terhet az állatok hátáról azokra tette át, mely által gyorsabban és nagyobb mennyiségü árut szállitott. A szállitás és közlekedés forradalmasitása 1803-ban történt, amikor James Watts föltalálta a gőzkocsit, amely 5—6 mérföld sebességgel közlekedett. 1830-ban sinekre tették át, mely által 10—12 mérföld sebességgel szállitottak, mindig több és több árut. Az emberiség folytonos törekvése a gőzgéptől a gázgéphez vezetett s ma a gőzgépek vasuti mozdonyok 60—70 mérföld sebességgel óriási rakománynyal száguldanak hatalmas területeken keresztül. A gázgépek 350—400 mérföld szebességgel közlekednek. A szállitás és közlekedés tette lehetővé az emberiség számára a társadalom rohamos fejlődését. A kőkorszakból kifejlődött a vaskorszak s a vaskorszakból a gépkorszak s ma a munkás, a vasember segitségével szédületes gyorsasággal állitja elő a szükséges javakat.

Az Egyesült Államok Ipari Fölülvizsgáló Bizottságának jelentése szerint az Egyesült Államok területén ma egy billió lóerőt képviselő áramot képesek előállitani, fejleszteni, amely tiz billió ember munkáját volna képes elvégezni, vagyis éppen ötszörösét a világ népességének. 1869-ben egy lóerő áram esett egy munkásra, ma 5 esik.

Az 1830-ik év termelő eszközeivel 6 millió emberre volna szükség, hogy az Egyesült Államok 1929-ben termelt buzához a földet megmüvelje. Ma a gőz- és gáz-ekékkel négyezer ember elvégzi azt.

1904-ben, az automobil ipar kezdetén, egy kocsi előállitásához 1291 órára volt szükség, 1913-ban már csak 303 órára, 1932-ben 72 óra szükséges, hogy egy automobilt előállitsanak és a ma előállitott automobilok minden tekintetben fölülmulják az eddigi gyártmányokat.

1919-ben 606 millió 410 ezer munkaórára volt szükség, hogy 1 millió 600 ezer automobilt gyártsanak. Tiz év mulva, 1929-ben, 521 millió 469 ezer óra alatt előállitottak 5 millió 600 ezer automobilt.

Az acéltelepeken a vasolvasztó kemencéknél hét ember végzi ma hatvan ember munkáját. A vasuti kocsikba a nyersvasból két ember ugyanannyit rak föl, mint 1919-ben egyszázhuszonhat munkás. Ma, 1932-ben, 3 ezer acélipari munkás, gépek segélyével, képes annyit termelni, mint 1929-ben, tehát három évvel ezelőtt 28 ezer acélipari munkás.

A fürészmalmi telepeken 45 ezer munkás végzi 292 ezer ember munkáját. 1929-ben 750 ezer szénbányász termelt annyi szenet, mint ma 420 ezer, pedig csak három esztendő a különbség. Ez mutatja a géprendszer, a vasember rohamos fejlődését. A cipőgyártásnál 81 ezer ember végzi 200 ezer ember munkáját. 1929-ben három és fél millió mezőgazdasági munkás többet termelt, mint 1919-ben 8 millió.

Az épület-tégla épitését ma száz munkás egy féltucat égetőben annyit képes termelni, hogy az Egyesült Államok téglaszükségleteit fedezi. Ma a gép segélyével kilecezerszerte több villanylámpát gyártanak, mint néhány év előtti módszerrel.

A kenyérsütődékben két munkás ma százezer kenyeret képes kiadni, jobbat, izletesebbet, mint bármikor ezelőtt.

A bizottság jelentésének legérdekesebb része, amelyben kimutatja, hogy a mai fejlett géprendszerben az Egyesült Államok népességének jólétben tartására a munkásoknak évi 650 órai munkaidőt kellene dolgozniok, hogy valamennyien alkalmazáshoz jussanak, vagyis, heti 12 és fél órát.

A társadalom fokozatos fejlődésén az emberiség rettenetes küzdelmeken ment át, de sem a kőkorszakban, sem a rabszolgaságban, sem a feudalizmus rendszerében nem volt oly kitagadott, jogfosztott, megrabolt, mint ma, a bérrabszolgaság idején. Ma, mikor a termelést szédítő gyorsasággal végzi, ma, amikor a gépek segélyével a természet áldásait megsokszorositotta, hatalmas felhőkarcolókat emel a kényelem minden gyönyöreivel és az árok parton piheni ki fáradalmait, hogy holnap tovább huzhassa az igát. Az élelem és ruházat szükségleteit óriási mennyiségben halmozza föl és annak tövében az éhségtől, a hidegtől megdermedve pusztul el. Az ember a csodák csodájának alkotója, a primitiv, az ősembert megszégyenitő módon közömbös saját magával szemben. Amit elmulasztott a társadalmi forradalom fejlesztése terén, szervezetlensége folytán, azt előállitotta akarata ellenére is a gép, a vasember fejlesztésével.

Ma a géprendszer fejlettsége állitotta az embert a társadalmi forradalom legfelső lépcsőjére, amelyről visszaut nincsen és bármennyire habozik is, az egyetlen mentség számára az Egy Nagy Szervezet, az Ipari Demokrácia.

A BÉRMUNKÁS GYŐZNI FOG

KIPETY KÁROLY

Csak nem elmerengni a történtek felett,
nem sajnákozni a dolgok felett,
nem sirni, nem sóhajtozni rajta,
mert ma itt, holnap amott csillan a szurony.

Akasztófák árnyéka vetődik ránk,
fényes puskacsövek merednek felénk,
szivünket szurony döfi keresztül . . .
az eszménkért meghalni készek vagyunk!

Hátunkon gummibotnak nyoma látszik,
durva rendőrcsizma rug belénk,
kiömlő vérünket vérebek nyalják:
lássátok ime: nem félünk mégsem!

Kezünkre durva bilincs szorul,
ütlegektől arcunk vérbe borul,
börtönök falához szoritjuk kinzott testünk;
. . . nem türünk, . . . nem türünk!

Kereszt az egyik kézben, a másikban pallos,
naponta ezreket gyilkoltok, martok,
. . . hiába minden börtön, bilincs,
győzelem a miénk, a bérmunkás győzni fog!

A szobrász

BULIK M.né

LASSU léptekben halad a tágas folyosón s megállt a lépcső följáratánál. Szemeivel végigmérte a tizenhárom lépcsőt és aztán nagynehezen fölfelé ment rajtuk. Mikor fölért, levegő után kapkodott. Ugy érezte, mintha a kora reggeltől késő éjszakába járó munka egészen kifárasztotta volna. Balra fordult, hogy a mühelybe térjen, mely a világosságot a tetőn keresztül kapta. Mikor bent volt a mühelyben és meglátta alkotását, egy müvésziesen elkészitett kőszobrot, a fáradságot egészen elfelejtette és mosoly jött az ajkára.

A szobor még nem volt teljesen kész. Mert a müvész, a szobrász, itt-ott talált egy kis simitani, csiszolni valót. Néha-néha abbahagyta a munkát és gyönyörködött keze ügyességében. Ahogy ugy bámészkodva állt, a telefoncsengetés megzavarta. Oda siet. A kagylót leemeli és vig hangon beleszól:

— Halló! Halló!

A beszélgetésből csak a szobrásznak válaszát lehetett hallani, ami annyiból állt: “Igen, igen, a szobor ma elkészül és holnap eljöhetnek érte”. Aztán letette a kaglót s nagy örömében a szoborhoz sietett. Azt jól szemügyre vette, hogy nem talál-e valami hibát rajta. Többször körüljárta azt, de semmi munkát már nem talált rajta. A szobor teljesen kész volt.

Leült a székre a szoborral szemben és dörzsölni kezdte kezeit, amelyek azt a müvészies szobrot előállitották és hangosan igy szólt:

— Holnap, igen, holnap eljön a bizottság a szoborért, mely a főtéren lesz fölállitva. És vasárnap kora reggel már a nép gyülekezni fog, hogy ünnepeljen. Tiz óra tizenöt perckor leveszik a lepelt róla és aztán az ottlevők látni fogják az én müvészies alkotásomat, a szobrot. A dalárda megnyitja az ünnepet. A zene szólni fog. A szónokok ajkairól szebnél-szebb ünnepi beszédek hangzanak el. Mindenki a szobromat fogja nézni. Ez lesz az én legboldogabb napom. Ünnepelni fog a város népe......

S itt a szobrász elszomorkodik, mint ha valami bántaná és halkabb hangon mondja: “Ünnepelni fog a város népe. De kit? Az én faragványomat, mely egy nagyurat ábrázol. Szerintük nagy hős, mert a háboru rettenetes gyilkolásában neki is van része. Az ő parancsára a háboruban, sok serdülő ifjut lemészároltak és annál többet nyomorékká tettek egész életükre a Haza nevében. Ahová ő seregét parancsolta, abban a városban vagy faluban kőkövön nem maradt. Vitték a pusztitást meg gyilkolást, mint a barbár népek. És ezt nevezik ők civilizált kornak. És ennek a hősnak a részére rendeltek el vasárnapra ünnepet, hogy az ő cselekvéseit ünnepeljék.

Erre a gondolatra a szobrász, aki percekkel ezelőtt olyan büszke volt az ő szobrára, lesütötte szemeit és mély gondolkodásba esett. Majd ujból megszólalt:

“Ki örökitette meg azoknak az elesett katonáknak fájdalmait, szenvedéseit? Azoknak az anyáknak, özvegyeknek és árváknak a jajkiáltásait, akik fiaikat, férjeiket és apáikat elveszitették? Azok részére nem rendeznek ünnepeket. Azokkal nem sokat törődik a nép. Csak a nagyurak legyenek kiemelve?”

Fölállt a székről és föl-alá járta a mühelyt, majd megint leült és imigy szólt:

“Ha végigfutok gondolataimmal az egész világon, tengerparttól tengerpartig, akkor is csak kevés müvészre találok, akik a szegény népnek a képmását faragták vagy festették meg, vagy annak nyomorát, fájdalmait örökitették meg. Ha visszamegyek kondolataimmal hatezer évre, Egyiptomba, ahol a civilizáció kezdődött s megkérdezném a történelem tudósait, mik voltak a nevei azoknak, akik a pirámisokat épitették, azt a választ kapnám, hogy nem tudják. Azok csak rabszolgák voltak. De a fáraóknak, a királyoknak a neveit megörökitette a történelem. A testüket haláluk után erősen bebalzsamozták, hogy hat-hétezer év mulva is épségben megmaradtak. Azokat a mumiákat minden nagyobb muzeumban látni lehet. Mintha azt mondanák: itt vagyunk teljes testben ezer évek után is, hogy lássátok, kik voltak az ókori uralkodók és milyen rabságban tartottuk a dolgozó népet. A szegényebb népet, ha be is balzsamozták, csak fék-balzsamot használtak, hogy mennél hamarabb elrothadjanak, hogy nyoma se maradjon meg nekik".

Ugyanaz történt a régi görögökkel is. A görög élő isteneknek, istennőknek a képmásait ezerszámra mutatják a szobrok. Az ő hatalmukat dicsőitik könyvek milliói, mely nem állt másból, mint kegyetlen, durva, zsarnoki cselekvésekből.

Kik voltak azok a görög épitészek, akik véres verejtékkel fölépitették azokat a gyönyörü szinházakat meg templomokat? A nevük ismeretlen, mert csak munkások voltak, akiknek csak nyomor és szenvedés járt ki kezük ügyességéért. Mi volt a nevük azoknak, akik gyönyörü szobrokkal szépitették a régi görög kort? Ismeretlenek azok. A történelem itt is csak a volt élő isteneknek a királyoknak, udvaroncaiknak a neveit jegyezte föl...... És igy végigment gondolataival a multakon és visszanézve a mai korig és szemügyre véve a mai társadalmat, amelyben élt, igy szólt:

"Semmi ujat nem látok a rendszerben. Minden ugy megy, mint ezer évvel ezelőtt. A szegény nép akkor nyomorgott és szenvedett és most is nyomorog és szenved.

"A régi korban kiemelték a fáraókat, királyokat, élő isteneket, akik zsarnoki hatalommal rendelkeztek a szegény nép fölött. A mai rendszerben is csak a nagyurakat emelik ki, akik bérrabszolgaságban tartják a dolgozó népet. És ez a munkásnép tür és szolgamódra meghajol előttük.

"És ha most idáig eljutottam, meg kell magamtól kérdezni: hogyan éltem én, hogy csak harmincéves korombban vettem észre, milyen társadalomban élek? Vak voltam-e, vagy szemeimet fátyol boritotta, vagy az agyam volt megmételyezve, hogy ezt a rendszert nem láttam? Vagy idáig kellett eljutnom, hogy e szobor kifaragása után lássam meg benne mindazt tisztán, amit eddig nem vettem észre....?"

S most rápillant a szoborra. Fölugrik a székről, hol több mint egy órát ült elgondolkodva. Közelebb megy a szoborhoz és arcát jól szemügyre veszi. Most látta csak tisztán zsarnoki kifejezését és ugy vélte látni, mintha az vigyorogna rá. Mintha azt mondaná: Te szegény munkás, aki engem kifafaragtál, te akarod, hogy kezed ügyességét megörökitsék? Ha-ha! Hát te nem tudod azt, hogy abban a társadalomban, melyben élsz, csak azok lesznek kiemelve, akik a pénz-istennek hódolnak......

Itt a szobrász már teljesen kikelt önmagából. Arca elvörösödött. Melle zihált. Fölemelte a nagy kalapácsot és összezuzta a szobrot.

S teljes megelégedéssel tette le a kalapácsot. És szólt: "Az én kezem ügyességével zsarnokokat faragni többé nem fogok".

◆

Szomoru tapasztalatok

NÉMETH JÓZSEF

AMIKOR leéltük az 1931-ik évet, a hiszkeny rétege a munkásosztálynak bizalommal fordult a jövő fejleményei elé. A bizalmat fokozta az 1932-ik évben ujból lezajlandó elnökválasztás, mert a mult történelmében az elnökválasztást megelőzőleg mindig több munkaalkalom mutatkozott az iparokban.

A mult föllendülés mesterkéltségét nagyon kevés szavazati joggal biró munkásember ismeri, csak azok, akik a politikai boszorkánykonyhákba be tudnak látni. Azok pedig tartózkodnak a szavazásoktól, mert a politikai cécókat a munkásosztály becsapásának és szükségtelen energia pocsékolásnak tartják.

Az 1931-ből 1932-be nyuló tél nagyon enyhe volt, ami nagyban hozzájárult a hajléknélküli, éhező, rongyfoszlányokban járó munkások sok millióinak nyomora enyhitéséhez és életben maradásához, amit a szeretetkonyha néven ismert, mosogatóvizet megszégyenitő kotyvalékok gyártói is maguknak tartanak.

Az év elején a Kentucky bányászharcot kivéve, számottevőbb munkásmegmozdulás nem volt. Amit a nyomor és nélkülözésszülte nemtörődömségnek lehet betudni. Az agyonéheztetett munkanélküliek teljesen beleestek az apáthiába és a még dolgozók oly nagyon félnek, illetve féltik a munkájukat a munkanélküliek 13—14 milliós táborától, hogy még a véleményüket sem merik nyilvánitani a folyó eseményekre vonatkozólag.

Nem mintha azok, akik még abban a kivételes szerencsében vannak, hogy dolgoznak, megvolnának elégedve a sorsuk folyásával, hiszen olyan alacsony bérek mellett kénytelenek robotolni, hogy a legelemibb szükségleteiket is alig birják megszerezni. De a szervezetlenségük, amely betegségben ugy a munkán levők, mint a munkanélküliek szenvednek, irigyekké, illetve féltékenyekké teszik a különben egy sorsra kárhoztatott munkásmilliókat. Azok, akik még munkán vannak, féltékenyek, féltik a kizsákmányolt sorsukat azoktól a millióktól, akik munkakeresés céljából róják napról-napra a város utcáit. De a szervezkedés helyett várakozó álláspontra helyezkednek és csodáktól várják sorsuk jobbrafordulását.

A kapitalista osztálynak nem érdeke a munkásosztály jobb életszinvonala, mert az gerinces munkásokat nevel és szószólója és harcosa lesz a munkásokat megillető termelt javak igazságos szétosztásának. Azok az emberek, akik nyomorban élnek, elvesztik a józan emberi gondolkozásukat és megszünnek a kapitalista rendszer megszüntetésének harcosai lenni. Legfőbb céljuk a gyomorkérdés, amit emberi mivoltuk megszégyenitése árán könyöradományért koldulva, szereznek meg. Seregszámra látunk ép, erős, mukabiró embereket, akik házról-házra járnak segitségért könyörögni, hogy életüket föntarthassák, természetesen csak a munkásnegyedekben. A gazdag negyedek a koldulók serege elől el vannak zárva, a rend éber őre azonnal fülön csipi, ha egy kivételesen bemeri tenni a lábát tiltott területre.

Vannak, akik ezeket az embereket, akik helyzetük megváltoztatásának helyes irányát nem ismerték föl, — saját céljaik elérésére használják föl és politikai céljaik mögött az ő telhetetlen zsebeik megtömése huzódik meg.

A politikai pártok ez évben nagyon hiányosak, ami csak természetes, miután 1932-ben az Egyesült Államok elnökválasztása zajlik le. A kommunista párt, hüen a régi szokásaihoz, utcai lármákat és cirkuszi mutatványokat rendez az elnökválasztással kapcsolatban és legfőbb célja a tőkegyüjtés és a pártvezérek feneketlen zsákjai tömése.

Az éhező tömegeket ilyen haszontalan cécókra még föl lehet használni, hisz a politikusok hangzatos ígéreteiben és ebben látják sorsuk javulását. A képzettségük még nem jutott el ahhoz a ponthoz, hogy fölismernék a politikusok tehetlenségét, az ipari bárók és fejedelmek gazdasági szervezetével szemben.

Az iparfejedelmek szervezett erejét utcai tüntetésekkel, Washingtonba való marsolással, munkanélküli segélykövetelésekkel megtörni nem lehet. Azt csak Ipari Szervezkedéssel lehet megtörni.

Az I. W. W. már több mint 26 éve hirdeti az ipari szervezkedés szükségességét, ami egyedüli kivezető ut a mai ipari anarchiává sülyedt társadalmi rendszerből.

A politikai pártok vezérei az I. W. W.-t, illetve az ipari szervezkedést nem jónak és nem kivihetőnek jelentették ki a multban. Most már azonban frontot változtattak, azt állitják, hogy az I. W. W. jó volt a multban, de nem a jelenben. Persze, állitásukat nem tudják alátámasztani.

A kapitalista rendszer inog. Hogy teljesen összedüljön, ahhoz az ipari munkások Egy Nagy Szervezetének kiépitése szükséges, mely felöleli az összes iparokban dolgozó munkásokat, kivétel nélkül, hogy milyen szerszámmal dolgozik, milyen nyelvet beszél, milyen a szine, vagy milyen a vallása.

A munkásosztály érdeke egy, tekintet nélkül, hogy abban a szerencsés helyzetben van-e, hogy még dolgozik, vagy már évek óta munkanélkül van. Ennek a társadalomnak egyik éppen olyan kitaszitottja, mint a másik. Ha dolgozik, oly emberfölötti munkát követelnek tőle, ami idő előtt rokkanttá teszi és a sirba kergeti, családja pedig a nélkülözésből a teljes nyomorba jut. Ha nem dolgozik, ki van téve az éhhalálnak és annak, hogy oly alacsony bérért kell esetleg munkát vállalnia, ami sok ugyan az éhenpusztuláshoz, de kevés a megélhetéshez.

Az ily bánásmódokat a munkásosztállyal szemben csak fokozza a gépek fejlődése. Az utolsó tizenöt évben a gépek bevonásával és tökéletesitésével megsokszorozták a termelést. Nem egy ipartelepen, ahol 4000 emberrel végezték a termelést, 400 ember van alkalmazva és a legtöbb esetben még többet is termelnek ezek. Ilyenformán nagyrésze a munkásoknak szükségtelenné vált az iparban.

Ezen csak szervezett erővel lehet változtatni, még pedig olyanformában, amint azt az I. W. W. tanitja. Szervezett erővel lefoglalhatja a proltariátus a termelési eszközöket és azt továbbfejlesztheti az emberiség javára. Azért mondja az I. W. W. az elvi nyilatkozatában: A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést, mikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult.

Futball és nyomor

EDE EMIL

Róma: Panem et circenses!
XX. század: Futballt és kenyeret!

TEMPÓ!...... Tempó!...... A biró füttye szól: goal!...... Gyönyörü lövés volt! Éljen! Éljen!...... Tempó!...... Tempó!...... A huszadik században fölujult Róma: Cirkuszt!.... Cirkuszt!...... Róma, ez Róma: kenyérnélküli Róma!

A futball-pályáknak lázas tempója viharszárnyakon futja az utját, lázba boritja a felnőtteket és a csecsemők táborát. Csoportokba verődve állnak s tárgyalják a "világot megváltó" futball-eredményeket. Igen, ennek igy kell lennie, ma már a nap hőse az, akit koponya- és bordatöréssel szállitanak az arénából, a futball pályákról a kórházba. A nap hősét nem sajnálat, hanem üdvrivalgás és harsonazsongás kiséri az arénákról a kórháznak fehér falai közé. Cirkuszért bömböl az egész tömeg, vért akar látni ujra, vért, mely szökőkutként fröccsen a nap felé, vért, mely piros és meleg! A vérnek lázitó szaga lázba boritja a tespedt agyakat, a vér a toroknak démoni erőt kölcsönöz; hatalmas harsonaként zug, morog a tömeg: Tempó!...... Tempó!....

Róma, te örök város! Nem halsz meg soha! Letünt arénáid helyébe ujak jönnek........ Vért és cirkuszt Róma uj népének......! Régi Néródnak helyét kegyetlenebb "Nérók" foglalják el. Te, uj Rómának legujabb Nérója: öntudatlan tömeg, ha előtted halállal vivódik arénádnak szemefénye: egy futballista, hüvelykujjadat földre szegezve, tajtékzó dühvel bömbölöd: dögöt ki a pályáról!

Róma, Róma! Ha földig dőlne is örök falad, — erkölcsöd, az még ma is él!......

A kapitalista társadalom uj tempója: Cirkuszt az éhező tömegnek! A gazdasági krizisnek nyomorába kényszeritett tömegeknek nem szabad észrevennie a nyomort, a piszkot, amelyben él; cirkusztneki ujra, mint egykor Róma népének.

A technikának őrült irama millió és millió munkáskezet tesz fölöslegessé a kapitalista rendszerben; milliók és milliók nyögnek a napi kenyérnek igája alatt, kivert kutyaként kóborolnak az utcán: te bódult tömeg, észre ne vedd a fényt, a pompát, amelyben hóhéraid élnek, cirkuszt kaptok, gyönyörüt és fényeset, melynek csillogása szemeitek fényét veszi el; ne lássátok, — ahol fény van, árnyék is létezik ott! Midőn a kapitalisták az életnek gyönyörmámorában élnek, ti ugyanakkor piszokba és nyomorba döntve éhenhaltok! Emberek, ne lássátok: cirkuszt kaptok, hogy mulassatok!

Munkanélkül éltek már évek óta, koplaltok kóbor kutyákként, lépésteket a kapitalista rendnek őrei gumibottal és kardlappal kiséri. Ember, föl ne lázadj: cirkuszt rendeznek számodra, cirkuszt, melyben isteni zsolozsma zeng; cirkuszt, hol vadit a vér! Cirkuszt kapsz a templomnak falai közt; agyadnak szüleménye; isten előtt térdre borultatnak; cirkuszt kapsz: — futball pályát, hogy imádd az erőt, mely benned él, hogy imádd a vért, mely ereidben csörgedez, hogy szeresd az életet, melyből kitaszitottak; hogy örülj a fénynek, melytől megraboltak! Ember, valahogy föl ne lázadj! Cirkuszt kapsz, melyben erős és élet, fény és pompa létezik.

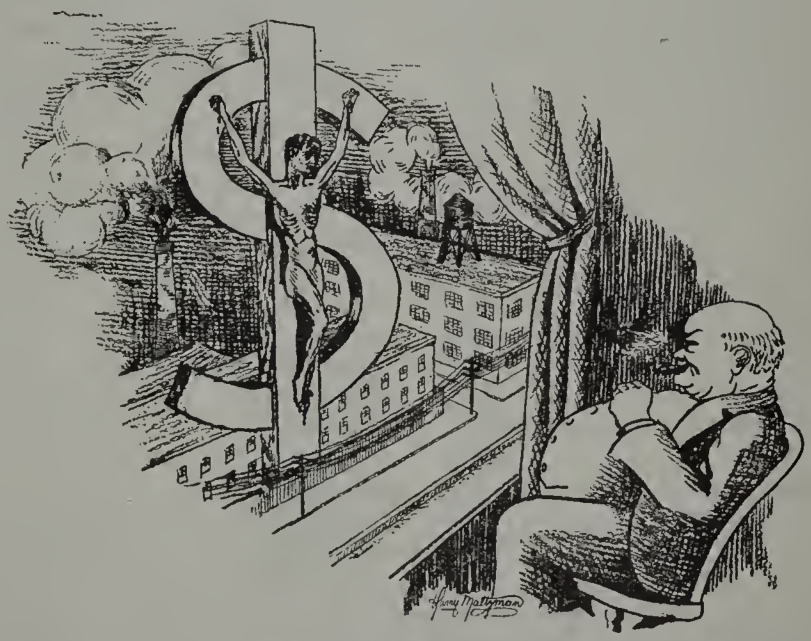
Ember, erkölcstelen mocsár a hazád! Éhes vagy, munkád nincs, feleségedet félholtra vered — enni akarsz! És másnap már lesz ennivalód: feleséged pénzért más karjába hullt!......

És másnap már van pénzed, hogy uj cirkuszt láss. Tudom, te bódult tömeg, cirkusz kell néked, cirkusz és semmi egyéb!

A kapitalista rendszer nap-nap mellett ujabb és ujabb cirkuszt rendez...... Vajjon miért? A proletariátus nyomorát akarja palástolni ezzel. A nyomorgó tömeget, ha magára hagyják, ha időt engednek neki, hogy nyomora fölött töprengjen, lázongó volna. Mint ahogy az egyháznak jelszava bevált, először szegénnyé a népet és csak azután katholikussá. Éppen igy a kapitalista rendszernek jelszava is: a nyomorgókat őrültté tenni, igen jó eszköznek bizonyul, hogy az öntudatlan tömegeket a futball-őrület őrültjeivé tegyék, hogy ezáltal elteritsék attól a gondolattól: embernek nem igy kell élnie, mint ahogy élnek, nyomorban és nélkülözésben halállal vivódva. A kapitalistáknak igazuk van: könnyebb cirkusszal jóllakatni az öntudatlan tömeget, mint kenyérrel. Könnyebb cirkuszi játékba fullasztani a lázadás csiráját, mint éhező tömegek megmozdulását fegyveres erővel elfojtani.

Cirkuszt, futball-őrületet kap az öntudatlan tömeg és ezeken rágódik napokon és heteken keresztül, nem látva az uj háboru előkészitését, nem hallva a fegyverek csörömpölését s ágyuk bömbölésést, melyet a kapitalista társadalom a proletariátus ellen készit, hogy vérbe fojtson minden kenyérharcot, ha egyszer tán megelégeli a tömeg a cirkuszi játékot és lázadásra gondol. A futball-őrületnek eredményein töpreng a munkanélküliek százezrei és közben a tömeg nem veszi észre egyoldalon a szertelen duhaj kedvet, másoldalon saját nyomoruságát. Nem veszi észre a tömeg, hogy a futball-őrületet, mint cirkuszt, csak azért dobják közéjük, hogy ezen rágódva nyomorukat, melyben élnek, egy bizonytalan ideig elfeledjék és hogy ezen idő alatt a kapitalista rendszer elegendő fegyveres erőt gyüjtsön az eljövendő háboruira — a Tőke és Munka között. Mert eljön az uj háboru. A Tőke fegyveres erővel akarja majd a Munka erejét ártalmatlanná tenni; jaj lesz a munkásságnak, ha erejét szétforgácsolva találja a Tőke háboruja; jaj lesz a munkásságnak, ha az arénáknak őrjöngésében éri utól a Tőkének gyülölt fegyvere!

Tömeg, te hatalmas ember, mikor veszed már észre, hogy cirkuszt adnak, ha kenyeret kérsz!? Mikor veszed már észre, hogy a futball-őrületnek leple alatt ágyukat vontatnak ellened!? Ember, mikor lázadsz......! Mikor......?!



Krisztus és társait a gazdagok keresztre feszitették. A kapitalizmus uralma alatt a kereszt dollárrá fejlődött; a sztrájkoló munkás meggyilkolását kéjes élvezettel nézi a tőkés.

Orvosi kislexikon

Dr. Madzsar József egyetemi magántanár
Enciklopédia R. T. kiadásában megjelent
"Orvosi Tanácsadó" nyomán

AGYHÁRTYAGYULLADÁS, az agyvelőt boritó burkok heveny, genyes vagy inkább krónikus megbetegedése. — Oka: vagy az A. sajátos kórokozója, vagy a gümőkor, esetleg a vérbaj baktériumai. Járványosan lép fel és erőssége szerint 30—100%-ban halálos. Tünetek: Láz, nyugtalanság, hányás, fejfájás és nyakszirtmerevedés. Gyógykezelés: A geny sebészi uton való levezetése, a gerincvelő-folyadék megcsapolása és széruminjekciók.

ÁJULÁS, az agyvelő hirtelen vérszegénységének következménye, amit vérveszteség, tulerőltetés, rossz levegő, ijedtség stb. okozhat. A betegnek friss levegőre van szüksége, a testet szoritó ruhadarabokat el kell távolitani, vagy fel kell gombolni, a legfontosabb azonban nyomban a hátára fektetni és a feje alá semmiféle támasztékot nem tenni. Bőrmassage különösen a talpon és tenyéren, továbbá a szivtájék nedves ronggyal való ütögetése gyakran használ. Makacs esetekben, mig az orvos megérkezik, mesterséges légzés!

AKNE, genyes foltocskák a bőrön, melyek különösen a pubertás idejében lépnek fel és szeretnek az arcon, tarkón, háton és mellen jelentkezni. Gyógykezelés: Napfürdők, friss levegő gimnasztikával egybekötve, fehérjében és zsirban szegény koszt, sok gyümölcs; szabályos anyagcserére, székelésre ügyelni!

ALKOHOLIZMUS. E név alatt foglaljuk össze mindazokat a betegségi tüneteket, melyek az alkohol nevü méreg élvezésének következtében fellépnek. Az alkohol mérgezés enyhébb alakja a mindenki által ismert alkoholmámor, amely azonban egyes esetekben mint "beteges mámor" halálos veszedelemmé fajulhat. Tünetek: Kipirult arc, kidülledt szem, izgalmi tünetek, melyek tombolásba mehetnek át és indokolatlan romboláshoz vezetnek, péld. gyujtogatás, vagy ellenkezőleg: eszméletlenség, hideg veriték, alacsony hőmérséklet, görcsök. Gyógykezelés: Előbbi tüneteknél a közveszélyes beteget ártalmatlanná kell tenni, utóbbiaknál: jól betakarni, meleg helyen lefektetni; erős feketekávé vagy tea, dörzsölés, esetleg mesterséges légzés. A krónikus alkoholizmus tünetei: Vörös arc, remegés, gyomor hurut, reggeli bányás, jellemváltozás. A beteg brutális, hazudozó, érzelgős, akaratgyenge és feledékeny lesz, ostoba és kiméletlen vicceket gyárt. Gyógykezelés: Teljes lemondás az alkoholról. Ha a beteg erre képtelen, akkor gyámság alá kell helyezni és alkoholista-kórházba vagy más zárt helyre internálandó. A krónikus alkoholizmus további következménye a delirium tremens és az alkohol-téboly. Tünetek: Az előbbieken kivül üldözési mánia, féltékenységi és félelmi rögeszmék, nagyfoku feledékenység.

ANGOLKÓR, a gyermekek helytelen táplálásának betegsége. Tünetek: Fejizzadás, rendellenségek a koponyacsontokon, u. m. homlok dudor, könnyen benyomható, vékony csontok, későn és szabálytalanul jelentkező fogak zománc hiányokkal, megvastagodások a bordákon, tyukmell, O és X lábak stb. Gyógykezelés: Csukamájolaj, nyers tej, friss főzelék, nyers főzeléklé, friss gyümölcs, nemkülönben napfény és jó levegő.

ARANYEREK, a végbélnyilás környékének vizerei kitágulnak, csomósak lesznek, egyik-másik megpattanhat és vérzés keletkezik, mely a gyakran igen kinzó fájdalmak enyhülésével jár (innen az elnevezés: értékes, mint az arany, mert enyhiti a fájdalmat). Ok: Tultápláltság, hus, feketekávé, alkohol és fűszerek tulzott élvezése, ülő foglalkozás. Az A. gyulladásba mehetnek át és komolyabb következményekkel járhatnak. Gyógykezelés: Meleg ülőfürdők, lágy székeletről gondoskodni! Vérzésnél legalább egy órán át ugy kell feküdni, hogy a medence magasabban feküdjön, mint a váll. Gyulladásos jelenségek esetén hideg borogatás és nyugalom. Orvosi vizsgálat szükséges, mert laikus nem tudja megállapitani, hogy a tünetek nem más betegség (pl. rosszindulatu béldaganat!) okozza-e.

ASZTMA, a légcsövecskék betegsége, mely főként korosabb férfiaknál lép fel. Tünetek: A tulajdonképeni roham előtt rossz közérzet, gyomornyomás, viszketés a gégében, ásitozás és néha tüsszentgetés lép fel. A roham főként éjfél felé tör a betegre, akit, minthogy a légcsővecskék hurutos váladéka és görcse következtében nem tud kilélegzeni, heves légszomj fog el, mell kasa fel van fuvódva, ajka elkékül és nyomosztó félelmi érzések közt görcsösen igyekszik friss levegőhöz jutni, miközben — hogy a légzéshez nagyobb erőt fejthessen ki — az ágy szélébe vagy az ablakfába kapaszkodik. Gyógykezelés: Roham esetén, meleg lábszárfürdő (15—20 percig) és ezt követő hideg lábszárpakolás (30—40 percig), vagy ugyanaz a hason. Sulyosabb esetekben görcsoldó gyógyszereket adnak injekció (astmolysin, morphium) vagy belégzés (meggyujtott asztmapor vagy belladonnatartalmu asztmacigaretták) alakjában. Egyébként szisztematikus bőr- és testápolás légzőgimnasztikával egybekötve. Minthogy az A. gyakran jellegzetesen idegbetegség képét nyujtja, idegorvosi kezelés szükséges lehet.

AVITAMINOZISOK alatt azokat a betegségeket értjük, melyek bizonyos táplálékokban megtalálható és az egészség fenntartásához feltétlenül szükséges fehérjeszerü anyagok — a vitaminok — hiánya következtében lépnek fel. Ide tartoznak: skorbut, vérzéses betegségek, angolkór, lágycsontuság, a ritkább beriberi, vizkór, pellagra, sőt ujabb kutatások alapján bizonyos mértékben a rák és sok más betegség is. Tünetek: a hiányzó vitamin és az illető betegség szerint különbözők. Gyógykezelés: Gyógyszerekkel való próbálkozás előtt az életmód és táplálkozás megváltoztatásával többnyire célt érünk. Suly helyezendő a friss főzelékre, salátára, gyümölcsre. Esetenként fontos a csukamájolaj, citromlé, vaj és a teljes, forralatlan tej.

BÁRÁNYHIMLŐ, gyermekeknél előforduló kiütéses, ragályos, de többnyire könnyü lefolyásu betegség. Tünetek: A 2—4 hétig tartó lappangási időszak után könnyü láz és bágyadtság, majd rendszerint az arcról kiinduló, de mihamar az egész testet ellepő rózsaszinü, sürü bőrkiütés. A foltok egy része hólyagokba megy át, ezek kb. egy hét alatt beszáradnak és 2—3 hét alatt az egész bajnak vége van. A kiütés viszket, felkaparása esetén fertőzésveszély! Gyógykezelés: Szabályos székletre ügyelni, gyümölcs és főzelék-koszt, naponta 8—10 percig meleg lábfürdő, majd hideg pakolás. Viszketés ellen: ecetes vizzel (1 evőkanál ecet 1 liter vizre) lemosni, utána puder.

BASEDOW-KÓR, rendesen a pajzsmirigy fokozott müködésének következménye. Tünetek: Kidülledt, nedvesen fénylő szem, kevés szemrebbenés, kicsiny, de szapora pulsus, izzadásra való hajlam, emésztési zavarok, szapora légzés, idegeskedésre és remegésre való hajlandóság, néha meg nagyobbodott pajzsmirigy és soványodás. Gyógykezelés: Nyugalom, a megszokott környezetből való eltávolitás, lehetőleg hegyi levegő, esetleg brom megnyugtatásul és arzén erősitőül. A B.-os beteget nem kell evésre erőltetni, különösen nem eleinte. Az orvos különböző szervi-gyógyszereket rendelhet, esetleg operációt vagy Röntgen-besugárzást ajánlhat.

BÉLBETEGSÉGEK. A gyakoribb B. és tüneteik: Felfuvódásnál a táplálék bomlásakor keletkezett gázok nem tudnak távozni vagy a bél eltömődése miatt, vagy mert a gázok nem tudnak felszivódni. Gyógykezelés: A bél eltömődését, esetleges bélhurutot megszüntetni, gázképző ételek kerülése, petrezselyempárlat, kamillatea. Hasmenésnek két közvetlen oka lehet. Gyakoribb a fokozott bélmüködés, amely a táplálékot nem hagyja nyugodni a bélben, hanem kihajtja, máskor ellenkezőleg valóságos bélhüdés van jelen, ugy hogy a bél nem képes a táplálékot "tartani." Gyógykezelés: Ha a has egy helye fájdalmas, vagy láz: ágyba feküdni, orvos! Ha csak átmeneti: koplalás, üres tea, egy késhegynyi rhabarbara. Székrekedés a leggyakoribb panaszok közé tartozik. Ha többnyire valamilyen bélbetegség tünete is csupán, mégis önálló betegségként vagy mint ideges betegség is előfordulhat. Gyógykezelés: Különösen krónikus székrekedésnél hosszadalmas és türelmet igényel. Többnyire az egész addig követett táplálkozási mód és szokások megváltoztatását kell kivánni. Ha a rekedést görcs okozza, akkor azt kell atropinnal vagy belladonnával feloldani. Ellenkező esetben hashajtó adandó, mely ismét a baj székhelye (vékony v. vastagbél) szerint változik. (Rhabarbara, ricinus, keserüvizek, áloe stb.) Masszázs, villanyozás, gimnasztika, olajbaöntés is alkalmazható. Bélhurut a bél nyálkahártyájának a gyulladása. Tünetek: Hasfájás, gyengeség, hányinger, főfájás, esetleg sárgaság. Gyógykezelés: Könnyü koszt. Az első 2—3 napon csak tea, nyákleves, kétszersült. Először hashajtó, azután csersavas vagy ópiumos készitmények. Krónikus bélhurutnál könnyü, nem izgató diéta, kevés cukor, esetleg mesterséges gyomornedv. Vakbélgyulladás. Bélfekélyre ugyanaz vonatkozik, mint a gyomorfekélyre. Bélgümőkór. Tünetek: Eleinte mint a hurutnál, majd véres széklet, nagyfoku lesoványodás, esetleg kitapintható krónikus daganat vagy végbélsipoly. Gyógykezelés: Általános gümőkórkezelés, sebészi beavatkozás, diéta. Bélelzáródás (ileus) különböző okokból kifolyólag állhat elő. Rendkivül veszedelmes állapot. Tünetek: Szék- és szélrekedés, felböfögés, hányás, a hányadék sulyos esetekben bélsártartalmu (u. n. miserere), a hasfal feszes és nyomásra fájdalmas. Gyógykezelés: Többnyire csak operáció segit, ha még nincs késő. Mig az orvos jön: nyugalom, semmiféle hashajtó, meleg hasborogatás.

BŐRBETEGSÉGEK vagy valóban a bőr saját betegségei, vagy a szervezet egy más betegségének csupán tünetei. Utóbbi lehetősége miatt bőrtünet fellépésénél orvos tanácsát kell kérni. A gyakoribb B. és tünetek: Viszketésnél az alapbajt kell kezelni, tüneti enyhitésként nap- és meleg fürdők, ecetesvizzel való lemosás, puder. Csalánkiütések többnyire helytelen táplálkozás következményei. Gyógykezelés: Diéta, hashajtók, karlsbadi kura. Övsömör (herpes zoster) mindig egy ideg lefutása mentén lép fel hólyagocskák alakjában, gyakran heves fájdalmaktól kisérve. Gyógy kezelés: Félóránként hideg borogatás, éjszakára vazelinnal bekenni. Ekcéma a bőrre huzamosabb ideig ható sértés vagy emésztési zavar következtében fellépő összefolyó kiütés. Gyógykezelés: Nem vakarni, vizzel nem hozzáérni könnyü koszt, főként gyümölcs. Fagyás. Furunkulozis.

CUKORBAJ (Diabetes) elnevezés alatt azokat a kóros tüneteket foglaljuk össze, melyek azon anyagcsereforgalmi zavarból állnak elő, hogy a szervezet a felvett cukrot képtelen feldolgozni, ugy hogy az a vizeletben vagy a vérben, vagy mindkettőben kimutatható. A legkülönbözőbb okokra vezethető vissza. Tünetek: Eleinte ideges levertség, álmatlanság, fejfájás, szédülés, emésztési zavarok. A C.-ra irányitják a figyelmet: elég jó étvágy ellenére lesoványodás, valamint feltünő szomjuság és vizeletbőség. Sulyos esetekben eszméletlenség lép fel sajátságos mély légzés és rendkivül alacsony hőmérséklet által kisérve, mely többnyire halálosan végződik. Gyógykezelés: Szigoru orvosi étrend, insulin-kezelés.

CSONTGYULLADÁS, mint csaknem minden gyulladás, baktériumok által okozott fertőzés következménye. Tünetek: A Cs. helyén heves fájdalom, a bőr megvörösödik, esetleg tályogképződés, rázóhideg és láz fellépésével. Gyógykezelés: Az orvos érkezéséig — aki az alapokat megállapitja, a tályogot felvágja és általános kezelést vezet be — alkalmazhatunk 50 százalékos alkoholos borogatást (föléje Billroth-battiszot és flanelkendőt) és a csont teljes nyugalomba helyezendő.

EGYIPTOMI SZEMBETEGSÉG (Trachoma) a kötőhártya ragályos megbetegedése, mely türelmes, szakszerü kezelést igényel, különben a látás elvesztését vonhatja maga után. Napoleon katonái hurcolták be Egyiptomból, kórokozója még ismeretlen. Tünetek: A szemhéj belső felületén kisebb-nagyobb gömbök lépnek fel, a szemhéj egészen feldagadhat, genyesedés, fénykerülés állhat be. A gömbök hegekbe mehetnek át, melyek a szemhéjakat össze-vissza huzzák és egyéb komoly bajokat okozhatnak. Gyógykezelés: Kamillateás vagy bórvizes borogatás, tisztaság! A szakszerü kezelés a gömbök lemarásában vagy más módon való elpusztitásában áll.

EKLAMPSIA (Rángógörcs) Terhes, szülő vagy ritkábban gyermekágyas nőknél fellépő heves görcsökben mutatkozó betegség, mely a terhes szervezet belső önmérgezésében leli okát. Hasonló görcsös rángások gyermekeknél is felléphetnek. Gyógykezelés: Azonnal orvost! Addig: azonnal ágyba, csak folyékony koszt, meleg fürdő. Gyermekeknél: Mustárlisztpakolás a mellen, meleg fürdő, hideg borogatás a fejre.

ELHIZÁS. Többnyire a tulzott táplálkozás, kevés izommunka, általában bizonyos "lusta" és "kényelmes" életmód következménye. Ugynevezett belső elválasztásu mirigyek működésbeli betegségének kifejezője is lehet. Tünetek: Zsirlerakódás elsősorban ott, ahol a nem elhizott emberen is van zsir, tehát a bőr alatti kötőszövetben, hasfalban, csipőben, tarkón, valamint a különböző szervekben, májban, izomzatban, szivben stb. Legkülönbözőbb vérkeringési, légzési és egyéb szervi komplikációk. Gyógykezelés: Észszerü táplálkozás és életmód. A különböző fogyókurák csakis orvosi előirás szerint követendők. Szakszerü torna!

EPEHÓLYAGBÁNTALMAK név alatt foglaljuk össze az epehólyagnak és a máj epelevezető utainak megbetegedését, melyek között az epehólyaggyulladás és az epekövek a leggyakoribbak. Tünetek: Epehólyaggyulladásnál bágyadtság, étvágytalanság, emésztési zavarok, néha viszketés és többnyire enyhe sárgaság, mely csak nappali világitásnál fedezhető fel. Epeköveknél heves kólikás fájdalmak, melyek a hátba és a jobb vállba sugároznak ki. Gyakran láz és rázóhideg, az esetek 50 százalékában sárgaság is. Gyógykezelés: Karlsbadi kura vagy operáció, addig is adjunk a betegnek jó sok fodormentateát inni és pakoljuk be melegen. A beteg cipőben felhuzott lábakkal feküdjön és koplaljon.

EPILEPSZIA (népszerü néven: nyavalyatörés, nehéz kórság) többnyire elmebajban vagy elhülyülésben végződő betegség, melynek okai nem tisztázottak még. A betegség kezdetekor heves, később rendszerint enyhébb epileptikus roham tereli a betegségre a figyelmet. A roham tünetei: A beteg felkiált és összeesik, miközben sulyosan megsértheti magát. A test megmerevedik, remeg, majd a remegés rángásba megy át és a beteg többnyire kimerülten elalszik. A roham 2—3 percig tart, az arc előbb sápadt, majd elkékül. Gyógykezelés: Ha a beteg megérzi a roham közeledését, igyon egy negyedliter vizet, melyben egy evőkanál só van feloldva. A roham alatt csak arra kell ügyelni, hogy ne sértse vagy üsse meg magát nagyon. Az E. gyógyitása hosszadalmas, különböző és nagy türelmet igényel.

ÉTVÁGYTALANSÁG. Nem szabad önálló betegségként kezelni, hanem az alapokot kell megtalálni, mely lehet gyomor-, máj-, bél-, ideges- vagy türőbetegség. A beteget nem kell evésre kényszeriteni, kevés meleg citromlé cukor nélkül kedvezően hat.

FAGYÁS nemcsak nagy hidegben érheti az egyes testrészeket vagy az egész testet, hanem ha nincs is dermesztő hideg, de a test vagy az azt boritó ruhák nedvesek, heves szél jár, vagy a szervezet kimerült, elgyengült. Gyógykezelés: Cipőt, ruhát stb. lehuzni, de nem erőszakosan, mert a fagyos testrészek törékenyek. A testet lassan kell felmelegiteni, esetleg hüvös fürdőben, melyet fokozatosan melegitünk. Ha a beteg eszméletnél van, forró kávé vagy forralt bor. Tiszta, nem szoros kötés. Fagyhólyagokat kifőzött tüvel felszurni.

FEJFÁJÁS. A legkülönbözőbb beteges állapotok (éhség, kimerültség, fertőző betegségek, idegbajok, orr-, fül-, szembetegségek, rheuma stb.) kisérője lehet. Gyógykezelés: Meleg vagy hideg borogatás a fejre, forró babkávé citrommal, ha sürübben lép fel, orvos!

FELFEKVÉS (decubitus). Hosszu ideig tartó betegágy komplikációja. Különösen ott, ahol a lesoványodott beteg bőre a csont és az ágy nyomása közé kerül (ülőgumó, keresztcsont, lapocka, sarok tájékán), a bőr megvörösödik, majd rendkivül makacs és sulyos következményekkel járható fekély lép fel. Gyógykezelés: Megelőzésül: Kinos tisztaság, az ágyalátét teljesen sima legyen, helyzet változtatás, spirituszos lemosások. Ha a fekély már fellépett ujjnyi vastagon borvazelin.

FOGBETEGSÉGEK. Fogideggyulladás, a fogszu következménye. Ezt nevezik közönségesen fogfájásnak. Tünetek: Szuró, kisugárzó fájdalmak, különösen ha hideg, kevésbé, ha meleg vagy cukornemü ér a foghoz. Gyógykezelés: A fogorvos előli az ideget és betömi a szuvas fogat. Enyhitésül fájdalomcsillapitó por és a szuvas fogüreget chloroformos vattával eltömni. Foggyökérgyulladás más néven gyökhártyalob. Tünetek: A fog hidegre nem, de érintésre, nyomásra (pl. harapásnál) nagyon fáj. A betegnek az az érzése, mintha a fog meghosszabbodott volna. A foghus és az arc megdagadhat, genyesedés lép fel. Gyógykezelés: Az egészséges oldalon a két fogsor közé zsebkendőt teszünk, hogy a beteg oldalon megakadályozzuk a fogak összeérését. Meleg kamillateával öblögetni.

FÜLTŐMIRIGY GYULLADÁS, (mumps). A fültőmirigy vagyis parits fertőzés okozta lobja. Tünetek: 17—20 napos lappangási időszak után könnyü láz, a fültő környéke egyre jobban megdagad, a bőr feszes és fényes. Néha heregyulladás is fellép. Gyógykezelés: Könnyü koszt, a láz ideje alatt ágyban feküdni, a daganatot meleg olajjal bekenni, föléje vattát és kendőkötést. Heregyulladás esetén: heréket felkötni, hüsitő borogatás.

GÁZMÉRGEZÉS. Mint a széngőzmérgezés esetében is, a szénoxyd a tulajdonképeni méreg. Tünetek: Fejfájás, émelygés, hányás, majd görcsök, bénulás és eszméletlenség. Gyógykezelés: A beteget gyorsan el kell távolitani a mérgezett levegőjü környezetből, le kell fektetni és élesztgetni, mint az ájultat.

GOMBAMÉRGEZÉS. Tünetek: A mérges gomba evése után órákkal, néha napokkal gyomor- és bélfájdalmak, hasmenés, hányás, esetleg görcsök, eszméletlenség. Gyógykezelés: Erélyes hányatás és hashajtás, meleg pakolás.

GUTAÜTÉS. Agyvérzés következménye, rendszerint véredényelmeszesedés, anyagcserezavarok vagy vesebaj kifolyásaként. Tünetek: A beteg eszméletét veszti, összeesik, arca vörös és verítékes. A vérzés kiterjedésének megfelelőleg két- vagy féloldali bénulás. Gyógykezelés: Első segélyként nagyon óvatosan lefektetni, fej magasan! Kávét, alkoholt nem szabad adni. Azonnal orvost!

GÜMŐKÓR (tuberkulozis), ismert kórokozóju fertőző betegség, mely a legkülönbözőbb szerveket támadja meg, ha mindjárt a tüdő-G. a leggyakoribb is ("tüdővész"). Nem örökölhető, leg feljebb a G.-os megbetegedésre hajlamos testalkat veleszületett. Tünetek: A szerint, hogy a szervezet melyik részét támadta meg, igen különbözőek. Általában bágyadtság, csökkent munkaképesség, testsuly csökkenés stb. Tüdőfolyamatoknál már korán feltünik a hőmérséklet egyenetlensége, pl. ebédutáni órákban csekély hőemelkedés, nemkülönben izzadás, különösen éjszaka. Az u. n. tüdőcsucshurut már később lép fel és az orvos által könnyebben kikopogtatható és kihallgatható. Igen veszedelmes a csont-G. is, mely főleg fiatal korban szedi áldozatait. Gyakoribbak még: a bőr, gyomor s bél és az agyhártya G.-os gyulladásai. Gyógykezelés: Az észszerü kezelés célja a szervezet ellenállóképességének emelése. Erre szolgálnak: széruminjekciók, napfény, levegő, besugárzás, pihentetés, megfelelő koszt.

GYERMEKÁGYI LÁZ. Az anyaméh nyálkahártyájának fertőzés okozta gyulladásából kiinduló és általános vérmérgezéssé fajulható heveny betegség. Tünetek: Hirtelen magas láz, gyakran rázó hideggel, fájdalmak a has tájékán, melynek fala merev, nyomásra igen érzékeny. Véres, genyes kifolyás. Gyógykezelés: Teljes nyugalom, hüvely mosás lysoformmal, sublimátoldattal vagy kamillával. Sürgősen orvos, aki fém-, fémsó-, vagy széruminjekciókat ad, esetleg operál.

GYOMOR BETEGSÉGEK. A gyakoribb Gy.: Gyomor hurut, a gyomor nyálkahártyájának gyulladása nagyon meleg vagy hideg vagy romlott ételek élvezése után, esetleg más betegségek kisérőjeként. Tünetek: Émelygés, hányás, gyomorégés, rossz szájiz, lepedékes nyelv. Gyógykezelés: Hánytatószer vagy gyomormosás, egy-két napon át csak nyák leves vagy tea, további néhány napon át is gyenge koszt. Gyomormelegitő. Idült (krónikus) gyomorhurut. Előbbi folyománya, gyakran alkoholistáknál lép fel. Tünetek: Gyomornyomás, étvágytalanság, felböfögés, gyomorégés, gyakran szédülés, bágyadtság, szivdobogás. Gyógykezelés: Óvatos, könnyü diéta, nikotintól, alkoholtól tartózkodni. Az esetleg fennálló más szervi baj kezelése. Gyomor égés. Oka a gyomor sósavtermelő mirigyeinek tulmüködése. Többnyire csak más gyomorbetegség kisérője, de önállóan is felléphet. Tünetek: Tüzes érzés a gyomorban és garatban, savanyu szájiz és felböfögés. Gyógykezelés: Husszegény koszt, késhegyni szódabikarbona étkezés előtt vagy közvetlenül utána, savanyu ételtől tartózkodni. Orvosi vizsgálat, minthogy más betegség tünete lehet. Gyomorfekély. Valószinüleg a gyomorfal pathologikus gyengeségének és gyomorsavtultengésnek a következménye. Tünetek: Heves, égető, a hátba kisugárzó fájdalmak, véres széklet, vérhányás. Gyógykezelés: Szigoru diéta, esetleg operáció. Ha a fekély nagyobbodik és mélyül, végül átfuródás és gyomorvérzés állhat be; ennek tünetei: deszkaszerüen meleg hasfal, heves fájdalom, megsemmisülés érzése, sápadt, beesett arc. Gyógykezelés: Teljes nyugalom, gyomormelegités, azonnal orvost.

HASHÁRTYA GYULLADÁS. A hashártya fertőzése többnyire sebesülés, gyomor- vagy bélfekély átfuródása következtében, vagy női szervek gyulladásából kiindulóan. Tünetek: Hastájék heves fájdalmassága, a beteg felhuzott lábakkal, mereven fekszik, mihamar hányás, nehéz légzés lépnek fel, a pulzus szapora és alig tapintható, a nyelv száraz, kinzó szomjuság, beesett arc, az orr sajátságosan hegyes. Gyógy kezelés: Sürgősen orvos, addig teljes nyugalom, esetleg óvatos hasmelegités.

HAVIVÉRZÉS ZAVARAI. Nem önálló betegség, hanem a különböző altesti szervek, nemkülönben a vér betegségeire és fertőző betegségekre vezethető vissza. Tünetek: A menstruáció nem a szokott időben áll be, feltünően erős vagy gyenge, fájdalmas stb. Gyógykezelés: Nyugalom, nagy fájdalmaknál forró kamillatea, széklet szabályozása, inkább folyékony koszt.

HIMLŐ (fekete himlő). Ismeretlen kórokozóju, igen ragályos betegség, mely a himlőoltás bevezetése óta alábbhagyott pusztitásával. Tünetek: Körülbelül 14 napos lappangási időszak után rázó hideg, láz, fejfájás és heves keresztfájdalmak lépnek fel. Száraz nyelv, étvágytalanság, néha hányás. Mihamar kiütések jelentkeznek, először többnyire a combon; kis piros foltok, melyek rövidesen elhalványodnak, majd az arcon és a törzsön mutatkoznak. A foltok csomócskákba és hólyagokba mennek át, melyek elgenyesednek. A láz hol esik, hol emelkedik, a nyálkahártyákon kis fekélyek mutatkoznak s a legkülönbözőbb, többé-kevésbé sulyos kisérő betegségek. Gyógykezelés: A beteg azonnal elkülönitendő, eleinte koplalás, később szigoru diéta, fürdők és pakolás. Azonnal orvost hivni, aki a mellékbetegségeket megelőzni igyekszik és széruminjekcióval gyógyit.

HISZTÉRIA alatt orvosi értelemben sulyos idegbajt értünk, melynek oka azonban valószinüleg nem a fizikumban (idegrendszerben), hanem kizárólag a lélekben rejtőzik. Tünetek: A legkülönbözőbb extravagantiákban nyilvánulnak és a beteg a hisztérikás rohamban kiszámithatatlan elvágódásokat, görcsöket stb. produkál, melyeknél azonban — szemben az epilepsiás rohammal — sohasem sérti meg magát s nem veszti eszméletét. Gyógykezelés: A környezet magatartása gyakran csak rosszabbitja a bajt. A betegnek hosszas, türelmes és megértő lelki kurára van szüksége.

HŐGUTA. A nagy melegben (napsütés, gépház) folytatott, forszirozott izom munka következménye, különösen ha a test nem képes felesleges melegét leadni, tehát zárt s nehéz ruházat esetén, vagy ha a levegő telitve van párával, ugy hogy az izzadság nem párologhat el. Tünetek: Eleinte kimerültség, káprázás, nagy szomjuság, majd hirtelen eszméletlenség, esetleg görcsök. Gyógykezelés: Levetkőztetni, hidegvizes lemosás, esetleg sósvizes beöntés (fél evőkanálnyi só egy liter vizre).

HUSMÉRGEZÉS (hal, sajt, kolbászmérgezés, botulizmus). Romlott ételnemüekben tenyésző baktériumok okozzák. Tünetek: Hányás, hasmenés, esetleg véres széklet és vizelet, lábszárfájdalmak. Kinzó szomjuság, hideg verejték, izombénulások, eszméletlenség, a mérgezés erősségéhez képest. Gyógykezelés: Azonnali gyomormosás, esetleg széruminjekciók.

INFLUENZA, fertőző betegség, mely többnyire a légiutakat támadja meg és járványszerüen lép fel. Tünetek: Két-háromnapos lappangási időszak után láz és hidegrázás lép fel, jellegzetes fej, hát és tagfájdalmakkal. Sulyosabb esetekben tüdő-, mellhártya- és agyvelőkomplikációk. Gyógy kezelés: Ágybafeküdni, forró teával stb. izzasztani.

IZÜLETI CSUZ, az izületek fertőzés okozta lobos megbetegedése. Tünetek: Láz, rázó hideg; egy vagy több izület megdagad és mozgatásra hevesen fáj. Gyógykezelés: Ágybafeküdni, az izület párnával alátámasztandó, félóránként váltakozó meleg és hüvös borogatások, izzasztás. Azonnal orvost hivni, hogy az esetleges mellhártya- és szivkomplikációnak elejét vehesse.

KANYARÓ, többnyire enyhe lefolyásu fertőző gyermekbetegség, mely alig kerülhető ki. Tünetek: Eleinte nátha, kötőhártyagyulladás, köhögés, emelkedő láz; először a száj könyékén fellépő, majd az egész testet elboritó aprópontu, halvány veres kiütés. Gyógykezelés: Elkülönités, szobát jól szellőztetni, tejdiéta.

KELEVÉNY (furunkulus, furunkulozis). Ha egy akne vagy valamely más felületes bőrfertőzés a bőr mélyebb rétegeibe is behatol és nagyobb genyes gócot alkot, akkor K.-ről beszélünk. Furunkulozisnak nevezzük az erre való különös hajlamot, mely többnyire anyagcserezavaron alapszik. Gyógykezelés: Egyes K.-t célszerü minél előbb többnyire anyagcsere zavaron alapszik. Gyógykezelés: Egyes K.-t célszerü minél előbb felvágatni, furunkulozisnál az alapbaj (pl. cukorbetegség) kezelése, esetleg injekciók.

KÓLIKA. Igy nevezzük, ha valamely csöves szerv (bél, hugylevezető cső, epevezeték) gyulladás vagy kő következtében elzárul, mire görcsös összehuzódások és heves fájdalmak állnak be. Gyógykezelés: A meleg enyhitően hat, tehát száraz, meleg borogatás és fürdő; kamillatea; esetleg meleg beöntés. A medence feküdjön magasabban a törzsnél.

KOSZ (favus), a fejbőr és a haj élősdi okozta makacs megbetegedése. Tünetek: Az élősködő gombák a fejbőr szarurétege alatt telepednek meg, sárgás szinüek, majd áttörik a szaruréteget is és sárgás-barnás korongalaku pörkösödéseket hoznak létre, melyek mindegyikének központjából egy hajszál áll ki. A haj kihullik és a bőr heges lesz. Gyógykezelés: A hosszas és nagy türelmet igénylő kezelés a lerakodásoknak meleg borogatások segitségével való meglágyitásából és a beteg haj eltávolitásából áll. Ezután jódtinkturával vagy kátránnyal beecseteljük a fejbőrt. Nagyon hasznos a Röntgen-kezelés.

KÖHÖGÉS, a legkülönbözőbb betegségek (többnyire a légiutak betegségeinek vagy vérkeringési zavaroknak) tünete, esetleg ideges jellegü. Gyógykezelés: Ha a beteg láztalan: izlandi zuzmóból készült tea. Lázas köhögésnél: ágybafeküdni, meleg tej.

KÖSZVÉNY (podagra), egy vagy több izület hevesen kezdődő, majd idültté váló megbetegedése, mely az izületekben való hugysavlerakódásban leli közvetlen okát. Tünetek: A K.-es roham többnyire a láb nagyujjának első izületében kezdődik hasogató, tüzes fájdalmakkal e helyen. A roham több napig tarthat, más izületekre is átterjedhet és a legkülönbözőbb szervi komplikációkkal járhat, aszerint, hogy a hugysav milyen szervekben rakódik le még. Gyógykezelés: Táplálkozási és diaetetikus szabályok pontos betartása (hus, szárazfőzelékek kerülendők). Rohamnál: Ágybafeküdni, forró fürdő, iszappakolás, hust megvonni, háromóránként hat csepp colchicum-tinktura.

KÖTŐHÁRTYA GYULLADÁS (konjunktivitis). Az egyszerü, heveny K. tünetei: A szemgolyó is, de különösen a szemhéj kötőhártyája vörös; nyálkás, esetleg genyes váladék képződik, reggel a szemhéjak össze vannak ragadva; könnyezés és viszketés a szemben, melyet a világosság bánt. Idült gyulladásnál a szem szine inkább sárgásvörös. Gyógykezelés: Poros, füstös, meleg levegőt kerülni; naponta három-négyszer zsábateával borogatni, majd 50 százalékos faolajból és 50 százalékos lanolinból álló kenőccsel bekenni. Szemet nem lekötni. Könnyü koszt.

KÖZÉPFÜL GYULLADÁS, közvetlen fertőzés ("meghülés") következménye, vagy garatgyulladás és egyéb fertőző betegségek kisérője. Tünetek: A kifejezett K.-nál hirtelen fellépő rendkivül heves furó, szaggató, a fej különböző részeibe kisugárzó, éjszaka elviselhetetlenné fokozodó fájdalmak. Sulyos esetekben szédülés, hányás, görcsök, félrebeszélés. Láz Gyógykezelés: Ágybafeküdni, forró lábfürdő, váltakozó meleg és hüvös borogatás. Azonnal orvost hivni, aki többnyire a dobhártya átszurásával a gennyet leengedi és a rendkivül veszélyes továbbterjedésnek elejét veszi.

LÁZ, a legkülönbözőbb betegségeknek tünete lehet. Néha éppen annak a jele, hogy a szervezet erélyesen védekezik az őt ért támadással szemben, mint például a legtöbb fertőző betegségnél. Gyógykezelés: 38 fokon felül okvetlenül ágyba feküdni, husmentes, könnyü, folyékony koszt. Székelésre ügyelni (vakbél és hashártya gyulladásnál azonban óvakodni kell a hashajtóktól), hideg borogatás, hideg pakolás. Legfontosabb a láz okát megtalálni és az alapbajt kezelni.

LÉGCSŐHURUT (bronchiális katarrhus), különböző mérveket ölthet és elhanyagolva idültté válhat. Tünetek: Hőemelkedés, esetleg erős láz, köhögés, mellyel egyidejüleg a szegycsont mögött, vagy mélyebben fájdalom lép fel, nehéz légzéssel egybekötve. Gyógykezelés: Amig a láz tart, ágybafeküdni, a szoba jól szellőzött, de meleg legyen. Izzasztás, inhalálás, mikor is az inhalálandó vizbe késhegynyi sót vagy néhány csepp fenyőolajat tegyünk.

LESOVÁNYOSODÁS, elégtelen táplálkozás következménye vagy valamilyen betegség tünete, és pedig: cukorbaj, rosszindulatu daganat, gümőkór, a vér különböző betegségei, idegbajok, Basedow-kór stb. Az alapbajt az orvosi vizsgálat állapitja meg és azt célszerü hizókurával karöltve kezeli. A lesoványodott embert hiába kényszeritik evésre, ha étvágytalanságának mélyebben fekvő oka van.

LUDTALP ugy jön létre, hogy a láb csontjai és izületei gyengék ahhoz, hogy a testsuly okozta meg terhelést elbirják. Tünetek: Az egészséges lábon látható boltozat ennek következtében ellaposodik, eltünik, a talp mindenütt érinti a földet, a sarkcsont kissé kifelé fordul, a lábujjak nyujtottak (s nem kissé behajlitottak), a lábszáron viszértágulások lépnek fel és jellegzetes láb, néha lábszár és térdfájdalmak jelentkeznek, melyek igen hevessé válhatnak. Gyógykezelés: Megfelelő vitamindus táplálkozással a csont és szalagrendszer erősitése s igy a L. megelőzése. Szakszerü járási gyakorlatok és lábtorna. Az elterjedt lábbetétek, ha nem a legpontosabban mértékre készülnek, inkább ártanak, mint használnak. Pihentetés, meleg lábborogatás és fürdő.

MALÁRIA (váltóláz), egy nálunk kevésbé előforduló szunyogfajta által okozott vérbetegség. Tünetek: Hidegrázás, fej- és keresztfájdalmak, magas láz, mely 6—36 óra mulva leesik és ugyanannyi idő mulva ujra jelentkezik. Igen hosszu ideig tart ez igy, mig a szervezet lesoványodik és el gyengül. Gyógykezelés: A láz tartama alatt ágybafeküdni és csak folyékony koszt. Chinin injekciók alakjában vagy porban, többnyire naponta 4-szer 0.3 g.

MANDULA GYULLADÁS. Ha a kinyitott szájba benézünk és a nyelvet leszoritjuk, akkor a garatban kétoldalt két nyálkhártyaiv között látjuk a szivacsszerü mandulának nevezett szerveket, melyeknek gyulladása különböző veszélyességü kórokozóknak bennük való megtelepedésétől keletkezik. Tünetek: A gyermekkorban gyakori hurutus tipusra nézve. 1. torokgyulladás. Vannak genyes formák is, melyek többnyire magas lázzal és az alsó állkapocs alatti mirigyek megdagadásával járnak. Komplikációk lehetősége a vesékben, középfülben, szivben, izületekben! Gyógykezelés: Sósvizes, zsábateás vagy hidrogénsuperoxidos toroköblités, izzasztás, vizes borogatás, esetleg a mandulák eltávolitása.

MEGHÜLÉS voltaképpen fertőzés következtében áll elő s többnyire a légiutak nyálkahártyájának heveny lobjaként jelentkezik, de tagadhatatlan, hogy a fertőzésre a hőmérséklet hirtelen változása s a test hirtelen lehütése teszi hajlamossá a szervezetet — különösen a kevésbé edzettet. Tünetek: 1. légcsőhurut, nátha. Gyógykezelés: Láz esetén ágybafeküdni és a tünetekhez képest kezelni.

MELANKÓLIA, ha kifejezetten lép fel, az idegrendszer legsulyosabb megbetegedései közé sorolandó. Tünetek: A beteg egyre magábazárkózottabb és komorabb lesz. Indokolatlan önvád, lelkiismeretfurdalás, üldözési mánia gyötri, a mely örjöngésig fokozódhat és öngyilkosságra vezethet. Gyógykezelés: A környezet ne igyekezzen a beteget “felviditani vagy mulattatni,” ez csak növeli a lelki fájdalmait. Mindenféle öngyilkosságra alkalmas szerszámot stb. el kell távolitani a beteg közeléből s őt magát lehetőleg szem előtt kell tartani. Ha egyáltalában van remény javulásra, ugy azt csakis szakképzett idegorvos türelmes és hoszszas munkája hozhatja meg.

MELLHÁRTYA GYULLADÁS, rendszerint különböző tüdőbetegségeknek a komplikációja. Tünetek: A száraz M. a lélegzésnél heves fájdalmakat okoz. Sulyosabb ennél a savós M., mely többnyire tüdőgyulladás következménye. A mellhártya két lapja között savós folyadék van, melynek mennyisége a két litert is elérheti. Többnyire köhögés és láz jelentkezik. Gyógykezelés: Ágybafeküdni, könnyü koszt, a beteg oldalra hideg borogatás vagy jégtömlő. Az esetleg elgenyesedő váladékot szükség esetén mütéttel kell eltávolitani. A fennálló tüdőgyulladás vagy tüdőgümőkór stb. kezelendő.

MEREVGÖRCS (tetanus), heveny fertőző betegség, többnyire nyitott sebeknek kerti földdel vagy egyéb tisztátalansággal való fertőzésének kövekezménye. Tünetek: Az átlagban 6—14 napi lappangási időszak után fejfájás, hideglelés, majd bizonyos feszesség, merevség érzése, eleinte az arc és a nyakszirt, később a has és a hát izomzatában. Görcsös szájzár, általános görcsroham, mely alatt a gerincoszlop előregörbül, ugy hogy a beteg háta és fekhelye között kényelmesen át lehet tolni a kart. Hőemelkedés. Gyógykezelés: Megelőzés céljából minden sebet tisztán tartani, esetleg jódtinkturával fertőtleniteni! Ha M.-fertőzésre gyanu van, azonnal orvos, aki védőszérum-injekciót ad. Ha a betegség már fellépett a beteg sötét és teljesen nyugodt szobába viendő és minden zajtól, izgatástól óvni kell.

MIGRÉN, a fejfájás egyik formája, mely az agyvelőt ellátó vérerek betegségére (görcsére?) vagy a belső elválasztásu mirigyek müködési zavarára vezethető vissza. Tünetek: Heves fejfájási roham, mely a fejnek csak féloldalára szoritkozik. Gyakran émelygés, hányás, fénnyel és hangokkal szemben való tulérzékenység kisérik. Gyógykezelés: Nyugalom, tej- és növényi diéta, forró lábfürdő. Orvos!

NÁTHA az orr nyálkahártyájának heveny gyulladása, mely hajlam és “meghülés” által elősegitett fertőzés következménye. Kémiai szerek, melyek izgatóan hatnak (pl. ammoniák) is okozhatják. Tünetek: Tüsszentés, orrváladék, esetleg hőemelkedés stb. Gyógykezelés: Néha elfojtja a kezdődő N.-t, ha a beteg egy csepp jódtinkturát cseppent egy pohár vizbe és kiissza. Erős náthánál kenjük be az orrlyuk tájékát vazelinnel, ha az orr el van dugulva, célszerü meleg tejet vagy faolajat felszivni.

NEURASZTENIA, veleszületett vagy a helytelen nevelési metódusok, esetleg szellemi tulerőltetés következménye. Tünetek: A legkülönbözőbbek lehetnek, u. m. hypochondria, kényszerképzetek, ingerlékenység, munkaképtelenség, esetleg szervi tünetek a szivben, gyomorban stb. Gyógykezelés: Ha lehet pihenés környezetváltozás, hosszas és türelmes lelki gyógykezelés.

NIKOTIN MÉRGEZÉS. Heveny N. tünetei: Lassu pulzus, ájuldozás, nyálfolyás, hányás. Sulyos esetekben eszméletlenség, merevgörcsszerü rohamok, a pulzus és légzés kihagynak. Gyógykezelés: Erős feketekávé vagy tea, hideg borogatás a fejre, esetleg gyomormosás. Idült N. tünetei: Szivdobogás, emésztési és látási zavarok, álmatlanság. Gyógykezelés: Dohányzást abbahagyni.

ORBÁNC. Rendszerint a bőrön vagy az orr nyálkahártyáján keresztül történő fertőzés következménye. Tünetek: Az egy-három napig tartó lappangási időszak után rázó hideg láz, a bőr vörös, duzzadt és feszes, majd hólyagos lesz. Sulyos agyvelő-, vese-, szivburok-, mellhártya- és egyéb szervi komplikációk léphetnek fel. Gyógykezelés: Azonnal orvos, aki a továbbterjedést, szükség esetén “tüzzel-vassal,” tehát kiégetéssel és mütéttel stb. igyekszik meg gátolni, esetleg széruminjekció.

RÓZSÁSKIÜTÉS, könnyü lefolyásu fertőző gyermekbetegség. Tünetek: Mérsékelt hőemelkedés, eleinte az arcon és homlokon, majd az egész testen fellépő apró rózsaszinü foltocskák. Gyógykezelés: Ágybafeküdni, könnyü koszt.

SÁRGASÁG, különböző betegségek tünete lehet. Többnyire máj-, epevezeték vagy vérbetegségről van szó, amit csak orvos tud megállapitani. Tünetek: Először a szem fehérje, majd az egész test többé-kevésbé erős sárga szint ölt. Gyógykezelés: Ágybafeküdni, meleg pakolás, folyékony koszt.

SÉRV, ugy keletkezik, hogy többnyire a hasfal egy kevésbé ellenálló helyén keresztül valamelyik zsiger- (tulnyomóan bél-) részlet a bőr alá vándorol. Ez esetleg tulzott megerőltetéskor hirtelen történik meg. Rendkivül veszélyes a sérv kizáródása, mikor a kivándorolt zsigerdarab nem tud többé visszahuzódni a testüregbe. Gyógykezelés: Forró fürdő, a sérv nagyon óvatosan visszahelyezendő. Babkávé. Ha a visszahelyezés — melyet nem szabad erőltetni — nem sikerül, azonnal orvos, operáció.

SZAMÁRKÖHÖGÉS, ismeretlen kórokozóju fertőző betegség, mely a gyermekeket támadja meg és makacsságára ugylátszik lelki tényezők is hatással vannak. Tünetek: 7—10 napig tartó lappangási időszak után könnyü lázzal járó légcsőhurut, majd a jellegzetes köhögési roham, melyet szorongási érzés és nyugtalanság előz meg. Rövid köhintések lépnek fel s aztán mély, hosszu belégzés, mely a félig zárt hangszalagok miatt a szamár orditására emlékeztet. Gyógykezelés: Friss levegő, télen meleg, de jól szellőzött szoba, napfény. Kisgyermeket a rohamban felültetni. Orvos.

SZIV BETEGSÉGEI. Általában a Sz. a következő tünetekkel járnak: Szivdobogás, nyomás érzése a sziv tájon. A beteg könnyen kifárad, esetleg nehéz légzés lép fel, a végtagok megdagadhatnak, az arc nyálkahártyái sápadtak, vértelenek, vagy a viszerek pangása folytán ellenkezőleg elkékülnek. Gyógykezelés: Alkohol, nikotin, tea, kávé megvonandó. Hirtelen sziv gyengeségnél Hoffman cseppek, babkávé, forró kéz- és lábfürdő. Szivgörcsnél friss levegő, kényelmes fekvés magas fejjel, forró kéz- és lábfürdő, mustár-tapasz. A szivtájékot ecettel dörzsöljük.

TÁLYOG (abscessus). Ha a test valamely részén a fertőzés következtében fenn álló genyes gyulladás olyan mértéket ölt, hogy a geny egy körülirt területen a beteg szöveteket teljesen beolvasztja, T.-ról beszélünk. A T. fel is fakadhat s igy a gyülemlő geny utat tör magának. Többnyire láz. Gyógykezelés: Nyugodtan feküdni, láz esetén ágyban. Ha a T. még nem fakadt fel, feléje Billroth-battist, flanelkendő. Ha felfakadt, a geny által bepiszkitott kéz és fehérnemü alaposan fertőtlenitendő.

TOROK GYULLADÁS többnyire a garat s a mandulák környékének “meghülés” okozta hurutja, de sulyos betegségek kezdete (torokgyik!), vagy kisérője (vörheny!) is lehet. Tünetek: A garat, nyelv, szájpadlásiv, mandulák pirosak, lepedékesek; nyelési fájdalmak, láz, meghülési jelenségek. Gyógykezelés: A beteg elkülönitendő. Ha lepedék és erősebb fájdalmak jelentkeznek: orvos, a torokgyik lehetősége miatt. Különben sós vizzel toroköblités, nyakra vizes borogatás, erre Billroth-battiszt és flanellkendő. Eleinte csak folyékony koszt.

TOROKGYIK (difteria, difteritis), különösen 1—10 éves gyermeket megtámadó, sulyos következményekkel járható fertőző betegség, melynek ismert kórokozója többnyire a mandulákba fészkeli be magát. Tünetek: A 2—7 napig tartó lappangási időszak után hirtelen fej- és törzsfájdalmak, bágyadtság, étvágytalanság, nyelési zavarok. Száj és garat nyálkahártyája lobos, a mandulákon fehér vagy sárgás lepedék. A szájból jellegzetes rossz szag árad ki. Magas láz. E tünetek a T. erőssége szerint fokozódhatnak, majd a lepedék idővel leválik és javulás áll be. Esetleg komplikációk a sziv, vese és gége részéről. A betegség tetőfokán fulladozás és bénulások léphetnek fel. Gyógykezelés: Azonnal orvost hivni, aki széruminjekciókat ad. A beteget el kell különiteni, magas láz esetén hideg pakolás, könnyü koszt, bénulásoknál masszás, villanyáram.

TÜDŐ BETEGSÉGEI. A leg gyakoribb heveny fertőző tüdőbetegség és tüdőgyulladás. Ennek tünetei: Váltakozóan magas láz, nyálkásgenyes köpet. Nagyon különböző lefolyásu lehet s ehhez képest különböző komplikációk is léphetnek fel a vese, sziv és agyvelő részéről. Gyógykezelés: Ágybafeküdni, folyékony koszt vagy koplalás. A sziv óvása céjából minden megerőltetés kerülendő.

TIFUSZ (hasi hagymáz), ismert kórokozóju fertőző betegség, mely a bél nyálkahártyáján vérző fekélyeket okoz. A fertőzés a gyomron keresztül, tehát a táplálék utján történik. Tünetek: Kb. 2—7 napi lappangási időszak után lassan emelkedő láz, fejfájás, étvágytalanság, szédülés, gyakran székrekedés. Különösen a hasfal bőrén apró rózsaszinü foltocskák, majd hasmenés lép fel. A beteg második hetében állandó magas láz, de a pulzus nem szapora, a beteg félrebeszélhet, önkivületbe eshet. Gyógykezelés: Rendkivül óvatos diéta, gyógybeöntések lemosások. A sulyos betegséget, mely tiz százalék halálozással jár, csak orvos gyógyithatja ki.

VAKBÉLGYULLADÁS (appenciditis), többnyire a vakbél u. n. féregnyulványának fertőzés következtében fellépő heveny gyulladása. Tünetek: Láz (néha hiányzik), fájdalmak a has jobboldalán, ugyanitt merev hasfal. Ha a gyulladás genyes, a bélfal átfuródhat! Gyógykezelés: Ágybafeküdni, semmiféle hashajtó! A beteg állandóan a hátán feküdjön és legfeljebb folyékony táplálékot vegyen magához.

VÉRHAS (dysenteria), sulyos fertőző bélbetegség. Tünetek: Hirtelen tör ki. Hig és gyakran véres hasmenés, láz vagy ellenkezőleg abnormisan alacsony hőmérséklet. Gyógykezelés: Forró borogatás a hasra, koplalni, esetleg üres tea.

VÉREDÉNY ELMESZESEDÉS (aretriosclerosis). Legveszedelmesebb, ha az agyvelő vagy a sziv vérereiben lép fel, amelyeknek fala degenerációs gyengülésen megy át, esetleg mész rakódik le benne. Tünetek: Igen különbözőek. Az a szerv, melynek véredényeit a V. megtámadta, hamar kimerül, megbetegszik s ily módon sok és sulyos szervi komplikáció léphet fel. Többnyire magas vérnyomás áll fenn. Gyógykezelés: A betegséget csak orvos ismerheti fel. Megerőltetések kerülendők. Gyógyszerek közül a jód hasznos.

VESE BETEGSÉGEI, vagy fertőzés okozta gyulladás, vagy a vese tulterhelése, vagy a vesére különösen ártalmas mérgek (krónikus alkoholizmusnál pl.) okozzák. Rosszindulatu daganatok is felléphetnek és különösen a jobboldali vese az azt tartó zsir- és kötőszövet kóros gyengesége következtében elmozdulhat a helyéből (vándorvese). Tünetek: A vizelet vegyi összetétele elváltozik, amit laboratóriumi vizsgálat derit ki. A vizelet szine, mennyisége és gyakorisága is eltérő. Fájdalmak a vese tájékon. Gyógykezelés: Vesefájdalmaknál ágybafeküdni, tejdiéta, forró fürdő.

VERONÁL MÉRGEZÉS. A veronál nevü divatos altatószerből 4—8 gramm halálos lehet! De már kisebb dozisoknál is bőrkiütések, általános rosszullét, émelygés stb. léphet fel. A sulyos V.-nél a beteg nem kelthető fel többé álmából.

VITUSTÁNC, gyermekeknél lép fel. (A szülő nők vitustánca hasonló, de sokkal sulyosabb természetü betegség.) Tünetek: A beteg izgatott, arcát fintorgatja, ide-oda mozog, lőkésszerü mozdulatokat tesz. A valódi V. fertőzés következménye és szivbillentyü-, valamint izületi gyulladásokkal van egybekötve. Gyógykezelés: A beteget ekülönitett szobában ágyba kell fektetni. Meleg fürdők. Arzénkura, salycilsavas készitmények.

VÖRHENY (sarlach, skarlatina), többnyire a gyermekkor fertőző betegsége. Tünetek: Az egy hétig tartó lappangási időszak után hirtelen láz, hányás, bágyadtság lép fel. Apróponttu, élénkvörös bőrkiütés, mely az arcot rendszerint szabadon hagyja a többnyire a mellkasról indul ki. Gyógykezelés: A beteg elkülönitendő, csak tejet vegyen magához.

Izom és Ész

E KÉT dolog szükséges ahhoz, hogy a javakat előállitsuk. A föld népessége rá van utalva, hogy az ember munkája után éljen. A természet kincseinek a föld szinére hozatalát, a föld müvelését, a házak épitését, az élelem, ruházat előállitását s azok széjjelosztását az emberi erő és tudás végzi. A multban hatalmas, emberfölötti munkát végzett, melyet fölváltottak a különböző találmányok láncolata, amelyek hatalmassá fejlesztették az iparok minden ágát. Minél hatalmasabbá, minél tökéletesebbé fejlesztette a termelés és szétosztás eszközeit, annál jobban elnyomta, kizsákmányolta azok előállitóit. Az elnyomott és kizsákmányolt nincstelen bérrabszolga a politikai pártokban tömörült ügyvédek, papok, doktorok s az intellektuelek minden fajtájától vár orvoslást. Lassan ébred tudatára, hogy saját sorsának intézését sajátmaga kell, hogy végezze. Az Ipari Szervezetekben az Egy Nagy Szervezetben tömörült bérrabszolgák történelmet alkotó hivatást kell, hogy betöltsenek a mai társadalmi rendszer keretein belül. Ebben a társadalmi rendszerben körül vagyunk zárva a munkásosztály kül- és belellenségeivel, az alattomos, ugynevezett forradalmi politikai pártok akarnokai, a kizsákmányoló osztály bérencei egyttesen támadnak ellenünk, szervezetünk ellen. Sajtóik hiénamunkája folyton-folyvást öltögti mérges fullánkjait a munkásosztály jogos és egyetlen igazságos harcunkban, annak rohamos előbbre vetésében szükségünk van az öreg, kipróbált harcosokra, akik ideig-óráig pihenőt vettek. Szükségünk van uj erőkre, hogy a fölszabadulás utját folytassák — amikor mi már kidőltünk az élők sorából — a világ munkásságának fölszabaditása érdekében. Ma az öreg a fiatal harcosokkal egyetemben vállvetve kell, hogy munkához lássanak, ebben a munkában az első és legfontosabb teendőnk a sajtó, a lap, a Bérmunkás kiépitése, nagygyá tétele az egész világ magyarnyelvü bérrabszolgái között. Szükség van erre, hogy a tizenkettedik órában, amikor eme rothadt társadalom vajudik, ne korcsszülöttet, hanem egy egészséges társadalmat, az Ipari Demokráciát szülje az emberiség számára.

Lapunk, a Bérmunkás hatalmassá tétele legyen válasz ellenségeink ádáz munkájára. Hatalmas, erős sajtóra van szükségünk, amely az ipari szabadság fáklyáját lobogtatja, amely megvilágitja az utat a világ magyarul olvasó bérrabszolgái számára, amely visszaveri azt a vipera tanitást, melyet a munkásosztály nyilt és alattomos ellenségei propagálnak. A Bérmunkás az egyetlen magyar lap, mely tisztán és kizárólagosan a munkásosztály ipari szabadságáért küzd. A Bérmunkás az egyetlen, amely a más elveket, fölfogást valló becsületes munkások tiszteletét, bizalmát kiérdemelte. Huszonegy esztendős fönnállása biztositék arra. De még mindig nem az a Bérmunkás, aminek mi szeretnénk látni. Jobbá, nagyobbá, hatalmasabbá kell azt tennünk és ennek elérésére szükségünk van minden osztálytudatos forradalmárra. Mi történne, ha az Egyesült Államok magyarul beszélő bérrabszolgáinak fele előfizetővé, olvasóvá válna? Próbáljuk meg és meglátjuk! Nem lehetetlenség. Az osztályharc igaz, elszánt harcosai, ésszel, energiával sokkalta nagyobb dolgokat produkáltak. Rajta hát, minden oztálytudatos bérrabszolga! Az előfizetés félévre egy dollár, két dollár egy esztendőre. A társadalom eme válságos idején osztálytudatosan nevelt harcosokra van szükség. Ma és nem holnap az ideje, hogy munkához lássunk.

Amiért én IWW-ista lettem

ÜRGE LÁSZLÓ

A KOMMÜN bukása után, amikor ezer és ezer munkásember vált bujdosává a "fehér terror borzalmai elől", igy nekem is meneklüni kellett. Az én bünöm annyiból állt a megingatott kapitalizmus tanyájával szemben, hogy mint vörös katona harcoltam a csehek és románok ellen, azután pedig munkámmal segitettem a proletárdiktatura bölcsőjének az összeállitásában.

Tehát mindezért kellett nekem is menekülni.

Ugy kerültem ide az igéret földjére. Mikor aztán New Yorkban megmutatták a "szabadság" szobrát az igazságot mérő mérleggel, ugy gondoltam, hogy sok viz folyik le a Dunán, mire itt megjön a proletárdiktatura. De tévedtem, mert négy-öt napi philai tartózkodásom után véletlenül a még akkor nem olyan nagyon harcos lapunkat, vagyis az Uj Előrét láttam meg először életemben. Amikor átolvastam azt a lapot, azonnal megváltozott az első napi véleményem és magamban "bünbánó" bocsánatot kértem az egyetlen harcos pártunktól. Ez után a lap után itélve az amerikai helyzetet, még csak napok kérdése lehet és megszületi itt is a proletárdiktatura.

Most már boldogan magam elé képzeltem, vörösbe öltöztetve a Szabadság-szobor igazságmérő nőjét. Mindezen számitásomban megerősitett a másnapi Uj Előre és boldogan előkerestem ládámból a magammal hozott proletárdiktatura pénz, amit, mint emléket, eltettem magamnak. Harmadnap kissé idegeskedni kezdtem, amiért még nem találtam kapcsolatot a philai pártvezetőséggel. Negyedik nap még jobban idegeskedtem, mert féltem, hogy lekések a proletárdiktatura bölcsőjének a ringatásáról; az ötödik nap már azért voltam ideges, hogy vagy én számitottam rosszul, vagy a lap informál rosszul bennünket.

Igy teltek a hetek, de azért én még mindig számitottam és közben számolgattam a magammal hozott emlékpénzemet. De nem felejtkeztem meg a new yorki viharvert, piszkos ruháju igazságot mérő nőről sem. Hónapok teltek. Lapunk mindennapi egyformasága (már lassan kezdtem megszokni), kezdett közömbössé válni előttem, történetesen eljutottam a philai IWW csoport egyik piknikjére. Bár lapunkból olvastam már arról a hárombetüs munkásszervezetről és igy tudtam, hogy szociálfascisták, amiért végtelenül haragudtam rájuk. Nem tudtam elgondolni, hogy munkások lehetnek-e a kapitalisták szekértolói.

Itt kaptam kezembe először a Bérmunkást. Nagy kiváncsisággal olvastam, hogy mit is irhatnak ezek a szociálfascisták? Nagyon meglepett a kemény és határozott kifejezésü szavak, amit természetesen nem vártam. Később aztán beszédbe bocsájtkoztam a Bérmunkást osztogató elvtársakkal, hogy megismerjem közelebbről tudásukat. Beszélgetésünk alatt észrevettem azon őszinteségüket, amit a munkásosztály fölszabadulásával éreznek. Bár nagy bünnek tartottam, hogy az ilyen gondolkodó emberek a mi pártunkat nem ismerik el, a politikát kizárják, ami még nagyobb bün —a munkásosztállyal szemben.

Ezek után lapunkra gondoltam és tényleg látni kezdtem bennük a szociálfascistákat és arra törekedtem, hogy pártunknak megnyerjem őket. Ebből aztán nagy vita fejlődött. Én védtem pártunkat körömszakadtáig és bizonyitottam pártunk "őszinteségét" és "harciasságát", ami fölött ők mosolyogtak. Az egyik elvtárs azt a megjegyzést tette, hogy én nem ismerem a munkásmozgalmat és azért ajánlja, olvassam azt a hárombetüs munkásirodalmat. Én erre kissé bosszus lettem. Már hogy én, aki 15 éven át tagja voltam a szociáldemokrata pártnak, harcoltam a proletárok hazájáért, nem ismerem a munkásmozgalmat?!

Valahogyan ilyen zavarosan végződött ez a mulatság. Azonban gondolkozni kezdtem és éreztem, hogy most egy olyan munkásszervezetet ismertem meg, amely felől ezideig sosem hallottam. De a szivem mégis csak az egyedüli harcos pártunkhoz huzott.

Kezdtem foglalkozni az IWW irodalommal; megismertem szervezeti összetételét s lassan kezdtem látni a különbséget az Ipari Szervezet és a kommnuista párt között, az IWW-ban ismertem föl a munkásosztály igazi orvosát. Ki nem kivánja gyógyitani a rothadó kapitalizmust? Az IWW-ban ismertem föl az egyedüli szervezetet, mely a természetes fejlődéssel tart párhuzamot lépésről-lépésre, aminek célja az egyéni jogosultság és nem a kivételes hatalommal való fölruházása egyes, jeles személyeknek. Az IWW-ban ismertem föl a szólásszabadság jogát és értékét, ami a kommunista pártnál ismeretlen fogalom. És ahogy ezt fölismertem, kezdtem eltolódni az amerikai kommunista párttól, a jövő társadalom guzsbakötőitől.

A kommunisták vallási dogmatikába vezették a munkásságot, egy kis szoci-keverékkel a vezérek örökös uralkodási joga, ami a vallásnál ugyanaz, a kommunistáknál az utcai fölvonulások, a vallásnál a templomi körmenet. A vallásnál a szent sirokhoz való zarándoklások, könyörgések a mindennapi kenyérért — a kommunistáknál az éhség-marsok ugyancsak könyörgések a kenyérért, egy kissé más szinbe burkolva. Tehát

LÁZADJ ÉS TÁMADJ

Ha testvérednek barrikádon ömlik ki
lázadó vére, ha testedbe vérfolyót hasit
a csendőr szurony s ha asszonyodat
vérbe-fagyba látod:
könnyezés helyett, mint egy szörnyü Messiás: támadj!

Ha piszokban, szennyben fuldokolva,
betaposva kinok büzhödt mocsarába, sárba:
ha millióknak torzult arcát látod
s ha millióknak siró hangját hallod:
könnyezés helyett, mint egy láng-oroszlán: támadj!

Ha gyermeked könnyezve, könyörögve kenyeret kér,
s ha neked csak nyomorod, csak rongyod minden kincsed;
ha éhségtől-ájuló fiad végül Életért kiáltva kitör:
s ha cafatos melléből véres szurony szörnyed feléd:
könnyezés helyett, mint egy bőszült isten: lázadj!

Ha embereknek csufolt páriák sikoltva,
bemocskolva, könny-tengerben vergődve,
tépett testükön ezer vér-daganattal:
ha siró, sikongó arcukkal rád merednek:
könnyezés helyett, mint egy szörnyü messiás: támadj!

Ha anyádnak élet-adó méhébe rugnak,
ha atyádat hörgő cafattá marják, ha kerékbetörik,
ha teste a veréstől vonagló hullává dagad
s ha gyilkosok lángoló agyát bunkóval széjjel verik:
könnyezés helyett, mint egy bosszu-isten: lázadj!

Ha a megőrült világ bitófákat állit
s rájuk millió lázadó testvéredet huzza;
ha a könnyes földet örjöngők bandája lepi el
s kampóskeresztekkel vernek fejbe;
ha minden zugból csak hóhér, csak halál ordit feléd:

Lázadj és támadj, mielőtt agyonvernek,
rohanj és fegyvert ragadj, mig benned egy szikrányi erő,
s véres bakókat: diplomatákat gyilkolj, csak gyilkolj,
hogy vesszen a sötét gát a Jövő elől,
Proletár! mig nem késő: addig lázadj és támadj, csak támadj!

BÁNADY SÁNDOR

az egész kommunista vezér-mozgalomban megtaláljuk a vallás kezdőlegességét, ami idővel aztán ugyanugy rothadni kezd a jövő társadalom nyakán és gyermekeinknek majd sokkal nagyobb véráldozatot kell hozniok, hogy a vezéreket lerakhassák nyakukról, mint amilyen véráldozatot mi hozunk ma a kapitalizmussal szemben.

Jaj annak a szegény munkás embernek, akit egyszer ezek a hipnotizőrök megközelitenek. Ha a szeme előtt a megszédités boszorkány-piros kendőjét ellebbenthetik — az a munkásember aztán tényleg elveszett — legalább egy időre. Nem tud aztán gondolkozni és azt sem látja meg, hogy ő a politikusok szekerét huzza, amely kátyuba sülyedt és mindig mélyebbre sülyed.

És ezt nevezik a politikus-vezérek osztályharcnak. Ők még azt is osztályharcnak mondják, mikor valakivel le akarják nyeletni a saját fogait, mert a vezérek fejére olvasta azt a sok gazemberséget, amit a megszéditett munkástestvéreinkkel szemben elkövetnek, ami ellen kötelességünk szembeszállni még a "kékvérü", de pirosba bujt és minden emberi érzésből kivetkőzött selyemfiukkal is. Ezek a selyemfiuk csak akkor látták, mennyire tévednek. Hiába volt a piros szin mutogatása, mit sem használt; még a vezéri állásra való hivatkozás sem. A vezérek megismerték a direktakciót. De micsoda sirásra fakadtak, amikor "huszfontos kalapáccsal" verte őket fejbe az IWW "nemlétező szelleme." (Pedig a szellem állitólag sokkal erősebb, mint az élőlény. Aki kételkedik, menjen a papokhoz vagy a pártvezérekhez bővebb fölvilágositásért.)

De képzeld, kedves olvasó, milyen szellem lehetett az, amelynek fejét még "huszfontos kalapáccsal" se lehetett szétütni?!

Csak az ilyen üres fejjel rendelkezők között kamatoztathatják a vezérek — és szinte az egyedüli megélhetésükké vált az orosz proletariátus sajátos feltörekvése a háboru következtében összedőlt orosz nemesek országának bérrabszolgái helyzetét.

De Oroszország nem Amerika.

Oroszországban ma épitik az ipart és amiben még hiányt szenvednek, kárpótolják a diktaturával. Nálunk hiányt más semmiben sem szenvednek. Ezértt nekünk csak az iparok átvételére kell szervezni a munkásságot, hogy azután minden vezéri diktátorság nélkül éljünk boldogan és megelégedettségben.

Tehát van-e szüksége politikára az osztály öntudatos munkásságnak?

Nincs, még pedig azért, mert a politika — ami drága nyelvünkre forditva — huncutság. Politikusok nem egyenes emberek. Politikai harc, akár parlamentben, akár más téren — a a könnyü és biztos pénzszerzés harca. (A "politika" szó fönti értelmét megtaláljuk az Idegen Szavak Szótárában.) Tehát mit várhat az osztálytudatos munkásság a politikusoktól, köztük a kommunista párttól? De a politikusoknak szükségük van a munkásosztályra. Mert minél nagyobb tömegeket birnak megszerezni a maguk céljaira, annál biztosabb az ő parazita életük. A megszerzett tömegtől kétoldali támogatásban részesülnek: a tagsági járulék, a pártadó. De ezenkivül még ezer más cimen is kiszedik zsebükből a pénzt. Azután jön a kapitalistáktól a tiszteletbeli honorárium, aszerint, hogy milyen mértékben képesek tompitani a munkásosztály forradalmiságát. Ennek a valósága fölött nem kell sokat gondolkozni, csak meg kell figyelni a pártok tevékenységeit. A legtisztábban kimagaslik a kommunista párt az ő világ-pénzes egyesületével. Ez a párt csak annyi forradalmi, nagyon harcos, vagy tulharcos pártot alakit, amennyi vezért el akar helyezni vagy akiktől semmiképen nem tud megszabadulni.

De mit szólna Marx, ha ma fölébredne és egy kis szemlét tartana a mi "legharciasabb pártunknál"? Nem ragadna-e tüzes kardot, amiért az ő nagy eszméjét valósággal utcanővé tették, hogy koldulni járjanak vele, hogy a vezéreknek szabad rablást, biztositsanak.

De mit szólna **még akkor,** ha látná azokat az óriási károkat, amiket ezek a minden emberi érzésből kivetkőzött szélhámosok véghez visznek ugy az indifferens, mint a már gondolkodni kezdő munkásság sorai között.

De mindazideig, amig a munkásosztály nem ébred annak tudatára, hogy az ő legszentebb fölszabadulási ügyét csakis önönmaga, a csontig kizsákmányolt rabszolgahad vivhassa meg — az ezer évek óta közénk tolakodó politikus pártvezérek nélkül. Addig, mig le nem rázza a munkásság nyakáról a tolakodó politikusokat, addig ne is gondoljon a teljes fölszabadulásra.

És éppen ezért alakult az IWW. Ezért hivja megalakitása óta zászlaja alá a bérrabszolgákat és hirdeti a jövö társadalom legtisztább alapvonalát. Az IWW megalakitói tisztában voltak azzal, hogy a kapitalista társadalmi rendszer pusztulásra van kárhoztatva, vele együtt az egész társadalmi gépezet. Midezért nem viv külön küzdelmet a kapitalista társadalom egyes kinövesei ellen, hanem gyökerestől akarja azt megdönteni.

Természetesen mindazideig nem tud átalakitó munkát végezni, mig ahhoz nincs meg az ereje. Hogy az IWW-nak helyes ezen nézete, erre ott van bizonyságul a magyarországi vezéri diktatura szégyenteljes bukása, amit csak azoknak köszönhetünk. Bár alkalma és ereje meg volt a munkásságnak ahhoz, hogy megtartsa azt, de ott volt a politikus-vezérek fő akadálya. Végeredményben nekik köszönhetik a magyarországi munkások azt a borzalmas vérfürdőt, amelyet aztán a fehér-terrorista politikusok rendeztek az ártatlan munkások között.

Éppen ezért, az IWW örökösen figyelmezteti munkástestvéreit a másik oldalon: jól gondolják meg, hogy föl ne üljenek és félre ne hagyják vezetni magukat a kapitalisták által fölbérelt pártvezérektől. Még akkor sem, ha ők adnak rá alkalmat és szivárványos szinben emlegetik a jövő boldogságát.

Az IWW a tudás fegyverét használja a kapitalista társadalom megdöntésére. Szüntelen hirdeti a tanulás szükségességét. Mert minden ember csak akkor tud, ha meg tudja állapitani, hogy a másiknak mennyi a tudása. És mint ahogy a vallásos ember nem tudja meglátni a vallás káros hatását, éppen ugy nem képes a magát öntudatos embernek nevező, de politikai fékereket támogató belátni azt, hogy mennyire meghosszabbitja a mai aljas társadalmi rendszer életét, ha vakon támogatja a politikai vezérek önző zsebcéljait.

Ahogy a multban a vallásfelekezetek rengeteg harcot folytattak egymás ellen a vezérek érdekeiért, ugyanezt teszik ma a szenvedő munkássággal a politikai pártvezérek, hogy zsebük érdekében fölhasználják a köréjük édesgetett munkásságot. Egymás ellen uszitják. A mi természetes, mert emberek milliói ugy a vallásban, mint mai politikában képtelenek megegyezni. Ezt minden tisztán gondolkodó munkás embernek be kell látnia. De ha iparilag szervezkedünk gazdasági helyzetünk javitására csupán és ugy szervezkedünk, ahogy azt az IWW tanitja, megszünik a világ munkássága között minden ellenségeskedés. Mert senki sem lehet ellensége a saját és a közösség érdekének és a jövő kényelmes, minden bőségben való élésnek.

Azonban ezt az utóbbit csak ugy érhetjük el, ha félreteszünk mindenféle ellenségeskedést vallás, szin, fajra való tekintet nélkül s kidobjuk magunkból a sokféle politikai nézeteket és csak gazdaságilag szervezkedünk — az IWW-ban vagyis: a Világ Ipari Munkások Szervezetébe. Ott azután közösen előkészithetjük az ipari forradalmat, amely hivatva van megdönteni a mai társadalmi rendszert és helyébe a világ munkásai nagy szövetségét fölépiteni.

De mindenekelőtt szervezkedjünk. Szervezkedjünk, hogy a jövő harcára megerősödjünk. Szervezkedjünk az IWW-ba, mert az IWW az, amely a világ munkásságát a boldogság utjára vezeti.

Én hiszek a Világ Ipari Munkások Egy Nagy Szervezetében.

Ezért lettem én IWW-ista.

A Mult és a Jövő

VARGA KÁROLY

TI VILÁG bérrabszolgái, akik velem együtt végigharcoltátok s szinpirosra festettétek a harcok mezejét, óh, de hamar fátyolt vetettetek a multra. Nem törődve a járommal, a rozsdás láncokkal, mely évszázadok óta a nyakatokon csüng. Ujra hamis vezérekre bizva sorsotokat, várjátok a járomtól való megszabadulást.

Elfelejtettétek? Amikor az általános választójog helyett fegyvert, golyót, gázt és lángot kaptatok, melyekkel hosszu éveken keresztül testvér-testvért mészárolt le? Miért? Mert a burzsoáziának ugy tetszett.

Ti világ bérrabszolgái, emlékezetetekben fog maradni 1919 juliusa, amig a világon lesztek. Örömujjongva vittétek a bőrötöket a szerbiai határszélre, ahol napok alatt vöröspirosra festettétek a Dunát és a Drávát Belgrád és Zimony között. Megtudnátok-e mondani, munkástestvéreim, hogy miért festettétek pirosra saját véretekkel Szerbia minden talpalatni földjét?

Erre nincs válasz! Emlékeztek-e a felejthetetlen doberdoi fensikra? Ez a fensik milliónyi proletár életét kívánta. Emlékezzetek a tiroli felhőkarcolókra, melyeket hasoncsuszva, éhen szomjan másztátok. Emlékezhettek a Kárpátok hegyeire, amelyeket papirból készült cipőben másztatok meg. Ahol minden nap ezer és ezer magyar proletár hagyta ott a kezét, lábát, mert lefagyott.

Munkástestvéreim! Nem akarok hosszadalmasan foglalkozni ezen leirhatatlan megtörténtekkel. Csak ami a legfontosabb, arra akarok rámutatni. Emlékeztek az Olaszországban bömbölő Piavára, amelyet 1918 novemberében pirosra festettek. A Piava több mint egy millió magyar bérrabszolga életét oltotta ki negyvennyolc óra leforgása alatt.

A háborut befejezettnek láttátok és megindultatok hazafelé éhen, szomjan, rongydarabokba burkolva, azzal a tudattal, hogy az igéretek most beválnak, mert a háboru elejétől végéig — mindig igértek. Aki iparos, az szerszámot és házat kap. Aki földmives, az földet és házat kap. És nem hogy házat, de a lábaitok helyett még mankót sem kaptatok. Azt mondták a hires pribékek, hogy "kifogyott az erdő — nincsen bot". Ti világ bérrabszolgái, hazajöttetek, de nem tudtátok, hogy mire; hazajöttetek egy készületlen forradalomra, amelyet fölváltott egy ál-kommunizmus. Azután ujra fehérpribékek kezébe került sorsotok, mely ujra ezrével szedte áldozatait. Ismét bedültetek a koholmányoknak, az igéreteknek, hogy ujonnan sült vezéreknek jó megélhetést biztositsatok. Ti pedig tömörültök a szemétdombokon, ahol a legyek-beköpte ételhulladékokra vagytok utalva, amitől az ártatlan kis gyermekeitek ugynevezett tifuszban pusztulnak el.

Ti, világ anyái, kik szültök és nem tudjátok, hogy kit neveltek és nem tudjátok mire. Vigyázzatok, hogy az uj generációt osztálytudatosan neveljétek.

Ma előttetek van következménye e helytelen nevelésnek, a nélkülözők és nyomorgók nagy tábora, amely velünk lesz mindaddig, amig nem ismeritek föl az osztályharcot és szervezkedtek osztályotok szervezetébe, a kapitalizmus és a háboruk eltörlésére.

A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása eltörölni a kapitalizmust, háboruival és minden nyomorával együtt. Amit csak ugy érhet el, hogyha mint osztály szervezkedik a kapitalista osztállyal szemben, a saját osztályszerszervezetében, az I. W. W.-ban és elkészül az utolsó háborura: az osztályháborura és elsöpri a kapitalizmust a föld szinéről, megteremtve az Ipari Demokráciát.

Részlet az Illinoisi Bányász Harcból

A MUNKÁSMOZGALOM történetében följegyzésre méltó az a harc, mely a mult év folyamán folyt le az illinoisi szénbányák vidékén. A harc a bányatársulatok által keresztülerőszakolt bérlevágás elleni tiltakozásként tört ki, azonban később két irányba folyt, amennyiben a United Mine Workers of America bányászszervezet tisztviselői — melyhez a harcoló bányászok eredetileg tartoztak — a bányatársulatok mellé álltak és igyekeztek rávenni a bányászokat a bérlevágás elfogadására. Igy a harc a kettős ellenség ellen irányult — a bányavállalatok és szakszervezeti basák ellen — melynek eredményeként a bányászok nagyrésze kiszakadt a U. M. W. A. szervezetből és független szervezetet alakitottak.

A harc egyike volt a legelkeseredettebb munkásharcoknak. A bányászok ezres és tizezres tömegekben piketelték a bányákat a sztrájktörők távoltartására. A munkáltatók a U. M. W. A. tisztviselőivel egyetemben minden eszközt felhasználtak a sztrájkolók letörésére. Az állami milicia és a gunmenek ezrei gépfegyverekkel felszerelve őrizték a bányákat és az erőszakosságok minden fajtáját követték el a sztrájkolók és családjaik ellen. A harcnak számos sebesültje és néhány halottja volt.

Az alanti kép a számos gyülések egyikén lett fölvéve West Frankfortban, amikor Pat Ansboury, a harcoló bányászok lelkes vezére, kitartásra buzditja a sztrájkolókat.

Ne harcoljunk másokért

WIENER ANDOR

HÉTKÖZNAPI eseteket kell itt csokorba kötnünk. Mert már éppen ideje, hogy kicsavarjuk a féltéglát kezéből mindazoknak, akik heptikásra verték a mellüket, a másokért lefolytatott nagy harcokról való dicsekvésben. Eltekintve attól, hogy: ki, mit tett, mennyit és milyen áldozatot hozott, a cselekvésekkel való dicsekvése azokkal sorozza egy táborba, kik soha semmit sem tettek, sőt nem is akarnak tenni, mert......

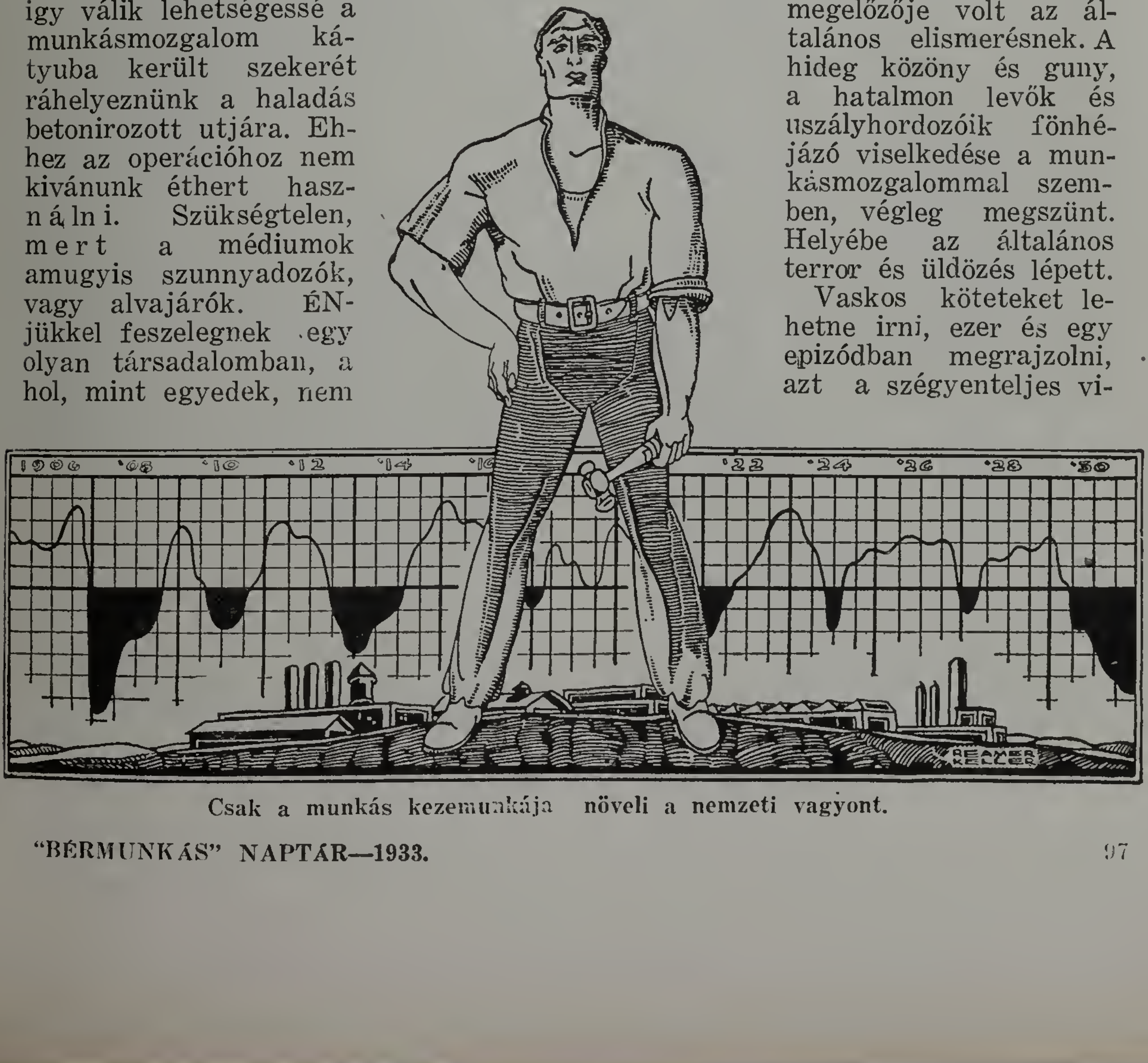
Jönnek a megokolások, melyeknek valamennyije egy kaptafára készült. Sablonos egyformaság, a polgári társadalom lagymatag, semmitmondó hipokratizmusa. A tenni-nem-akarás, a gyávaság palástolása egyik szélségtől a másikig. Az ugynevezett elveket valló emberektől egészen az elvtelenekig, avagy megforditva.

A haladásnak ezt a Verdun-ját el kell takaritanunk utunkból, mert csak igy válik lehetségessé a munkásmozgalom kátyuba került szekerét ráhelyeznünk a haladás betonirozott utjára. Ehhez az operációhoz nem kivánunk éthert használni. Szükségtelen, mert a médiumok amugyis szunnyadozók, vagy alvajárók. ÉN-jükkel feszelegnek egy olyan társadalomban, a hol, mint egyedek, nem csak hogy semmi szerephez nem jutnak, de könyörtelenül felmorzsolódnak.

Évtizedes munkálkodásunk alatt gyüjtött tapasztalatunk albumában lapozgatva, jött tollhegyre ez a téma. Irnunk kellene valamit: maradandót, hasznosat, a közért, mindannyiunk okulására. Olyasféle leltározást késziteni, évvégi beszámolót, mely egyben utmutatóul is szolgál jövő cselekvéseinkben, a mozgalom épitésénél. Mert erről van szó. Minket, forradalmárokat, elsősorban és mindenek fölött, a munkásmozgalom haladása érdekel.

Könnyebb megértés szempontjából elsősorban azt kell megállapitanunk, hogy az ugynevezett fegyverszünet aláirásával, a munkásmozgalom második fázisa vette kezdetét. A munkásmozgalom, mint olyan, végleg beléhelyezkedett a köztudatba: befejezte az irtózatos és áldozatos küzdelmet, mely megelőzője volt az általános elismerésnek. A hideg közöny és guny, a hatalmon levők és uszályhordozóik fönhéjázó viselkedése a munkásmozgalommal szemben, végleg megszünt. Helyébe az általános terror és üldözés lépett.

Vaskos köteteket lehetne irni, ezer és egy epizódban megrajzolni, azt a szégyenteljes vi-



Csak a munkás kezemunkája növeli a nemzeti vagyont.

selkedést, melyet a kapitalista nevelés következtében a munkásság, a munkásmozgalommal és a pionér agitátorokkal szemben tanusitott. Egyik az istenét, másik a vallását, templomát, a harmadik a nemlétező házát és vagyonát, mit és mit nem féltett a feltörekvő munkásmozgalomtól. A tudatlanabbak, a kézzelfogható anyagiasságokat; a tudálékosak pedig "gyönyörü" kulturánk, "szeplőtlen" erkölcsünk, házassági intézményünk; az egyéni érvényesülés lehetőségeinek védelmezőiként, mint megannyi fonográf lemezek próbáltak szembeszállni, hadakozni a szocializmussal.

E téren nincsen kivétel: a tudatlanság rengetegében a tudással felszerelt forradalmár egyforma ellentétre talált. Legfeljebb annyi mégis van, hogy amig a magyarok a magyar agitátorokat megbicskázták, addig az amerikaiak ököllel és lincseléssel intézték el. Európában a rendőrkard, csendőrszurony, golyó és puskatus; Amerikában gumibot, forró szurok és kozákgolyó. Frame-up és börtön. Az amerikai munkásmozgalom pionér idejéből örök emlékezetemben maradt egy gunyolódó vicc, amellyel a nyárspolgárok a szocialista "osztozkodást" szokták karakterizálni.

Schenectady városkában, Lun (szocialista) polgármester másodszori meg választásáért heves kampány folyt. Itt hallottam a következőket:

"Hát mi is az a szocializmus? Mit akarnak azok a szocialisták? — kérdi (gazdám) a farmer, egy városban lakó rokonától, aki egyébként a General Electric Co. főpénztárosát személyesitette meg. — "Well, hogy mi a szo-
— "Beszélget két olasz munkásember;
ci-aliz-mus? Hát, kedves barátom, ez: — mondja a pay master vontatottan az egyik szocialista, a másik nem. És mondd, te igazán megosztanál velem mindent, amiből neked kettő van? — Igen — mondja a szocialista. — Hát ...... ha két házad volna, nekem adnád az egyiket? — Igen — volt a felelet. — Hát ha két telked volna, nekem adnád az egyiket? — Igen — volt a felelet. — Hát ha két kecskéd volna, nekem adnád az egyiket? — kiváncsiskodik tovább az egyik olasz. De a másik, a szocialista, megvakarja a fejét és pirultam mondja: — Nem, azt már nem, mert hiszen van két kecském......"

Természetes, hogy az iparok társadalmasitásának elmélete körül ma is élénk viták folynak. Taktikai eltérések vannak a párt-szocialisták és az ipari unionisták fölfogása között. De a tudatlanság kérgét mégis csak sikerült annyira feltörni, hogy az átlagos munkás ma már meg tudja különböztetni az iparokat két kecskétől, vagy két pár lyukas cipőtől.

E köztudatba helyezett felismerőképesség határozza meg éles vonallal a munkásmozgalom első fázisát, illetve annak befejezését. A kisebb-nagyobb méreteket öltő bér-osztályharcok szele egyszer-másszor már megcsapta az amerikai munkások nagy többségét, de különösképen azon részét, amelyek az alap- és nehéziparokban nyertek munkakört. Bár ha ezzel korántsem kivánjuk azt állitani, hogy a tudományos szocializmus bölcseletével jött tisztába az amerikai munkásság. De teljes határozottsággal merjük kinyilatkoztatni, hogy a nagy átlag és épeszü bérmunkásnak alig van ellenvetése és ha az agitátorral szemtől-szembe kerül, elismeri a szervezkedés, a munkásmozgalom szükségességét, annak helyes voltát.

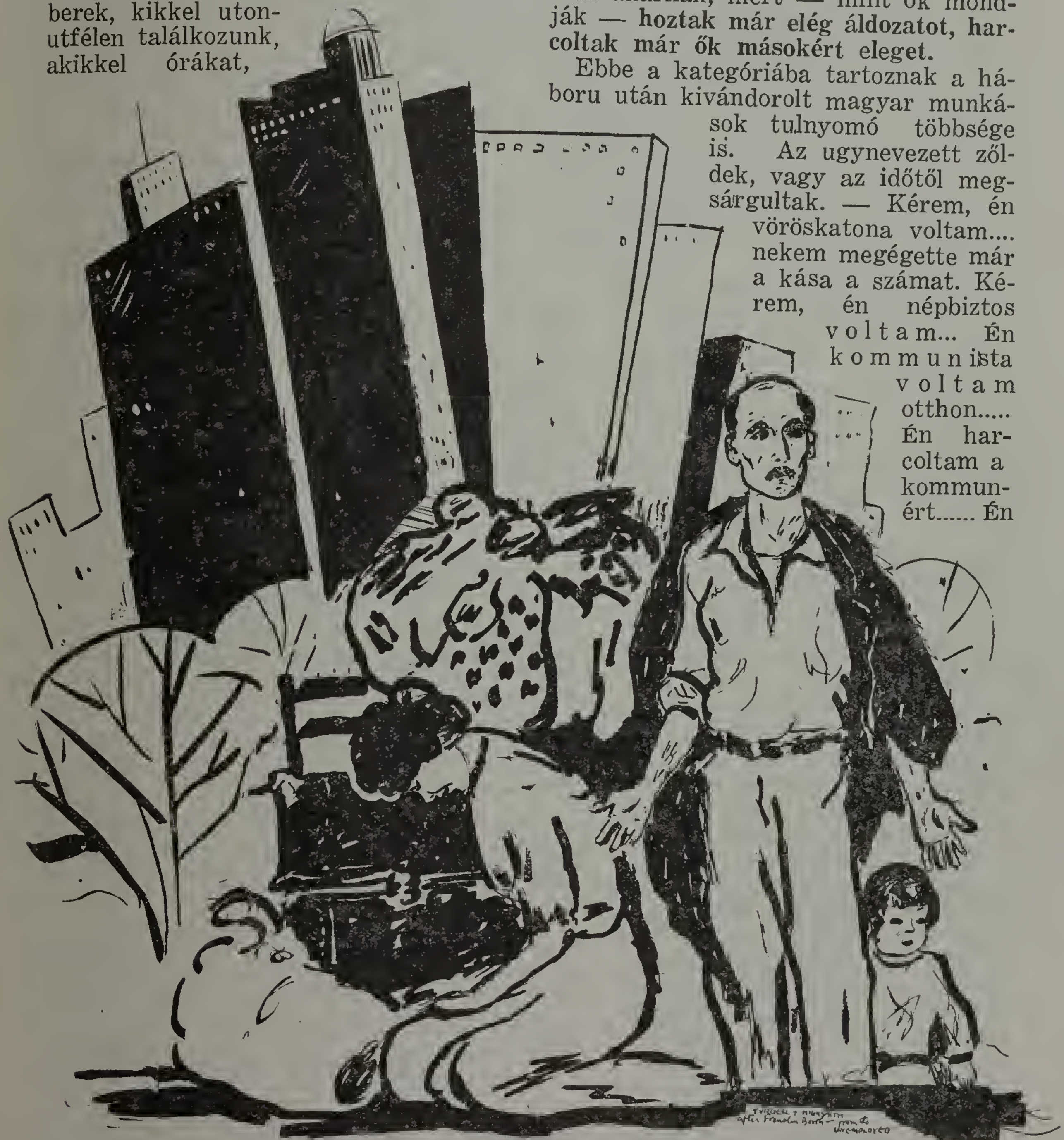
Itt önmagától vetődik föl a kérdés: miért van akkor ilyen megdöbbentően gyönge állapotban a munkásmozgalom szerte a világon? Hiszen, ha az eddigi megállapitásunk helyes — és határozottan az — akkor éppen az ellenkező helyzetnek kellett volna bekövetkezni. Mielőtt e kérdést megválaszolnánk, vagy pszichológilag elemeznénk, jó lesz ugy magunk között egy kis seregszemlét tartani.

Nehéz volna számot adni arról, hogy hányan vannak olyanok, kik rövidebb-hosszabb müködés után kimaradtak a mozgalomból, önmagukat megtagadták, de osztályukat nem, mert hiszen megmaradtak a munkásosztály tagjainak. A távolmaradásnak számos oka és indoka lehet. Nem ritkán a személyi surlódás, viszálykodás.

Az ilyesmi azonban nem tartós. Mert az osztályöntudat nem ruhanemü, amit cserélni, avagy eldobni lehet. Az ilyen elmaradások tehát nem jelentenek veszteséget, sem a mozgalom gyöngülését, mert csak ideiglenesek, átmenetiek.

Ellenben más elbirálás alá kerülnek azok a munkásemberek, kikkel utonutfélen találkozunk, akikkel órákat, napokat, heteket, sőt hónapokat is elbibelődünk — minden eredmény nélkül. Akik mindent "tudnak", akik minden szónokot "ismernek". Akik a különböző elméletekkel "tisztában" vannak, de...... a lapot nem hajlandók előfizetni, a védelmet nem hajlandók támogatni, tagokká válni és tenni nem akarnak, mert — mint ők mondják — **hoztak már elég áldozatot, harcoltak már ők másokért eleget.**

Ebbe a kategóriába tartoznak a háboru után kivándorolt magyar munkások tulnyomó többsége is. Az ugynevezett zöldek, vagy az időtől megsárgultak. — Kérem, én vöröskatona voltam.... nekem megégette már a kása a számat. Kérem, én népbiztos voltam... Én kommunista voltam otthon..... Én harcoltam a kommunért...... Én



"Mindent mi épitünk — semmink nincs de mindent megszerezhetünk a szervezkedéssel."

segitettem az orosz forradalom megvivásában...... Kérem, én ezt, kérem, én azt, meg amazt csináltam, de kérem, itt nem teszek, nem tehetek semmit... Nekem elég volt odaát mindig csak másokért verekedni......

Hát, kérem ide, kérem oda, tetszik avagy nem, de mi ugy a kéremezőket, mint azokat, "akik már olyan sokat harcoltak másokért", gyáváknak és gerincteleneknek tekintjük. Tudatlan dilettánsoknak, kik annyit sem tudtak megtanulni, hogy sem sokat, sem pedig eleget tenni a munkásmozgalomban nem másokért, hanem önmagunkért, osztályunkért, a munkásosztályért harcolunk. A munkásosztálynak pöffeszkedő, hencegő, gyáva, zsugori, egoista mártirjai nincsenek. Mártirjaink egy része emlékként a munkás otthonok falain csüng, a másik a börtönökben köpi a tüdejét. De kint......? Hát aki önmagáról ilyesmit állit, azt egy specialistához kell vinni, kérem.

Mint emlitettük volt, hosszu, nehéz és göröngyös utján eljutott a munkásmozgalom odáig, hogy helyes voltát a munkások széles rétege elismeri. Leküzdötte az ellenszenvet, az ellenvetés fegyverét kiütötte az épelméjü és jóakaratu munkás kezéből. A tudományos szocializmus mély, kiirthatatlan gyökeret eresztett maga alá és tartogathat számára bármit is a jövő, állni fogja a sarat az erjedő társadalmi viharokban, mint az uj társadalom alap-bölcselete.

Midőn azonban a szocializmusról, mint társadalmi tudományról beszélünk, nem szabad összetévesztenünk az elméletet a párt-szocialistákkal, vagy a politikai pártokkal, melyekkel foglalkozni ezen cikk keretében nem kivánunk. Megemlitésük csupán azért szükséges, mert **állitólag** azért nem szervezkedik nagyobb arányokban a munkásság, mert sok a párt és sokféle az ugynevezett munkásszervezet.

A munkásmozgalom fejlődésének és kialakulásának második periódusával kapcsolódik egybe ez az okoskodás, mely éppen ugy, mint a vad gyülölet és az ellenszenv, a kapitalista nevelés, illetve butitás következménye. A megfélemlités propagandájának az eredménye. Tudatlanság 's kishitüség a melegágya. A fegyverszünet utáni általános üldözésnek a terméke, csak kibuvásra alkalmas. Vagy ugy is mondhatjuk, hogy a gyávaságnak egy másik formában való jelentkezése.

Azok a munkások, akik a munkásmozgalomtól való távolmaradásukat, a sokfajta szervezetre való hivatkozással indokolják meg — egyiket sem ismerik. Ők legföljebb csak próbáltak

MIK VAGYUNK MI?

Mik vagyunk mi, férgei a földnek?......
Elneveztek minket csőcseléknek.
Eltiporva, sanyargatva élünk,
Nincsen jogunk nem szabad beszélnünk......
Ajkaink ne nyiljanak panaszra,
Ha sanyargat a gőgös mihaszna,
Kebleinkből ne törjön ki jajjunk,
Ha családunkkal együtt éhezünk, koplalunk.

Nézitek a gőgös, gazdag urat,
Ő is nézi a munkát, mikor arat.
Elveri azt gaz könnyelmüséggel
Mit ez teremt véres veritékkel.
Mig az, aki az élelmet megszerzi
Koplal, mert hisz nincs neki mit enni......
Addig a sok bünös haszonleső
Kéjjel mulat, hogy teljék az idő........

Ó, a hitvány, nyomorult pária,
Hisz neki az élethez nincs joga.
Nem is az az isten teremtette
Nem a szabad' emberek istene,
Hanem az eltipró Zsarnokság alkotta
Hogy legyen értelmes, de aljas szolgája........
Hogy az egyik: éltét henyélve tölthesse
Nem átall másikat megalázni érte

A pap is csak azért tanit imádkozni,
Hogy ő a dologtól tudjon szabadulni......
Az isten nevével csupán azért fenyit,
Mert azzal keresi füszeres kenyerét......
És amikor az embert egyenlőnek mondja —
Hazudik, mert akkor nem lehetne szolga......
Csal, amikor mondja, hogy adj a szegénynek,
Mert a szegénytől csal bálvány istenenknek........

És amig templomokra áldoz milliókat,
Addig lakás nélkül hagy sok nyomorultat —
Oszd meg a szegénnyel amid van, tanitja,
Ő meg a szegénytől is elkaparintja
Dolgozzatok, ugymond, és imádkozzatok......

a kényszer hatása alatt, de még nem tanultak meg önmagukért harcolni, még nem ébredtek osztálytudatra, mely röviden abból áll, hogy fölismertük társadalmunkban két ellentétes osztály létezését és azt, hogy mi a munkásosztályhoz tartozunk. Hogy jóban-rosszban össze kell tartanunk, mert a zsarnokság leigáz, megaláz, kizsákmányol bennünket és ha már nincs ránk szüksége, eldob, mint egy kifacsart citromot.

De azért mi csak türelmetlenkedjünk tovább. Legyünk elkeseredettek még akkor is, ha tudjuk analizálni, önmagunknak megmagyarázni az okokat, amiért nem erősödünk, fejlődünk gyorsabb tempóban, nem gyarapodik táborunk. Ilyennek kell lenni. Elégedetleneknek. Az öntudatos munkások forradalmi tábora az elégedetlenek szervezte. Azért tömörülünk Ipari Szervezetekbe, mert unjuk a szolgaságot. És hangsulyozzuk ki nyomatékosan, hogy: **nem azért, mert mások unják.**

Azért szervezkedünk, mert a kizsákmányolás ostorcsapásai alatt felismertük s megtanultuk, hogy a szervezett kapitalizmussal szemben, mint egyedek, elveszünk, elpusztulunk, idő előtt összeroskadunk a terhek alatt Mert felismertük, hogy egymásra vagyunk utalva. Mert a társadalmasitott termelés és a részmunkák végzése megtanitott bennünket az együttmüködésre. Mert a mind gyakrabban megismétlődő és huzamosabb ideig tartó munkanélküliség érezteti velünk, hogy egyedül nem számitunk, sőt immár csoportokban sem.

A munkásosztály egy tekintélyes, számottevő részének szervezett erejére van szükség ahhoz, hogy a mai állapotokat megváltoztassuk, hogy önmagunknak és családunknak jólétét és boldogulását biztositsuk. Ezért a csekélységért az előharcosoknak rendőrbot, börtön és gyilok a jutalom a tőkések részéről.

De ez már igy volt tavaly is és igy volt ez még ezer évekkel ezelőtt is.

És aki fél a viztől, az ne ugorjék bele, várjon, mig beletaszitják.

Annyi bizonyos, hogy egyre jobban és jobban siklik a föld a munkásnép alatt és ha azt a szervezkedésével alá nem támassza, menthetetlenül az özönviz módjára pusztul el, ugy, hogy még kimondója sem marad. Ezt ölbetett kézzel csak a gyávák várják be, az öntudatos proletárok gyüjtik erejüket az Egy Nagy Szervezetbe, hogy e társadalmi átalakulást, a munkások szabad és boldog rendszerévé vezessék le.

L. HORVÁTH

ő csak imádkozik — a dolog maradhat,
Böjtöt szab másokra, hogy "bünüket" bánják,
ő meg ötször-hatszor váltatja tányérját......

S ahelyett, hogy isten remekét mivelné,
Az emberi nemet egyenlővé tenné
Világositaná agyát a butának
Felelne igy meg az ő föladatának —:
Gyóntat, butit, ahol csak szerét teheti,
Fenyeget pokollal, az istent emlegeti........
És amit az isten remeknek teremtett —
Aljas gaz szemétté butitja az embert........

Avagy talán aki biborban született
Nyerhet az istennél csupán becsületet......?
S akit a szegénység bélyeggel jelezett
Csupán szolgatartó ur zsoldosa lehet......?
Akkor a mindenség, a meny és a pokol
Istenséget benne nem találunk sehol......
Mert mig ezt a nagyság ördöge furdalja,
Amazt az irigység ellene sarkalja......

De hogyha egy istent hinne minden ember
És a bálványokat ellökné — neki az nem kell!
Nem kellene fegyver, amivel gyilkoljunk,
Meg lenne kimélve életünk, fájdalmunk......
Dolgozni, szeretni — mindeniknek mindet:
Szeretni az embert...... emberben az istent......
Dolgozzon hát, aki ember akar lenni
s ne tartson szolgát itt e földön senki......!

És a hitre, amit a papok tanitanak
Ne hallgasson senki, mert bálványt imádnak.
Magukat nevezik isten szolgájának......
Nem lehet az isten, akit ők szolgálnak,
Óh, mert az istenség egy fenséges eszme —
A szolgaság meg az istenség ördöge......!

Dolgozz tehát! S tanulj, hogy megismerd magad!
Benned van az isten, ember — csak ne tagadd!
(Detroit, Mich.)

Az uj csillagon

THYMAR

SZÓVAL utópisztikus regény? — kérdezte a szocialista lap szerkesztője és homlokára tolta föl a szemüvegét.

A fiatal iró lámpalázzal küzdve nézett erre a gondszántá arcra, amely magán viselte annak a mélyről jött utnak minden fáradságát, amelyen át a gazdája följutott a megismerés magasságában. A magaslatra, ahol az öntudatosság gránitkockából hordott erőditményében az osztályharc vezérkara figyeli és irányitja a jövendő hadoszlopait.

A fiatal iró nem tudott megszabadulni attól a gondolattól, hogy a redős homlokon csillogó két üvegprizma valami agyvelő-szemüveg, amin keresztül ez a törékenynek látszó, de az élet minden viharával és forgandóságával szemben törhetetlenül szilárd ember az ő gondolatait fürkészi.

Határozottan zavarban volt, mert eszébe jutott néhány irása, amelyeket ő maga is szeretett volna meg nem történtnek venni. De aztán — ahogy ez az uj világszemléletre ébredte óta még mindig gyakran történt meg vele — eszébe jutott a biblia példázata az elveszett és megkerült bárányról, melynek szerfölött örül a gazdája.

— Igen — igy erősitgette tétovázó bátortalanságát —, én, aki sötétségben nevelkedtem s nem a magam hibájából kaptam meghamisitott világképet: én már ismerem az emberiség igazi világosságának a napját és ez az uj s örökkévaló égitest termel ki ezentul belőlem minden szellemi gyümölcsöt, ami a gondolat ágyékából megfogant agyamban és ezeket az üditő, erősitő gyümölcsöket fogja ezentul a tikkadt és uj életre szomjas emberek asztalára tenni a kezem.

Büszkén és eltökélten szoritotta meg szikár kezével a vaskos kézirat-nyalábot, amellyel szemben egy pillanattal előbb még sulyos aggályai voltak.

Aggályai, hogy vajjon csakugyan olyan emberi irás-e ez az ő uj regénye, aminő a Kutató Sámuel vagy Az ács fia és mindaz a remekmü, amelyekből semmi megemészthetetlen üledék nem marad vissza, akár komplikált gondolatvilágu tudós, akár az élet együgyü és sötétben hagyott mostohagyermeke issza az igazság forrásvizét belőlük.

Ugy érezte, hogy bátran, a megalkuvások hinárjától megtisztultan, a jövendőre szegezett szemmel mondott el ebben a regényében minden gáncsot a mai élet borzalmairól s nem kell szégyenkeznie a rangsor miatt, amit a jobb és emberibb jövőt keresők harccsapatában szerez majd ezzel az irásával.

— Szóval utópisztikus regény? — ismételte meg kérdését a szerkesztő s aztán jóindulatuan tette hozzá: — Igaz, hogy H. G. Wells után kissé bajos olyant mondani ezen a téren, ami kibirja a kritikát és főként az összehasonlitást. De lehet, hogy magának sikerült. Lehet, mondom, mert tehetségesnek tartom, bár kissé még gyakorlatlanul mozog a mi világunkban.

— Biztosithatom, elvtárs, hogy ez egy egész bátorhangu, mindent a maga nevén megnevező irás. Cime: Az uj csillagon.

— El fogom olvasni és örülni fogok, ha közölhetem. Milyen korszakban játszódik le a maga története?

— Az uj csillagon.

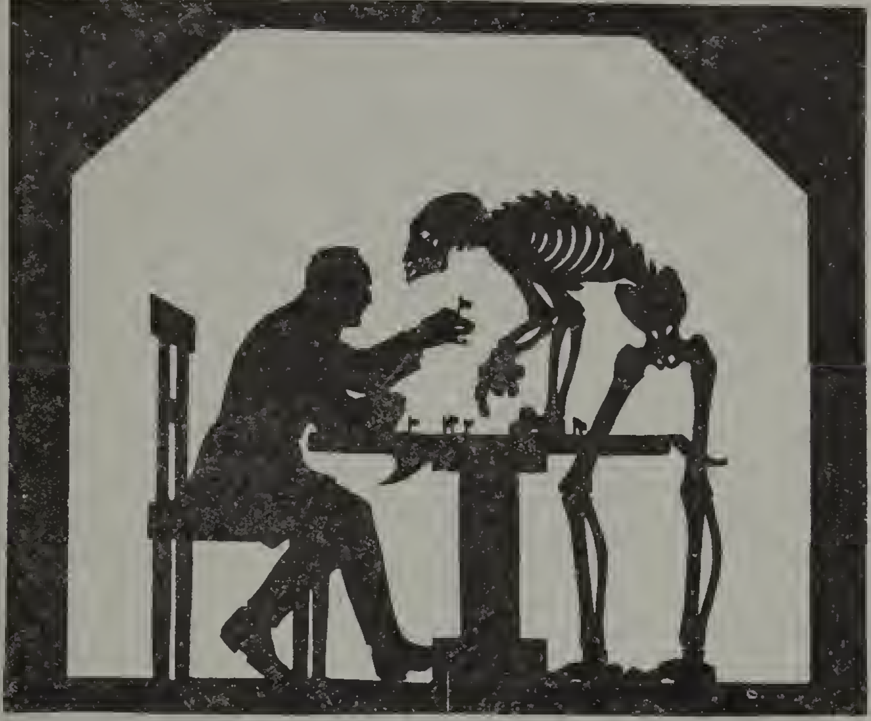
— Szóval jó hosszu idő mulva......?

— Eltalálta. Abban a korban, amikor a földet ki kell üriteni, mert az emberfajta számára lakhatatlanná vált. Az első rész......

— ......a kiüritésről szól — vágott közbe a szerkesztő — s a második rész, ha nem csalódom, az uj csillagon az uj emberi társadalom berendezkedéséről...... Ha vannak emberi mondanivalói erről a kérdésről, nagyon érdekes lehet ez a regény.

— Remélem, hogy az is, elvtárs.

— Azt akartam mondani önnek, hogy hagyja itt a kéziratot és jöjjön két hét mulva, de most azt mondom, hogy látogasson meg holnap. Még ma



Tervszerüen határozza meg a militarizmus a nép fiainak csoportos pusztitását a demokrácia nevében.

éjjel elolvasom a regényét. Izgatja a fantáziámat.

A fiatal iró boldogan rázta meg a szerkesztő kezét s az egész világot magához ölelő érzés fanfárján harsonázta:

— Barátság!

— Barátság s a holnapi viszontlátásra.

A szerkesztő fáradtan ment haza éjszakai robotjából. Lefeküdt, nyujtózkodva megropogtatta csontjait, aztán rágyujtott egy cigarettára, fölhuzta a térdét a paplan alatt, nekitámasztotta a vaskos kéziratköteget és olvasni kezdett. És olvasott...... olvasott...... olvasott......

A cigarettahamu halomba gyült az éjjeliszekrény réztálcikáján, a roló résein a fekete vonalak opálosra, majd ragyogó világosra festődtek át; az első villamoskocsi nyüszitve és csilingelve kanyarodott be az ablakai alatt az utcasarkon, tejesszekerek zötyögtek, a bádogkannák harsány csörömpölését görditve tova.

Végre a regény utolsó mondatát is elolvasta. Valósággal lázban volt. Az érdekes bonyodalmu, bátor regény valami hipnózis varázslatával töltötte meg.

Alig birt kibontakozni a gigászi perspektivából, amelyet a tudomány mindent legyőző fejlődésének korszakában bonyolódó, fantasztikus történet nyitott meg a szemei előtt.

— Keménykötésü ez a kölyök........ Van fantáziája és van mersze, hogy ezt a fantáziát röpülni hagyja...... És mégis...... mégis ez a vakság...... Hiába! Az árvaház, a mühely és a tömeglakások sokszögletü világát kell ismernie annak, aki egy igazi proletárregényt mer végigálmodni...... De majd kinyitom a szemét! Ki én, mert lehet belőle faragni valamit, ha megtanulja a mi ábécénket.

— Nos, tetszett?

— El vagyok tőle ragadtatva......

— Ugye, az a részlet, amikor a kapitalisták nagytanácsa elhatározza, hogy ugy menekül a kihülő bolygóról, hogy az elégedetlen tömegeket cserbenhagyja a halálraitélt földön.

— Igen, ez pompás képe a mai tőkés erkölcsnek. Hiszen ma is külön világban élnek és hekuba nekik a nyomoruságnak az a másik világa, amelyen a tömegek szenvednek.

És az intellektulek rajza? Azé a százezeré, akiket a tizezer tőkés magával visz az uj csillagra az ő rakétahajóraján, hogy legyen, aki kényelmesre párnázza az ő uj csillagukat az ő drágalátos és kiváltságos lényük számára. Ugye, nagyszerüen van megirva, hogyan lázadnak föl az uj gulaépitők rabszolgaságuk ellen. A mérnök, kinek acélt kell öntenie és pörölyt forgatnia, a vegyész, aki maltert keverni kényszerül a gazdagok uj palotái számára az uj csillagon s a trösztbárók egész sleppje, amelynek őserdőt kell irtania, a fegyveresek, akik sosem látott uj állatszörnyetegekkel kénytelenek hadat viselni, behemótok ellen, amelyeknek páncélirhájáról visszapattan a robbanó golyó s amelyek ugy tapossák el a tankokat, mint holmi szardiniásdobozt.

— Igen. Ebben van lendület és életigazság is. Ez az uj munkásrend — mert hiszen a földgolyót evakuáló tőkések azzá akarják őket nyomoritani — nem türi, hogy rabszolgákká deklasszifikálják őket, amikor hajcsárok voltak eddig.

— És a befejezés?

— Amikor az uj csillag rakétaflottái utrakelnek, hogy fölhozzák az uj csillagra a földön cserbenhagyott munkások millióit, akik nélkül ők, a kiválasztottak nem élhetik régi, kényelmes, kiváltságos hereéletüket?...... Igen, ez is szinesen és vizionáriusan van megirva...... Csak azt nem értem, fiatal barátom, akinek le vagyok kötelezve, mert néhány órán át a kedvem szerint és jól elszórakoztatott, csak azt nem értem, hogy aki ilyen pompásan látja a társadalmi forrongások nagy szinjátékát, hogy lehet annyira vak, mint egy vakablak........

— Hogy én...... hogy ugy gondolja, hogy vak vagyok?

— De vak ám...... és nem tudja megitélni a fejlődés tempóját sem...... Főként az időpont körül van hiba...... De ez persze a regényben valami előre nem látott, de hirtelen az események előterébe lépő katasztrófa beiktatásával áthidalható.

— Nem értem önt, szerkesztő elvtárs......

— Pedig igazán egyszerü, amit mondok. Mindez, amit megjósol ebben az érdekes regényben, nagyon könnyen bekövetkezhetik, de nem kétszázezer év mulva.

— Miért nem akkor?

— Hát csak nem képzeli, hogy kétszázezer év mulva még a kapitalista világrend nyomoritja az emberiséget. Ha ismerné a fejlődés menetét, akkor tudná......

— Mit tudnék, szerkesztő elvtárs?

— Azt, fiatal barátom, hogy a földön történő átalakulást, a kapitalista termelőmód katasztrófáját sokkal közelebb kell helyeznie a mai napokhoz, hogy Az uj csillagon cimü utópiája valószinü legyen.

— Közelebb? S mennyivel közelebb?

— Mondjuk: 1950-re.

— Tizenkét évnyire a mához?

— Igen — fejezte be irodalmi tanácsát a szocialista lapszerkesztő — és azt hiszem, már ezzel is bőkezü voltam. A problémák megfejtése ennyi időt is bajosan várhat...... De ha a kozmikus katasztrófát elhihetően be tudja állitani holnaputánra a regénybe, a rakétahajók akkorára már megoldódott problémája nem fogja hátráltatni azt, hogy az uj csillag uj lehetőségeire kényszerülő, de akkorára már minden társadalmi problémáját megoldott emberiség átrepülhessen az uj csillagra, ahol a régi életet éppoly kevéssé lehet folytatni, mint ahogy az sokáig nem folytatható az öreg földgolyóbison sem...... Szóval egy kicsit át kell irni a regényét, kedves fiam.

A fiatal iró nagy zavarban volt és fogadkozott, hogy majd megpróbálja. Mindenesetre már holnap hozzáfog.

ELISMERÉSÜNK mindazoknak, akik Naptárunk megjelentetéséhez munkájukkal hozzájárultak.

Külön emlitjük meg EGRI KÁROLYT, a Naptár boriték lapjának a rajzolóját, ugyszintén KATONA PÁLT, aki ügyes elgondolásában rajzban ad kifejezést a politikai fellegvár tarthatatlanságának a szervezett munkaerő idejében.

A Naptár többi rajzait a New Yorkban megjelenő NEW LEADER szivességéből volt alkalmunk használni.

EGRI LAJOS, az amerikai proletár-költő, ezuttal is gazdagitja Naptárunkat több versével és egy allegorikus elbeszélésével.

Magunk csak forradalmi kötelességet teljesitünk a Bérmunkás Naptárának az összeállitásával és az amerikai magyar munkások közötti elterjesztésével.

A BÉRMUNKÁS LAPBIZOTTSÁGA

Jegyzetek egy naplóból

EDE EMIL

HAVAS és esős márciusi nap volt. Vakitóan fehérlett a Montegrappa hófedte csucsa és a völgyet hóval vegyült eső látogatta meg. Fáradtan, lucskosan és sárosan pillantottam meg e festői tájat abban az időben, midőn az őrület tombolt, midőn az embereket, mint akaratnélküli állatokat egy láthatalan hatalom az ágyutüzek robajába kényszeritett. Mert háboru volt s én, mint halálba dobott áldozat, katonaruhában voltam. Arzéba érkezett ezredünk. Midőn e kis városkának utcáiba értünk, érezni lehetett, hogy előttünk voltak már olyan emberek ott, mint mi vagyunk, vagyis, katonák. Kirabolt üzletek, égő házak s az utcákon félelem-akkordba törő állatok mindazt bizonyitották, hogy már itt is voltak olyan emberek, mint mi vagyunk. A városka lakói, az ugynevezett civilek, a házaknak négy fala közé szorulva sirva s a félelemtől halálraváltan várták és fogadták megjelenésünket. Vajjon mit hoztunk mi? Megváltást, vagy ujabb poklot? Mit hozhattunk mi az ittmaradt civilekre? Elég, ha azzal válaszolok: katonák voltunk. De mit akarnak itt a civilek? Itt, ahol a katonáknak brutalitása tombol, itt, ahol az ágyuk és bombák a felsőbb akaratnak engedelmeskedve temetnek házakat, sikoltó nőket és csecsszopó gyermekeket. Miért türik végig e kalváriát, ahol minden pillanatban a bombák karjai marhatják szét testüket? Miért nem menekültek a távozó katonákkal? Menekültek is, de ezek itt maradtak. Ezeknek mindegy, hisz gyermekek még, vagy nagyon vének, akik itt maradtak; s kik itt maradtak anyák, gyermekek és vének: szegények, proletárok, akiknek családföntartójukat állami ruhába bujtatták s valahol, tán éppen most éri őket a golyó-halál. Egy kiáltás szorongatta torkomat: proletárnak mindegy, ha ágyu bömböl, vagy ha békés napokban korbácsütésektől hullnak el. Éreznem kellett ekkor, hogy azon érv, mely e civileket itt marasztalta, nem volt más, mint a nincstelenség, mint a nyomor. Felsőbb osztályok szülöttjeiből ma már nincs e városkában senki és akik itt maradtak, azok az alsóbb rétegből valók.

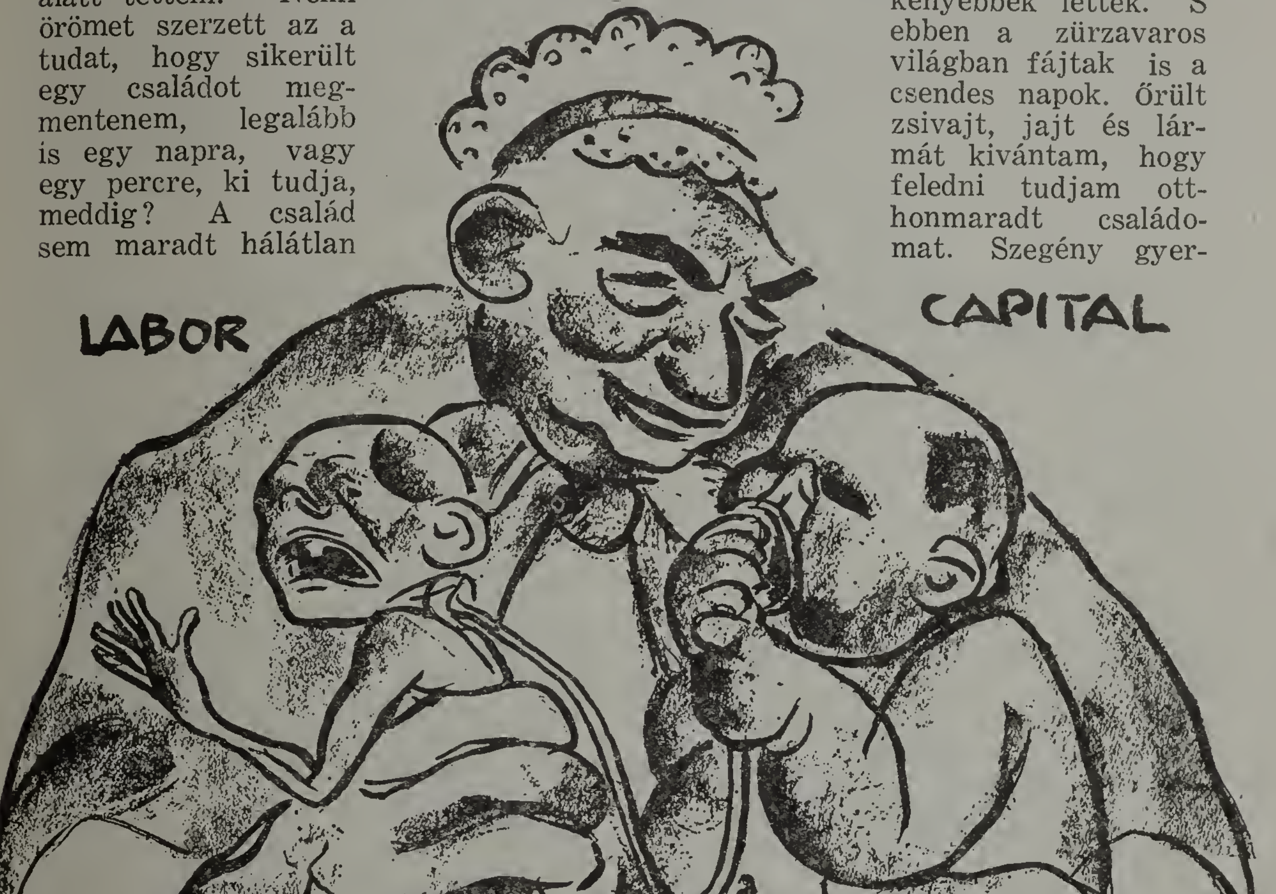
E napon nem sok elmélkedni való időm volt, inkább az elszállásolás teendői foglaltak el. Az elszállásolás nemsokára meg is történt, mint ahogyan az már a katonáéknál könnyen megy. Egy félemeletes házban osztottak be. A szoba, melybe többedmagammmal kerültem, az emeleten volt. Egyébként is csak az emeleten lehetett lakni, mivel a háznak földszintjén istálló foglalt helyet még békeidőben is. A szoba teljesen üres volt, kivéve azt a törött villanytartót, amely egy drótszálon lógott a mennyezet közepén. Legelső dolgunk az volt, hogy fekhelyet készitsünk, jobban mondva szalmát szerezzünk. Azonban ez nem sikerült olyan könnyen, mint azt elképzeltük, mivel e vidéken még a szalmának is busás ára van, éppen ugy a szőllővenyigének is, mivel a vidéken ezzel tüzelnek. Tüzelésről szó sem lehetett, mivel egy szegényebb házba kerültem, ahol kályha vagy más tüzhely nem volt, csupán a konyhában volt a szabad kémény, melynek közepén egy lánc lógott, melyre annak idején réz főzőedényeket akasztottak. Hogy maga a ház milyen állapotban volt, azt nem is kell leirnom. Egyébként az ott maradt emberek jobban érdekelnek, mint maga a ház. Ugyanebben a házban, vagyis, a szobámmal átellenben egy kisebb család huzódott meg, három gyermek, egy nő és egy hetvenéves aggastyán. A családfő katona volt, még hozzá ő is fronton, éppugy, mint én, azzal a különbséggel, hogy ő az ugynevezett ellentáborban volt. Mindegy: olasz, osztrák, vagy magyar katona-e az illető, éppen ugy szállitották el őt is a halálba, a gépfegyver, vagy az aknavető elé, mint engem. Az én szemszögemből nézve, őt is halálraitélték, mint engem, mint százunkat. A hadvezetőség szemüvegén nézve azonban az itt maradt családot, mint ellenség családját tekintették, jobban mondva, nem csak ez az egy család, hanem a városban maradt minden élő civil — ellenség volt s ezzel megbélyegezték sorsukat. Ellenség és készen van. Hogy mennyit jelentett az ottmaradottakra e szó, azt később látni fogjuk.

Vészjelzés a katona-őrhelyről

Őrült kapkodás, eszeveszett lótásfutás tört ki közöttünk. Vészjelzés a jelen pillanatban repülő, gáz vagy egyszerü bombatámadást jelenthetett. Az óvatosság szempontjából társaim a gázmaszkot igyekeztek fejükre erősiteni. Én mint katona, szintén ilyen védszerrel voltam ellátva, magam is őrült kapkodással huztam fejemre ezt a halál-elleni orvosságot. Alig mult el egy pár pillanat és már én is rohantam a lépcsókön lefelé, hogy a vészjelzés okát megtudjam. Nem messzire kellett mennem a háztól, már is robbantak a röpülőről ledobott gázbombák. Most már tisztán láthattam, hogy a vészjelzés oka gáztámadás volt. Sötét utcán álltam, nem sok időm volt gondolkozni, máskülönben ez oly hétköznapi dolog volt előttem, hogy ügyet se vetettem rá. Azonban fedezék után kellett néznem, vagy pedig menekülnöm erről a helyről. Hát mit? Gázzal lőnek? Ölő gázzal? E e pillanatban villámcsapásként érintett egy gondolat: meneküljek innen? Hisz ezt megtehetem. Hisz nem messzire kell futnom, hogy kiérjek e városkából valami szikla alá, ahol a bombák robbanása nem árthat annyira. Meneküljek? Ölő gáz......! S agyam őrülten tombol...... Ölő gáz...... Három gyermek, egy s egy aggastyán......! Őrület! Ölő gáz...... Nem! Nem lehet, hogy elpusztuljanak......! Őrült gyorsasággal rohantam föl ugyanazon lépcsőn, melyen az imént társaimmal jöttem le. Társaim valahol már messze járhattak a háztól, mert tudták, mit jelent a gáz...... Minél magasabbra kell mennünk......! Valami jól fedett helyre, ahol a bomba nem érhet. Meggyujtott villamos lámpával a kezemben rohantam föl, fölfelé. Egyedüli célom az volt, hogy fölfelé jussak. A család haldokló képe üzött, kergetett föl, föl. Tenni kell, tenni...... De mit? Nem tudtam. Fölértem...... Kopogtam. Miért, nem is tudom magyarázatát adni. Hiszen az ajtó nem volt kulccsal bezárva. Tán e kopogás még a hazai szokásból maradt rám, mert nem is volt szükség, hogy e ceremóniát betartsam. Kopogtam...... Hiába.... Nem jött senki, aki az ajtót kinyissa........ Berugtam az ajtót és berohantam a szobába. Megdöbbentő kép tárult elém, annak ellenére, hogy éj volt, egyikük sem aludt. A három apróság egymás kezét fogva, édesanyjukkal egy sarokba huzódva és az öreg pedig az ágyon ülve sirdogáltak. A véletlen kedvezett — a gáz még nem emelkedett idáig; lent hömpölygött a földön, tán a köd nem engedte föl idáig a gázt. A családnak minden tagja élt. Nem tudom, milyen rongyokat találtam az adott pillanatban, de találtam és egy egész halmazt dobtam a vizesedénybe. Minden egyiknek orrára és szájára nyomtam egy adagot belőle. Rájuk mutattam, hogy tartsák ott. Ugyanebben a pillanatban ujabb robbanás zaja tódult fülembe. A robbanás közvetlen a ház közelében történt. Minden pillanatban ujabb és ujabb cselekvés előtt álltam. Rájuk parancsoltam, hogy előttem menjenek. Az öreg is akarva-nem akarva, lejött az ágyról, ugy, ahogyan azon az estén ágyba feküdt, rohantunk le a lépcsőkön, mivel öltözködésre időnk már nem volt. Igyekeztem, hogy minél előbb kijussunk azon területből, mely gáz alatt állott. A legkisebb gyermeket én vittem és tartottam szájánál a vizes rongyot, mivelhogy erre az anyja képtelen volt. Vállalkozásom sikerült. Egy családot mentettem meg a gáz-támadás őrült barbarizmusától.

Csöndesebb napok

A gáztámadás véget ért. Számtalan civil vesztette el életét ebben az őrületben. Megindult a temetkezés, minden részvét nélkül. Gödröt ástak, négyöt embert dobtak egymásra, hasukra néhány lapát földet dobtak...... Ezzel minden készen volt. Többet nem tudtam tenni, mint amennyit a támadás alatt tettem. Némi örömet szerzett az a tudat, hogy sikerült egy családot megmentenem, legalább is egy napra, vagy egy percre, ki tudja, meddig? A család sem maradt hálátlan érte, tán megmentőt véltek bennem vagy tán már nem is katonát láttak bennem, hanem jóakarójukat. Közlékenyebbek lettek. S ebben a zürzavaros világban fájtak is a csendes napok. Őrült zsivajt, jajt és lármát kivántam, hogy feledni tudjam otthonmaradt családomat. Szegény gyer-



Az iparbárók millióit hizlalják a munkások véréből.

mekeim tán e pillanatban a halállal vívódnak.

A megmentett családnak közlékenysége igen jó hatással volt rám. Hiszen oly régen nem voltam emberek között. Igaz, szivüknek teljes kitárását megnehezitette az a körülmény, hogy én nem a legjobban tudtam olaszul. A legszükségesebbet azonban mégis meg értettem; a meg nem értetteket és az el nem mondottakat emberismeretemmel pótoltam.

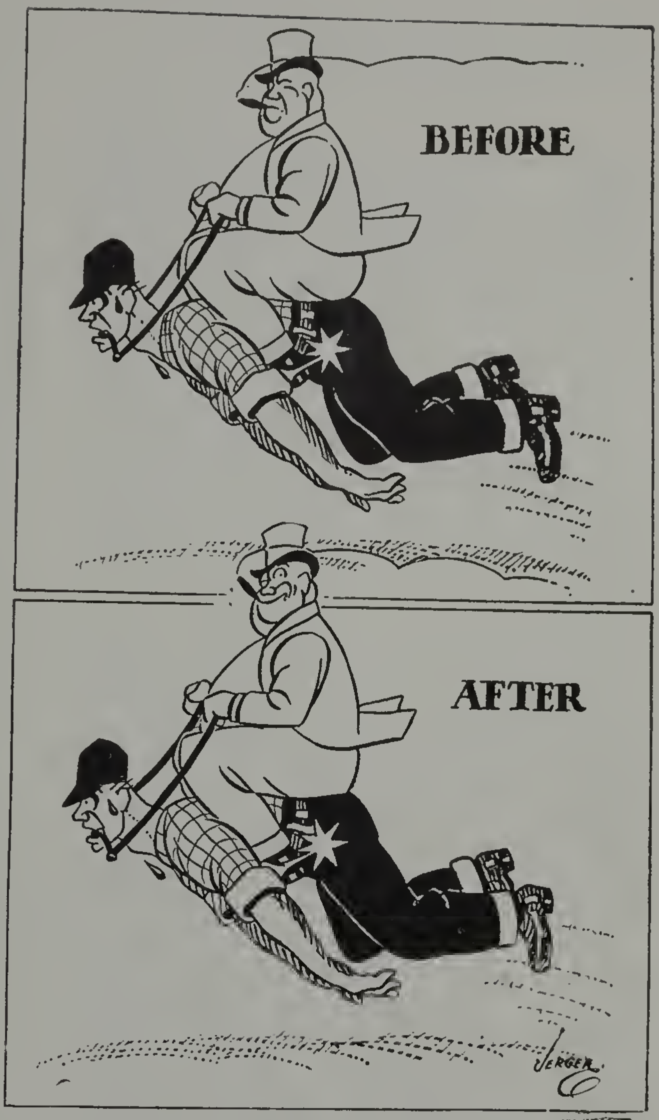
A támadást csendesebb napok követték. Hogy meddig tart ez, azt senki sem tudta, minden pillanatban várhattunk egy ujabb támadásra, egy ujabb őrületre. Még ma élek, ki tudja, hogy holnap nem-e én esek össze némán hangtalanul. Őrjitő volt az a homály, amelyen éltünk. Csak azt tudtuk, hogy élünk, de azt is tudtuk, — holnap már hullák lehetünk.

Magam sem tudom hogyan, de ellenállhatatlan vágyat éreztem, hogy kihasználhassam az őrületet követő nyugodtabb napokat. Igyekeztem ezen idő alatt a legjobban kihasználni azt. Elvegyültem az ellenséges területnek civilei közé, tudni kivántam, hogyan élnek ezek, vajjon mit hozott ezekre az emberekre a háboru? Hogy mit hozott? Őrületet....! Még ma is vádolom önmagamat és átkozom azt a pillanatot, melyben megfogant agyamban az a gondolat, hogy az ágyutüz alatt álló területek civileinek sorsával foglalkozzam. Még ma is bánt az a tudat, — miért nem éltem én is olyan tompán, bután és érzéketlenül, nem gondolva csak arra, hogy még élek, mint a többi társaim.

Egy napon délben, a ház tornácán ebédeltem. A tornác e vidéken elmaradhatatlan disze volt minden háznak. Ebéd közben tán az otthon maradt családomra gondoltam, mert az evést sehogysem birtam tovább folytatni. Kezemben tartottam ebédemet, mely holmi "Hindenburg-keverék"-ből és egy darab lóhusból állott. Gondolataim messze kalandoztak és bámultam a távolba. Merengéseimből egy kis gyermek tipegése riasztott föl. Megáll előttem, kinyujtja kis kezét és gyermeki hangon szólt: "Kenyeret adjál"! A messze vándorló gondolataim egy pillanat alatt eltüntek és most a gyermeket megmagyarázhatatlan szinben láttam magam előtt. Nem tudom, milyen érzés fogott el, de gyermekemet, aki odahaza maradt, láttam ebben a gyermekben...... Az én gyermekemet! És éreztem, ha három napig nem is eszem, kell, hogy e kis gyereknek ennivalót, a magam adagja legnagyobb részét adjam.

Fölvettem a gyermeket, mint akkor éjjel, midőn a halál karjaiból mentettem meg. Etetni kezdtem. Nagyon éhes volt. Annak ellenére, hogy tán ilyen zagyvalékat sohasem evett, most nem győztem a szájába tenni. Teljesen lekötött e kis gyermek. Észre sem vettem, hogy ezalatt az édesanyja másik két gyerekének kezét tartva, az ajtóban állt. Csak véletlenül vettem észre őket és ugyanakkor észre kellett vennem azt is, hogy a gyermekek kezét azért tartja, nehogy hozzám jöjjenek. Tán haragra is gyultam e pillanatban, intettem, engedje hozzám a a gyermekeket. Eleresztette őket. Szinte rohanva jöttek felém. Megálltak s éppen ugy, mint a legkisebb, kenyeret kértek.

Szegények, ezek is éhesek. E pillanatban nem tudtam megállapitani éhségük okát...... Éhesek voltak, nem törődtem azzal, mennyi élelmiszerem van, hanem szétosztottam közöttük.... Egymásmellé telepedve fogyasztották a komisz katonakosztot. Mig a gyermekek falatoztak, anyjukhoz mentem. Szörnyü vád égett bennem. Kérdőre akartam vonni. De hogy mit akartam tőle kérdezni, nem tudtam. A kérdőre vonás is elmaradt. Könnyező anyát láttam magam előtt. Tört olasz nyelven igyekeztem megtudni, miért sir.... Kérdésemre egy ideig nem válaszolt. Ujra kérdeztem. Azt felelte, hogy négy nap óta nem ettek semmit. A legkisebb gyermeke, akit az imént etettem, mellét szopta anyjának. Szemeim akaratlanul is odatévedtek. A melle csupa seb volt. A gyermek szivta az anya mellét, de tej nem szivárgott belőle. Nem volt teje, hiszen négy nap óta önmagát sem táplálta...... Kezeim összeszorultak. Ölni szerettem volna, ölni! Azokat, akik e szenvedéseket okozták. Segiteni ujra, ez lebegett előttem. De hogy segitsek én, akinek semmije nincs, aki magam is az éhhalál előtt állok? Honnan vegyem azt, ami most a legfontosabb, — az életet, a kenyeret?! őrült kacajba törtem. Élet és kenyér...... Itt kisértett három gyermek halálvivódása. Az összes kenyeret, ami nálam volt, oda kell adnom. Akkor meg magam pusztulok el. Az élet és halál harca küzdött agyamban. Hiszen mindegy, ma vagy holnap...... mindegy, mindegy...... Magamat nem sajnáltam. A kicsi gyerekek, a jövő emberei jutottak eszembe. Ha most egy kis időre meg is mentem őket, mi lesz azután velük?



A szakszervezeti harcok eredménytelenségének szimbóluma.

Azután meg az én gyermekeim jöttek elém. Ha én pusztulok, mi lesz azokkal? őrültség...... Ha én elpusztulok, ők is velem pusztulnak. Három gyermekélet. Kenyér és élet...... Kenyeret kér mind, mind, aki itt maradt e kis városkában. Három gyermekélet! Egy adag kenyér...... És száz és száz kétségbeesett gyermekjaj...... Kenyeret! Kenyeret! Hány részre kellene osztanom kevés kenyeremet, hogy valamennyinek jusson belőle? Hogy el ne adják utolsó rongyaikat a kapzsi tiszteknek egy darab kenyérért......? Hogy egy falat kenyérért tizenhatéves lányok le ne feküdjenek a kéjenc tiszteknek......? Rémes......! Miért nem segélyezi ezeket a gonosz hadvezetőség, amely dőzsöl a jól védett háttérben és duskál minden jóban, mig a munkásmilliók pusztulnak gyermekestől......? Rémes...... És ezek ellenségeim......? Az ártatlan gyermekek, a végtelenül szenvedő anya...... Én adjak ennivalót a három gyermeknek és a többi ezernek? Én, én, aki rothadó lóhust zabálok...? Pfuj! Rothadt hus, száraz kenyér...... Mindenben nyüzsgő pondró...... És én adjak ennivalót......? Én tartsam meg őket az életnek......? Erkölcsöt mentsek......? Szamárság......! Bolond vagyok...... őrült...... őrült......

Itt, ahol a halál szintén kiterjesztette karját, nincs más hátra, mint lázitani, mint forradalmat gyujtani, mely elsöpri e piszkos rendszert, mely barbarizmust, éhhalált és teljes lezüllést hint a népmilliók közé. Itt nem használ az én néhány kenyérdarabom. Mit ér az, ha három gyermeknek megmentem az életét egy bizonytalan időre, ha a többi ezer meg ezer gyerekre éhség és halál vár......

Az Ipari Unionizmus

ZÁRA JÁNOS

AZ IPARI Unionizmus elmélete oly egyszerü, hogy közepes képzettséggel biró munkás is könnyen megértheti. De mindennek ellenére, annyi félremagyarázás történik e téren, hogy még a jóakaratu munkásembereket is gyakran tévutra vezeti. Ennek egyik oka az, hogy oly egyének próbálják az Ipari Szervezkedés eszméjét magyarázni, akik nincsenek tisztában ennek elméletével; a másik ok pedig az, hogy rosszakaratu magyarázók, bármi célból, igyekeznek meggátolni ezen üdvös eszmének a terjedését.

Napjainkban itt az Egyesült Államokban van néhány szervezet, melyet ipari szervezetnek igyekeznek föltüntetni, azonban ezek csak annyiban ipari szervezetek, amennyiben ilyen jelzővel látják el, mert a valóságban éppen olyan messze állanak az ipari szervezettől, mint a kimondott szakszervezetek. Ilyen szervezetek többek között: a United Mine Workers of America, az Amalgamated Clothing Workers és a Trade Union Unity League. Ez utóbbit a kommunista párt alakitotta csak azért, hogy a hiszékeny munkásokat félrevezessék; hogy a valódi Ipari Unionizmus terjedését akadályozzák. Mindezen félremagyarázások ellensulyozására, a gondolkodni akaró munkások tisztánlátásának elősegitésére az alábbiakban az Ipari Unionizmus eszméjét kivánjuk ismertetni.

Az Ipari Unionizmus eszméje az Egyesült Államokban született. Hogy miért az Egyesült Államokban, annak természetes oka van. A termelőeszközök fejlődése, mely létrehozta az Ipari Unionizmust, az Egyesült Államokban kezdett leghamarabb kibontakozni, igy természetes, hogy a munkásság gondolkodó elemei itt tapasztalták leghamarabb az idejét multa szakmai szervezkedés hátrányainak, fejlődés kényszeritő hatása alatt itt kezdtek legelőször gondolkodni a termelési folyamatnak megfelelő szervezetről.

A modern termelési folyamat annyi különféle szerszámmal dolgozó munkást vont össze egy-egy ipartelepre, amennyit egy bizonyos tárgy előállitása megkövetel. A telefon előállitásánál például foglalkoztatva vannak öntők, kovácsok, asztalosok, bádogosok, gép- és szerszámlakatosok, különféle gépkezelők és szerelők, mérnökök, rajzolók és egyéb irodai alkalmazottak. Ugyanezen állapotokat találjuk a vasuti szállitásnál, az acéltelepeken, az élelmezési és nyomdaiparban, a bányászatnál, stb. iparokban. A szakszervezkedés szerint ahányféle szerszámot használnak, ugyanannyi külön szervezetbe volnának széttagolva. Eszerint a telefonkészitésnél a vágóhidakon, az acélgyártásnál stb. helyeken foglalkoztatott lakatosok egy szervezetbe volnának szervezve, elkülönitve a telefongyártásnál vagy az acéltelepeken foglalkoztatott többi munkásoktól. Ugyanez áll a többi szakmunkásokra is, ugy, hogy egy bizonyos áru gyártásánál tiz, vagy még ennél is több, egymástól független szakszervezetbe volnának széttagolva és még akkor a szakmanélküli munkások, akik legnagyobb számmal találhatók a modern ipartelepeken, szervezetlenül maradnak, amennyiben a szakmanélküli munkások részére nincsen szakszervezet.

Az Ipari Unionizmus lényege abban van, hogy nem a használt szerszámok, hanem a termelt áruk szerint csoportositja a munkásokat; vagyis, a telefongyártásnál foglalkoztatott valamennyi szak és szakmanélküli, fizikai vagy szellemi munkás mind szervezetbe csoportositandó. Minthogy azonban a telefongyártásnál foglalkoztatott munkások csak egy kis részét képezik a fém- és gépiparban foglalkoztatottaknak, igy tehát a rokonáruk gyártásánál foglalkoztatott munkások is ugyane szervezetbe szervezendők.

Az Ipari Szervezkedés eszméje az Industrial Workers of the World megalakulásával került a munkásmozgalom gyakorlati platformjára. A név már magában kifejezi a szervezet formáját is, mely a Világ Ipari Munkások Szervezete. Az IWW ugy csoportositja a munkásokat, ahogy azok a legsikeresebben harcolhatnak az azonnali követelésekért, mint: rövidebb munkaidő, magasabb munkabér és általában jobb munkaviszonyokért.

Az IWW osztályharc alapján álló forradalmi szervezet s mint ilyen, végcélja a bérrendszer eltörlése. Az összetétele olyan, hogy a szervezet fejlődésével épül a jövő társadalom szerkezete, mely el fogja foglalni a bérrendszer helyét, mely nem lesz más, mint az Ipari Demokrácia.

Az IWW a termelés és szétosztási rendszert hat Ipari Departmentbe foglalja össze.

Minden Ipari Departmenten a rokon ipari szervezetek csoportosulnak a következőképen:

100 földmüvelési osztály

110 a Földmunkások Ipari Szervezete.

120 az Erdei Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

130 a Halászok Ipari Szervezete.

140 a Virág- és Gyümölcskertészeti Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

200 bányászati osztály

210 Ércbányászok Ipari Szervezete.

220 Szénbányászok és Kokszkemencéknél Alkalmazott Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

230 Olaj, Gáz és Petróleum Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

300 épitészeti osztály

310 Vasutak, utak, hidak, csatornák és alagutak épitésénél alkalmazott munkások Ipari Szervezete.

320 Hajóépitő Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

330 Ház és épületeket Épitő Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

400 általános Ipari termelési osztály

410 Szövő és Ruhakészitők Ipari Szervezete.

420 Famunkások Ipari Szervezete.

430 Vegyiárukban Dolgozó Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

440 Fém- és Gépipari Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

450 Nyomda és Kiadóhivatali Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

460 Élelmezési Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

470 Bőráru gyártással foglalkoztatott munkások Ipari Szervezete.

480 Üveg és agyagáruk készitésén alkalmazott munkások Ipari Szervezete.

500 szállitási osztály

510 Vizi szállitásnál alkalmazott munkások Ipari Szervezete.

530 Táviró, telefon és szikratávirónál alkalmazott munkások Ipari Szervezete.

540 Városi, közuti, szállitó munkások Ipari Szervezete.

550 Légi szállitásnál alkalmazott munkások Ipari Szervezete.

600 közszolgálati osztály

610 Házimunkát végzők Ipari Szervezete.

620 Községi alkalmazottak Ipari Szervezete.

630 Parkok és utak gondozásán alkalmazott munkások Ipari Szervezete.

640 Nevelőintézetek alkalmazottainak Ipari Szervezete.

650 Általános Áruelosztási Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

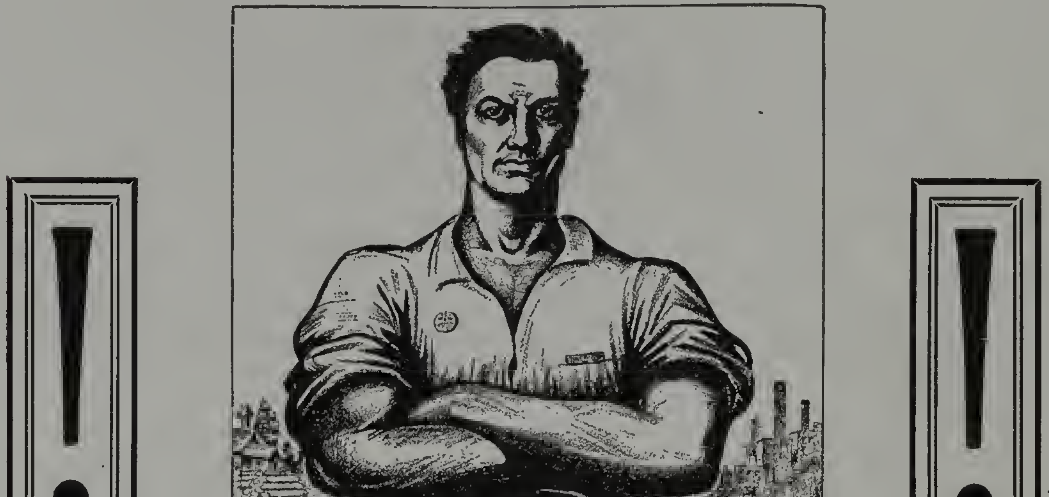
660 Szórakoztató Intézetek Alkalmazottainak Ipari Szervezete.

Az Ipari Departmenteket a százas számok jelölik, mig a Departmentekben csoportositott rokon Ipari Szervezeteket a tizes számok.

Az IWW által képviselt Egy Nagy Szervezetnek alapja az iparokban van. A munkások mühelyszervezeteket alkotnak; a különböző mühelyszervezetek alkotják a városi csoportokat. A városok csoportjai az Iperi szervezeteket alkotják és a rokon Ipari Szervezetek az Ipari Departmentet. Az Ipari Departmenteket a központ egyesiti, ahol az ügykezelés összpontosul. Az Ipari Szervezetek összessége alkotja tehát az Egy Nagy Szervezetet. Azok tagsága százas összeköttetésben van egymással.

A szervezet egyforma kötelezettséget ró minden tagjára és egyforma jogot élvez minden tag. Amely munkás tagjává válik valamely Ipari Szervezetnek, az szervezett munkás minden iparban. Ezen jogot az egyetemes transfer-rendszer biztositja.

A Ipari Unionizmus eszméje ma már az egész világ munkásságát foglalkoztatja. Mindenfelé érzik, hogy a szakszervezkedés alkonya elkövetkezett. A gépek fejlődése a szaktudást feleslegessé tette és a munkagépek mellett a szakmanélküli munkások foglalták el a helyet. A munkásság ezt tudja és mindhangosabban hallik az Ipari Szervezkedést követelők hangja. Szervezetek alakulnak és mulnak ki, mert ma már csak oly szervezet létezhet, mely megfelel a kor követelményeinek. Az IWW ennek minden tekintetben megfelel. Ipari szervezet, mert az egy iparban foglalkoztatott minden munkást EGY szervezetbe tömörit. Az IWW nemcsak egy ipar munkásait szervezi, hanem az összes iparok munkásait a megfelelő Ipari Szervezetekbe, melyeknek összessége alkotja az Egy Nagy Szervezetet. Forradalmi szervezet, mert végcélja a bérrendszer eltörlése és ennek elérésére minden eszközt igazoltnak tart. Szerkezete a jövő társadalom szerkezetének embriója és amint a szervezet növekszik, ugy nő a jövő társadalom a réginek keretein belül. Az IWW már ma késziti elő a javak termelésének és szétosztásának irányitását. Ezt csak az Egy Nagy Szervezet utján érhetjük el és amikor ezt elérjük, csak akkor ér véget a munkásmilliók szenvedése, amelyet fölvált a minden dolgozó számára az élethez egyenlő jogot biztositó IPARI DEMOKRÁCIA.



A létra meg az emelet

FARKAS ANTAL

I.

A NAGYSÁGOS urat sürgönnyel verte föl az inas ugy délfelé, amikor a nagyságos ur legédesebb hajnali álmát aludta. A leghivebb kortese sürgönyözött neki:

— Azonnal kerületbe jönni, baj van.

Micsoda baj volna? Reggelig koccintgattak a Pesten időző főispánnal, aki megnyugtatta:

— Amig engem látsz a főispáni székben, addig mindig a magad kezében látod a kerületed mandátumát is.

A főispán nem tréfás még hajnalban sem. Tisztában van az ő kötelességével általános képviselőválasztások idején és tudja, mit jelent a hivatalos jelölt elbukása. Igaz, szándékában volt a leutazás, de nem ilyen sürgősen. Van még idő az ilyesmire. Tudja a nagyságos ur, hogy neki az a programbeszéd se árt, se használ.

Ő nem sokat törődött a kortes figyelmeztetésével, de azért mégis csak leruccant a kerületébe. Ment egyenesen a sürgönyküldőhöz.

— Mi a baj, Marci bátyám?

Marci bátyám megvakarta a füle tövét.

— Baj még egyáltalán nincs olyan nagy, de annyi mégis van, hogy baj lehet.

— Ugyan mi lehetne?

— Az, hogy a cucilisták erősen dolgoznak.

— Hát aztán?

— Az ellenzéki jelölt is megmozdult és szorit bennünket.

— Hadd szoritson; majd elereszt, ha szolgabiró uraimék a körmére koppintanak.

— Mind elhiszem, nagyságos uram, de mégis igazság marad az, hogy szétszéled a nyáj szamár nélkül.

A nagyságos ur nevetett.

— Hát csak nem szamárnak telegrafált Marci bátyám ide?

— De bizony annak, hogy egy kicsit tartsuk össze a nyájat, amelyik a mult választás óta nem igen látta a vezetőjét. Azt mondja a paraszt, hogy nagyságos uram nem a nép embere, mert csak akkor látja meg, amikor hasznát akarja venni. Különben is most mérges, mert olcsó a buza, aztán elsült a kukorica.

— Jó, jó, de ennek nem a kormány az oka.

— Hát kit hibáztasson a nép? Mindig csak azt, aki az adót szedi. Ajánlom nagyságos uramnak, hogy egy kicsit mozogjon, barátkozzék a kerületben. A hivatalos uraktól se lehet mindig csodát várni. Egyszer már megeshetik olyan is, ami voltaképpen máskor is megesett már: kirántják alólunk a pokrócot.

A nagyságos ur belátta, hogy Marci bácsinak igaza van: egy kis eszem-iszom, barátkozás sohasem ártott meg az embernek választások idején.

II.

Járta a falukat a nagyságos ur. Minden szavazó házába beköszönt, de ritka helyen ismerték meg, annyira elfelejtették öt év alatt a fizimiskáját. Ő se ismerte meg szeretett szavazóit: egyforma volt neki minden János bátyám, Zsuzsa néném, Pista öcsém, Panna hugom. Össze is cserélgette őket, hiába oktatta ki névre és állapotra a vele járó kortes.

— Hogy van, kedves Zsuzsa néném?

— Köszönöm kérdését, de nem vagyok én Zsuzsa.

— Sára nénémet akart mondani a nagyságos ur — magyarázta a kortes.

— Hát nem azt mondtam? Sára nénémet ismerem. Lehet, hogy rosszul hallották, István bátyám hol van?

— Nem lakik olyan ennél a háznál.

— Péter bátyámat kérdezi a nagyságos ur — javitotta ki a kortes.

— Persze, hogy Péter bátyámat. Furcsa volna, ha nem ismerném. Hát a gyerekek hogy vannak?

— Nincsenek itt gyerekek.

— Uristen, csak nem haltak meg?

— Nem ám, mert meg se születtek — mosolyog Sára néni. — Mi járatban vannak az urak? — érdeklődik aztán kellő komolysággal a jó asszony, valami rosszat sejtvén, hogy adó végett jöttek a nyakára, mert hiszen Marci bácsi olyan hivatalos emberféle, a kő üsse meg a dolgát!

A nagyságos ur most már erősen rázza a Sára néném kezét.

— Üdvözletet hoztam Pestről. . A feleségem tiszteli, csókolja Sára nénémet.

— Köszönöm, köszönöm. Tessenek helyet foglalni.

Leülnek.

— Hát Péter bátyám?

— Egy kis dolga akadt a padláson. Majd leszólitom.

Egyszer-kétszer fölkurjant Sára néném a padlásra:

— Péter! Apjuk! Nem hallja? Gyüjjön kend le, keresik!

De bizony, Péter nem nagyon igyekszik lefelé onnan a magasságos falusi emeletről, mert voltaképen aludni mászott oda. Jó hüvös ilyen forró nyári időben, ebéd után az öreg, nádas tetejük ház padlása. A suba is ott van. Sára nénémnek rossz a lába, el is nehezült asszonyság már, aki nem tud a létrán mászkálni.

A vendégek elunják a várakozást, aztán meg még sok látogatás van hátra.

— Lehivom én Péter gazdát a padlásról — ajánlkozik Marci bácsi.

— Ne zavarjuk a dolgában. Fölmegyek én hozzá — pattan föl a nagyságos ur és ugy tesz, ahogy mondja: fölmászik a létrán a padlásra, ahol addig botorkál, tapogat, amig megbotlik a lába az igazak álmát alvó Péter gazdába.

Fölpattan ám Péter is a subáról.

— Ki vagy, az apád!

— Volt képviselőjük, most meg a hivatalos jelöltjük, Péter bátyám.

Péter csakugyan emlékszik.

— Az ám, a nagyságos ur. Aztán, hogy kerül ide? De tessék már leülni a subára.

— Köszönöm, csak éppen tiszteletemet óhajtottam tenni Péter bátyámnál és arra kérem, hogy a mostani választáson ismét......

Péter agya kivilágosodik: vagy ugy?!

Egyszerre ömlik belőle a szó, a politika: ez sem jól van, az sem jól van.

— Ez is jó lesz. A buza árát fölemeljük, a csizmáét leszállitjuk. Valamennyi adósságot elengedjük. Mi kell még? Ha valami kell, csak jöjjön hozzám Pestre, Péter bátyám, elintéztetem a miniszter urakkal egy-kettőre.

Paroláznak, lemásznak a padlásról, még egy pohár bort is isznak egymás egészségére.

A vége az, hogy a sok Péter bátyám ujra megválasztja a nagyságos urat képviselőnek egy kis hivatalos támogatással.

Ez a fejezet már nagyon rövidre szabatik. Csupán az mondatik el benne, hogy Péter bátyámnak komoly baja támad a pesti bankfiskálisával, aki licitációval fenyegeti meg.

Fölruccan Pestre a nagyságos urhoz. A nyelve kilóg, amikor fölér hozzá az emeletre. No, majd kiszuszogja magát a nagyságos urnál.

— Ki maga és mit akar? — kérdi tőle az előszobában utját álló inas.

Péter bácsi megmondja a nevét, a baját. Leültetik az előszobában. Az inas eltünik és pár perc mulva viszszajön.

— Azt üzeni a nagyságos asszony, hogy a nagyságos ur elutazott fürdőre és nem is lesz itthon, majd csak ősszel, ha összeül az országgyülés.

Péter bácsi máris lent van a kapu alatt, ahonnan mégegyszer fölnéz oda, ahol járt, aztán káromkodik egyet:

— Krisztusa ne legyen a nagyságos ur inának. Több szerencsével mászta nálam a padlást, mint én őnála, szakadjon meg......!

Marasztalás

GERGELY GYŐZŐ

NEW YORK egyik milliomosa, az amerikai gyermekrablásokkal kapcsolatban, nagy föltünést keltő elhatározásra jutott. Egyetlen gyermekét, három éves kis fiát Angliába vitte, itt helyezte el és a lapok tudósitói előtt kijelentette, hogy a kis Jamest naturalizáltatja, angol állampolgárnak nevelteti. Az amerikai biztonsági viszonyokkal indokolta meg ezt az elhatározását azzal a hozzátevéssel, hogy “Amerikában nem maradhat meg becsületes ember”. Ennek a nyilatkozatnak nagy visszhangja támadt. Sorra megszólaltak Amerika gazdagjai és azonositották magukat nyilatkozó társukkal. Kijelentették, hogy otthagyják Amerikát, mert hát igaz, ami igaz: “ott tartunk, hogy Amerikában a gangsterek miatt nem maradhatnak meg a becsületes emberek”.

Ezek közül az egyik kapta a következő levelet:

— Tisztelt uram, atyaura Mr. John Surely megbizásából végzett munkám közben megsebesültem. A konkurrens gyár gépét kellett egy kis ekrazittal megetetnem, de majdnem rajtavesztettem. Menekülnöm kellett és eközben ért az a sérülés, mely miatt most ágyba kell maradnom. Igy tehát ráérek. Elolvastam az ön figyelemre méltó nyilatkozatát és elgondolkoztam rajta. Tehát ön is, ifju milliomos ur, itt akarja hagyni Amerikát, mert azt mondja, hogy idehaza már nem lehet megmaradni a gangsterek miatt. Bevallom, ez az olvasmány őszinte, mély fájdalommal töltött el. Olyasvalami érzés fogott el, mint mikor valamilyen kedves hozzátartozója az embernek jelenti ki, hogy nagy megvetést érez iránta és nem óhajt többé vele egy födél alatt lakni. Ön bizonyára megütközik ennek az együvétartozásnak a hangoztatásán és őrültségnek bélyegzi azt. Azonban azt hiszem, hogy ha figyelemmel kiséri pályatársaim élete folyását, bármennyire nehezére is esik ez, ugyancsak erre a megállapitásra jut. Tisztelettel alulirott ugyancsak gangster, azaz a pénzért mindenre kész gonosztevő bandából való vagyok. Semmivel sem jobb és semmivel sem rosszabb, mint a többi.

Ugy kezdtem, mint a többiek és ők ugy kezdték, mint én. Legföljebb a származás, kor és egészen alacsonyrendü részletek tekintetében van közöttünk különbség. Alabama-ban töltöttem kölyökkoromat és itt cseperedtem legénykorba. Már itt jöttem rá arra, hogy mindenki a saját szerencséjének kovácsa. A többiek gyárba, mühelybe, mezőre jártak dolgozni, mig én szoros összeköttetésbe kerültem azzal a tiszteletreméltó társasággal, amely Ku Klux Klan elnevezés alatt végzi garázdálkodását. Azt is elmondom, miképen sikerült ezeknek az uraknak figyelmét magamra vonnom. Elintézni való ügyem támadt néhány hozzámhasonló koru fickóval. Egyikük nyápic, vékonydongáju legényke, maga előtt guritotta a lapdáját. Nagyon szép lapda volt, kiérdemelte a tetszésemet, elgáncsoltam tehát a fickót és elvettem a lapdáját. Ez vissza akarta venni. Szabályszerüen kiálltunk és hamarosan elbántam vele. Ekkor azonban ott termett ellenfelem barátja, egyet intett, hogy meg akar velem mérkőzni és vele is meg kellett küzdenem. Uj ellenfelem azonban erősebb volt. Egy-két ütésére már éreztem, hogy forogni kezd velem a világ. És ekkor benyultam a zsebembe és kivettem a bicskám. A körülállók fölháborodva pfujoztak, az egyik rácsapott a kezemre. De ekkor egy ur galléron fogott és kivezetett a csoportból. No, gondoltam magamban, most következik a hadd-el-hadd. De, hogy kikerültünk a sokaságból és befordultunk a legközelebbi utcasarkon, az illető jól szemügyre vett, megveregette a vállam és azt mondta, hogy legény vagyok a talpamon és hogy közéjük való vagyok.

Ez az ur a Ku-Klux-Klan vezetőségi tagja volt és azon tul ez a társaság vett pártfogás alá. Nekik teljesitettem szolgálatot. Tulbuzgóságomban azonban nem tartottam be a határokat. Müködésemben nem szoritkoztam négerek, katolikusok és zsidók bántalmazására, hanem aszerint, ahogy alkalom adódott, ezt a jeles és jövedelmező foglalkozást ilyen mellékes szempontokra való tekintet nélkül, másokkal szemben is gyakoroltam.

Alabamaból menekülnöm kellett.

Igy kerültem — számos viszontagság után — New Yorkba. Itt aztán bő tere nyilt annak, hogy megmutassam mit tudok. Erős karjaim, széles vállaim és mindenre való készségemet eláruló arcom voltak az ajánló levelem, amelynek révén csakhamar bekerültem Pinkertonhoz. Különös mulatságomra szolgált uj mesterségem.

Ebben a minőségben jutottam kapcsolatba tisztelt atyja urával, majd később önnel. Atyjaura érdekében kellett a tényállással homlokegyenest ellenkező tanuvallomást tennünk az emlékezetes Smell-ügyben. Majd pedig hasonló szolgálatot teljesitettem becses családjának a hires Trock-féle rágalmazási pörben. Önnek házassága előtt pedig én szereztem vissza szerelmes leveleit Miss Helene Treetstől.

A legtöbb megbizást azonban akkor volt szerencsém önöktől kapni, amikor külön saját kazemre dolgoztam és magam neve alatt szerveztem "irodát". A szociális ügyek egyik specialistája lettem. Jó orrom volt, mert ez a foglalkozás kitünően bevált. A háboru után nagyon mozgolódtak a munkások. Olvasmányaik és agitátoraik hatása alatt szervezeteket alapitottak, bérmozgalmakra, sztrájkokra és más hasonlókra vetemedtek. Nekünk kellett rácáfolnunk arra a téves fölfogásukra, hogy emberi jogaik vannak. Hát bizony, mélyen tisztelt milliomos ur, ez ugyancsak zajos kis munka volt, melyben a jövedelmen kivül sok tapasztalatot szereztem és eléggé föl nem becsülhető értékü edzettségre tettem szert.

Igen, mélyen tisztelt uram, ezen a téren hasonlithatatlanul sulyosabb cselekmények elkövetését vállaltuk s hajtottuk végre az önök megbizásából és az önök érdekében, mint amilyenek most arra késztetik önöket, hogy elhagyjanak bennünket.

Nem volt hét, hogy rajta ne kellett volna ütnünk egy-egy ilyen agitátoron. Minduntalan el kellett szállitanunk autónkon azokat a szerencsétlen vakmerőket, akik fölvették önökkel a harcot. Mennyi gyülést robbantottunk szét büzbombáinkkal, bunkóinkkal és revolvereinkkel.

Azután emlékszik arra a vasuti merényletre, amelyet klubjuk vezetősége megbizásából kellett megrendeznünk s ugyanakkor eskü alatt vallomást tennünk arról, hogy a merényletet az önök ellenfelei követték el? Az pedig már egészen alacsonyrendü tömegmunka volt, amikor a bányatelepeiken sztrájkoló munkásokat kellett kilakoltatnunk. Ekkor szoktuk meg az aszszonyi jajveszékelést és a gyermeksirást. Még most is érzem annak a kis, ötéves pöttömnyi legénykének keze szoritását, ahogy belecsimpaszkodott a karomba, amikor az apját a hajánál fogva a földön vonszoltuk, mert nem akarta bevallani vezetőjük kilétét.

Igen, igen uram, mi az önök neveltjei, hozzátartozói, az önök fényes társaságának függvénye vagyunk. És ahogy nem egyszer megtörténik, hogy a gazembert a saját jószága tapossa meg, ugy megtörténhetik, hogy a milliomost a saját közegei zsarolják meg és hozzák sulyos helyzetbe. Ebből azonban nem következik, hogy most már valamennyi gazdag otthagyja a jószágát és nem következik, hogy önök itthagyjanak bennünket. De hiába is hagynak itt. Mert ahol gangster van, még nincs okvetlenül milliomos, de ahol gazdag ember van, ott föltétlenül kell gangsternek is lennie. Aztán lehet, hogy igazuk van abban, hogy Amerikában már nem maradhat meg becsületes ember. De ettől, uram, önök is, mink is egészen jól megmaradhatunk Amerikában.

Ne menjenek el tehát, ne hagyják itt árván ezt a maguk képére teremtett világot.......

Az Industrial Workers of the World alapszabályainak magyar függeléke

AZ INDUSTRIAL Workers of the World az ipari unionizmust képviselő s tanitó munkáskásszervezet, amely a munkásokat ipari foglalkozásuk szerint szervezi abból a célból, hogy a termelési eszközöket kisajátitsa, a bérrendszert megszüntesse, miáltal egyenlő jogokat teremt a társadalom minden egyes tagja részére.

Ezt a célt csak ugy érheti el a munkásosztály, ha EGY szervezetben tömörül. Az IWW minden nyelvü és minden szinü bérmunkást az Egy Nagy szervezetbe tömöriti. Ezért szükségtelennek tartja a külön nyelvi vagy faji csoportokat, mert ahogy az iparban együtt dolgozik minden nemzetiségü, vagy szinü munkás, ugy a munkán történő kizsákmányolás ellen is együtt kell a harcot fölvenni és küzdeni.

Ehhez a tanitáshoz egyik legalkalmasabb eszköz a sajtó. És mivel minden bérmunkás az anyanyelvén jobban megérti az IWW tanitását, az IWW különböző nyelvü lapjaiban hirdeti az Egy Nagy Szervezet szükségességét.

Az IWW magyar sajtója, bár szorosan az Egyetemes Központ ellenőrzése alatt áll, annak terjesztése és fentartása a magyar bérmunkások kötelessége.

Ebből a célból agitációs bizottságokat létesithetnek, ahol a magyar lap fejlesztését szolgáló ügyeket beszélik meg.

Az agitáció sikeresebb kifejtése céljából legalább egyszer évente értekezleteket tartanak és ha szükségét látják, országos értekezletre jönnek öszsze. Ugy a kerületek, valamint az országos értekezletek határozatait a magyarajku agitációt végző IWW tagok hagyják jóvá vagy vetik el.

A magyar lap ügyeinek intézésére az agitációs csoportok egy szerkesztőt, egy titkár-pénztárnokot s egy hét tagból álló bizottságot választanak egy évi időtartamra, mely bizottságnak föladata őrködni, hogy a lap IWW szellemben iródjék, hogy a lap körüli munkák elintézést nyerjenek, hogy a lap s igy az ipari unionizmus eszméjének terjesztése a magyar munkások között a legszélesebb körben történjék. E célból odatörekszik, hogy a magyar lap állandó tanitómunkája mellett szervezők is fölkeressék a magyarlakta területeket.

A magyar lap bevételeiről és kiadásairól, valamint a nevelést elősegitő céljairól havonta jelentést készit a lapbizottság és azt az agitációs bizottságok titkárainak, a delegátusoknak s a Bérmunkás lapkezelőinek megküldi.

AZ IWW EGYETEMES KÖZPONTJA
555 West Lake Street
Chicago, Ill.

AZ IWW MAGYARAJKU KÖZPONTI
SZERVEZŐ ÉS LAPBIZOTTSÁGA
P. O. Box 3912 Station S. S.
Cleveland, O.

A BÉRMUNKÁS SZERKESZTŐSÉGE
ÉS KIADÓHIVATALA
8622 Buckeye Rd.
Cleveland, O.

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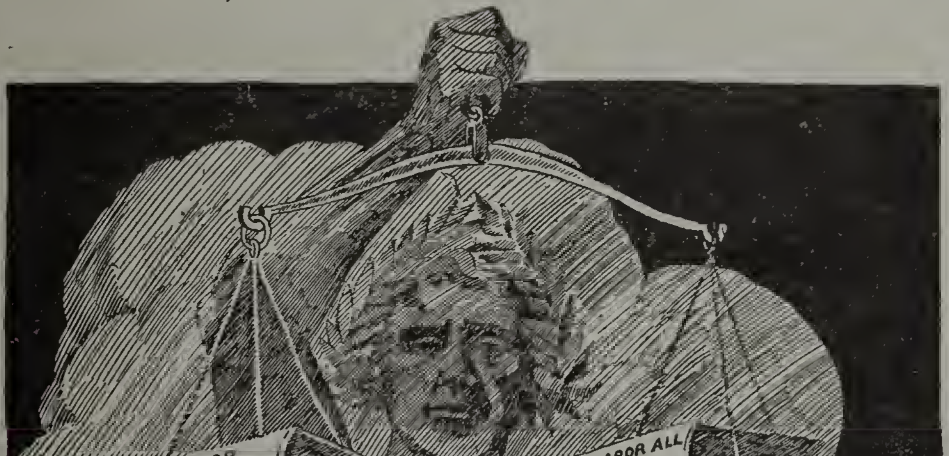
Az utolsó vacsora

RÉVÉSZ BÉLA

AZ ISTEN mennyei birodalmából nyugodalmas nyájas estét küldött le a jámbor borügynök hajlékába. A kicsiny szoba ablakai ki voltak tárva és szabadon szállhatott be ide a nyári alkonyat minden igézete. A szigeti sétányok ecetfái a csendes szellőben bólogattak sárga fejükkel és mintha ők is vigadni akarnának a borügynök családi eseményén, fürtjeiket meg-meglibbentették és füszert, ünnepi alkalomhoz illő szagosságot kergettek a szobácskába, mely közelükben, éppen a Duna mellett kandikált a világba. Benn, a négy fal között, méla napsütésben, a család bucsuzkodott. A fiut, Sándort, küldték a nagyvilágba.

Sándor anyjának a jelleméhez tartozik, hogy tulajdonképen és egyedül csak ő küldte a fiut a nehéz utra, próbálni, dolgozni, emberré lenni Pesten, mert maga a borügynök már inkább filozófusan gondolkozott az életről és


LABOR CREATES ALL WEALTH
TO LABOR ALL WEALTH RIGHTFULLY BELONGS

AZ IGAZSÁG MÉRLEGE: A munka teremt mindent. A munka gyümölcse a munkást illeti.

nem ritkán komoly perpatvar keletkezett a házasfelek között a kemény kérdés körül, hogy lehetnének szerencsésebbek a gyermekek. A családfő e harcok folyamán mindig egyformán s igy szentenciázott:

— Iparosok vagy kereskedők legyenek a gyerekek. Azoké ma a világ. Járjanak négy normált, aztán oda kell adni őket inasnak. Három év mulva fölszabadulnak és megkeresik a kenyerüket. Emberek lesznek olyan korban, amikor még mint diákoknak koplalniok kellene...... Aztán ha felnőttek, parthiet csinálhatnak és önállósitani fogják magukat......

A borügynök gyenge vitatkozó volt, pedig mélyen érezte az igazságait, ám a Sándor anyja szóval, szigoru fellépéssel annyira állotta a harcot az ura ellenében, hogy a derék ember dühében a nagy vitákat rendszerint káromkodással, székcsapkodással és egyéb izgalmasabb zenebonákkal fejezte be, de igaza azonban mégis csak az asszonynak volt, akinek az akarata e családi hajlékban törhetetlen parancs volt appelláta cselekedetei ellen, amikor egymásután küldte gyermekeit, föl, föl, a nagyvárosba, ahol az érettségit, diplomákat osztogatják.

Sándor anyja rajongott a müveltségért. Ez egész másfajta tulajdonsága volt az ő lelkének; nem olyan, ami más embereknél kimerül a tudás után való vágyakozásban és a célnál van, ha az okoskodás utjára rátalált. Sándor anyja irni sem tudott és az ünnepnapokon, ha imádkozni kellett, valamelyik fia olvasta föl neki az imádságot, amit ő áhitatosan utána mondott, ám vak, korlátolt gondolatvilágában, mint démoni erejü fantom ott ringatódzott a csökönyös, egyetlen kialakult gondolat:

— A gyerekek tanuljanak, müvelt emberek legyenek........

A szikár asszony fanatikusa lett ez életprogramnak és forró anyai szivét nem egyszer komor drámák rázkódtatták meg, mikor törte, épitette fiainak az utat, a nagy országut felé, ahol tanult emberek kergetik a szerencsét. A legidősebb fiuval még könnyen ment a dolog, amikor Pestre küldték a tanitóképzőbe, mint ők mondották, a preparandiába. Akkor ősszel még vidám arcuak voltak a hegyek és millió-millió szőllőszem kacélkodott a borügynök felé, aki ilyenkor szüret idején, mintha minden mustot ő ivott volna meg, mámorosan, szinte támolyogva hágott a bércre, szállott a völgybe és a buzgó emberek nagyszerü megelégedésével kötögette jobbra-balra a kitünő üzleteket. Dezsőt, az elsőszülött fiut, még elláthatták minden jóval, a borügynök maga kisérte a gyereket Budapestre és ott jó pénzért kosztba adta. A hegyek azonban egyszer csak kikezdtek a szorgalmas emberkével. Ujra eljött a szüret és a szenzál megint ott szaladgált a völgyek mentén, a hegyoldalak utjain, de a szőllővenyigék kopáran álltak elébe, a fakó hegyek — akárhogy kémlelte is őket — immár nem mosolyogtak reá, de zordonan hajoltak föléje és a filokszéra könyörtleneül belemart az ő életébe. Jöttek az éhes csaták, a verejtékes töprengések, a borügynök a kopó nekivadultságával szimatolta mindenfelé a kis pénzeket, amivel tartozott a családjának — ez a szive legfájdalmasabb mélységéig érezte — de a nyugalom, a boldogság immár végképp elröpült mellőle, kidőlt, mint odafenn a hegyen a megsebzett szőllőtőkék. Dezső, a preparandista, megakadt a pályáján, de mivel a tanitás tudományaiba már eléggé beavatott volt, elment falura nevelőnek, ahol pénzt is, kosztot is kapott, a diploma tündére eltávolodott ugyan tőle, de Dezső azért nem volt csüggeteg fiu és a jövőt, a nebulókat, a katedrát mindennap frissen megálmodta.

A borügynök ebben az időtájban lett filozófus természetüvé. És megirigyelte az asztalosokat, a divatárukereskedőket, akik könnyen élnek és diszes táblákat aggattak a boltjuk fölé, pedig nem tanultak soha annyit, mint ő, annak idején Pozsonyban, a talmud-iskolában........ Agyvelejében minden bölcseség megfordult, amiket valaha tanult és amikre maga ébredt és minden gondolata a filokszéra-csapás óta odamélyedt, hogy csak ugy lehet emberségesen élni, ha az ember a két kezével keresi meg kenyerét s nem rontja meg az eszét tudománnyal, ami fölemeli az embert a földről és a levegőben kalimpál a lábaival A nyomoruság perpatvarait mind sürübben takaritották az izgalmas viták, amikben, mint mondottuk, az ügynök maradt mindig a gyöngébb és dühösebb fél. Az asszony az merev, hajthatatlan volt. Talán még jobban megedzette a nagy szegénység gyökeres érzését, hogy a fiai tanult emberek legyenek, süket volt a füle, mikor az ura lelkesedve beszélt az iparospálya gyönyörüségeiről, az esze elüzte az ügynök igazságait, amiket az szaporán hajigált a familia közé és szivós eréllyel magához ragadva a nevelés jogait, a fiukat sorba mind beigazitotta Pest felé...... Az egyetlen, terebélyes gondolata volt, — mely az elhatározás pillanatában minden más aggódó, óvatoskodó mellékgondolatot elboritott, — hogy müvelt emberek lesznek a gyermekei........

Ez a fanatikus anya hozta meg azért a legértelmesebb és legnagyobb áldozatokat gyermekeiért. Mikor a második fiut, a Lajost, küldte a fővárosba, nevetgélt és cirógatta a fiát:

— Csak szorgalmas legyél, fiacskám, dolgozz, iparkodj, ember lesz belőled...... a szegény gyerekekre vigyázz az isten........

A bátoritó szavak mögött azonban ott vonaglott az anya palástolt szenvedése megrebbent előtte a komor bizonyosság, gyermekének küzdelmei, még a könnyes arca is...... Mikor aztán már vitte a vonat a fiut, az asszony szabadjára eresztette visszafojtott fájdalmát, jajongott, sirt és szidta az urát, miért vette el őt, miért akart gyermekeket, ha nem tudja őket tisztességesen fölnevelni. A szomoru éjszakákon annyiszor nézte, az ágyában felülve, gyermekeit, a sötétség fátyolait keresztülfurta a szeme és a kicsiny szobából ellátott Pestig, az embererdőben kereste a fiát és a sóhajtása rezgett a könnyektől:

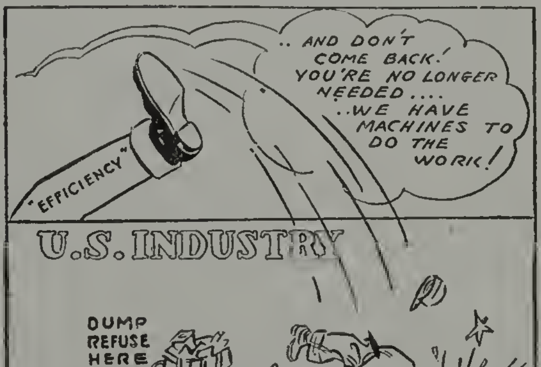
— Mit csinál most a fiu? Talán tanul? — talán nem tud — mert éhes......

A borügynök a sötétségben mindig bátrabb volt, mint nappali világitásban és merészen kimondta a szót, ami mindig a nyelvén volt:

A te raplidnak az áldozata......

A néma éjszaka a tanuja, hogy ilyenkor mi történt. Ujabb szóharc, ujabb verekedés keletkezett, a gyerekek fölijedtek álmukból, leugráltak az ágyukról és sirva körülállták az apjukat, az anyjukat, akik ha egymással szemben álltak is, a tekintetük mégis lesiklott egymásról és a szemük, a szivük csak a pesti gyereket látta; bukdácsoló utjában, éber gonddal őrt állottak mellette......

Lajos eközben az állatklinikán komolyan boncolt, még a ló patáját is szigoruan szemügyre vette és fürkészte mindenütt az anatómiai, gyógyitási rejtelmeket, amik ha megnyilnak előtte, állatorvos lesz Egy téli nap a klinikára behoztak egy lovat. Nagyon elcsigázott volt, a szolgák ugy támogatták be a szegény párát a kórodába. Mikor az orvosok melléje álltak, hogy megvizsgálják, a jámbor állat fáradtan összeroskadt........ Ez volt Lajosnak az utolsó klinikai emléke, ami később igen sokszor az eszébe jutott. Mert Lajost is kiszemelte az isten, hogy nevelje az emberiséget és egyszerre csak elkobzott tőle minden lehetőséget,


.. AND DON'T COME BACK! YOU'RE NO LONGER NEEDED.... ..WE HAVE MACHINES TO DO THE WORK!
"EFFICIENCY"
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624

A géptermelés a munkásságot a munkanélküliek szemétdombjára kényszeriti. Az orvoslás: szervezett erőnkkel leszállitani a munkaidőt az elvégzendő munkát egyenlő arányban beosztani.

hogy a vizsgadijakat, beiratási pénzeket megszerezze és a jó, puha, kakastejjel, varjuvajjal sütött kenyeret egy másik faluban kinálta neki, ahová bizony elment és immár Lajos is nevelősködött, ugy, mint a bátyja, a Dezső, pedig neki soha se volt pedagógus képzettsége. Amiben azonban nincsen semmi különös...... Ugy érezzük, hogy az öreg Pestalozzi nagy szeretettel és megelégedéssel néz alá az égből a szegény gyerekekre.

A vén, kitünő tanitómester is bizonyára tudja, hogy az igazi pedagógusok a szegény diákokban rejtőznek és gyönyörüen értenek a nevelés mesterségéhez, anélkül, hogy erre diplomás szabadalmat kapnának. Bizonyára látja a magasságból a nyüzsgő hadat, a kicsi és nagy diákokat, ahogy a bölcseségüket falvakban, városokban, szobákban, aranyos szálákban beléplántálják a gyöngébb emberkékbe, akik rendszerint gazdagok, annyira gazdagok, hogy olcsó pénzen megvásárolhatják az okosságukat a nyomorgó szegény gyermekektől. Igy lett nevelő Dezső, aki preparandista volt és igy vette föl a nevelés emelkedettebb hivatását Lajos is, dacára annak, hogy állatorvosnak készült.

A pedagógiai érzék különben is nagyon erősen kifejlődött a borügynök családjában. Például Sándor, mióta kinőtt a rövid nadrágból, soha többé nem találkozott a neki törvényesen kiszabott vakációval. Tekintélyes, gyémántos uri asszonyok keresték föl Sándor anyját, hogy a fiut elhóditsák a mermekeik mellé nevelőnek a vakációra és komoly versengés indult meg az urnők között Sándorért, amit a messzire előrelátó fiu minden esetben ugy oldott meg, hogy a felajánlott gyermekeket minél nagyobb számban maga köré sorakoztatta és elment velük sétálni a szigetre, a gesztenyefás utakra. Mindenképen ünnepélyes volt a jelenet, amint a legnagyobb gyerek, komoly ábrázattal, a hivatás önérzetével, a kezüknél fogja, a kabátja szárnyának segitségével huzta maga után a kisebb gyerekeket és meséket mondott nekik; a tündérregékbe pedig belétüzdelte titkos gondolatait...... lesz pénz a beiratásra...... lesz pénz az iskolakönyvekre......

A sétálva tanitás utjain érkezett el a kis bölcs a nagy állomáshoz is, hogy Pestre mehet diákoskodni. Az utolsó napok kedvesen, szeliden perdültek le a családi hajlékban. Az izgalmas nap közeledésével, hogy Sándor Pestre utazik, a borügynök szivéből elillant a harag és mert minden háboruság végén rábukkant a bus tapasztalatra, hogy utóvégre neki is szót kell fogadnia, mint a család többi tagjainak, ellágyult és aggodalma, szomorusága fölolvadt a nagy igyekezetben, hogy a gyerek bizakodó, jókedvü legyen, amikor kiröpül közülük. Az igézetes nyári este pedig, amikor a familia összeült a bucsuvacsorára, a szeretetnek meleg hullámai hömpölyögtek az asztal körül. A nap lecsuszott az ég peremén, mikor Sándor anyja behozta a vacsorát. Ugy tetszett, hogy az égi vándor csak azért sietett robot-utjában, hogy lássa, mit eszik Sándor, hogy fekszik neki a pompás ennivalóknak, amikre egészséges gyomra szomjuhozott. A nap egész arcával bebámult a kis ablakon és nagyon tetszhetett neki a vacsorázó társaság, mert legszebb és legszelidebb szineit kiváltotta szivéből és ráhintette a derék Sándorra, az anyjára, az apjára és testvérkéire. A villák, a kanalak zörögtek, de ez mostan zene volt és a nagy csöndben a tányérok, poharak ünnepélyesen csörögtek, a boros üveg pedig kacagva megcsendült, valahányszor Sándor érte nyult. Egy jó darabig beszélgetés nélkül vacsorázott a család, de mégis soha annyi gondolattal, érzéssel nem ölelték meg egymást az asztal körül ülő emberek, mint ezen az estén. A néma diskurzusban benntorlódott lobogó sziveknek minden meghatottsága, forró hangulatoknak ábrándos reménysége, mig végül is érzés, gondolat kicsordult a lelkükből és ekkor mohó versengéssel cserélgették ki egymással mondanivalóikat.

A borügynök igy szólt:

— Sándor, Pista bácsit, a doktort, keresd fel, mondd meg neki, hogy tisztelem...... ő bizonyosan felkarol majd téged......

Pista doktor, a pesti orvos, gyöngéje volt a borügynöknek és ha beszélgetett róla, mindjárt belékezdett a rokoni viszony elmagyarázásába, mely oda konkludált, hogy Pista doktornak ő az egyetlen, még életben levő nagybátyja.

— A Pista! — hangsulyozta önérzetesen a szenzál — nagy tudós, egyszer egy olyan grófot mentett meg az operációjával, akiről Billroth is lemondott. A Pester Lloydban egy gyönyörü cikket irt erről az operációról és ezóta igen nagy a prakszisa........ Mondd meg neki, Sándorkám, hogy én csókoltatom őt és elvárom, hogy segiteni fog rajtad......

Az anya is kitanitotta fiacskáját, hogy mit csináljon Pesten:

— Menj el Rezső bácsiékhoz és a Lina nénihez, mind a két helyen kérjél "napot"...... biztosan fognak adni. Mondd el nekik, szégyenkezés nélkül, hogy nekünk nagyon rosszul megy és azóta, hogy Pestről visszakerültünk, még jobban rászorulunk segitségükre. Semmi mást nem kérünk, csak téged el ne hagyjanak....

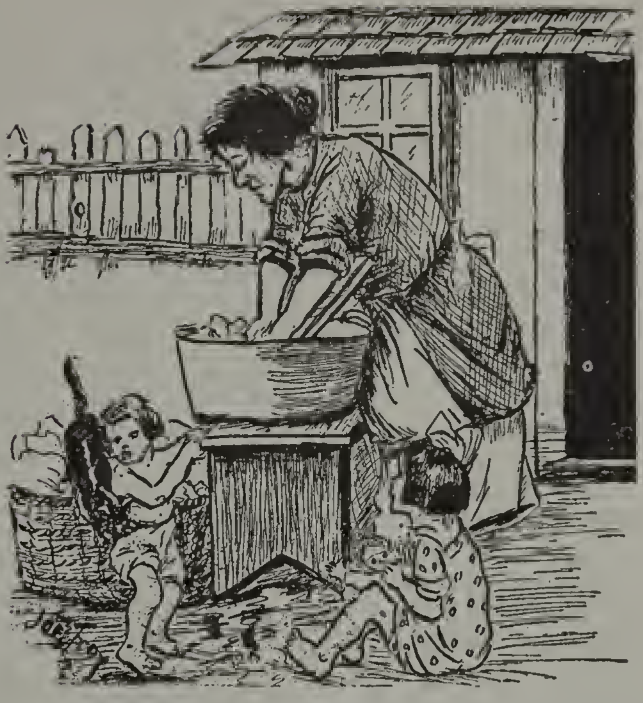
Sándor derekas étvággyal fogyasztotta a cukrászsüteményt, ami az ünnepi lakomának tulajdonképpeni eseménye volt s beszélgetés közben evett, mindig evett:

— Pista bácsihoz biztosan elmegyek. Emlékszem, mikor Pesten laktunk, egy szer barackot nyomott a fejembe........ azt hiszem, ő szeret minket......

— A Lina néni szegény, hogy adhat ő napot......? Mikor náluk voltunk, sirt......

A jövendő előfeltételeit ez estén mind sorra vették és elhitették önmagukkal, Sándorral, hogy bőven fog napokat találni, a negyven forinttal pedig, amit a vakációban keresett, bátran lemehet Pestre, sok szegény gyereknek még annyi sincsen és nem szabad félni, leckéket kell keresni, a beiratásnál pedig oda kell állni szépen az igazgató ur elé és megmondani neki:

— Nagyságos igazgató ur, én szegény gyerek vagyok, legyen szives engem diákok mellé tanitónak ajánlani....



A munkás család tragédiája. Mig az apa munkát talál a családfentartása az anyára hárul.

Ez a komoly ötlet a Sándor anyjáé volt, aki világosan megmagyarázta a bucsuzó diáknak, hogy Pesten meg lehet élni, csak akarni, dolgozni és tanulni kell. A borügynök pedig a pesti küzdelmek körülményeinek megvitatásánál nem feledkezett meg a másik két fiuról, Dezsőről és Lajosról sem s biztatta Sándort:

— Néha-néha aztán majd ők is küldenek neked valamit......

Ilyformán a meghitt, hangulatos órákban, a család tisztán, élesen látta megnyilni maga előtt az utat, melyre Sándor bátran ráléphet és mert a legsötétebb tekintetü ember szemében is fölragyog a fordulatos pillanatokban a szivárvány, a reménységek délibábja, most a lágyszivü borügynök volt a legvérmesebb, a napok, az ennivaló napok dolgában és különösen a Pistát, a doktort, emlegette sürün, akinek Sándorral azt is megüzente, hogy majd egyszer lemegy hozzá, a jobb lábából sehogy sem akar kimenni a köszvény, majd vele megvizsgáltatja, kikuráltatja...... Az alkonyat odakünn szépségében megnövekedett és hüvös árnyaival besuhant a családhoz; az ecetfák megszabadultak a nap tikkasztó ölelésétől, teli tüdővel lélegzettek és szagosságától a barna levegőben beusztatták egyenesen a dunamenti szobácskába, ahol most már tüzes, nemes borok kerültek az asztalra. A borügynök sorra vette a bormustrákat, amiket jeles cégek rábiztak, csináljon üzletet velük, ha tud. A buzgó férfiu azonban ilyen irányban, már régóta meddő volt és évenként egy-két hektoliter bornak eladásánál tovább nem jutott, igy, hogy a mustrák értéktelenül el ne heverjenek nála, a családjával megidogálta azokat, ha pediglen kifogytak, ujra rendelt a cégeknél, akik a nagy forgalom nevében mindig utnak inditották a kedves, kicsi üvegeket a borügynök hajlékába. Igy történt aztán sokszor, hogy finom borok mindig voltak odahaza, ha melléje a hus, de még a kenyér is néha-néha disszonánsan hiányzott.

A borügynök pislogott. Ez rendes jelenség volt az ábrázatán, ha nemes borokat izlelt. A birálata, a szakértő megelégedés lebbent meg szempilláin, kitünőeknek találta az italokat. A családfő mind sürübben hunyorgatta a szemeit és koccintgatott a feleségével, Sándorral. A borok aztán halkan, áhitatosan behajókáztatták a családot a jövendőbe, amikor Sándor könyvelő lesz, bőrös-hátu könyvekben fogja igazgatni a világ dolgait, érettségije lesz, nem fog három évet szolgálni és aranyláncot, aranyórát fog hordani bizonyosan......

Minden szegény ember költő, ha egy kicsit beborozott. Szomoruság, komorkodó árnyék elillan mellőle és a képzelet tündéri sétára viszi a nyomor gyermekét. Semmi bizonyosság előtte, de fantómok rajzanak körülötte, amelyek betöltik hittel a lelkét és megverik a szemét káprázatos sejtelmekkel. A bucsuzó család szivét megcsókolták a jövendő álmai és a borügynök lehajtotta az asztalra nehéz fejét. Énekelni kezdett. Egy bus német dalt, a két gránátosról, akik siratják a császárt, a császárt.......

A hangja reszketett az izgalomtól, amint vitte-vitte a borongós dal hullámain a két gránátost Franciaország felé és megcsuklott az éneke, aláesett a hangja, mikor a gránátos lehorgasztotta a fejét, idegen világban, gyászos Németországban. Soha ugy ember még nem busult Napoleon imperátor bukásán, mint a jámbor borügynök, aki lelke minden titkos siralmát beléfonta a tragikus nótába.

Ki tudja, mi szakadt föl a szivéből, mi cikázott át agyvelején ez érzelmes pillanatokban? Igy nem lehet tudni, miért hullott a könny énekéből és miért temette arcát a két kezébe, mikor kimondta, dallamosan elzokogta:

— Der Kaiser, der Kaiser gefangen...

A szobácskában fölgyujtották a lámpát, az alkonyat elbucsuzott Sándortól — mi sejtjük— a vacsora és minden jó ennivaló szintén komolyan bucsuzkodott......

Ám Sándor gyomra most boldogan duzzadt és egészséges testét, az estén, az egyetlen, gyönyörüséges érzés ölelte át, hogy jóllakott és az utolsó éjszaka, amit odahaza töltött, az is kegyelmes volt hozzá, mert álmaiban ujra az asztal mellett ült és evett, evett, mindig csak evett......

A könyv fejlődése a nyomdászatig

SZABADY ISTVÁN

A KÖNYV a tára mindazon tudásnak, melyet az emberiség hosszu élete folyamán fölhalmozott. A könyv az, amely lehetővé teszi az élő emberiségnek, hogy régen elmult korok életébe, szokásaiba bepillantást nyerjen. A könyv az, amelynek révén hozzájutunk azon ismeretekhez, melyek a mai és a jövő emberiség boldogulásához, jólétéhez fölhasználhatók.

A "könyv" szónál, közel ötszáz esztendeje, a nyomtatott könyvre gondolunk, mert ugy a legrégibb, mint a legujabb irások nyomtatásban állanak rendelkezésünkre. Csakhogy a könyv sokezer éves multjához képest, ez az ötszáz esztendő elenyésző semmiség. Sokezer esztendő pergett le addig, mig a nyomtatásnak átadott roppant tömegü örökség, régibb korok másfajta könyvei révén fölhalmozódott.

A jelenkor nyomtatott könyveit, a középkor "kódex" könyve, a kódex könyvet a klasszikus ókor-tekercs könyve, ezt az őskorban használt irásos fa- és agyagtáblák előzték meg. De még a fa- és agyagtáblákra való irást is megelőzték a történelemelőtti idők ismeretlen messzeségben szokásos falföliratok.

Ez az a véghetetlen kor, melynek homályában a könyv legfontosabb föltétele: az irás, keletkezett. Nem a megbizhatatlan emlékezőtehetség, hanem az irással megörökitett gondolat tette lehetővé, hogy az utódok a régiek tudását örökölhessék. A leirt gondolat megmaradt a jövő számára. Századokon és ezredeken keresztül viszi a könyv az emberiség egyre duzzadóbb és mélyrehatóbb tudását az ismeretlen messzeség forrásaiból szedve, az ismert korokon keresztül napjainkig. Összeköt bennünket a multtal, a mult tapasztalatait egyesitve mutatja a jelen és utókor emberei számára az utat a boldoguláshoz.

A könyv történetének kezdetét nem tudjuk. A multba visszamenve, eljutunk egy bizonyos határig, melynél a tudás megáll, ahol már csak mélytudásu emberek, hosszu tanulmányozás után képesek rájönni, mit jegyzett föl a mult krónikása. Igy azután a kort is, ahonnan ered, meg lehet határozni. A tudósok a legrégibb kőtáblákat is — fáradságos munka után — el tudják olvasni, sőt a korát is meghatározzák. De ezideig értetlenül nézzük a reánk maradt kőkorszakbeli karcolásokat, melyek látszatra irások. Ki tudja, ezek is milyen fokozatos fejlődés eredményei.

Annyi bizonyos, hogy a kultura a történelemelőtti idők homályából árad elő.

A könyvnek kezdettől fogva két fő alkotó eleme volt: a szöveget rögzitő irás és az erre való alkalmas anyag, mely idők folyamán mindig más és más volt. Ugy az anyag, mint az irás változott. Az anyaggal együtt változott a könyv alakja és a mód, mely az irást anyagra alkalmazta. Ezért a könyv történetét az anyag változása osztja korszakokra. A kőkorszak embere falra, sziklára, stb. rakta jeleit, hogy gondolatait, vagy megfigyeléseit társaival és utódaival közölhesse. De e feliratos emlékek még nem könyvek. A könyv felé való fejlődés a feliratnak a falról, a szikláról való leválásával kezdődik, mikor kisebb, hordozható anyagra kezdtek irni azért, hogy a leirt szöveg messzebbre is terjedhessen, hogy ne csak az olvashassa, kit utja a felirat felé vitt. Igy a felirat több olvasóhoz juthatott el, mint olvasó a felirathoz.

A könyv eleinte merev anyagokból készült, valószinü, a legelsők fatáblák voltak, melyekből emlék nem maradhatott számunkra, mert idők folyamán a fa elporladt. De a reánk maradt kő- és agyagtáblákra irt szögletes jelek azt engedik hinni, hogy az irásjelek szögletességét a fa rostos felülete szabta meg és e jeleket használták a sima kő- és agyagtáblákra is. Az anyag merevsége az irást is merevvé tette. Az ujabb korok simulékony anyagai: a papyrusz, pergamen és a mai papir használatával az irásjelek formája is változott. A könyv alakja is az anyag természetétől függ. A merev anyagok könyvalakja, a tábla volt, melyet kapcsokkal vagy kötelekkel fogták össze, a simulékony anyagok könyvalakja a tekercs, a kódex és a nyomtatott könyv.

A több méter magasságba növő papyrusz beléből gyártották az irópapirt. A belet a szárból kihámozták, hosszában vékony szeletekre vágva, nedves deszkákon egymásmellé fektették, rájuk keresztben ugyanolyan másik réteget raktak, vizzel leöntötték, a kettős réteg péppé olvadt, ezt préselték, kisimitották, a széleit egyenesre vágták és a sima leveleket egymáshoz ragasztották. Irásra azt az oldalát használták, melyen a rostok keresztben feküdtek, mert a másik oldalon az irónád a hosszában fekvő rostokon botorkált. Összehajtogatni, rostjai törékenysége miatt, nem volt tanácsos, de összegöngyölni nagyszerüen lehetett. Igy született meg a könyv hosszu évezredekig fönnálló tekercsalakja.

Egyiptomi képeken látható az irnok, miként ir a földön ülve, a térdén fekvő iródeszkán, a könyvtekercs egyik-egyik vége tekercsben lóg le a deszka oldalain. Tintája enyvesvizben föloldott szines festék.

Ugy az egyiptomi, mint a görög és latin tekercs egymástól némileg különböznek. Az egyiptomi tekercs diszesebb a görög és latin tekercsnél. A görög szintén elüt a latintól, nem használ annyi képet, mint a latin.

A krisztus utáni negyedik században a papyrusz-korszak a vége felé jár, mert Egyiptom arab kézre került, a papyrusz sorompói lezárultak. Uj irásra alkalmas anyagnak kinálkoztak bizonyos állatbőrök. A papyruszt fölváltja a pergamen. Pergamenre másolták a középkori szerzetesek az ókor klasszikus müveit is. Tehát a müveket az utókor számára a szerzetesek mentették meg, mert a papyrusz kényes anyaga a nedvességet nem birja, néhány század alatt elporlad. Ami a papyrus irásokból még meg van, azt a Vezuv hamuja és Egyiptom száraz homokja mentette meg az elpusztulástól. Innen került a meglévő néhány darab a muzeumokba.

A pergamen nagy előnye, hogy irásra mindkét oldala alkalmas. E nagy előnyt kihasználva, a tekercsről áttértek a füzetes leveles Kódex formára. A ránkmaradt müvekből látható, hogy a kódex a szegények, az őskeresztények könyve, a gazdagok ragaszkodtak a roppant drága anyagu tekercshez. Ahová eljutottak a keresztények, eljutott a kódex is. A biblia minden kézirata kódexben maradt meg.

Érdekes, hogy e korból maradt szobrocskák az ó-testamentumi prófétát tekerccsel a kezében, az evangelistát kódex-el a kezében ábrázolják. Egy-egy ilyen szobrocska szemléltetően mutatja az átmenetet az ókorból a középkorba.

A római birodalom bukásával minden csupa rom; az intelligencia elszegényedett, a müveltség elhanyatlott, csupán a papság és néhány kivételes szellemü ember tudott irni-olvasni. Ők irták a könyvet és ők olvasták is. A régi és uj irásokat a kolostorok szerzetesei másolták és igy a könyv is a kolostorba szorult.

Ami ma a nyomda, az volt a középkor számára a kolostori másolószoba. A fiatal bárányok és gidák bőréből készült pergamenre irták a diszesebb müveket; az öregebb juh, kecske, borju vastagabb pergamenjét a közönségnek szánt müvekre használták. A szakadásokat lószőrrel összevarták. (Az apácák finom selyemfonalat használtak.) Az összefüzött kéziratokat két erős fatábla közé kötötték. E kötéstől kapta e könyv a kódex nevet.

A finomabb munkákat erős disznóbőrbe burkolták, sárgaréz sarkokkal és kapcsokkal látták el. Amennyiben a pergamen sulyos, igy a kötésnek erősnek kellett lenni.

A nagyon drágán megfizetett müveket az anyaméhből kivágott báránykák bőréből készült szüz pergamenre irták, drága kövekkel diszitett elefántcsont táblácskákba kötötték.

A tudomány teljesen a kolostor falai közé szorult. A világ tudatlan embereit szinte óvták a betütől. Amit a népnek tudnia kellett, azt papjai nemzeti nyelvén élőszóval magyarázták.

A 12-ik század vége felé azonban ez kezd megváltozni. A világi embert kezdik a nép között élő kolduló barátok irni-olvasni tanitani. A gazdag szerzetesektől a szellemi vezetést elragadják. A nép számára irnak, nem latinul, hanem az ország nyelvén. A könyv terjesztésével terjed a tudás, a felvilágosulás — az uj kor szülője. Vajudása három évszázadig tart. Ekkor jön a könyv előállitásának uj módja: a nyomdászat. Megnyilnak a szellemi sötétség ablakai, a szellem friss levegőhöz, világossághoz jut. Ahogy a lőpor fölrobbantotta a feudalista rendszert, az iránytü a tengeri ködöt győzte le, — a nyomdászat az egyház szellemi irányitását törte meg. Érdekes, hogy mindhármat Kina adományozta.

Európa a könyv minden elemét, az irást, az irásra alkalmas anyagot és azok természetes alakját — Ázsiából és Afrikából kapta.

A papir is, a nyomdai sokszorositás eszméje is Kinából származott. A papir utját nyugat felé nyomról-nyomra tudjuk követni. Keresztül jött vad hegyi és sivatagi karaván utakon, három egymással harcoló világ akadályain: a kinai falon, a mohamedánság és kereszténység határövén.

Kina irásanyaga a fa- és agyagtáblák helyett a bambusz-szelet, később a selyemtekercs volt. De a nagyon termékeny kinai irodalom számára nem volt elég selyem, mely igy azt nagyon költségessé tette. Olcsóbb anyagok után kellett nézni.

Krisztus előtt 105-ben már van papir, amelyet vizben rothasztott szövetrongyokból gyártottak.

Századok mulva, mindenféle akadályokon keresztül, végre eljut a papir Európába is. Majd később a nyomdászat kezdetleges formája: a tábla-nyomat, mely szintén kina eredetü. Ebből lassan-lassan a betü mozgathatóságának fölfedezése után, az első kezdetleges nyomdászat.

Amilyen hosszu fejlődés vezetett az őskor emberének kezdetleges rajzaitól a szótagjeleken át — a betü irásáig, éppen olyan hosszu fejlődés vezetett az agyagtábláktól a papyrusz szöveten át az iró-papyruszig, a kinai selyemtekercstől a rongypapirig, a bélyegzőtől a szedés-nyomásig, mely a civilizáció számára az utat megnyitotta. Azon haladva ért a mai emberiség a kulturának jelenlegi magasságára.

Az IWW lapjai

INDUSTRIAL WORKER, angolnyelvü hetilap. Egy évre $2; egyes szám ára 5 cent. Megjelenik 555 West Lake St., Chicago, Ill.

IL PROLETARIO, olasz hetilap. Egy évre $2; egyes szám ára 5 cent. Megjelenik Brooklyn, N. Y., Box 24, Sta. 1

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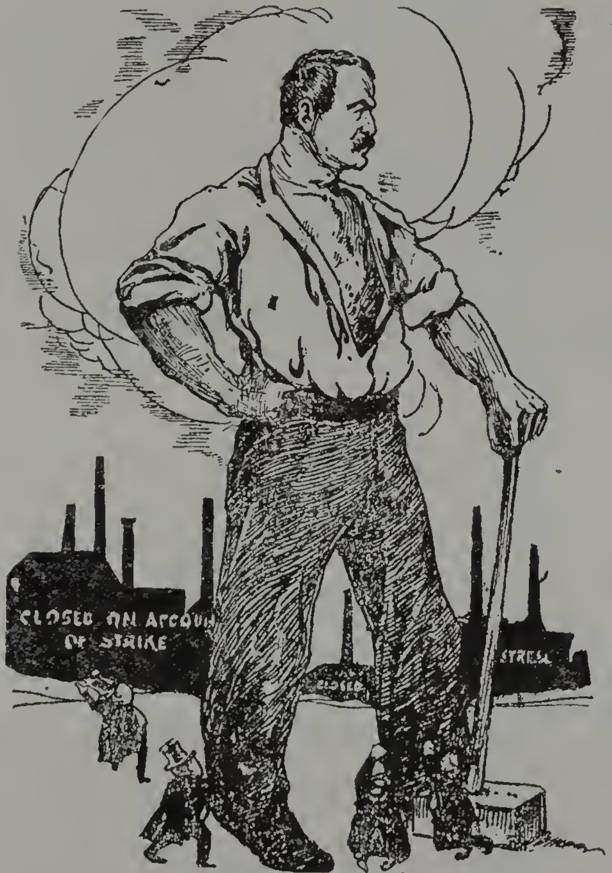
A gyáripar

L. KOVALIK

FÁRADT, fehér falak, kialudt kemencék és az égbe nyuló kémények jelzik, hogy itt, vagy ott valamikor gyár volt. Csak volt, mert ma már a helyiségek gép nélkül állnak, vagy ha van is bennük még gép, azt a rozsda marja. Nem csak egy országban, mint például Csehszlovákiában, hanem az egész világon találunk ma már becsukott gyárkapukra. Világszerte áll a gép s vele szünetel a munkáskéz is. Az őrült profit annyira egyhelyre koncentrálta a technikát, hogy ma már nem törődik kisebb gyártelepek rozsdamarta gépeivel.

Ha gyáriparát s ugyanekkor Csehszlovákia belpolitikáját figyelemmel kisérjük, ugy a gyarmatpolitikának eredményét látjuk a gyárak kiépitésében. Állnak a gyárak, azt hinné valaki, — Csehszlovákiában a legjobban élünk, szükségünk már semmire sincsen és lám, utca-hosszat munkát kereső robotosokkal találkozunk, kiknek lapos a gyomruk, halálvirágos az arcuk, rossz cipőben, vagy egyszerüen cipő nélkül járnak.



Csak egy pár évet kell visszafelé haladnunk, hogy a gyarmatpolitika kezdetére jussunk, ahonnan kiindulva, szemünk előtt záródnak le Csehszlovákia egyik részének: Szlovenszkónak gyárkapui.

Szlovenszkó egyik legrégibb gyára udvarán egész legelőt és kóróerdőt találunk.

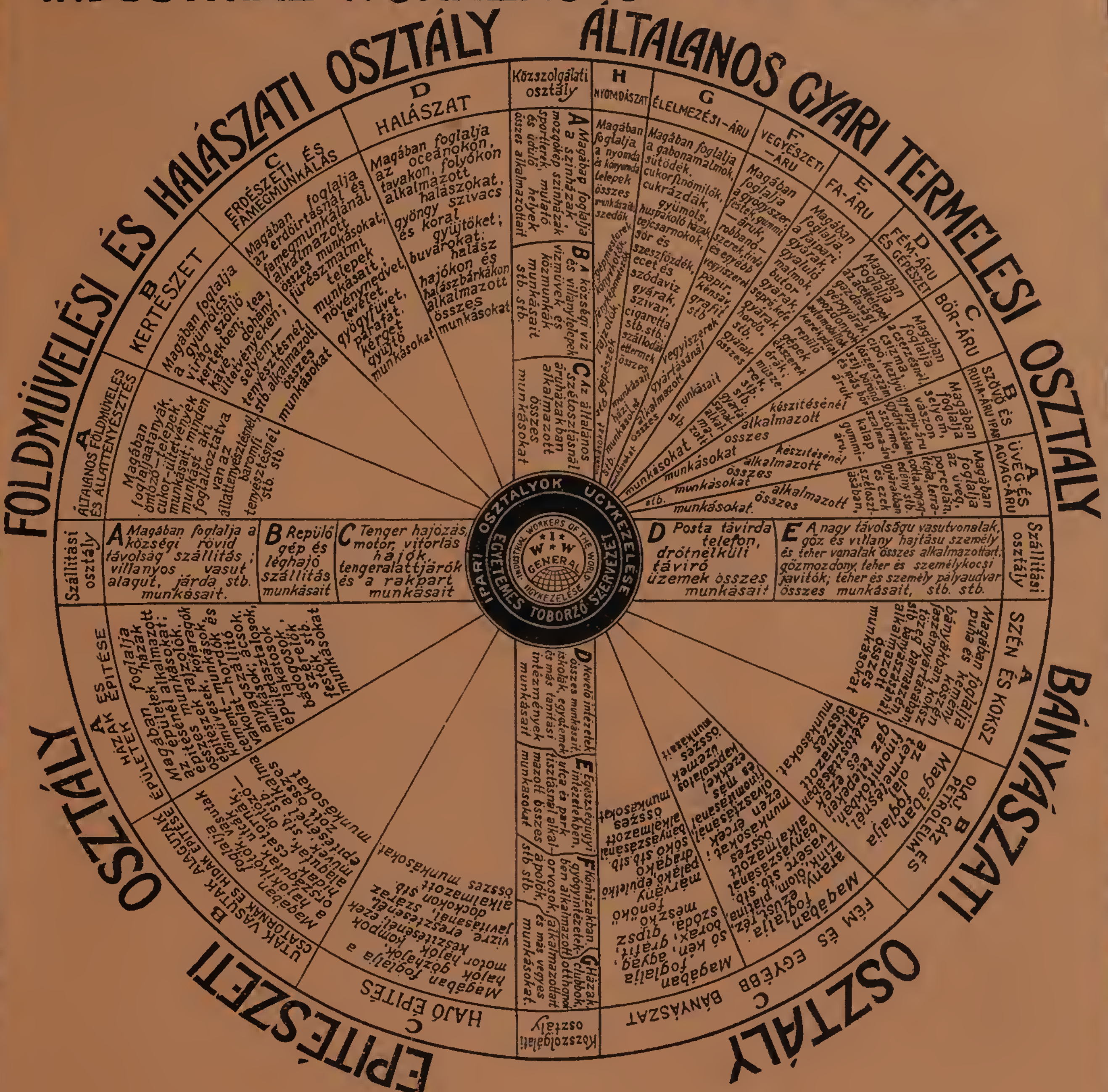
"Nem kell szövet, nem kell üveg, semmi sem kell, nem fizetődik ki, mivel a munkások nagyon magas bért követelnek......" Érdekes! És mégis munkát kérnek, bármilyen összegért is hajlandók volnának eladni munkaerejüket. És még sincs munka. Igaz, mi már tudjuk, miért nincs munka és mit jelent az: "Nem kell semmi!" És azt is tudjuk: nem is juthatunk munkába e társadalmi rendszerben. Nem azért láncolta le gyáraknak a kapuit a tőkésosztály, hogy azt egyhamar ki is nyissa.

Az üres gyárak figyelmeztessenek minden munkástestvért az egész világon arra, hogy a világ minden országában, nem csak Csehszlovákiában, elvonják a munkástól a megélhetési lehetőséget és az utcára kerülve, a nyomorba taszitják.

Ha ezen segiteni akarunk és ha a gyárakat elzáró lakatokat végérvényesen összetörni akarjuk, ugy szervezkedjünk iparilag az egyetemes szervezetbe: az IWW-ba.

Mert az IWW az a szervezet, amely az iparokban dolgozókat egy szebb, biztosabb jövő felé irányitja.

EGY NAGY SZERVEZET
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD


FOLDMÜVELÉSI ÉS HALÁSZATI OSZTÁLY
ÁLTALANOS GYARI TERMELESI OSZTÁLY
BÁNYÁSZATI OSZTÁLY
ÉPITÉSZETI OSZTÁLY
A ÁLTALANOS FÖLDMÜVELES ÉS ÁLLATTENYÉSZTÉS
B KERTÉSZET
C ERDÉSZETI ÉS FAMEGMUNKÁLÁS
D HALÁSZAT
Közszolgálati osztály
H NYOMDÁSZAT
G ÉLELMEZÉSI-ÁRU
F VEGYÉSZETI-ÁRU
E FA-ÁRU
D FÉM-ÁRU ÉS GÉPÉSZET
C BŐR-ÁRU
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B OLAJ, GÁZ PETROLEUM ÉS
C FÉM ÉS EGYÉBB BÁNYÁSZAT
A HÁZAK ÉS ÉPÜLETEK ÉPITÉSE
B UTAK VASUTAK ALAGUTAK CSATORNÁK ÉS HIDAK ÉPITÉSE
C HAJÓ ÉPITÉS
Közszolgálati osztály
IPARI OSZTÁLYOK ÜGYKEZELÉSE
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I W W
GENERAL
ÜGYKEZELÉSE

A FENTI ÁBRA AZ IPARI TÁRSADALOM ALAPRAJZA. A SZERVEZET ÖSSZPONTOSITÁSÁT MUTATJA BE A HOGY AZ AZ UJ TÁRSADALOM, AZ — IPARI DEMOKRÁCIA FUNDAMENTUMÁT KÉPEZI

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A tudás hatalom! Az ipari munkásság harci sajtója nélkülözhetetlen fegyver napi harcainkban. Utmutató a jövő nagy ipari küzdelemre, tanácsadó a kapitalista hiénák üzleti hirdetései ellen. Nem hiányozhat egyetlen munkás család otthonából sem. Az egyetlen magyar nyelvü ipari szervezkedést tanitó lap a

BÉRMUNKÁS

az IWW hivatalos magyarnyelvü közlönye, mely huszesztendeje szószólója az Egy Nagy Szervezet eszméjének. Huszesztendős küzdelmében benne van az amerikai magyar munkásság élete, minden harca és a jobb helyzetért való küzdelem. A Bérmunkás a bérért dolgozók lapja. Bérmunkások irják!

Megrendelhető:
P. O. Box 3912 Sta. S. S.
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42—B. & R. Cleveland, O.

BÉRMUNKÁS NAPTÁR 1935

AZ
INDUSTIRAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
ELVINYILATKOZATA

A MUNKÁSOSZTÁLY és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

● E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

● Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni összpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszi arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharc esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

● E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden az egy iparban — vagy ha kell, valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát bármikor ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti.

● E maradi jelszó helyett: “Tisztességes napibért tisztességes napi munkáért,” ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: “LE A BÉRRENDSZERREL!”

● A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül.

BÉRMUNKÁS
NAPTÁR
1935

Ára 35 cent

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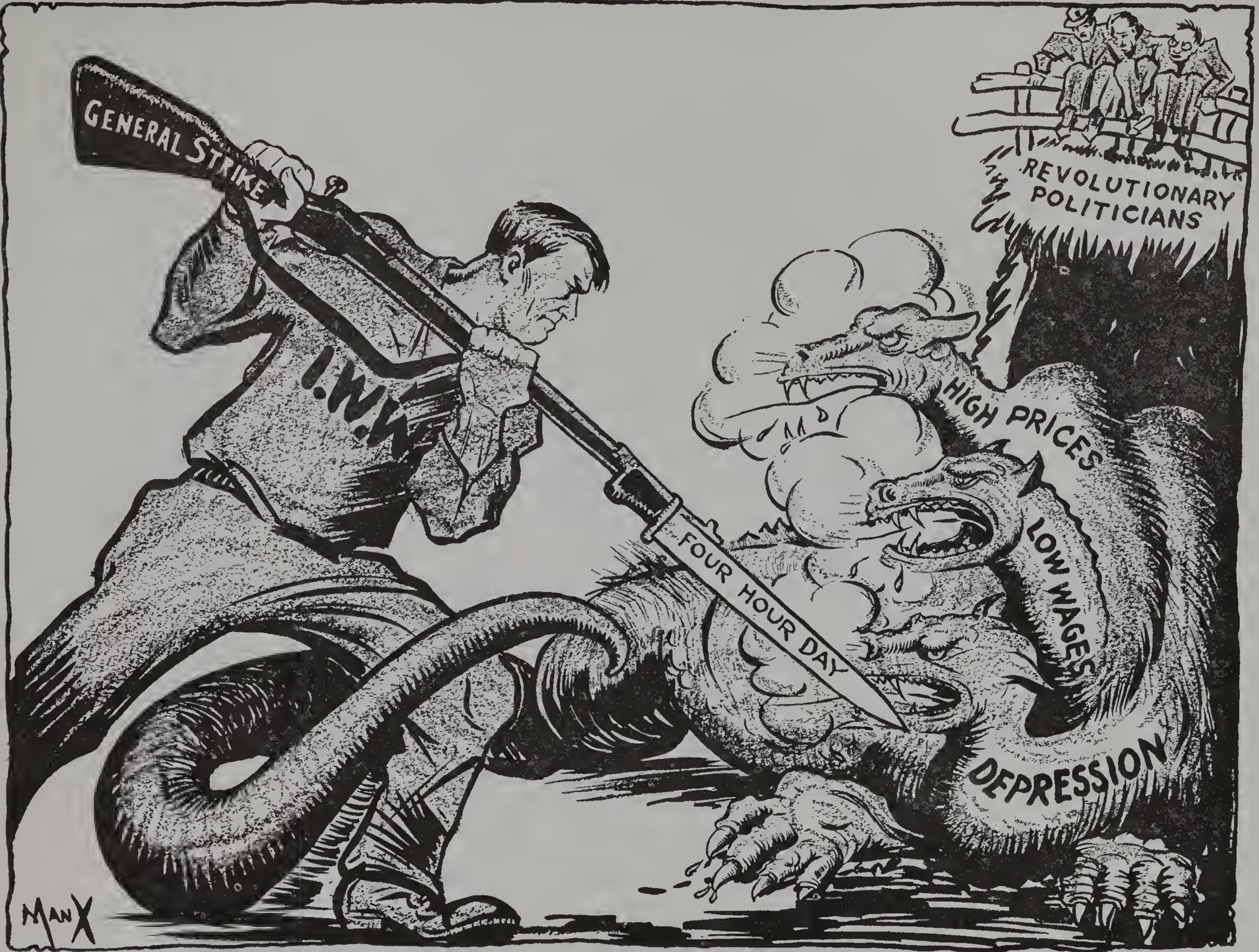
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A hétfejü sárkány ellenszere a rövidebb munkanap, az általános sztrájk.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 JANUÁR 31 NAP

1	Kedd
2	Szerda
3	Csütörtök
4	Péntek
5	Szombat
6	**Vasárnap**
7	Hétfő
8	Kedd
9	Szerda
10	Csütörtök
11	Péntek
12	Szombat
13	**Vasárnap**
14	Hétfő
15	Kedd
16	Szerda
17	Csütörtök
18	Péntek
19	Szombat
20	**Vasárnap**
21	Hétfő
22	Kedd
23	Szerda
24	Csütörtök
25	Péntek
26	Szombat
27	**Vasárnap**
28	Hétfő
29	Kedd
30	Szerda
31	Csütörtök

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Január 1. Ujév.

TÖRTÉNELMI NAPTÁR.

1. Petőfi * 1823. Blanque † 1881. A rabszolgaság megszüntetése Észak-Amerikában, 1863.
2. Az Egyesült Államok kormányának hajszája a kommunisták ellen, 1920. — Orosz forradalmárok kivégzése Moszkvában, 1906. — Cabet * 1788.
4. Upton Sinclair * 1878.
7. A New York állami törvényhozásból kitiltják az öt szocialista képviselőt, 1920.
8. Galileo Gallilei † 1642. — Wilson megszerkeszti 14 pontját, 1918.
9. Német spartakusok felkelése, 1919. — Michel Lujza † 1905.
10. A versaillesi békét elismeri a német kormány, 1920.
11. A francia Ruhr invázió kezdete, 1923. — Károlyi Mihály a magyar népköztársaság elnöke lett, 1919.
12. A Lawrence-i (Mass.) I. W. W. szövősztrájk, 1912.
13. Noske a munkásokra lövet, 1920. — Olaszországi földrengés 40,000 halottal, 1915. — Rabszolgaság megszüntetése Mexicoban, 1825.
14. Perzsia törvényben eltiltja a 10 éven aluli leány- és a 8 éven aluli fiugyermekek dolgoztatását. — Az Egyesült Államok legfőbb birósága alkotmányellenesnek mondja ki a gyermekmunkát tiltó törvényt, 1922. — William Hightower 77 éves Kentucky, Harlan megyei szénbányász életfogytiglani börtönre itélve, 1932.
15. Általános sztrájk tör ki Dél-Afrikában, 1914.
16. Proudhon * 1809. — A magyarországi szociáldemokrata párt megtagadja a választásokban való részvételt, 1920.
17. XVI. Lajos francia királyt a nemzetgyülés halálra itéli, 1793. — Liebknecht K. és Luxemburg R. meggyilkolása a Spartakus felkelésben, 1919. — Cservenko Miklós szocialista párttitkárt a Prónai század laktanyájába hurcolják és meggyilkolják és nyomtalanul eltüntetik, 1920. — Benjamin Franklin * 1706.
18. A minden oroszok alkotmányos gyülését a szoviet feloszlatta, 1918.
19. Watt, a gőzgép feltalálója * 1736. — N. Lenin (Vladimir Ilytch Uljanov) † 1924. (Szül. 1870. ápr. 23.)
21. XVI. Lajos francia király lefejezése, 1893.
22. Gapon a cár elé vonult; a munkások lemészárlása, 1905.
24. Johann Guttenberg † 1468. — Kotoku és társai, 12 japán forradalmár kivégzése, 1911.
25. Veitling Vilmos †
27. Lissagaray † 1900. — Ady Endre † 1919.
30. Nagy munkanélküli tüntetés New Yorkban, 1894. — Charles I. angol királyt hazaárulásért kivégzik, 1649.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 FEBRUÁR 28 NAP

1	Péntek
2	Szombat
3	**Vasárnap**
4	Hétfő
5	Kedd
6	Szerda
7	Csütörtök
8	Péntek
9	Szombat
10	**Vasárnap**
11	Hétfő
12	Kedd
13	Szerda
14	Csütörtök
15	Péntek
16	Szombat
17	**Vasárnap**
18	Hétfő
19	Kedd
20	Szerda
21	Csütörtök
22	Péntek
23	Szombat
24	**Vasárnap**
25	Hétfő
26	Kedd
27	Szerda
28	Csütörtök

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Február 12. Lincoln születése

Február 22. Washington születése.

1. San Diego-i (Cal.) I. W. W. szólásszabadságharc, 1912. — George Washingtont az Egyesült Államok első elnökévé választották, 1789.
2. Antonio Labriola † 1904.
3. Az orosz szoviet elrendeli a vörös hadsereg megszervezését, 1918. — A kalaposokat $222,000 kártéritésre itéli a Supreme Court bojkottért, 1910., Denbury, Conn.
4. Woodrow Wilson † 1924.
5. Lovrov Péter orosz forradalmár † 1900. — Most János * 1864.
7. Az angol parlament megszünteti a királyságot, 1640, mint "haszontalan és veszedelmes" intézményt. — Kolcsák orosz ellenforradalmárt agyonlövik, 1920.
8. Kropotkin Péter tudós és anarkista filozófus † 1921. (Szül. 1842.) — Londoni munkanélküliek lázadása, 1880.
9. Giordano Bruno, olasz bölcset és szabadgondolkodót máglyán elégették, 1600. (Szül. 1548.)
11. A német köztársaság elnökévé választják Friedrich Ebert szociáldemokratát, 1919.
12. Abraham Lincoln * 1809 (meggyilkolták 1865. április 14-én). — Darwin * 1809. — Kant * 1804. — Börne † 1837. — Keményszénbányászok "fekete péntekje", 1926.
13. Richard Wagner † 1883.
15. A fehér terror bérgyilkosai megölik a budapesti Népszava szerkesztőit: Somogyi Bélát és Bacsó Bélát, 1920. — 3 ezer kinai bányász tüzhalála a Fushun szénbánya robbanásánál, 1931.
17. Heinrich Heine, német költő és forradalmár † 1856. (Szül. 1797. dec. 13.)
18. Luther Márton † 1564. (Szül. 1483. nov. 10.)
19. Az orosz szoviet kimondja a föld társadalmositását, 1918.
20. Voltaire * 1694. — Bolsevisták fegyveres támadása a szociáldemokrata Népszava épülete ellen Budapesten, 1919.
21. Kurt Eisner, a bajor forradalom vezérének meggyilkolása, 1919.
22. August Bebel német szocialista vezér * 1840. — George Washington * 1732. (Meghalt 1799. dec. 14) — Amerigo Vespucci † 1512.
23. A februári francia forradalom, 1848. — A kommunisták kiáltványának megjelenése, 1848.; irták: Marx és Engels. — Columbus Kristóf, Amerika felfedezője † 1526. (Szül. 1446., vagy 1451, a pontos dátum ismeretlen.) — Károlyi Mihály a saját birtokán, Kiskápolnán megkezdi a földosztást, 1918.
24. Kikiáltják a francia köztársaságot, 1848.
25. Wallenstein megölése, 1634. — Gróf Essex lefejezése, 1601.
27. Renan * 1823.
28. Hóra és Kloska kerékbetörése, 1785. — Frankel Leó * Budán, 1844.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

1935 MÁRCIUS 31 NAP

1	Péntek
2	Szombat
3	**Vasárnap**
4	Hétfő
5	Kedd
6	Szerda
7	Csütörtök
8	Péntek
9	Szombat
10	**Vasárnap**
11	Hétfő
12	Kedd
13	Szerda
14	Csütörtök
15	Péntek
16	Szombat
17	**Vasárnap**
18	Hétfő
19	Kedd
20	Szerda
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22	Péntek
23	Szombat
24	**Vasárnap**
25	Hétfő
26	Kedd
27	Szerda
28	Csütörtök
29	Péntek
30	Szombat
31	**Vasárnap**

Legyen tagja Ön is az Egy Nagy Szervezetet épitő mozgalomnak.

1. Egy millió bányász sztrájkja Angliában, 1912. — Horthyt kormányzóvá "választják", 1920.
2. A kronstadti tengerészek felkelése a szoviet intézkedés ellen, 1921. — A jobbágyság eltörlése Oroszországban, 1861.
5. Külföldi Victor uttörő magyar szocialista † 1894. — Gróf Zeppelin feltaláló † 1917. — A brest-litovski béke, 1918.
6. Hitler Adolf a fascista vezér Németország kancellárja — diktora lett, 1933.
8. Ford autó mágnás a békésen felvonuló munkásokba lövet. 5 halott, számtalan sebesült, 1932.
9. Danton megalakitja a forradalmi törvényszéket, 1793. — A spanyol inkvizició eltörlése, 1820. — A bécsi forradalom, 1848.
10. Ghandit, a hindu szabadságmozgalom vezérét elzárják, 1922, s 6 évi börtönre itélik. — Általános sztrájk Petrográdon, az orosz forradalom előtt, 1917.
11. Forradalom Oroszországban, 1917. — Megalakul a kinai köztársaság. — Oakfieldi mészkőbányászok bérharca, 1929.
13. A Kapp-puccs; az Ebert-kormány menekül, 1920. — II. Sándor orosz cárt bombával megölik, 1881.
14. Marx Károly † Londonban, 1883.
15. Hitler német kancelár feloszlatja a szindikalisták, kommunisták, szocialisták szervezeteit, vagyonukat elkobozza, lapjaikat betiltja, 1933.
16. A magyar forradalom kitörése, 1848. — II. Miklós cár lemond, 1917 s ideiglenes kormány alakul.
17. New Englandban kitör a forradalom Anglia ellen, 1776.
18. A párisi kommün kikiáltása, 1871. — Forradalom Berlinben, 1848. — I. György görög királyt meggyilkolják, 1913.
19. Most János † 1906.
20. Newton † 1727. (Szül. 1642. dec. 25.) — Ibsen * 1828. — Kossuth Lajos † 1894. — Kappék szászpárti puccsát az általános sztrájk csufosan leveri, 1920.
21. A proletárdiktatura kikiáltása Magyarországon, 1919. — II. Miklós cárt és feleségét elfogták, 1917. — Kinlochi szénbánya robbanás 47 halottal, 1920.
22. A magyarországi szoviet társadalmasitja a nagyipart, bányát és nagybirtokot. Szolidaritást proklamál az orosz szoviettel, 1919.
25. Tüz a Triangle Shirt and Waist Co. gyárában; 146 munkásleány tüzhalált halt a new yorki városi felügyelők és a munkáltatók hanyagsága miatt, 1911.
26. Bebelt és Liebknechtet Lipcsében elitélik, 1872.
27. Maxim Gorkij (A. M. Peskov) világhirü orosz iró * 1868.
28. Agent provokatőrök bombavetése a new yorki Union Squaren, 1908.
29. Liebknecht * 1726. — Bellamy * 1850. — M. I. Kalinint az orosz szoviet elnökévé választják, 1919.
30. Frankel Leo † Párisban, 1896. A párisi kommün kormányának magyar származásu tagja volt.
31. Descartes * 1596.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 ÁPRILIS 30 NAP

1	Hétfő
2	Kedd
3	Szerda
4	Csütörtök
5	Péntek
6	Szombat
7	**Vasárnap**
8	Hétfő
9	Kedd
10	Szerda
11	Csütörtök
12	Péntek
13	Szombat
14	**Vasárnap**
15	Hétfő
16	Kedd
17	Szerda
18	Csütörtök
19	Péntek
20	Szombat
21	**Vasárnap**
22	Hétfő
23	Kedd
24	Szerda
25	Csütörtök
26	Péntek
27	Szombat
28	**Vasárnap**
29	Hétfő
30	Kedd

Egy mindért, mind egyért... csak az IWW által valósitható meg.

1. Mirabeau, a nagy francia forradalom vezére † 1791. — 600 ezer bányászok sztrájkja az Egyesült Államokban, 1922. A puhaszénbányászok aug. 15-én nyertek, a keményszénbányászok szept. 2-án győztek. — Militarista ellenes gyüléseket a kormány elnyomja New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, stb. városokban, hogy a "világot megmentse a demokráciának", 1917. — A nagy I. W. W.-pör kezdete Chicago, Ill., 1918.

2. Thomas Jefferson * 1743. — Zola Emil * 1840.

3. 1,200,000 bányász általános sztrájkja Angliában, 1921.

5. Danton és Desmoulin kivégzése a guillotinon, 1794.

6. Az Egyesült Államok csatlakozik a világháboruhoz, 1917. — Rafael † 1520. — Általános sztrájk Hollandiában, 1903.

7. Charles Fourier * 1772.; (meghalt: 1837. okt. 10.) — A kansasi bányászok megtagadják az állami békéltetési törvényt és sztrájkba mennek, 1920.

8. A New York állami törvényhozás leszavazza a nők és gyermekek 8 órai munkaidejéről szóló törvényjavaslatot.

9. William Shakespeare † 1616. — Lee generális, a déli államok seregeinek fővezére megadja magát, 1865.

11. Lassalle Ferdinánd * 1825. — Az Egyesült Államok legfelsőbb birósága megerősiti 80 I. W. W. tag elitélését, 1921. — Az angol szakszervezetek hármas szövetsége szétesik, 1921.

14. A debreceni országgyülés a Habsburg-házat trónfosztottnak mondja ki, 1849.

15. A "Titanic" hajóóriás elsülyedése, 1912, 1,625 emberélet odaveszett. — Dietzgen, szocialista bölcsész † 1888.

16. Sophia Perovszkaja és más orosz forradalmárok fölakasztása, 1881.

17. Benjamin Franklin † 1790. (Szül. 1706. jan. 17.)

18. A san franciscoi földrengés, 1906. — Cadiz, Ohioban a katonaság a sztrájkoló bányászok közé lőtt, 1932.

19. Charles Darwin † 1882. (Szül. 1809. febr. 12.)

20. Cromwell szétkergeti a parlamentet, 1625. — Ludlow, Col., asszonyok és gyermekek lemészárlása az olajtröszt bérencei által, 1914.

21. Mark Twain † 1910. (Szül. 1076. jan. 17.) — John Lamb centraliai áldozat szabadon bocsájtása Walla-Walla börtönéből, 40 évre itélve 1919-ben, 1933.

25. A guillotine "gyorsan ölő" gépet először alkalmazták 1792.

26. A szövetséges hatalmak kimondják a zsidók jogát Palesztinához, 1920.

27. Morse, a távíró feltalálója * 1791. (Meghalt: 1872. — Herbert Spencer * 1820. (Meghalt: 1903. dec. 8.)

28. Alexander Howatt és Dorchy egy évi börtönbe mennek a kansasi ipari törvény megsértéséért, 1922.

30. A budapesti hütlenségi pör vádlottait felmentik, 1872. — Amerika radikális szervezeteinek országos kongresszusa Tom Mooney, Waren K. Billings kiszabaditása érdekében, szabotálva a Kommunista Párt vezérei által, 1933.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 MÁJUS 31 NAP

1	Szerda
2	Csütörtök
3	Péntek
4	Szombat
5	**Vasárnap**
6	Hétfő
7	Kedd
8	Szerda
9	Csütörtök
10	Péntek
11	Szombat
12	**Vasárnap**
13	Hétfő
14	Kedd
15	Szerda
16	Csütörtök
17	Péntek
18	Szombat
19	**Vasárnap**
20	Hétfő
21	Kedd
22	Szerda
23	Csütörtök
24	Péntek
25	Szombat
26	**Vasárnap**
27	Hétfő
28	Kedd
29	Szerda
30	Csütörtök
31	Péntek

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Május 30. Decoration Day. (Halottak napja)

1. **A világ munkásságának nemzetközi ünnepe.** A forradalmi munkásság először ünnepli május elsejét 1890-ben. — A clevelandi véres május. Iványi József I. W. W. tag mártirhalála a Buckeye Roadon, 1919. — Az IWW magyarországi tagjai Budapesten Bérmunkás név alatt lapot inditottak, 1933.
2. A budapesti munkástanács a román bevonulás ellen elhatározta a proletárság mozgósitását, 1919. — Tom Mooney kegyelem kérvényének elutasitása California kormányzója által, 1932.
3. Kentucky állam felső birósága megpecsételi az életfogytiglan elitélt bányászok sorsát, 1933.
5. Marx Károly * 1818. — Napoleon † 1821. — Jókai † 1904.
7. A "Lusitania" elsülyesztése, 1915.
10. V. Vorovszky, szoviet képviselőt a Lusane-i konferencia idején agyonlőtték. A biróság felmentette a gyilkost, 1923.
11. A hires Pullman-sztrájk, Debs vezetésével, 1899. — Megjelent az "Uj Társadalom" cimü magyar nyelvü I. W. W. lap, 1917. — Cle Ellum, Washington. A gátépitő munkások sztrájkja az I. W. W. égisze alatt győzelemmel végződött, 1932.
12. James Connolly, szocialista vezér agyonlövése Dublinban, 1916. Robert Owen * 1771. (Meghalt: 1858. nov. 17.)
16. Victor Hugó † 1885. — Jack Vanetter Kentucky, Harlani bányász meggyilkolása, 1932.
17. Franciaország tábornoki kara kormánynak lépteti elő magát, 1789.
18. A magyar kormány elfogadja az ántánt békefeltételeit, 1920. — Napoleon császárnak kiáltatja ki magát, 1804. — Wilson aláirja a kötelező katonai törvényt, 1917. — W. D. Haywood, az I. W. W. alapitó tagja † Moszkvában, 1928.
19. Saint Simon, utópista szocialista gondolkodó † 1825. — Fichte (meghalt) 1762. — Általános sztrájk Nagykanizsán, 1906.
20. A magyar jakobinusok lefejezése, 1795.
21. Francia parasztság lázadása, 1354. — A Ruhr egy millió munkását kizárják, 1924. — Dürer * 1471.
22. Thomas Hood, a "Song of the Shirt" szerzője * 1799. (Meghalt 1845. május 3.) — A német munkásszövetség megalakul Lassalle vezetése alatt, 1863.
23. Olaszország hadüzenetet küld Ausztria-Magyarországnak, 1915. Ibsen Henrik † 1906. (*1828. márc. 20.) — Véres utcai forradalom Budapesten az emberi jogokért, 1912. — Tom Mooneyt a san fraciscoi bombamerénylettel kapcsolatban történt gyilkosság vádja alól felmentik és vasra verve erős fedezet mellett kisérik vissza San Quentin börtönébe, 1933.
24. Copernicus csillagász † 1543. (*1423. febr. 19.)
25. Delescluse elesik a barrikádokon, 1871.
27. Babeuf francia forradalmár lefjezése, 1797. — M. F. Voltaire, bölcsész † 1778.
28. A párisi kommün vége, 1871.
29. John Brown, amerikai abolicionista * 1800. Felakasztotta a rabszolgaság mellett levő csőcselék, 1859. dec. 2.
31. Fajháboru Tulsa, Okla. négerei és a fehérek között, 1921.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 JUNIUS 30 NAP

1	Szombat
2	**Vasárnap**
3	Hétfő
4	Kedd
5	Szerda
6	Csütörtök
7	Péntek
8	Szombat
9	**Vasárnap**
10	Hétfő
11	Kedd
12	Szerda
13	Csütörtök
14	Péntek
15	Szombat
16	**Vasárnap**
17	Hétfő
18	Kedd
19	Szerda
20	Csütörtök
21	Péntek
22	Szombat
23	**Vasárnap**
24	Hétfő
25	Kedd
26	Szerda
27	Csütörtök
28	Péntek
29	Szombat
30	**Vasárnap**

Szervezetlenül könyör adományokért kilincselünk, szervezetten, mi rendelkezünk minden felett.

1. Goldberger László, amerikai magyar I. W. W. agitátor † 1922.
2. Első szakegyleti kongresszus Angliában, 1868. — G. Garibaldi † 1882.
3. M. A. Bakunin * 1814. (Meghalt 1876. jun. 30.) — Sacco-Vanzetti-ügy Massachusetts államban, 1921.
4. G. V. Plechanov, az orosz szociáldemokrácia megalapitója † 1918.
7. A francia kummunárdok lemészárlása, 1871. — Bert Blaur centraliai áldozat szabadon bocsájtása Walla-Walla börtönéből, 40 évre itélve 1919-ben, 1933.
9. Az angol klérus kéri Henrik királyt, engedje meg, hogy a nép olvashassa a bibliát, 1536.
11. Az amerikai kongresszus megbizza Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklint és Róbert T. Livingston kongresszusi vezető tagokat a "Függetlenségi Nyilatkozat" megszövegezésével, 1770. — A szerb királyi család megyilkolása, 1903. Megjelent a "Küzdelem", magyarnyelvü I. W. W. lap, New Yorkban, 1918.
13. A lázadó parasztok elfoglalják Londont, 1581. — A "General Slocum" kiránduló hajó elég 1000 gyermekkel, 1904. — Marat meggyilkolása, 1793.
14. A chartisták benyujtják követelésüket a parlamentbe, 1839.
15. John király aláirja a Magna Charta-t, 1215. — L. A. Blanquei vezeti a forradalmat Párisban, 1848.
16. Az első minden oroszok szoviet kongresszus megnyitása, 1917. — Proudhon † 1865.
17. A feudalizmus megszüntetése Franciaországban, 1793. — A Bunker Hill-i csata és Charlestown leégetése az angolok által, az amerikai függetlenségi háboruban, 1775.
18. Napoleon döntő legyőzetése Waterloonál, 1815.
20. A Marseillaise szerzője J. Audorf † 1898.
21. Az első gyári törvény Angliában, 1802. — Magyar mágnások beviszik az oroszokat Magyarországba, 1849. — Britt Smith centraliai áldozat szabadonbocsájtása Walla-Walla börtönéből, 40 évre itélve 1919-ben, 1933.
23. A. Berkman, amerikai anarkista merényletkisérlete H. C. Frick, a U. S. Steel tröszt embere ellen, hogy megbosszulja a homesteadi sztrájkban lemészárolt munkásokat, 1892.
24. Forradalom Párisban, 1848. — Guttenberg * 1400.
25. Marx Károly "Kapital"-jának első kötete megjelent, 1867.
26. E. V. Debs szimpáthia sztrájkra hivja a vasutasokat a Pullman sztrájkban, 1892.
27. Megalakult az I. W. W., 1905. — A Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance első konvenciója, 1896. — Elfogják a "Küzdelem" héttagu lapbizottságát és három hónapig börtönben tartották, 1918.
28. Ferenc Ferdinándot és feleségét meggyilkolták, 1914.
30. E. V. Debst háboruellenes beszédéért elfogják, 10 évre itélik, 1918.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 JULIUS 31 NAP

1	Hétfő
2	Kedd
3	Szerda
4	Csütörtök
5	Péntek
6	Szombat
7	**Vasárnap**
8	Hétfő
9	Kedd
10	Szerda
11	Csütörtök
12	Péntek
13	Szombat
14	**Vasárnap**
15	Hétfő
16	Kedd
17	Szerda
18	Csütörtök
19	Péntek
20	Szombat
21	**Vasárnap**
22	Hétfő
23	Kedd
24	Szerda
25	Csütörtök
26	Péntek
27	Szombat
28	**Vasárnap**
29	Hétfő
30	Kedd
31	Szerda

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Julius 4. — A függetlenségi nyilatkozat aláirásának évfordulója.

1. Táncsics Mihály kiadja az "Arany Trombita" cimü lapot, a melynek alcime "A Munkások Ujságja", 1869. — 400,000 vasuti mühelymunkás sztrájkja a bérlevágás ellen, 1922.
2. Rousseau, 1778. † 66 éves korában. — Békeszerződést köt az Egyesült Államok és Németország kormánya, 1921.
4. A kongresszus elfogadja a függetlenségi nyilatkozatot, 1776. Thomas Jefferson, a függetlenségi nyilatkozat egyik szerzője, az .50-ik évfordulón meghalt, 1826. (Szül. 1743. ápr. 2.)
5. Elysée Reclus † 1905.
6. Morus Tamás, az "Utópia" szerzőjének lefejezése, 1535.
7. Husz János, reformátor elégetése a máglyán, 1415.
11. Jack Cade, angol munkásvezér lefejezése, 1450. — Az IWW egyetemes titkárának, az Industrial Worker szerkesztőjének együttes kiáltványa a tagsághoz, a lap és a mozgalom megmentése érdekében, 1933.
13. Marat francia forradalmárt meggyilkolja Corday Sarolta, 1793.
14. A francia királyság börtöne, a Bastille, elesett, 1789. — A szocialista Internacionale (második) nemzetközi munkásünnepnek proklamálta május elsejét, 1889.
15. Győz a perzsa forradalom, 1909.
16. Az első nagy vasuti sztrájk az Egyesült Államokban a Pennsylvania vasutvonalon, 1877. — II. Miklós orosz cár agyonlövetése a számüzetésben Ekaterinburgban, 1918. — Chartista felkelés, 1839. — Proudban P. J. † 1859.
17. III. Péter cárt a felesége beleegyezésével megfojtották, 1762.
20. Martinovics Ignác * 1755.
21. Magyarajku I. W. W. tagokat (12-őt) internáltak Fort Oglethorpe és Fort Douglas-ba és majdnem két évig fogva tartották őket, 1917.
22. Agent provokatőrök bombát vetnek a san franciscoi militarista tüntetésbe, amiért Tom Mooney-t és másokat életfogytiglani börtönre itélték, 1916.
25. Blériot átrepül a La Manche csatornán, 1900. — Kerensky ideiglenes kormánya ujra bevezeti a halálos itéletet a hadvonalon, 1917.
27. Robespierre, a látszólag teljhatalmu diktátor megbukik. Egy nappal később lefejezik, 36 éves volt, 1794.
28. Ausztria hadüzenete Szerbia ellen, ezzel megkezdődött a világháboru, 1914. — Feuerbach * 1804. — Héjjas "ébredő" bandájának vérengzése a Lipót-köruti Club kávéházban, 1920.
29. Bresci merénylete Umberto olasz király ellen, 1900. — Chester Poor Kentucky, Harlani szénbányász életfogytiglani elitéltetése, 1932.
30. Diderot † 1874. — Bismarck "vaskancellár" (meghalt) 83 éves korában, 1898. — A románok átkelnek a Tiszán, 1919.
31. Jourést Párisban meggyilkolták, 1914. — Petőfi Sándor † a segesvári ütközetben, 1849. — Loyola Ignác, a jezsuita-rend megalapitója meghalt, 1556.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 AUGUSZTUS 31 NAP

1	Csütörtök
2	Péntek
3	Szombat
4	**Vasárnap**
5	Hétfő
6	Kedd
7	Szerda
8	Csütörtök
9	Péntek
10	Szombat
11	**Vasárnap**
12	Hétfő
13	Kedd
14	Szerda
15	Csütörtök
16	Péntek
17	Szombat
18	**Vasárnap**
19	Hétfő
20	Kedd
21	Szerda
22	Csütörtök
23	Péntek
24	Szombat
25	**Vasárnap**
26	Hétfő
27	Kedd
28	Szerda
29	Csütörtök
30	Péntek
31	Szombat

A Bérmunkást munkások írják a munkásoknak. Ne hiányozzék ez egyetlen bérmunkás asztaláról sem.

1. Frank Little I. W. W. szónok meggyilkoltatása a réztröszt által, 1917. — Proletárdiktatura bukása Magyarországon; a szak szervezetek veszik át a kormányt, 1919. — Lamarek † 1744. — Az Egyesült Államok elnökének rádió beszéde a rövidebb munkaidő, magasabb bér érdekében, 1933.

3. Németország hadüzenete Franciaország- és Belgiumnak, 1914. — A sztrájkoló Indianai bányászok ellen kirendelték a katonaságot, 1932.

4. A francia hübérséget eltörlik, 1789. — Anglia hadüzenete Németországhoz, 1914. — A román csapatok megszállják Budapestet, 1919. — William Hudson, Kentucky, Harlani szénbányász életfogytiglani elitélése, 1932.

5. Az első kábelt tették le az Atlanti Oceánon keresztül, 1853. — Engels Frigyes † 1895. — Ausztria-Magyarország hadüzenete Oroszországhoz, 1914. — Peidlék bukása, 1919.

7. W. Liebknecht † 1900.

9. Békekötés Oroszország és Japán között, 1905. — Ernest Heckel † 1919. — Megjelent az "Ipari Munkás", magyarnyelvü I. W. W. lap, Chicago, Ill., 1917. — A Boulder Dam sztrájk kitörése az I. W. W. égisze alatt, 1931.

10. Cuba munkásosztálya általános sztrájkkal követeli az elnök azonnali lemondását, 1933.

13. A magyar forradalom vége, 1849. — Anglia hadüzenete Ausztria-Magyarországhoz, 1914. — August Bebel † 1913.

15. Napoleon * 1769.

16. A Dawes-terv elfogadása, amely a vereség minden terhét a német munkásosztály nyakába sózza, 1924. — Cuba elnöke az általános sztrájk nyomása alatt lemondott és elmenekült Cubából, 1933.

17. A szövetségi esküdtszék 166 I. W. W. tagnak öt hónapi vizsgálati fogsága és hat hónapig tartó tárgyalása után ötvenöt percig tartó tanácskozásban bünösnek mondja ki a vádlottakat. Wm. D. Haywood, közp. titkár és 14 más, köztük Rótfischer Károly, a "Bérmunkás" szerkesztője, 20 évi börtönbüntetést kapott; 33-an 6-tól 10 évig és 12-en 1—5 évi büntetést kaptak. Az összes pénzbirság $2,570,000-t tett ki, 1918.

18. Joe Colbert, Illinoisi szénbányász orvul való meggyilkolása, 1932.

22. A kommunista párt tikos konvencióját elfogják az E. Á. szövetségi ügynökei, Bridgeman, Mich.-ben, 1922. — Sacco és Vanzetti mártirhalála a charlestoni börtönben, 1927.

24. Gépfegyverekkel támadták meg a Progressive Miners Union 40 ezer tagját Tailorsville, Ill., 1 halott, számtalan sulyos sebesült, 1932. — A szólásszabadság harcának kitörése a Boulder Dam munkásai között az I. W. W. vezetése mellett, 1932.

26. Az I. W. W. első magyar csoportjának megalakulása, Chicagoban, 1911.

27. Anglia megszerzi a Holland gyarmatot: New Amsterdamot, a mostani New York várost, 1664.

31. Lassalle † 1864.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 SZEPTEMBER 30 NAP

1	**Vasárnap**
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	**Vasárnap**
9	Hétfő
10	Kedd
11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
15	**Vasárnap**
16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
18	Szerda
19	Csütörtök
20	Péntek
21	Szombat
22	**Vasárnap**
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat
29	**Vasárnap**
30	Hétfő

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:
Szept. első hétfője: Labor Day. (Máj. 1. A nemzetközi munkásünnep ellensulyozására.)

1. Daugherty tiltóparancsot vesz ki a sztrájkoló vasuti mühelymunkások ellen, 1922.
2. A Progressive Miners Union megalakulása, Gillespie, Ill.-ban, 1932.
3. A nemzetközi munkásszövetség 1-ső Internacionálé kongresszusa, 1866. — A szocialista pártból kiszakadt balszárny két pártot alakit, a kommunista pártot és a kommunista munkáspártot, 1919. — Japán földrengésben 350,000 ember és sok város pusztult el, 1923.
4. III-ik Napoleon királyságának megdöntése. Kikiáltják a harmadik közrtársaságot, 1870.
5. A zimmerwaldi szocialista konferencia, a háboruellenes akció és béke előmozditására, 1915.
6. McKinley elnököt megöli az anarkista Czolgosz, 1901. — Károlyi Mihály Cegléden a megegyezéses békét sürgeti, 1918.
8. A szakszervezeti kongresszus 5,250,000 munkás képviseletében a direkt akció mellett, 1910. — Rendőrsztrájk Bostonban, 1919.
9. A felszabadult gyarmatország felveszi az Amerikai Egyesült Államok nevet, 1779. — Tolstoj Leo * 1828. (Meghalt 1910. november 20.)
10. Ötvenezer Pennsylvania állam szénbányásza sztrájkal kényszeriti a bánya bárókat Roosevelt elnök kérelmének teljesitésésére, 1933.
11. Dante † 1321. — E. M. Wiggins szövőmunkásnőt meggyilkolták a kapitalista bérencek Gastoniában, 1929.
15. Kepler csillagász † 1630. — A monarchia békejavaslata az összes országokhoz, 1918.
16. F. M. Bratcher, Kentucky, Harlani szénbányász harmadszori felmentése a gyilkosság vádja alól, 1932.
17. Az Egyesült Államok alkotmányát elfogadja a szövetségi kongresszus, 1878.
18. 400,000 acélmunkás sztrájkja 24 országos szakegylet (A. F. of L.) közös bizottságának vezetése alatt, amelynek Wm. Z. Foster volt az elnöke. A sztrájk három hónapig tartott, 1919. — Általános sztrájk Olaszországban, 1904.
19. Kossuth Lajos * Monokon, 1802.
21. A francia köztársaság kihirdetése, 1792.
27. Bulgária kiválik a központi hatalmak közül és külön békét kér, 1918. — Az I. W. W. Canadai adminisztrációjának első értekezlete, 1932.
28.. Népgyülés a St. Martins Hallban, Londonban, ahol az I. Internacionálé kiindult. — Jim Reynolds és Bill Burnett, Kentucky, Harlani szénbányászok három évre itéltettek, 1932.
29. Zola † 1902; 62 éves korában.
30. Szabó Ervin † 1918; 41 éves korában. — Csődöt mondott a szocialista-ellenes Bismarck-törvény 11 év után, 1890.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 OKTÓBER 31 NAP

1	Kedd
2	Szerda
3	Csütörtök
4	Péntek
5	Szombat
6	**Vasárnap**
7	Hétfő
8	Kedd
9	Szerda
10	Csütörtök
11	Péntek
12	Szombat
13	**Vasárnap**
14	Hétfő
15	Kedd
16	Szerda
17	Csütörtök
18	Péntek
19	Szombat
20	**Vasárnap**
21	Hétfő
22	Kedd
23	Szerda
24	Csütörtök
25	Péntek
26	Szombat
27	**Vasárnap**
28	Hétfő
29	Kedd
30	Szerda
31	Csütörtök

Egy kapitalista osztály van. Egy a munkásosztály is. Egynek KELL lenni a szervezetnek is.

1. Fulton Róbert első gőzhajója, 1809.

2. Első vasut az Egyesült Államokban, 1833. — Öt sztrájkoló szövőmunkás legyilkolása Marion, N. C.-ban, 1929.

3. William Morris, uttörő angol szocialista † 1896.

4. Megalakult a Western Federation of Miners, Butte, Mont., 1890. — Cle Elum, Wash. Gátépitő munkásainak sztrájkja az I. W. W. égisze alatt ujból győzelemmel végződött, 1932.

6. A tizenhárom tábornok kivégzése Aradon, 1849. — Általános sztrájk Pécsett, 1903.

7. Fresno-i (Calif.) I. W. W. szólászabadságharc, 1909.

8. Kossuth Lajos, Magyarország kormányzója lesz, 1848. — Batthány Lajos gróf megöletése, 1849.

12. Amerika felfedezése, 1492. — A német kormány elfogadta Wilson elnök feltételeit, 1918.

13. A chicagoi nagy I. W. W. pörben az ügyészség az I. W. W. elvnyilatkozatát találja a legfőbb vádpontnak, 17,220 törvénysértést sorol fel az I. W. W. ellen, 1918. — Francisco Ferrer kivégzése, 1909.

15. Az uj Georgiai naptár Rómában, 1582.

16. Mária Antoinette lefejezése, 1793.

18. A coloradoi nagy bányászsztrájk kezdete az I. W. W. irányitása mellett, 1927.

20. A Knights of Labornak 1,200,000 tagja volt 1888-ban; alakult 1869-ben. — Eugene V. Debs † 1926.

21. Adler Frigyes agyonlövi Stürgh miniszterelnököt Bécsben, 1916. — Németország elfogadja Wilson fegyverszünet feltételeit, 1918. — A gastoniai N. C. szövősztrájkban vádaláhelyezett 7 munkást 50 percnyi tárgyalás után az esküdtek 2-od fokon bünösnek találták Aderholt rendőrkapitány legyilkolásában és összesen 117 évre itélték el őket, 1929.

23. Általános sztrájk Oroszországban, 1905.

24. Daniel Webster † 1852. (Szül. 1782. jan. 18.) — Bethlen nyolc munkáslapot betilt, 1922.

25. Mayor McSweeney 73 napi éhségsztrájk után meghalt, 1920. — John Sandgren IWW iró és szervező † 1932.

26. Charles Steinmetz † 1923.

31. Az "őszirózsás forradalom" Magyarországon: Károlyi kormányra jutása, 1918. — Tisza Istvánt meggyilkolják, 1918. — Az osztrák-magyar tengeri hajóhadat Horthy Miklós átadja a délszlávoknak, 1918.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 NOVEMBER 30 NAP

1	Péntek
2	Szombat
3	**Vasárnap**
4	Hétfő
5	Kedd
6	Szerda
7	Csütörtök
8	Péntek
9	Szombat
10	**Vasárnap**
11	Hétfő
12	Kedd
13	Szerda
14	Csütörtök
15	Péntek
16	Szombat
17	**Vasárnap**
18	Hétfő
19	Kedd
20	Szerda
21	Csütörtök
22	Péntek
23	Szombat
24	**Vasárnap**
25	Hétfő
26	Kedd
27	Szerda
28	Csütörtök
29	Péntek
30	Szombat

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Hálaadás napja a hónap utolsó csütörtökje.

1. Mussolini, az olasz fascisták élén hatalomra jut, 1922. — Egész Magyarország csatlakozik a forradalomhoz, 1918.
2. A német forradalom kezdete, 1918.
3. Spokane-i (Wash.) I. W. W. szólásszabadságharc, 1909.
5. Everett-i (Wash.) I. W. W. mészárlás, 1916.
6. A német császár lemond, 1918.
7. Bolshevik győzelem Oroszországban, 1917. — Felállitják a szovjetet. — A francia nemzetgyülés az ész vallását proklamálja, 1793. — Hittler, Ludendorff, Ulain fajvédő puccs csufos kudarccal végződött, 1923.
9. Ebert kancellár lesz, 1918.
10. Az orosz forradalmi kormány békeajánlata a központi hatalmaknak, 1917. — Az ántánt és Németország megköti a békét, 1918. — Vilmos császár és a trónörökös Hollandiába menekül, 1918.
11. Centralia (Wash.) Az I. W. W. Munkás Otthonban betörnek az American Legion parádéról; néhányan elesnek közülök. Wesley Everest-et meglincselik s később nyolc I. W. W. tagot 20-tól 40 évi börtönbüntetésre itélnek ebben az ügyben, 1919. — A haymarketi bombavetéssel gyanusitott anarkistákat, Spies és társait, ártatlanul kivégzik, 1887. — Németország aláirja a fegyverszüneti szerződést, 1918.
12. Dózsa Györgyöt, a magyarországi parasztforradalom vezérét tüzes vastrónon elevenen elégeti a magyar nemesség, 1514. — A “Vestris” gőzhajó elsüyedése, 1928. — A Bérmunkás ujból Clevelandon jelenik meg huszesztendős jubileumi számában 24 oldalon, 1931.
14. Hegel * 1831. — IV. Károly lemond a trónról, 1918. — A román megszálló csapatok kivonulása Budapestről, 1919. Az IWW egyetemes szervezetének országos konvenciójának megnyitása, 1933.
15. Megjelenik az I. W. W. első magyarnyelvü lapja, a “Bérmunkás”, 1912. — Hauptmann Gerhard * 1862. — Kepler csillagász † 1620.
16. Owen Róbert † 1858. — A magyar népköztársaság kikiáltása, 1918.
17. Az I. W. W. magyarnyelvü lapja, a “Felszabadulás”, ujra felveszi eredeti nevét, a “Bérmunkás”-t, 1923.
19. Joe Hill, I. W. W. költő kivégzése, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1915.
20. Az IWW egyetemes kongresszussa hetedik napján kimondja a 4 órás munkanap és 4 napos munkahétért való agitáció szükségességét, 1932.
21. Voltaire * 1604. — A lyoni selyemszövők fekelése éhinség miatt, 1881. — A coloradoi sztrájkoló bányászok legyilkolása a columbinei bánya előtt, 1927.
22. Babeuf * 1760. — Andre Tridon † 1922.
28. Friedrich Engels * 1829.
29. Small, Illinois állam kormányzója 20 kommunistának kegyelmet ad, 1922.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1935 DECEMBER 31 NAP

1	**Vasárnap**
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	**Vasárnap**
9	Hétfő
10	Kedd
11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
15	**Vasárnap**
16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
18	Szerda
19	Csütörtök
20	Péntek
21	Szombat
22	**Vasárnap**
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat
29	**Vasárnap**
30	Hétfő
31	Kedd

Figyelje meg a Bérmunkást csomagoló papirost és ha előfizetése lejárt ujitsa azt meg.

1. Vasuti merénylet az orosz cár ellen, 1870. — Japán bányarobbanás 437 halottal, 1914. — A Technocraták a nyárspolgárok legnagyobb meglepetésére a 4 órai munka nap 5 napos munkahét behozatalát ajálják a világ pangás megszüntetésére, 1932.
2. John Brown kivégzése, 1859.
4. Napoleon eltörli a spanyol inkviziciót, 1803.
5. A McNamara testvéreket életfogytiglani börtönre itélték, 1911.
6. Spartacus fölkelés Berlinben, 1918. — W. Va.-i bányarobbanás 500 halott, 1907. — Az ir köztársaságot hivatalosan elismeri Anglia, 1921. — Az állam és az egyház szétválasztása Franciaországban, 1905.
7. Megjelent a “Felszabadulás”, az I. W. W. magyarnyevü lapja, Chicago, Ill., 1918. — Az ébredő csőcselék megtámadja a budapesti Népszava épületét és lerombolja a szerkesztőség, nyomda és kiadóhivatal helyiségét, 1919.
8. Dániel de Leon † 1914. (Szül. 1852. dec. 14.)
9. Vaillant bombát vet a francia kamarában, 1893.
10. W. B. Jones, Kentucky, Harlan megyei bányász életfogytiglani elitélése, 1931.
11. Louis Blanc, az 1848-as francia forradalom feje † 1882.
13. Heine * 1799. — Samuel Gompers * London, Angliában, 1850. jan. 27-én meghalt az Egyesült Államokban, 1924. dec. 13.
14. Washington † 1828. — Amundsen felfedezi a déli sarkot, 1911. Amnesztiát kap több politikai és ipari fogoly Amerikában, 1923
15. Megjelent a “Védelem”, az I. W. W. magyarnyelvü lapja, 1917, Chicago, Ill. — Rothfisher Károly, számüzetésben halt meg Mexicoban, 1930.
16. Oliver Cromwell Anglia főlordja lesz, 1653. — A “bostoni tea party”, az amerikai szabadságharc kezdete, 1773.
20. Az Általános Sztrájk cimü füzet megjelenése angol kiadásban, az IWW Központja által szept. 27.—1929. — A börze összeroppanása a világ depresszió kezdete, 1932.
21. A “Bufford” hajó elindul a deportált forradalmárokkal Oroszország felé, 1919.
24. Megalakul a szindikalista inernacionálé, 1922. — Az amerikai munkáspárt megalakult New Yorkban, 1921. — Calumet-i tüzvész, 74 halott, 1913.
25. Newton csillagász * 1642.
28. Itélet a magyarországi népbiztos pörben, 1920. — Földrengés Sziciliában, 200,000 halott. — Megalakult a Knights of Labor, 1869.
29. László Jenő, Korvin Ottó, Kerekes Árpád, Dinnyés József, Schwartz Károly, Kovács Lajos, Gombos Ferenc, Dögei Imre és Horváth Mihály, magyarországi szoviet népbiztosokat a fehér terror uralom kivégzi, 1920.
30. Magyarországi néptörvény a 8 órás munkaidőről, 1918. — A Kommunista Liga megbizza Marx Károlyt és Engels Frigyest a szervezet kiáltványának megszövegezésével. Igy lett a hirneves Kommunisták Kiáltványa, 1847.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

NÉVNAP MUTATÓ

A

Absolon, ápr. 20. szept. 2.
Adalbert, ápr. 23.
Adél, dec. 16.
Adelgund, jan. 30.
Adolár, ápr. 21.
Adolf febr. 11, máj. 11. jun. 17, aug. 21, szept. 17.
Adolfin, szept. 24.
Adorján, márc. 4.
Amilián, szept. 11, nov. 12. dec. 6.
Aladár, okt. 1.
Albin, márc. 1.
Alajos, jun. 21.
Alfonz, aug. 2, okt. 30.
Alfréd, febr. 15, jul. 19.
Albert, ápr. 7 és 24, máj. 26, szept. 3, nov. 14.
Albertina, ápr. 23.
Albrecht, ápr. 23.
Amália, máj. 4, jul. 10, okt. 7, nov. 20.
Ambrus, okt. 16 és 19, dec. 7 és 20.
Anastázius, ápr. 21.
András (Bandi,) febr. 4, máj. 15, okt. 17, nov. 30.
Angelika (Angyalka,) márc. 11, máj. 31, aug. 14.
Anna, febr. 19, jul. 26.
Antal, jan. 17, febr. 12, máj. 10, jun. 13, jul. 28, szept. 2.
Antónia, ápr. 19, jun. 13, jul. 7.
Anzelin, ápr. 21.
Appolónia, febr. 9.
Aranka, dec. 2.
Arnold, jul. 18.
Arthur, jan. 7.
Atala, dec. 2.
Athanáz, máj. 2. nov. 26.
Attila, márc. 10.
Augusta, márc. 29, aug. 17.
Aurél, jun. 15.
Aurélia, dec. 2.
Ádám, dec. 24.
Ágotha, febr. 5, ápr. 28.
Ágnes, jan. 21, márc. 28, ápr. 20.
Ágoston, aug. 3 és 28, okt. 7.
Ákos, jun. 22.
Ármin, ápr. 7, aug. 11, dec. 28.
Áron, ápr. 16, jun. 21.
Árpád, jan. 5, febr. 10.

B

Balázs, febr. 3.
Bálint, jan. 7, febr. 14.
Barnabás, jun. 11.
Bazil, márc. 22.
Beatrix, jul. 29.
Bekény, márc. 21.
Béla, jan. 2, ápr. 23, máj. 26.
Bence, márc. 21.
Benő, márc. 21, aug. 30.
Benedek, márc. 21.
Benjámin, márc. 31.
Bernát, máj. 20, jan. 16, jul. 15, aug. 21.
Berta, jul. 4.
Bertalan, aug. 24.
Bertram, aug. 17.
Blanka, aug. 10.
Bódog, jan. 14, máj. 30, jul. 29, okt. 24, nov. 20.
Boldizsár, jan. 6.
Bonaventura, jul. 14.
Bonifác, máj. 14, jun. 5 és 25.
Borbála, dec. 24.
Brigitta, febr. 1, okt. 8.
Brunó, márc. 8, ápr. 21, máj. 17, szept. 7, okt. 6.

C

Ceasar, febr. 15, ápr. 28.
Cecilia, jun. 3, okt. 21.
Clarissa jan. 15, jul. 12.
Clementina, jan. 23, nov. 14 és 23.
Concordia, febr. 18.
Constantin, febr. 25, ápr. 22, jul. 27.
Constantina, szept. 19.
Crescentia, jun. 15.
Crispin, okt. 25.
Cyprián, szept. 10 és 26, dec. 9.
Cyriák, aug. 8.
Cyrill, márc. 9, jul. 5.
Cyprus, jun. 16.

D

Dagobert, jun. 15.
Damascus, dec. 11.
Dániel, jan. 3, febr. 16, ápr. 10, jul. 21, nov. 23.
Dária, okt. 25.
Dávid, dec. 30.
Dezső, febr. 11, máj. 23, dec. 18.
Dénes, ápr. 8, okt. 9. nov. 17, dec. 26.
Dietrica, máj. 6.
Domonkos, aug. 4, okt. 14, dec. 20.
Donát, febr. 17, aug. 7, szept. 1.
Dorottya, febr. 6, jun. 5, szept. 9.
Dömötör, ápr. 9, okt. 26, dec. 22.
Döme, aug. 4, szept. 27.
Dionyzia, dec. 12.

E

Eberhardt, febr. 23, nov. 28.
Edith, szept. 16.
Edmund, nov. 6 és 20.
Eduárd, márc. 18, máj. 27, okt. 13.
Egyed, ápr. 27, szept 1.
Endre jul. 17.
Elemér, nov. 27.
Emilia, jul. 18, szept. 12, nov. 12 és 24.
Elek, febr. 11, jul. 17.
Eleonora, febr. 21, jul. 11.
Eleuthér, febr. 20, okt. 9.
Eligius, dec. 1.
Ella, febr. 10, márc. 24.
Emerencia, jan. 23.
Emánuel (Manó,) márc. 26.
Emil, ápr. 5, máj. 22, nov. 21.
Emma ápr. 19, jun. 29, szept. 22.
Engelbert, nov. 7.
Erasmus, jun. 2.
Erhardt, jan. 8.
Eric, febr. 15, máj. 18.
Ernesztina, jan. 12, jul. 31.
Ernő, jan. 12, márc. 13.
Ervin, ápr. 25.
Erzsébet, jul. 8, nov. 19, dec. 25.
Eszter, máj. 24, jul. 7.
Etelka, febr. 5, dec. 16.
Eugen (Jenő,) jul. 13, nov. 15, dec. 25.
Eufernia, szept. 16.
Eukár, febr. 20.
Eulália, febr. 12, dec. 10.
Eustachius, márc. 29, szept. 20.
Euzéb, aug. 14, dec. 16.
Evald, okt. 3.
Ezechiel, ápr. 10.
Éliás, febr. 16, jul. 20.
Éva, dec. 24.
Ézsiás, jul. 6.

F

Fábián, jan. 20.
Fánni, márc. 9, aug. 20, okt. 5.
Farkas, okt. 31.
Faustinus, febr. 15.
Felicián, jun. 9.
Felicitas, jan. 11, márc. 7.
Félix (Bódog,) febr. 14, máj. 30, jun. 14, jul. 7, okt. 24, nov. 20.
Ferdinánd, máj. 30, okt. 19.
Ferenc, jan. 29, ápr. 25, jun. 16, jul. 24, okt. 4 és 10, nov. 9, dec. 3.
Ferike, máj. 20.
Fidél, márc. 23, ápr. 28.

Fildes, aug. 1.
Filemon, márc. 8.
Flavia, máj. 11.
Flavián, febr. 18.
Flóra, jun. 19, nov. 24.
Florentin okt. 17.
Flórián (Flóris,) máj. 4, jun. 4.
Fodor, márc. 6.
Fortunatus, jun. 1, okt. 24.
Franciska, márc. 9.
Frida, febr. 8.
Friderika, okt. 6.
Fridolin, márc. 6.
Frigyes, márc. 6. jul. 18, okt. 6.
Frozina, febr. 11.
Fülöp, máj. 1 és 26, aug. 23. okt. 22.

G

Gábor, febr. 10, márc. 24, ápr. 7, nov. 2.
Gabriella, febr. 10.
Gallus, okt. 16.
Gáspár, jan. 6, aug. 18.
Gebhard, aug. 27.
Gedeon, okt. 10.
Gellért, szept. 24.
Genovéva, jan. 3.
Gergely, márc. 12, máj. 9 és 25, nov. 17.
German, febr. 21, máj. 2 és 28.
Gertrud, márc. 18, aug. 1.
Gerváz, jun. 19.
Géza, jan. 16, febr. 25, márc. 23, máj. 10, nov. 18 és 23.
Ginda vagy Gunda, márc. 3.
Gizella, máj. 7.
Gordián, máj. 10.
Gottfried, máj. 7. nov. 8.
Gotthard, máj. 5.
Gottlieb, jul. 7.
Gorgonia, dec. 9.
Gorgonius, szept. 9.
Gracin, dec. 18.
Guidó, márc. 30, szept. 12.
Guntrám, márc. 28.
Gusztáv, ápr. 22, aug. 2.
Gyárfás, jun. 19.
György, ápr. 24, máj. 5, dec. 8.
Gyula, ápr. 12, máj. 27.
Győző, febr. 28, jul. 28.
Günther, okt. 9, nov. 28.

H

Hannibal, aug. 2.
Háromkirály (Gáspár, Menyhért, Boldizsár,) jan. 6.
Hartwig, aug. 21.
Hedwig, okt. 15 és 17.
Helén, aug. 18.
Heliodor, jul. 8.
Henriette, márc. 16.
Henrik, jan. 16, jul. 12.
Heribert, márc. 16.
Hermin, ápr. 13, máj. 6.
Herman (Ármin,) ápr. 7.
Hilár (Vidor,) jan. 14.
Hilaria, aug. 12.
Hildegard, szept. 17.
Hubert, márc. 20, nov. 8.
Hugó ápr. 1, nov. 17.
Humbertus, márc. 25.
Hyreonim, jul. 20, szept. 30.
Hygin, jan. 11.
Hipolit (Ipoly,) aug. 13.

I

Ida, márc. 14, szept. 4, nov. 3.
Ignác, febr. 1, jul. 31, dec. 15.
Illés, jul. 20, aug. 9.
Ilona, máj. 22, aug. 18, nov. 3.
Imre, nov. 5.
Imrike, jan. 23 és 30.
Ince, jul. 28, dec. 2.
Ipoly aug. 13.
Irén, ápr. 6.
Irma, márc. 26, jul. 4.
István, aug. 20, nov. 28, dec. 26.
Iván, jun. 24.
Ivó, máj. 20.
Izabella, jan. 4.
Izidor, jan. 7, ápr. 4.
Izrael, márc. 26.
Izsák, dec. 20, máj. 29.

J

Jácint, jul. 3, aug. 16, szept. 11.
Jakab máj. 1, jul. 11 és 25.
Janka, máj. 22.
Jairus, okt. 3.
János, jan. 23 és 27, febr. 8, márc. 8 és 27, jun. 12 és 27, jul. 12, aug. 20, okt. 22, nov. 24, dec. 27.
Jenő, jul. 13, nov. 18.
Jeromos, szept. 30, nov. 19.
Joachim, márc. 20, szept. 24, dec. 9.
Jób, máj. 24, szept. 2.
Jovita, febr. 15.
Jolán, nov. 18, jul. 24.
Jónás, nov. 12.
Jordán, febr. 13.
József, febr. 4, márc. 19, máj. 8, jun. 20, aug. 27, szept. 18.
Józsua, febr. 23.
Judit, jul. 30, dec. 10.
Judás, máj. 11, okt. 28.
Julia, (Julianna,) febr. 16, máj. 22, jun. 29.
Julián, jan. 9, febr. 17.
Jusztin, jun. 16.
Jusztina, ápr. 13, szept. 26, okt. 7.

K

Kajetán, aug. 7.
Kálmán, okt. 13.
Kalliszt, okt. 14.
Kamil, jul. 18.
Kamilla, jul. 27.
Kandid, okt. 3.
Kandida, dec. 2.
Kanut, jan. 19.
Karolina, jun. 14, jul. 14, nov. 4.
Károly, jan. 28, márc. 2, nov. 4.
Kaszter, febr. 13.
Katalin, febr. 23, ápr. 30, nov. 25, dec. 6.
Kázmér márc. 4, ápr. 16.
Kelemen, jan. 23, nov. 23, dec. 7.
Keresztély, máj. 14.
Kiltlib, jul. 8.
Kilit, ápr. 26.
Klára, aug. 12 és 18.
Klotild, jun. 3.
Kleofás, szept. 25.
Kolozs, okt. 30.
Konstancia, febr. 17.
Konstantin, máj. 21.
Konrád, febr. 19, nov. 26.
Kornél, jul. 3.
Kornélia, márc. 31.
Kordula, okt. 22.
Kozma, szept. 27.
Kristóf, márc. 15, jul. 25, dec. 18.
Krisztina, jul. 21.
Kunigunda, márc. 3.
Kuno, máj. 29.

L

Lajos, aug. 19 és 25.
Lambert, szept. 17.
László, jun. 27.
Lázár, febr. 21, dec. 17.
Laura, jun. 28.
Laura, márc. 28.
Lea, márc. 22.
Leó ápr. 11, jun. 28.
Leodegar, okt. 2.
Leander, febr. 27.
Leontine, jan. 28.
Lénárd, nov. 6.
Liberatus, aug. 17.
Livia, febr. 12, nov. 21.
Livius, febr. 28.
Lóránt, aug. 10, szept. 13.
Lipót, nov. 15.
Lothár, ápr. 2.
Lőrinc, aug. 10, szept. 5.
Lucia, jul. 9, dec. 13.
Lucian máj. 27, okt. 2.
Ludovica, jul. 9.
Ludmilla, szept. 16.
Lujza, jun. 9 és 21.
Lukács, okt. 18.
Lukrécia, ápr. 7, jun. 7.
Lydia, febr. 12, aug. 8.

M

Magdolna, máj. 27, jul. 22.
Magnus szept. 6.
Makár, jan. 2.
Malvina, okt. 7.
Manó, márc. 26.
Mansvét, febr. 19, szept. 3.
Marcellin, jan. 9 és 16, jun. 18, okt. 30.
Marcel, jan. 16, jun. 18.
Marcilán, jan. 10.
Margit, jan. 28. febr. 23, jun. 10, jul. 19.
Marius, jan. 19.
Mária, ápr. 9, jul. 22, aug. 15.
Márk, ápr. 25, jun. 18, okt. 10.
Mártha, jul. 19 és 27.
Márton, nov. 11.
Mártonka, jan. 30.
Máté, szept. 21.
Maternus, szept. 13.
Matild, jan. 11, márc. 14.
Mátyás, febr. 24.
Maximus, jan. 25.
Medárd, jun. 8.
Melánia, jan. 6.
Menyhért, jan. 6.
Mihály, máj. 8, szept. 29.
Miklós, febr. 23, márc. 23, szept. 10 és 29.
Miksa, máj. 29, okt. 12.
Modest, jan. 12, jun. 15 dec. 18.
Mór, jan. 15, febr. 21.
Móric, febr. 21, szept. 22.
Mózes szept. 4.

N

Narcis, okt. 29.
Nándor, máj. 30, okt. 19.
Napoleon, aug. 15.
Náthán, okt. 24.
Nathália, dec. 1.
Nemezius, dec. 19.
Nesztor, febr. 27.
Neszte, febr. 28.
Nikodém, szept. 15.
Noah, nov. 28.
Norbert, jun. 6.

O

Oktávián, márc. 22.
Olga, jun. 21.
Olimpia, ápr. 15.
Orbán, máj. 24.
Orsolya, okt. 21.
Oszkár, dec. 1.
Oszvald, febr. 28, aug 5.
Ottilia, dec. 12.
Ottmár, nov. 16.
Ottó, márc. 23, nov. 18.
Ottokár, nov. 4.
Örzsi, lásd Erzsébet.
Ödön, jun. 3, nov. 16 és 20.
Özséb, márc. 5, aug. 14, dec. 16.

P

Pál, jan. 10 és 25, márc. 7, jun. 26 és 30.
Paskál, máj. 17.
Patrik, márc. 17.
Paula, jan. 26, márc. 22, jul. 21.
Paulina, jun. 22, aug. 31.
Péter-Pál, jun. 29.
Péter, jan. 31, febr. 22, ápr. 16 és 29, máj. 19, aug. 1, okt. 19, dec. 5.
Piroska, jan. 18, nov. 28.
Pilus, máj. 5.
Pongrác, máj. 12.

R

Ráchel, jul. 11.
Rafael, okt. 24.
Rajner, jun. 17.
Rajmund, jan. 7, febr. 11, aug. 31.
Rebeka aug. 30.
Regina, szept. 7.
Reinhard, febr. 23.
Reinhold, jan. 12.
Rezső (Rudolf,) ápr. 17.
Rikárd, febr. 7, márc. 7, ápr. 3.
Róbert, ápr. 22, jun. 7.
Rókus, aug. 16.
Román, febr. 28, aug. 9.
Romana, febr. 23.
Roland, aug. 9.
Róza, aug. 30.
Rozália, szept. 4.
Rozina, márc. 11.
Rupert, márc. 27.

S

Salamon, febr. 8, szept. 14.
Salvator, márc. 18.
Sámson, jul. 28.
Samu, aug. 26.
Sándor, febr. 28, márc. 18, máj. 3.
Sára, jan. 19, máj. 19.
Sarolta, jul. 5.
Saturnin, nov. 29.
Skolastika, febr. 10.
Sebestyén, jan. 20.
Sergius, okt. 7.
Simon, febr. 18, okt. 28.
Simeon, jan. 5, okt. 28.
Simplicius, márc. 2.
Sótér, ápr. 22.
Soma, jul, 3.
Szaniszló, máj. 7, nov. 18.
Szebáld, aug. 19.
Szerafin, szept. 3, dec. 5.
Szervác, máj. 13.
Szeverin, nov. 8.
Szevér, okt. 23.
Szidonia, jun. 23, szept. 19.
Szilárd, febr. 17, márc. 11.
Szilvér jul. 20.
Szilveszter, dec. 31.
Sylvia, nov. 3.
Szörény, jan. 8.

T

Tádé, okt. 28.
Tamás, máj. 8, szept. 18 és 22, dec. 21 és 29.
Thekla, aug. 19, szept. 23.
Theodora, ápr. 30.
Tiberius, v. Tibor, ápr. 14.
Tibolt jul. 1.
Timóth, jan. 24, máj. 21.
Titus, jan. 4 szept. 18.
Tivadar, ápr. 1, nov. 9.
Tóbiás, jun. 13, szept. 12.
Tódor, febr. 6, nov. 9, szept. 11.

U

Ubald, máj. 17.
Ulrik, jul. 4.
Urika, aug. 6.

V

Valburgis, febr. 25.
Valér, jan. 29, ápr. 18, dec. 15.
Valter, nov. 29.
Vazul, nov. 29.
Venánc, máj. 18.
Vendel, okt. 20.
Vencel, szept. 28.
Veronika, jan. 13, febr. 4, jul. 9.
Victorian, márc. 23.
Viktor, febr. 11 és 26, jul. 28.
Viktória, máj. 10, szept. 5, dec. 23.
Vidor, jan. 13, okt. 21.
Vilibald, jul. 7.
Vilmos (Vilma,) jan. 10. ápr. 6, máj. 28, jun. 25. jul. 5, okt. 25.
Vince, jan. 22, ápr. 5, máj. 24, jul. 19.
Virgil, jan. 31, nov. 27.
Vitus, Vid, jun. 15.

X

Xavér, dec. 3.
Xenia, jan. 12.

Z

Zakariás, márc. 14, szept. 6.
Zéno, jun. 23.
Zenobius, okt. 29.
Zoltán, márc 8.
Zsigmond, máj. 2.
Zsófia, máj. 15.
Zsuzsanna, febr. 19. máj. 24, aug. 11.

A BECSTELEN KENYÉR

Kenyér! Ki megirná egyszer az éneked,
Istennek époszát, emberek romlását
Zengené világhasgató orkán sipjain,
Gyáva lesz általad aki erős,
Vakon merő a sunyi tolvaj,
Gyilkolni, rabolni, hazudni tanitasz.

Éhes száju sirok tömkelegében
Megfojtó barázdák kin ásta nyomán,
Büntudat pórázán hajtod az éhest.
Aprózod a szivét minden falatért
Rablasz egy álmot, ültetve helyébe
Kigyófejü, méreg fogas ostort.

Drága kenyér posványba kerültél
S fertőbe kerited aki keres.
Ne irja addig éneked ember,
Amig nem tisztulsz és ki nem irtod
Templomostól a bünfiadzót,
Hogy öröm sava légy, élet kenyere!

Megváltott apostol, idvezitők,
Nektek egyébb csába meséket
Zeng a kenyér, — a tiszta kenyér.
Nincs szebb e meséknél. . .
Ember a hőse, emberebb mint mi:
Embernevelő, bálványtalan ember.

Fényes Samu.

Az IWW szintiszta ipari programja

Irta: Ralph Chaplin

az Industrial Worker szerkesztője.

AZ IWW programja az egyetlen szintiszta, kifejezője az ipari unionizmusnak. Forradalmi munkásszervezet, melynek semmi közössége nincs az ugynevezett “forradalmi” politikai pártokkal egyetlen pont kivételével, melyszerint azok is elismerik, hogy az osztályharc a munkásság életének alapvető tényezője.

Elvinyilatkozatunk első szakasza szilárd alapra helyezi lábunkat, ami a munkásosztály problémájának megközelitését illeti. Nem az IWW találta fel az osztályharcat, nem is a szocialisták, kommunisták, szindikalisták, vagy anarchisták. Az osztályharc a legfontosabb tényező azon férfiak és nők életében, akik a körülmények által arra vannak kényszeritve, hogy a mindennapi kenyeret azáltal szerezzék meg, hogy másoknak — a kapitalista osztálynak — könyörögjenek munkáért.

Sokféle elmélet van forgalomban az osztályharcot illetőleg, azonban ezeknek legnagyobb része nem-munkás és nem-termelő — a különféle “forradalmi” politikai pártokhoz tartozó filozófus és theoretikusok elméjének szülöttjei. Ezeknek némelyike ellentmondó, sok pedig reménytelenül haszonleső. A gyakorlatban valamennyi megtévesztő, mert a munkásság különböző frakciókra való szaggatását szolgálják.

A hátránya ezen nem-termelő “forradalmi” philosophiának az, hogy a munkásságot sok különböző irányba vezeti, — egyik zsák utcából ki a másikba be. Más ok nem is volna, hogy az IWW elfogadja a “forradalmi” politikai pártok theoretikus és filozófusainak ideálját, mint hogy ezzel együtt elfogadná a “forradalmi” politikusok vezetését is. A multak tapasztalatai bizonyitják, hogy helytelen volna még kifejezéseiket és jelszavaikat is elfogadni ezen nemtermelő radikális szektáknak. Az IWW még mindig képes volt a saját lábán megállni és müködni nélkülök. Látva azt az irtózatos zagyvalékot, amit a politikusok csináltak Európa és más országok mozgalmaiból, az IWW egyáltalán nem kockáztathatja meg, hogy tőlük kölcsönözzön harci módszert.

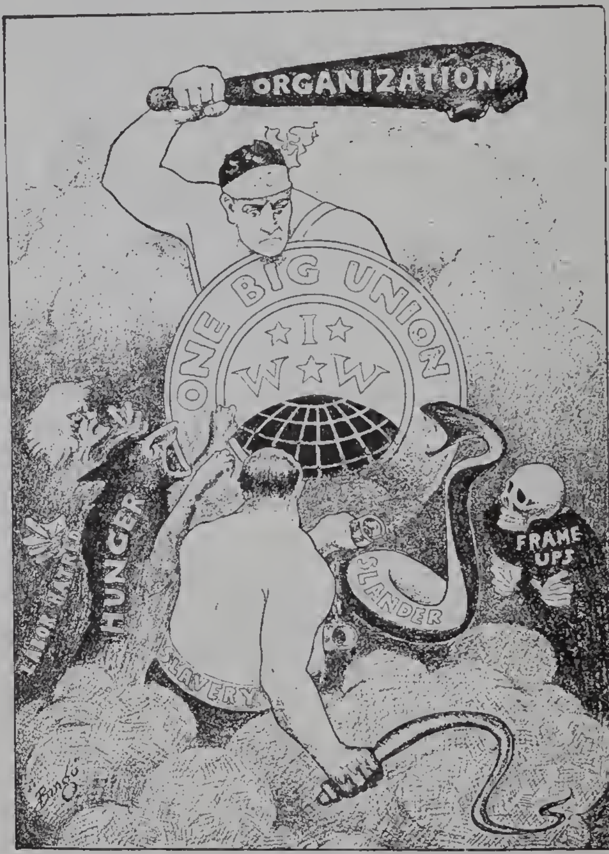
Szavak, mint “proletáriátus,” “burzsoázia,” “kis burzsoázia,” “parlamentarizmus,” “gazdasági meghatározás” és még egész garmada a hasonló sallangoknak, bár még mindig használatban vannak, azonban oly régiek élettelenek, jelentőségtelenek és elavultak, hogy az agitátort, aki használja ezeket, szélhámosnak, vagy csalónak tüntetik fel. Aki kételkedik ezen állitásban, próbálja meg ezen elavult szólamok használását az átlagos gyári munkás, vagy szakszerevezeti tagság előtt. Az IWW törekvése — és mindig is az volt, — hogy helyettesitse ezen nem megfelelő szavakat olyanokkal, amelyeket az átlagos munkás is könnyen megért. Az IWW által kiadott “Little Red Song Book” (angol verses könyv) nagyobb elterjedtségnek örvend és többen olvassák mint a “forradalmi” politikai pártok bármely, vagy valamennyi verseit és az oka ennek, hogy ezek egyszerü nyelvezettel vannak megirva.

Az IWW irányát és célját illetőleg, sok megtévesztő felfogás van forgalomban. Még a saját szónokaink is, akik különböző “forradalmi” politikai pártok neveltjei, kétségtelenül akaratuk ellenére, elkövetik azt a hibát, hogy elmulasztják kiemelni a szintiszta, semmi mással össze nem hasonlitható, kizárólagos ipari programját az IWW-nak. Ennek eredményeként a munkások, akik az IWW irodalmát olvassák, vagy szónokait hallgatják, oly véleményt táplálnak, mintha az IWW valami felhigitott szocializmus, kommunizmus, anarchizmus, vagy kitudja milyen izmus lenne. Az igazságtól misem állhat távolabb, mint ily felfogás. Az IWW szerkezete, harcmodora és végcélja meghatározott és különbözik minden más radikális szervezetétől.

Ha bárki kételkedik ezen kijelentésben, tegye fel önmagának a következő kérdést: Ha a szocialisták megszereznék a politikai állam kormányzatot, vagy a kommunisták az állam hatalmat és holnap felállitanák a Soviet diktaturát, mily hatással volna ez az IWW programjára? Ha a kérdező elfogulatlanul őszinte önmagával szemben, el kell ismernie, hogy akár szocialista, vagy kommunista kormányzás alatt, az IWW kényszeritve volna folytatni az agitációt az ügyeknek a munkások által való irányitásáért az ipari szervezeteken keresztül, éppen ugy mint ma. A fenti eshetőségek közül bármely következne be, az IWW célja nem teljesülne és a céltudatos szervezett propagandára éppen oly, vagy még nagyobb szükség volna, mint a multban. Az is feltételezhető, hogy az IWW iránti ellenszenv a politikusok és komiszárosok részéről nagy volna, talán nagyobb mint ma. Kétséges, hogy a teljhatalmu állam, miután a különböző munkásnyuzó intézményeket egy hatalmas rablótestületté összpontositotta, kevesebb joggal, vagy irigységgel őrködne hatalma felett, mint a magán érdekeltségek által irányitot korporációk ma. Minden eshetőségben, a politikusok mellőzését célzó propaganda a szervezett és müködésre alkalmas termelő hadsereggel, a politikusok és komiszárusok szemében, nem sok elnézésre számithatna. Elképzelhető, hogy mi történne egy IWW szónokkal, ha Moszkva, vagy Leningrádban felállna beszélni az utca sarkon, a Stalin diktatura alatt. Az Ipari Demokrácia még mindig az elérhetetlen "égimanna" a Munkások hazájában élő "felszabaditott" proletariátusnak.

Az IWW azt valja, hogy az állami épületeken a zászló kicserélése — egyik csoport politikusnak a kirugása és másik csoportot tenni a helyükbe — még nem jelent forradalmat. Az IWW állitja, hogy a forradalom nem lehet teljes, amig a kányafészket, amit politikai államnak ismerünk (és a haszontalan parazitákat és kányákat, akik azt benépesitik) megnem semmisitjük és a termelők tudományosan felépitett adminisztrációjával nem helyettesitjük, mert félrevezetés a rendszer változást illetőleg forradalminak nevezni bármit, ami ennél kevesebb. Ezért a szocialista kormányzás alatt az IWW-nak több eshetősége volna a börtönbe jutni, mint a jelenben.

Az IWW ipari union szerkezete, vázlata az Uj Társadalomnak. E tekintetben, sem a szocialistáknak, sem pedig a kommunistáknak nem sok igérni valójuk van. Mindkét esetben, amikor ipari unionizmusról van szó, ugy a szocialisták, mint kommunisták ipari



Ideje, hogy szétüssünk köztük.

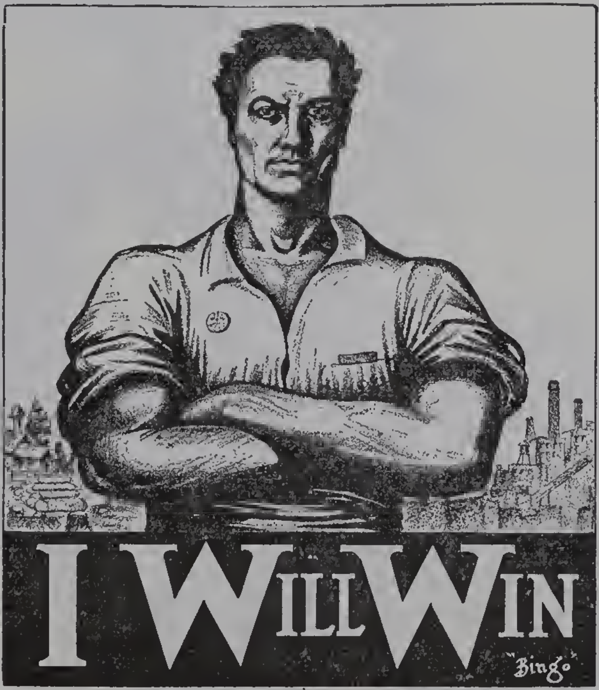
szervezetének minden időben a politikusok karmaiban kell lenni — és csak uszálya lehetne a politikai sárkánynak.

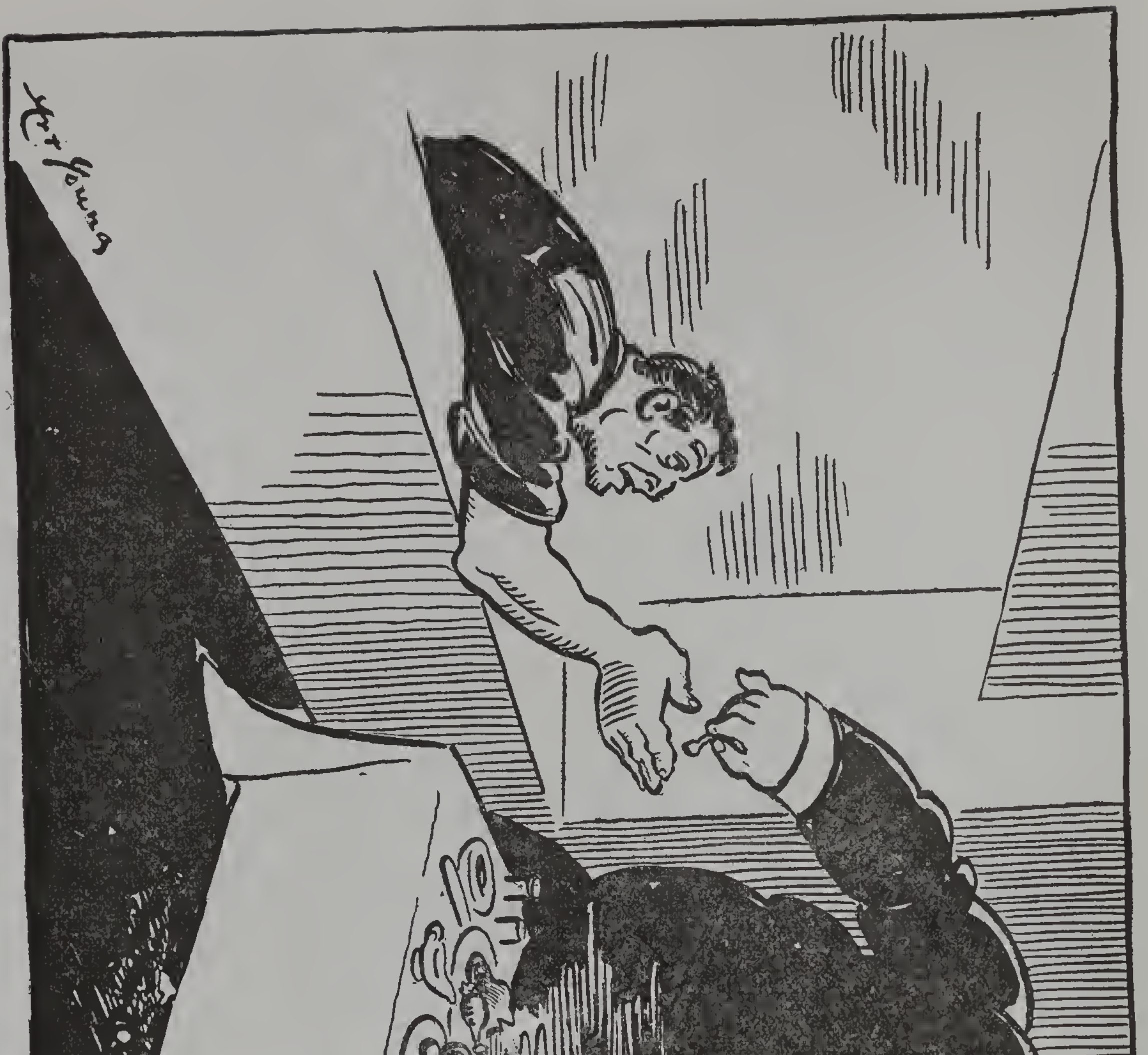
A szigoruan ipari, direkt akció, — **sztrájk és általános sztrájk** — taktikája az IWW-nak, alapjában külömbözik a "forradalmi" politikusok taktikájától, akik ennek használatát kizárólag a politikai párt előmozditása érdekében hirdetik. A szavazatfogdosó politikai cécók; az állami épületek előtti demonstrációkkal az IWW mint céltudatos ipari mozgalom, kevés szimpáthiával viseltetik. Még kevesebbel a szerencsétlen és gyermekes tervvel, hogy a munkásság utcai harcokat rendezzen a cél elérése érdekében.

Az IWW harca a végcélt illetőleg — a tudományosan irányitott Ipari Társadalom — alapjában különbözik az állam által irányitott, politikusok által uralt társadalmi tákolmánytól, melyet a szocialisták és kommunisták kinálgatnak. Mind a kettő sikra szállt megdönteni az ugynevezett kapitalizmust; mind a kettő szeretné a profit rendszert megszüntetni, de egyiknek sincs még távolról sem szándéka megtámadni az alap okot; a BÉRT. Az Egyesült Államokban, például, amikor a kapitalizmus már felbukott és az állam veszi át a kapitalisták, bankárok és tőzsdések funkcióját, a gazdasági szerkezet érintetlen marad, annak kivételével, hogy "Forradalmi" vörösre lesz festve. Ez történt Oroszországban, ahol a profit rendszert elejtették, de a bérrendszer még mindig uralkodik.

Az IWW elvinyilatkozata félreérthetetlenül kimondja, hogy a forradalmi munkásság végcélja a BÉRRENDSZER eltörlése. Következetesen, a bérrendszer nem lehet eltörölve azáltal, ha a munkásokat az állam "fizeti" a magán munkáltatók helyett. Nem szabad elfelejteni, hogy a marxi meghatározás a munkások teljesitő képességének megmérésére a szocializmus alatt emberi órákban még mindig tág fogalom. Az IWW nem követi ezt, először: mert nem válik be a modern ipari rendszerben, másodszor; mert egy másik módja a bérrendszer folytatásának, melynek eltörléséért az IWW sikra szállt. Ez természetesen azt jelenti, hogy a pénz, mint csereérték teljesen megsemmisül — **és örökidőre.** A fő funkciója a tudományosan irányitott Ipari Társadalomnak a termelés és a JAVAK SZÉTOSZTÁSA.

Az IWW nyiltan szakit a régi, haldokló társadalmi rendszerrel. Ezen lépés megnemalkuvó álláspontot jelent az UJ érdekében. A bőség érájában, melyet a modern technológia tett lehetővé, az IWW ketté vágja a "forradalmi" gazdasági és anyagi bonyolultság górdiusi csomóját. Nem kevesebb, mint a magas termelőképességü, állandóan fejlődő, részben automata gépkorszak által elérhető tökéletes rend, amiért az IWW harcol. Ezt a régi szólásmódot — melyszerint "a munkás az általa termelt javak teljes értékére jogos" nevetségessé teszi **A javak termelése és szétosztása a munkások által, a saját intézményeik, — az Ipari Szervezetek segitségével. Ez elég.** És ez az egyetlen alkalmas módszer. Minden másnak a számontartása szükségtelen és haszontalan idő és energia fecsérlés.





A termelt javakból a munkásnak is jut.

A kapitalizmus betöltötte a hivatását

Irta: Wágner József

az IWW központi titkár-pénztárosa.

MIUTÁN betöltötte a történelem által reárótt dicső hivatását, a kapitalizmus a halállal vivódik. A valóságban és minden gyakorlati ok szempontjából a kapitalizmus már régebben halott és csak az élet látszatát tartották a hullában mesterséges eszközökkel; a kukacok és férgek a különböző politikai kalandorok és diktátoroskodni akarók formájában, fertőzték a rothadó tömeget, mely egykor a virágzó kapitalizmus volt. Amig a férgek emésztik a rothadó tömeget azt a látszatot keltik, hogy él és mozog. Ezen folyamat alatt az emberiség, de különösen a munkásosztály példátlan nyomor és éhhaláltól szenved a bőség közepette.

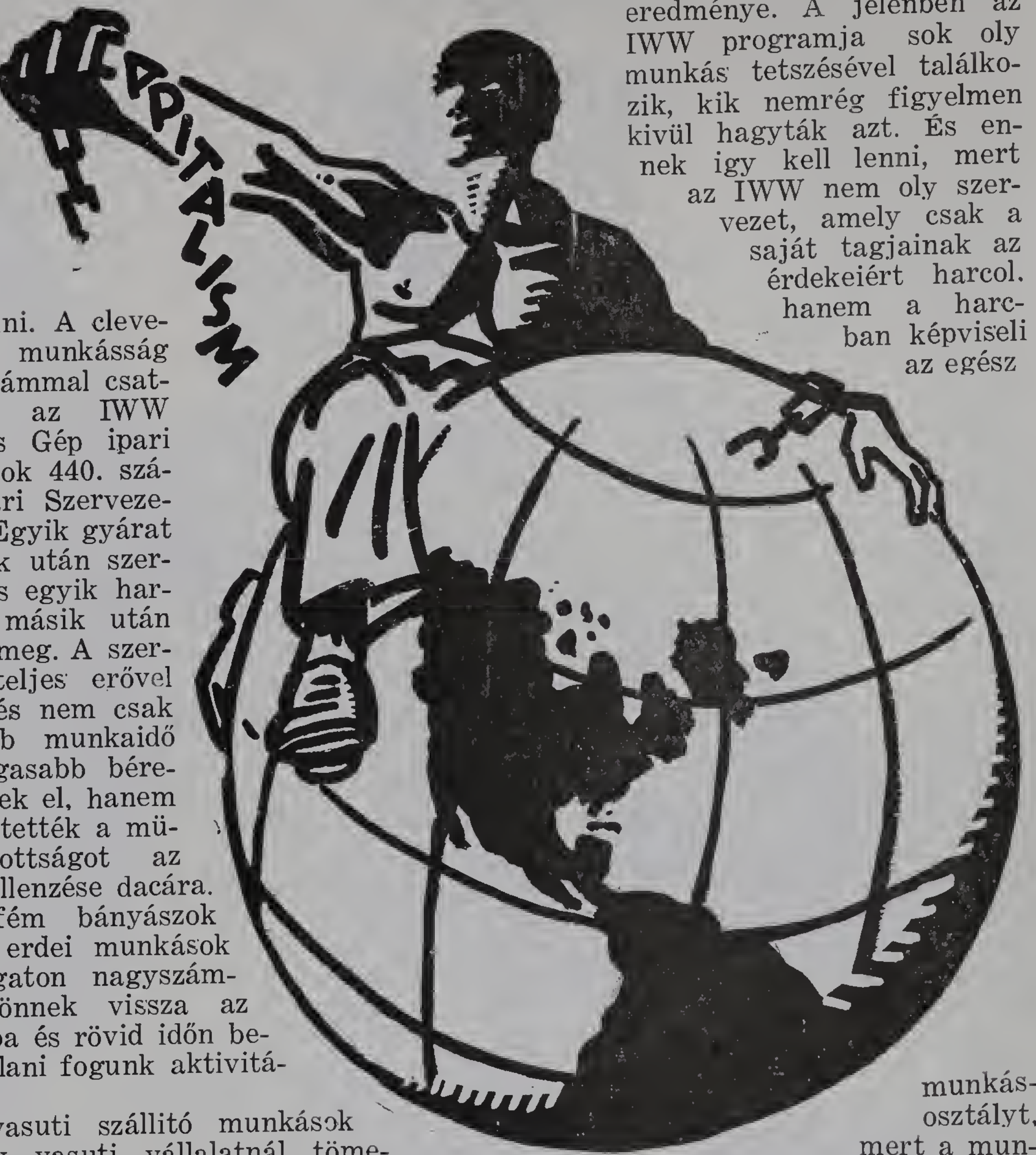
Tagadhatatlan, hogy a jelen rendszer ily kháosz szerü kialakulásáért senkit sem terhel a felelősségnek oly része, mint magát a munkásságot, de különösen azon rétegét a munkásosztálynak, amely már közel egy századdal ezelőtt többé-kevésbbé felismerte a jelen rendszer osztály jellegét és az ily rendszerrel velejáró osztályharcot.

Ezeket terheli a felelősség legfőbbképen, mert nemtörődömségük és hanyagságukkal tespedni és elgyengülni engedték a forradalmi munkásmozgalmat, vagy át engedték a munkásosztály tevékenységének arénáját a politikai kalandorok és a munkásságot félrevezetőknek.

Csak néhány rövid éve, hogy a munkásság nagyrésze — közöttük azok is akiknek hosszu gyakorlatuk van a munkásmozgalomban — egy időre megbarátkozott a kapitalizmussal, engedték magukat elbüvölni az ideiglenes kapitalista prosperitástól és elfelejtették az osztályharc létezését, vagy kényelmesen a polcra helyezték azt. Ez oknál fogva a bekövetkezettekért a munkásságot jobban terheli a felelősség, mint bárki mást, mert nem készitették elő a gépezetet, amely elfoglalja a réginek a helyét, amikor — mint az a jelenben áll — a régi felmondta a szolgálatott, vagy haldoklik.

A hosszu évekig tartó példanélkül álló munkanélküliség és nyomorra volt szükség, hogy végre kiábránditsa és felrázza a munkásságot a kábultságából és a leplezetlen valóság meglátására birja, mellyel szemben állunk. De szerencsére jött az ébredés és a történelem fokozott sebességgel törtet előre. Nem volt még példa Amerika munkás történetében, hogy a dolgozók oly nagyszámmal mentek volna harcba, mint a jelenben és az IWW elvét és programját a nagy tömegek sohasem fogadták oly készséggel, mint ma. Szerencsétlenségre, az IWW harcos, nevelő és szervező gépezetét is elhagyták gyengülni; használatlanul heverni a képzelt kapitalista "prosperitás" idején és ennek következtében az IWW nem volt oly helyzetben, hogy a kedvező alkalmat kellő mértékben kihasználhatta volna, mint az esetben, ha gépezete az előbbi hatásos állapotban lett volna. A IWW összetételénél fogva képes a helyzet magaslatára emelkedni, amig a harc ténylegesen és teljes erővel folyik.

Az IWW eredményesen és ismételten megtette ugyan ezt a multban és ezt teszi a jelenben is. A jelenben is nagyszerü harcokat vezet számos fronton és ugyan akkor növekszik számarányban, elismerésben és erőben. A szervezők nagyszáma dolgozik a különböző területeken és a füzetek és röpiratok nagymennyiségben jelennek meg. Az utolsó két évben a tagság szaporodása a legvérmesebb képzeletet is felülmulta és ez csak a kezdet. Amint a mozgalom fejlődik tekintélyben, következetesen elvárható, hogy a közel jövőben sokkal gyorsabban fog



növekedni. A clevelandi munkásság nagy számmal csatlakozik az IWW Fém és Gép ipari munkások 440. számu Ipari Szervezetéhez. Egyik gyárat a másik után szervezik és egyik harcot a másik után nyerik meg. A szervezés teljes erővel folyik és nem csak rövidebb munkaidő és magasabb béreket értek el, hanem elismertették a mühelybizottságot az NRA ellenzése dacára.

A fém bányászok és az erdei munkások a nyugaton nagyszámmal jönnek vissza az IWW-ba és rövid időn belül hallani fogunk aktivitásukról.

A vasuti szállitó munkások néhány vasuti vállalatnál tömegesen csatlakoznak az IWW Vasuti Szállitó Munkások 520. számu Ipari Szervezetéhez és belátható időn belül saját adminisztrációval fognak rendelkezni.

A vizi szállitási ipar rabszolgái megelégelték a szakszervezetek árulásait és készek csatlakozni a harcos és megbizható IWW-hoz, mely az egyetlen szervezet, amely képes javitani helyzetükön. Ez irányból is jelentékeny hireket várhatunk a közel jövőben.

Mind ez az IWW fáradtságot nem ismerő tagsága munkálkodásának és munkásságának az IWW programja iránti szimpathiának az eredménye. A jelenben az IWW programja sok oly munkás tetszésével találkozik, kik nemrég figyelmen kivül hagyták azt. És ennek igy kell lenni, mert az IWW nem oly szervezet, amely csak a saját tagjainak az érdekeiért harcol, hanem a harcban képviseli az egész munkásosztályt, mert a munkásosztály, érdekein kivül a szervezet nincs másban érdekelve.

A kapitalista osztály betöltötte hivatását és a kapitalizmus haldoklik, ha még valóban nem halott. A kháosz és szenvedés folytatódni fog és még a barbarizmushoz való visszatérés is jönni fog, hacsak a munkásság nem szervezkedik osztály szervezetében az Egy Nagy Szervezetbe és hamarjába át nem veszi a földet és termelő eszközöket, megteremti a profit nélküli rendszert, ahol a termelés az összesség javára fog folyni, nem pedig profitra.

Az emberiség sorsa

Irta: Pika Pál

E TÉMA, amelyet próbálok boncolgatni, az emberiség nemtörődömségét tükrözi vissza. A társadalom amelyben élünk és amelyet minden embernek ösmernie kellene, — de sajnos nem igy van. Habár milliók ajkáról hangzik el naponta a feljajdulás: "Meddig lesz ez igy." Ezen feljajdulás mindent megmagyaráz.

A természetes ösztönszerü kifakadások, milliók elégedetleségét tükrözik vissza; de ez a megnyilvánuló elégedetlenség nem változtat semmit az emberiség sorsán. Mert az ösztönszerü feljajdulás, nem elegendő a társadalmi bajok orvoslására. A szellemileg megmételyezett és gondolkozni nem tudó — vagy sok esetben nem akaró ember, felületesen birálja meg a helyzetet. Ezen sok milliók közzé tartoznak azok, akiknek a rabszolgaság járma még nem teher. Felületes ősrégi szokássá vált mondással vélik megnyugtatni önmagukat. "Hiszen ez mindig igy volt és igy is fog maradni."

Más milliók pedig abban a reménybe ringatják magukat, hogy ha a szerencse fog kedvezni nekik, majd idővel gondnélküli megélhetést fognak biztositani a saját számukra. Egyéni boldogulásban látják az emberiség sorsát. Nem törődve embertársaikkal, nem látnak tovább mától-holnapig. Igy él az emberiség nagy tömege gonddal telitett nélkülözések között, arra egyáltalába nem gondolva, hogy a fejlődés meghozta a maga gyümölcsét.

Az emberiség legnagyobb kényelembe, jólétbe élhetne ha megértené a jelenlegi társadalmi berendezkedés helytelenségét. A dolgozó milliók, akiknek egyebük nincsen munkaerejüknél, akik valójában a társadalom fenntartói, még gondolni sem mernek arra, hogy ezen változtatni lehetne.

Milliók vannak olyanok, akik saját sorsukat másokra bizzák, abban a reményben, hogy mások majd gondoskodnak az ő jövőjükről. Gyáva, rabszolga lelkü az, aki saját boldogulását másokra bizza.

Igy azután a mai fennálló rendszer könnyü szerrel folytathassa tulkapásait, az emberiség nagy tömegének róvására. Minden igyekezete a közvéleményt ugy irányitani, hogy minden esetben saját osztályérdekeiket védelmezze és ugy tüntesse fel a mai társadalmi rendszert, mint a legjobbat, legmegfelelőbbet. Ez ideig sikerült nekik az emberiség nagy tömegét saját — osztály érdekeik megvédésére az oldalukon megtartani. Sok milliók, kiknek a mai rend fennállása csak nyomort és nélkülözést jelent, mégis görcsösen ragaszkodnak hozzá, sőt elitélik a munkásmozgalom azon csoportját, akik felösmerték és harcot folytatnak, a jelenlegi uralkodó osztály ellen. A kapitalista tanitás és nevelés annyira megmetélyezte őket, hogy egyenesen saját osztályuk ellen foglalnak állást.

Ezzel megnehezitik azoknak feltörekvő munkáját, akik tisztába vannak a mai társadalmi rend összetételével. Az emberiség jólétének biztos alapot tudnának teremteni, ha a munkástömegek nagy része felösmerné, hogy a nyomor és nélkülözés azonnal megszünik, amikor a magántulajdon rendszerét egy társadalmasitott uj rendszerrel cseréljük fel. Az ellenvetések itten hangoznak el a legjobban, itten igyekszik a mai fennáló kapitalista rend, azt a téves hitét elhitetni az emberiség azon rétegében, akik csak felületesen gondolkoznak, hogy a magántulajdon rendszere egyedüli az emberiség boldogulására, hogy az a rendszer, amit a forradalmi munkásosztály igyekszik megvalósitani, nem keresztül vihető és nem megfelelő az emberiség számára. Ők nem törődnek az emberiség sorsával; csak görcsösen ragaszkodnak a mai fennálló rendszerhez — hiszen érthető is, hogy azok, akik jó létbe, gondnélkül élnek, nem lehet érdekük a változás. De csodálkozni lehet azokon, akiknek számára a mai rendszer a megélhetés legszükségesebb élelmét sem biztositja, mégis továbbra óhajtják a jelen rendszer fennmaradását.

Ezek az elemek annyira befolyásolva vannak a kapitalista tanitás által, hogy gondolkozni képtelenek. Millió és millió ezeknek száma a nyomorgó munkások között. Nem tudják azt, hogy az ő szük látásuk és nemtörődömségük az igazi oka az emberiség nyomorának. Szük látó körük távoltartja őket a munkásmozgalomtól; de nem csak, hogy nem vesznek részt a munkásmozgalomban, hanem egyenesen ellenségei minden munkás megmozdulásnak.

Sőt még arra is kaphatók, hogy segédkezet nyujtanak sok esetben a jobb megélhetésért harcoló munkások letörésére.

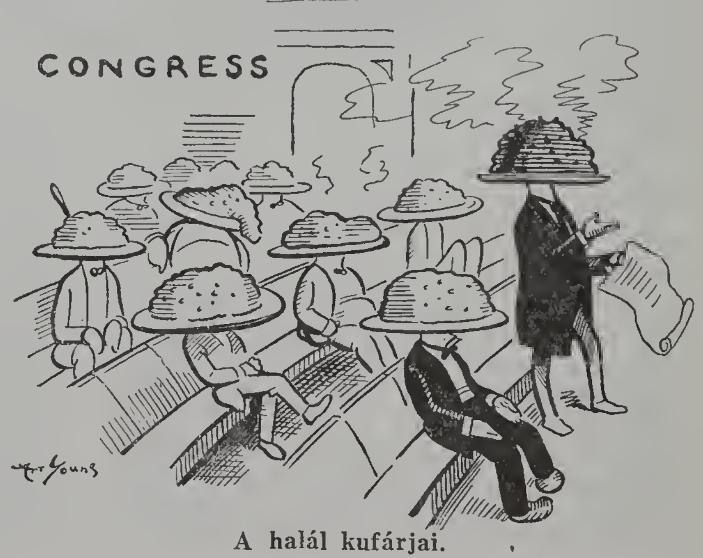
Ezen cselekedeteikkel nem csak, hogy megakadályozzák a jobb megélhetésért küzdőknek biztos sikerét; de tudatlanul saját létezésük ellen törnek. A munkásmozgalomtól távolmaradó munkás milliók tétlensége és azon ferde felfogás, hogy a munkásmozgalomba való résztvevést idővesztességnek tartják, ez mindent megmagyaráz. Akarva nem akarva; de rájuk kell ütni a tudatlanság bélyegét.

Az ember már természeténél fogva szereti a társas életet. Igy a munkásmozgalomban részt nem vevőknek megvannak az ő társas körei, amely intézmények fenntartása tényleg időfecserlés; mert semmi tekintetbe nem segitik előbbre vinni sem a társadalmi tudományt sem az emberiség jobb jövőjének érdekébe nem tesznek, sőt nem is akarnak tenni semmit. Habár küzdelmet folytatnak a megélhetésért, sóhajtoznak, keseregnek, nehéz napi munkával keresik meg a megélhetés legelemibb szükségletét. A munkahelyek elhagyása után pedig megfeledkeznek saját magukról ugy annyira, hogy egyszerüen bojkotálják azon helyek látogatását, ahol munkásérdekek megvédelmezéséről van szó. Nagyon sok ilyen szük látókörü ember van a munkás milliók között és még a legtöbb esetben ők tesznek szemrehányást a munkásmozgalomnak, hogy ugysem képes hivatását betölteni.

Ezek a szemrehányások a legjobban igazolják, hogy a munkásmozgalomtól távol álló munkásoknak milyen szük látó körük van, hogy egyáltalában saját sorsukat sem ösmerik és a munkásmozgalomtól való távol maradásukkal azt is igazolják, hogy egyáltalában halvány fogalmuk nincsen a társadalmi berendezkedésről. Sok esetben szégyenlik egyéni mivoltukat is beösmerni, hogy ők "munkások."

Magatartásuk a társadalmi életben igazolja, hogy nem mernek még jogot sem formálni az élet javaihoz, hanem egyszerüen rábizzák sorsukat a mai társadalmat önkényesen uraló kapitalista osztályra. Pedig csak kizárólag a munkásmozgalom az az intézmény amiből az emberiség szebb jövője kiépül.

Munkások és munkásnők, nagyszámban vannak olyanok, akik csak keserves küzdelem árán tudják életüket egyik napról a másikra tengetni, mégis türelmesen türik a megaláztatást. Ilyen esetben nyilvánul meg a kapitalista érdekeket szolgáló vallási tanitás, ami béketürésre ösztökéli azokat,



A halál kufárjai.

akik vakon hisznek benne. Ezáltal elterelik a nyomorgók figyelmét attól, hogy fölismerjék azon tényeket, amelyek tényleg az emberiség nyomorának előidézőjei.

A hazifiság kérdése amelynek említése sokakat megharagit amikor arról próbálunk beszélni, hogy a nincstelen proletárnak a világ bármely részébe egyforma a sorsa. A hiba nem abban keresendő, hogy más darab földterületnek vagyunk szülöttei — hanem abban, hogy amely föld területen kénytelenek vagyunk tartózkodni, meg van-e ottan a lehetőség arra, hogy megélhessünk.

Nagyon sok esetben ahol a munkásnép odukban kénytelen lakni — vagy fejlettebb ipari államok hatalmas városai felhő karcolóinak sötét, nedves pincéibe kénytelenek meghuzódni — "otthonnak" nevezni. De ha a kapitalista osztály harciriadója megszólal a "haza" védelmére az odukból és pincébe meghuzódókkal azt is ellehet hitetni, hogy a külső ellenség az ő "hazájukat" akarja elfoglalni.

Ezzel a hazafiságra való ösztökeléssel sokaknak figyelmét eltudják ismét tériteni, attól az igaz ténytől, hogy az embernek ott van az ellensége, ahol valóságban megfosztják, a megélhetés lehetőségétől.

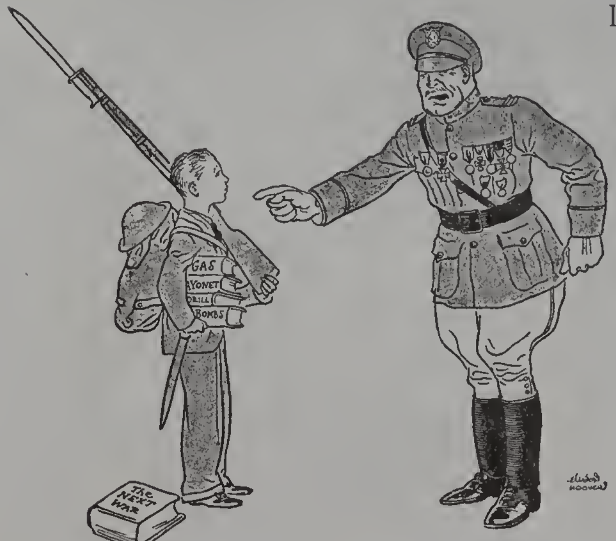
Az emberiség sorsa a mai körülmények között a lehető legrosszabb. De nem az összes emberiség él nyomorba, hanem csak azok, akik akár szellemi, akár fizikai munkájuk által keresik meg a megélhetés lehetőségét. Az emberiség egy kis csoportja a legnagyobb nyomor közepette is jólétbe, gondnélkül él; de azok róvására, akik nyomorognak.

A társadalmi berendezkedést nem ösmerő, a munkásmozgalomtól távol állók azok, akik akaratlanul is hivei és éltetői a mai kapitalista rendszernek, amely az igazi okozója milliók nyomorának, szenvedésének.

A munkásmozgalom az egyedüli, amely milliók gigászi harcát vivja. A munkásmozgalomtól távol álló munkás milliók egyszer majd szégyenkezni fognak azért, hogy a multban megpecsételték az emberiség sorsát az által, hogy távol állottak attól a harctól, amely az ő érdekeikért folyt, az emberiség szebb jövőjéért.

Az emberiség jobb sorsa és boldogsága már holnap bekövetkezhetne — ha az a sok millió munkás, akik távol vannak a forradalmi munkásmozgalomtól felösmernék a társadalom hibáit, levetnék magokról a kapitalista tanitás és nevelés mérges burkolatát, nem felületesen — ahogyan mostan teszik — birálnák meg helytelenül a munkásmozgalmat — hanem mint a munkásosztály tagjai, akiknek jövőjük és létezésük csak a munkásmozgalom kibontakozásától függ. Nem várnának tovább egy percig sem tétlenül és tudatlanul, hanem elsősorban igyekeznének megösmerni azt a problémát, amelytől az emberiség sorsa függ. Ezek megösmerése után biztosan a munkásmozgalomban használnák fel azt az energiát, amit ma polgári körökben, vagy sok esetben a munkásmozgalom ellenes csoportokban próbálják lekicsinyelni, magát a munkásmozgalmat és annak minden ténykedását.

Pedig józan eszü munkás nem lehet ellensége a munkásmozgalomnak akkor, amikor mindannyian kivagyunk téve annak a bizonytalanságnak, hogy ma — vagy talán holnap nem leszünk már képesek meg-

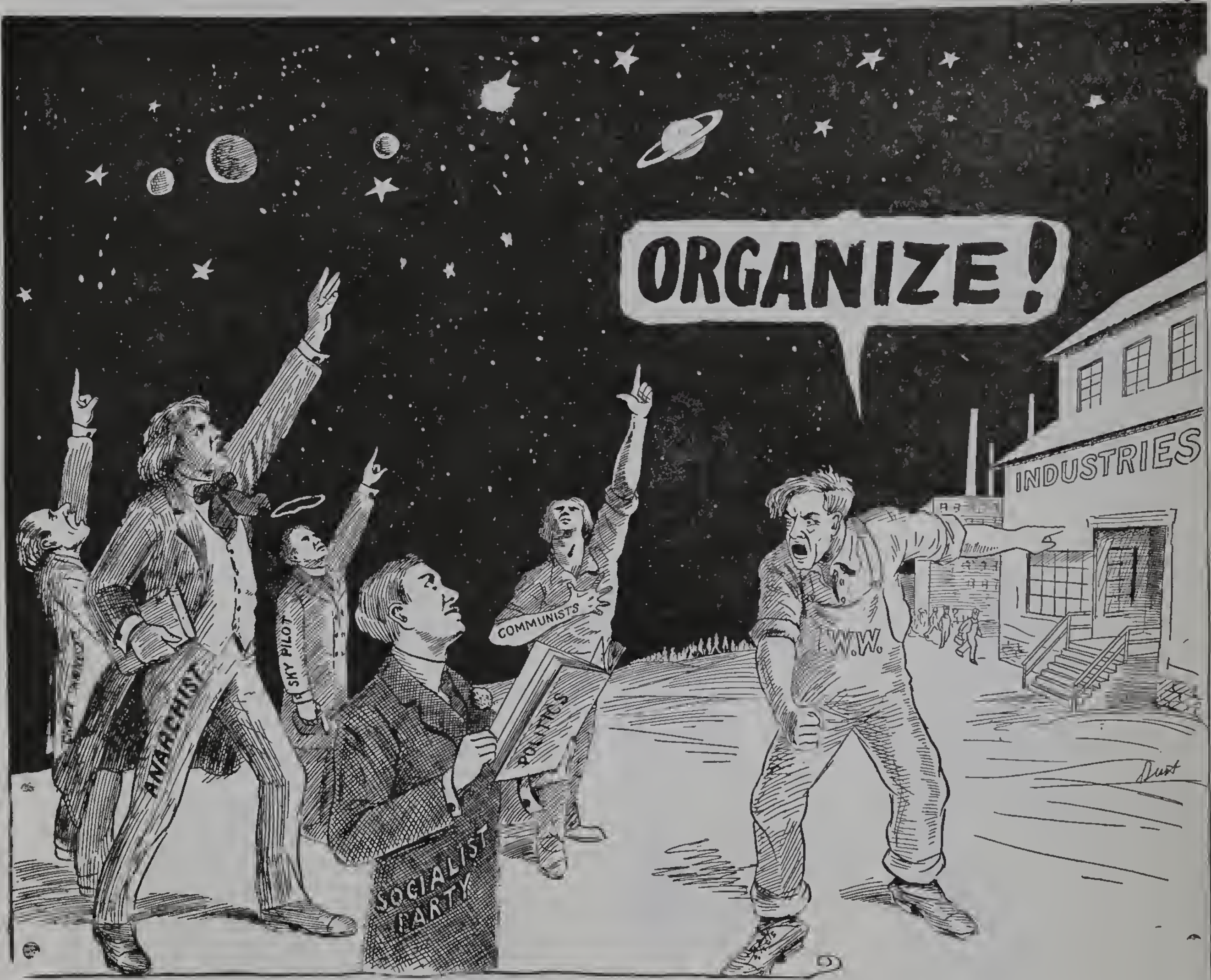


Erre neveljük a gyerekinket.

keresni, még akkor sem — ha bármilyen erős munkabirók vagyunk is — még a mindennapi életünket sem. Ez nem azért van igy, mert nincsen mindenből elég — hanem azért mert a jelen társadalmi beosztás olyan, hogy néhányan rendelkeznek az élet javai felett.

A munkásmozgalom már megvan, készen felszerelve a társadalmi változás végrehajtására. Csak tirátok várunk még a munkásmozgalomtól távol álló sokakra, akiknek sorsa azonos a mi sorsunkkal. Az emberiség jövője; csak tőletek függ akik még mindég távolról figyelitek a mozgalmunkat — vagy mint tudatlanul álló ellenfelei a munkásmozgalomnak. Ti meg a munkásmozgalomtól távol állók késleltetik egy szebb kor eljövetelét; mert nem tudjátok saját magatokban felösmerni az embert, hanem gyáván alamizsnára vártok! Azoktól várjátok a jobb lét eljövetelét; akik letaszitottak a mélységbe. Az emberiség jövője pedig csak kizárólag azon forradalmi munkázmozgalom kibontakozásától függ, amely harci zászlajára a "bérrendszer" eltörlését tüzte ki.

Ha munkás vagy, egy ut van számodra épiteni a munkásosztály Egy Nagy Szervezetét és ha még a fent elolvasottak után sem szervezkedel egy táborba mivelünk; akkor nem érdemelsz egyebet, mint azt, amit a mai rendszer ad a számodra.



Ne álmodozzatok, ne könyörögjetek Szervezkedjetek a munka helyén.

A renegátok csoportjából

ALÁN CAITÓL szabadulni kinvánó proletár küzdelem neveltjei ezek. Csak néhány kimagasló alakot mutatunk itt be. Ha csak megközelitőleg akarnánk is bemutatni ezeket az alakokat, sok, hoszszura nyuló leirásokat venne igénybe.

Élettörténetükhöz, pályafutásukhoz mindegyiknek hozzá tapad, s szinte elválaszthatatlan a külömböző országok munkásmozgalmának külömböző fázisaiban való részvétele, a fontosabb események, melyek a mukásmozalom emlőjéről leszakitva azzal homlokegyenest állitva őket szembe.

Sok volna elsorolni a véreik ellen elkövetett bünüket, a rengeteg vért, mely kezükhöz tapad, melynek fokozata csupán az eseményekbeni részvételük közvetlen vagy közvetettségében váltakozik.

Mondhatná valaki például: tulzás egy Briandot vagy egy Brount a munkásság hóhérjai közzé sorozni, — erre nyugodtan válaszolhatnánk, — a munkástömegek vérpadra küldése, előkészi-

Aristide Briand
Upton Sinclair
George R. Lunn
Heywood Broun
Ramsay MacDonald
Benito Mussolini
Walter R. Lippman
Fiorello LaGuardia
Viscount Snowden
Georges Clemenceau

tése vagy aktuális kivégzése egy és ugyanaz. Clemencau, Briand a multé. Vérrózsákkal szegélyezett pályájukat megfutották. Zsarnoki hajlamaikról tetteik beszélnek. A többiek még élnek. Anglia munkássága nagy árat fizetett és fizet a Torivá vedlett McDonald és Snowden követéséért, kik a hétköznapi emberek tülekedésébe keveredve, majd élükre állva épitették saját önző céljaik várait.

Nem külömb a véreskezü Mussolini, ki miután letarolta az olasz proletárság mozgalmát, annak romjain a világ zsarnokainak vezetőjévé tolta fel magát.

Vagy nézzük az amerikai csillagokat. Az egyetemi élet tulzott radikálisa, Lippman testestől lelkestől a Wall Street szolgálatában, Lunn és LaGuardia aktiv közremüködése a roskadozó kapitalista épitmény fenntartásában, vagy Broun, a különc iró, ki kitünő tollának varázsával milliókat tart az ingadozás örvényében, naponta megjelenő hol radikális, hol reakciósnál reakciósabb kommentárjaival csapolva le a helyzet összhatása szülte ébredést és —, Upton Sinclair. Őt utoljára hagytuk, mint aki a beérkezés stádiumában van.

Egész könyvtárra menő irodalmat irt. Müveiből sok található a civilizált világ külömböző nyelvére forditva. Tagadhatalan szociologiai értékkel birnak.

Ha a felsorolt ál-prófétták letünt vagy folyamatban levő ténykedéseit vesszük alapul, (melyet történelmi adatok erősitenek meg) ugy Sinclairnek uj térre való lépése a modern munkásébredés legnagyobb árulásának lehetőségét hordja magában.

* * *

Csak a nemzetközi méretekben kiemelkedett renegátok arckép csarnokának egy kis részét mutatjuk itt be. Természetesen ezeken kivül minden ország, minden nemzet proletáriátusa hordoz a hátán egy nagy csomó kisebb vezért, akiknek nem sikerül magukat a kapitalista osztállyal észrevétetni és igy megmaradnak a munkásokból élősködőknek.

Nevük nem fontos, annál ártalmasabb szerepük a munkásosztály felszabadulási törekvésében. Az amerikai magyar munkások is egy légióját kénytelenek a reá csimpaszkodóknak kitartani, akik munkásmozgalomnak minősitik az eltartásuk törekvését. A politikai mozgalom nevében huzódnak meg ezek a kis alakok, akiket az utolsó esztendőkben sohasem az általuk irányitott "tömeg" helyezett az állásokba, de önmaguk, barátilag osztották azokat fel egymás között.

* * *

E rövid vonásokban vázolt kép annál rikitóbban hozza elénk a történelmi materializmus meghatározását: A munkásosztály felszabaditása csak a munkásosztály müve lehet. A dolgozó proletárré. Kinek vállain nyugszik a civilizáció. Eme felszabaditó munkájában folyton figyelemmel tartva eddig szerzett tanulságait. S ha technikai összetételeiben követni fogja az Ipari Szervezet formáját, cselekvési körének meghatározását, ugy a felsorolt "zsenik," vagy a hozzá hasonlóknak fizikai lehetetlenség lesz a kolosszális népbolonditás, munkásárulás és ugyanakkor rövidebbre hozza az Uj Társadalom megszületésének nehézségeit.

Gondolkozás

Irta: Sebestyén Pál

TALÁN nincs termékenyebb pillanata az emberi életnek, mint az a kis időszakasz, mikor valaki leül és elgondolkozik, meghányja-veti környezete benyomásait, ok és okozatokat; kiválasztja azokból az érdemesnek látszó anyagot, hogy gondolatraktárába osztályozza, elhelyezze azokat.

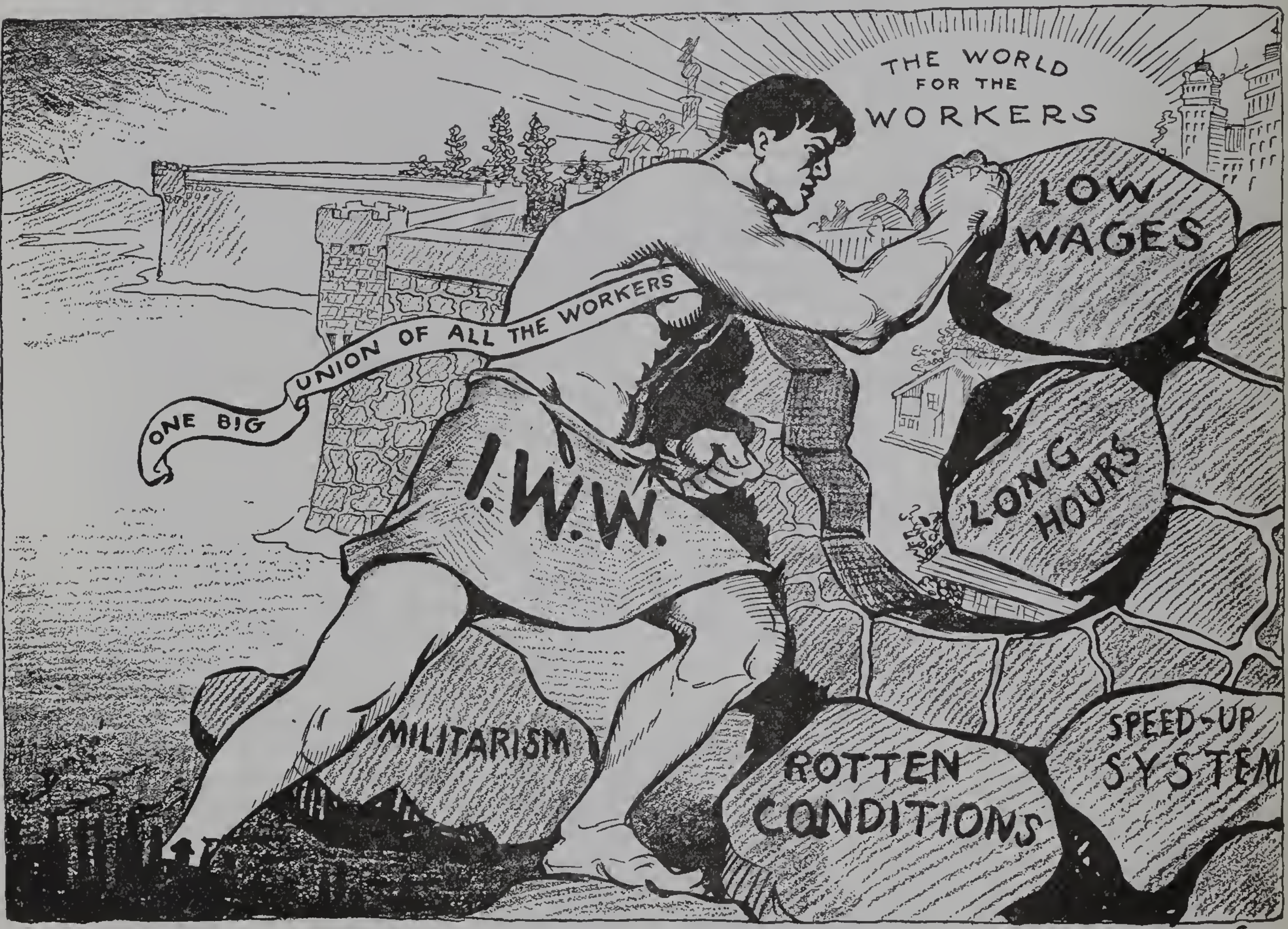
Waldo Emerson, a mult század fejlett amerikai bölcsésze egy müvében, — minekutána bejárta Európa és Amerika kultur terrénumát, közvetlen érintkezés, megfigyelés és tülekedéstől fáradtan visszatérve szerettei körébe s az ismert röghöz, hol bölcsője ringott, hol valamikor gyerekes élvezettel kergette a lepkéket, — ilyenformán beszél: minden élőlénynek, ki tudatos résztvevője kiván lenni az őt körülvevő életnek, szüksége van időközönkinti zavartalan pillanatokra, hogy elzárva önmagát a külvilág zajától, számot vessen önmagával, megvizsgálva önmagát, multját, az elmult napban történt élet megnyilatkozásait, szentenciát mondva jó és rossz tettei felett, előkészithesse magát a holnap problémáihoz, hogy abban való részvétele jobban megközelithesse a tökéletes ember megfontolt, megokolt ténykedését. “Ezt a morál kódekszet mindjárt alkalmazva is önmagára, vissza utasitott meghivásokat külömböző egyetemekről s jó ideig minimumra szállitván emberekkel való érintkezéseit elvonult mint későbben bevallá “a nagy természet ölébe, a sürü erdőkben csöndesen folydogáló patak szélére, figyelvén a nagy természet vastörvényeit hüen követő jelenségeket, azoknak egymásra való hatását, keresve ezekben az állatvilág legtökéletesebb fajtájának, az embernek alárendelt szerepét s a helyet, melyet hivatva van betölteni.”

Ebből a nyugodtan megalapozott nézőszögből, kiindulva, hosszantartó megfigyelésének tárházából született a később megjelenő levelek, füzetek, könyvek, előadások; maró kritikával ostorozva a félszegségeket, mely az embernek a nagy természethez és egymáshoz való viszonyát tarkitják. És bár sok esetben nem egyezik mai világfelfogásunkkal számtalan következtetései, korának legnagyobb bölcsészévé verekedtet fel magát, kinek tollától és nyelvétől rettegtek a kevés őszinteségü lebzselők; munkája nyomot hagyott a 19-ik század kialakuló társadalom bölcséleti világfelfogásban s mint aki gyönyörü élesmeglátásu megállapitások sorozatával lepte meg a világot, befogadtatott a szalon körökbe, iskolák, egyetemek tankönyvnek avatták fel müveit, rágódznak, kérődznek rajta.

Ha Emerson felkelne sirjából ma, egész bizonyosan szétütne a tunya utánzók, majmolók seregében. Mert, mig az ő ostora végig suhant az erénycsőszök gondolatnélküli tömegén, kritikája — mint önmaga is élreérthetetlenül mondá — nem az örökkévalóságnak iródtak; az akkori ma szögeskorbácsa volt, hogy ezzel ébredésre, gondolkodásra birja a gondolat kialakuló mestereit, hogy azok hozzá hasonlóan uj gondolatokat, uj meglátásokat, uj utakat törjenek az őt követő korokban.

Az az ember, ki éji pihenése után felkelve megpillantja a felkelő napot fürdik éltető sugarában, automata módjára lemorzsolja napját, jobbra-balra taszitva embertársait az életasztalától; embert, állatot elgázolva a gyomrát megtöltő tápanyag beszerzéséérti törekvésében anélkül, hogy egy pillanatra is megállna s keresné a dolgok menetének összefüggéseit, nem látja meg, nem érti meg a hozzá hasonló formáju emberalakok életcéljait, bambán, érzéketlenül, mint a levegőben uszó milliónyi parányok csak vannak, vegetálnak, de nem tudnak számot adni létezésük okáról, rendeltetéséről. Ebből a tunya, semmittevő vegetálásból származnak mindazok a társadalmi visszásságok, melyek ezt a termékeny földtekét pokollá avatják az érző, a gondolkodó emberfaj számára. Ha megállnánk időközönkint, ugy mint Emerson ajánlotta és gyakorolta, megvizsgálnánk a nagy természethez s egymáshoz való viszonyunkat, lehetetlen, hogy tetteinkbe ne csuszna be egy parányival több megértés s ez a kis parányi megértés csodákat müvelhetne egész társadalmi berendezkedésünkben. Nem kellene az aranysugarait kibontó napban csak egy ujjabb szenvedésteli napot látnunk; füleink nyitva volna az emberi élnivágyás sóhajainak befogadására, hogy halló érzékünkön keresztül szivünkhöz, agyunkhoz jusson a körünket betöltő parányok rezgése s ezen tudomásvételünk meginditsa bennünk a létezését megértő embert magát harmóniába hozni a világegyetem folyton mozgó rendszerével, hogy egyéni erőnket latba vessük másik embertársaink egyéni akarásával, összeegyeztetve, egymásba kapcsolva az egyedek harmónikus élettörekvéseit, rengeteg erőforrásunk céltudatos kihasználásával, gyümölcsöztetésével menyországgá varázsoljuk e sártekét minden emberfia részére.

Hogy igy legyen: gondolkozzunk!



Mienk lesz a világ, ha őt követjük.

Élet, anyag és erő pazarlás

Irta: Visi István

HA AZ emberiség száz év multán vissza tekint a mai termelési és szétosztási rendszertelenségre, melyben semmi észszerüség nincs, mely az őrültséghez hasonló pazarlást visz végbe minden cselekvésében, bizonyára nagyon lenéző véleményt fog alkotni rólunk.

Ha a pazarlásokat, anarkiát, rendszertelenséget számokkal kimutatjuk és fáradságot veszünk azokat tanulmányozni, boncolgatni, megállapithatjuk, hogy ugy az emberi, mechanikai és természetadta energiát mint értékes, pótolhatatlan természeti kincseket, anyagot billiós számokban pazarlunk el évente, a mellett éhség, nyomoruság van sorainkban.

Hogy jobban megértsük a pazarlás káros hatását, tegyük fel, hogy három városi munkás egy őserdőbe megy ki nyaralni. Mikor megérkeznek az egyik egy nagy csomó fát szed össze és meggyujtja, amelyet nem bir kontrolálni, igy erdőégés következtében millió öl fa pusztul el.

A másik meg gombát szed anélkül, hogy megnézné, megvizsgálná, vagy értene is hozzá, hogy melyik milyen és hogy ehető-e, ezt társaival egyetemben elfogyasztja, mely által mind gomba mérgezésben megbetegszenek.

A harmadik meg elővenne a táskájából mindenre használhatónak és jónak hirdetett patent orvosságot, azzal próbálná a társait és önön magát a gomba mérgezéstől gyógyitani, ami persze nem sikerül.

Ugye ezekre rá mondanánk, hogy bizony bolondul cselekedtek. Még is ugyanezt cselekszi az emberiség nagyban és állandóan a mai rendszer keretein belül. 750 millió tonna szén, 1 billió hordó olaj, 5 billió köbláb fa pazarlódik el évente, amint a példának felhozott ember is vadul elpusztitotta az erdőt.

Amint a második ember mérges gombát szedett és etetett — meg társaival, ugy mi is sok millió tonna hamisitott élelmiszert gyártunk és árusitunk el ember társainknak, akik ha nem is azonnali betegségben, de előbb-utóbb mérgezésben, a testi szervek elsatnyulásában pusztulnak el, az ilyen hamisitott élelmiszerek használata következtében, mint a nagyon finomitott liszt, sok utánzatok, éretlen gyümölcsök, minden tápanyagtól kifagyasztott hus, stb.

Akkor jön a harmadik ember az ő patent orvosságával, mely talán nem árt, de nem is használ, legkevésbbé képes a hamisitott élelmi cikkek által okozott kárt helyre hozni, vagy az elpazarolt élet erőt pótolni, helyre hozni. Ez a mai rendszer gazdálkodása.

Egy kicsit száraz a téma, melyet ezen cikkünkben felkaroltunk, de mivel a Bérmunkás Naptár a gondolkozni tudó munkásság részére készül, igy nagyon célszerünek véltük, hogy az életben előforduló energia és anyag pazarlásról irjunk mely ha nem is okozna olyan nagy nyomoruságot, nélkülözést a dolgozó milliók között, még akkor is, minden gondolkozni tudó munkásnak igyekezni kell annak megszüntetésére szervezkedni, cselekedni, mert az anyag és erőforrás, melyet olyan őrült módra pazarlunk el, nem kiapadhatatlan, nem végnélküli és nagyon sok esetben nem pótolható, amint az adatok alapján látni fogjuk.

HIRDETÉSEK.

Legelőször is az iparokban előforduló pazarlást fogjuk bemutatni, melyet még a mai profit rendszer alapján is könnyen kilehetne küszöbölni. Ezek között van a tulságba vitt hirdetések.

A direkt hirdetések, melyek lapokban, plakátokon, magazinokban és más nyomtatványokban jelennek meg, évente 1.284.000.000.00 dollárt és 600.000 emberi munka erőt vesz igénybe, vagy is ennyit pazarol el évente.

Ezen hirdetésekben nem foglaltatnak a közvetett, vagyis indirect hirdetések amint a vignetták, a dobozokra, üvegekre valamint más tartányokra nyomtatott név, cégek cimjei és használati utasitások, melyek szintén legalább 200.000 ember munkáját veszik igénybe évente.

De lényeges itten megemliteni, bár más helyen is lesz szó róla, a patent orvosságok hirdetését, mely Amerikában nagy mennyiséget tesz ki, több mint 50.000 külömböző patent orvosság van, melyből alig van 50-nek igazi gyógyértéke, a többi szükségtelen sok esetben káros patent orvosság, melyet csak a fentebb emlitett nagymértékü hirdetések folytán képesek elárusitani.

FÉNYÜZÉS.

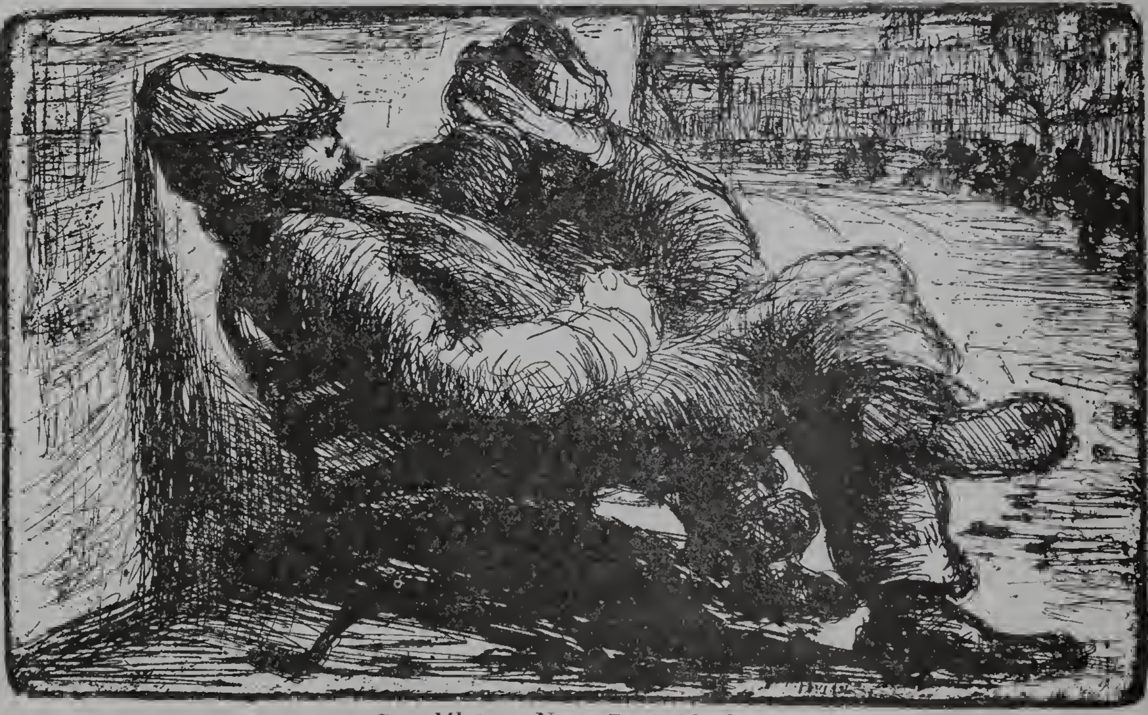
Itten csak a tulságba vitt fényüzésről van szó, amint a több millió dolláros kéjhajók, paloták, több ezer dolláros estélyi ruhák, stb., mely több mint 6 millió embernek a munkáját emészti fel évente, de még ehez nincs hozzá számitva a cselédségnek egy része, mely személyi szolgálatokat tesz, akik minden percben állnak gazdájuk parancsát teljesiteni.

Nem jön számitásba a rádio, automobil melyeket mi munkások tartunk nagy fényüzésnek, bár már a több ezer dolláros gépkocsikat oda kell számitani.

BIZTOSITÁS.

Ezen kimutatásban sem vettük alapul az egész összeget, melyet a biztositás cimén felhajtanak, mivel egy részét vissza fizetik a károsultaknak. Azonban az ilyen kifizetett összegen felül, melyet mint tiszta hasznot könyvelnek el a biztositó társaságok, 1.500.000.000 forgalmat csinálnak, mely legalább is 800.000 embernek a munkáját veszi igénybe.

Itt számitásba kell venni azt a tényt, hogy ugy a betegsegély illetve halálozási, mint a tüz biztositások révén még sok milliós károkat okoznak, mert ki ne hallott volna a gyujtogatásokról, hogy a biztositási összeget felvehessék, vagy a gyilkosságokról, ön-



Csendélet a New Deal idejében.

gyilkosságokról? Melyek mind ennek a káros lehetőségeknek a kinövései.

SZABADALMAK.

Csak azon szabadalmakról van itten szó, melyeket nagy társaságok megvásároltak és eltemettek, hogy mások ne használhassák, mert az adott társaságnak annak a használatából csak kára volna, igy kivonják a forgalomból, ezek az eltemetett szabadalmak is sok embernek a munkáját tennék feleslegessé, a mellett, hogy nagyon sok szabadalom van, melyet a feltalálók, tudósok nem hoznak forgalomba, mert csak nagyobb munkanélküliséget, nyomort és nélkülözést idézne elő, amint azt Steinmetz, a villanyszakértő mondta még 1920-ban. Nagyon sok patent van melyből az emberiségnek csak haszna volna, de egyes társaságoknak nem, amelyek a kezükben tartják az ilyen eltemetett szabadalmakat.

HAMIS RÉSZVÉNYEK.

Melybe foglaltatik azon részvényeknek nagy mennyisége is, melyet nem egészen hamis szándékkal de a vissza fizetés lehetetlenségének tudatában adnak ki, vagy is olyan bizonytalan vállalkozásokba fektetett részvények, melyek biztos bukásnak néznek elé, ezen a cimen évente egy billó dollárt szednek össze és 500.000 embernek a munka erejét pazarolják el.

MÉTER RENDSZER.

Melyik európai munkás nem ütközött volna meg azon, hogy Amerika, valamint Anglia még ma sem a méter rendszer, vagyis a tizedes törtek alapján rendezte be mérték rendszerét? Melyik technikus, mérnök vagy szakmunkás, ne itélné el azt a 64-edes, 1.16, ...8-os beosztásokat. Ezt a fajta mérték rendszert használja Amerika ugy a száraz, ür és köb mértéknél mint a hosszmértéknél is.

A technikusok számitása szerint, csak a méter rendszer Amerikában való elfogadása alapján, évente 800.-000.000 dollárt, illetve 400.000 ember munka erejét volnánk képesek megspórolni.

SZÉTOSZTÁS.

Az ipari pazarlások között legutoljára hagytuk a szétosztás körül előforduló nagyszerü pazarlást, melyet a legkevesebbet gondolkozó egyén is őrültségnek fog bélyegezni. Valóságban nem kevesebb mint 1.500.000 embernek a munkaerejét pazarolja el évente.

Bár ez az egyetlen tényező is elegendő a mai anarkisztikus rendszernek az átkos voltát, bebizonyitani, mégis egy kicsit bővebben fogunk vele foglalkozni.

Jelenleg 2 és fél millió ember van a szétosztás terén foglalkoztatva, holott ésszerü beosztással nagyon elég lesz 750.000 ember, a többi mint ügynök, házaló és a felesleges számban levő üzletekben a vásárlókat leső olcsó jánosokat számitjuk felesleges munkásoknak a szétosztásnál.

Ma minden 25 családra esik egy üzlet, holott elegendő volna minden száz család részére egy szétosztó állomás.

A szétosztás őrültségét legjobban bizonyitja az a vizsgálat, melyet Rochester, N. Y.-ban tartottak a tej szétosztásával kapcsolatban, 1912-ben. 3 ezer otthont, 27 külömböző tejtársulat látott el tejjel, naponta összesen 447 mérföldet kellett hajtani a kocsisoknak, hogy itt, ott, egy-egy kvart tejet letegyenek. Ugyanis minden külön tejtársulatnak az egész várost keresztül-kassul kellett utazni minden reggel.

Ésszerü beosztással, csak 40 mérföldett kellett volna utazni, melyet négy kocsi a 27 helyet, fele idő alatt képes lett volna megtenni.

Egy másik őrültség, melyet nem számitanak ugyan a pazarlás közzé azonban az uj társadalmi rendszerben szükségtelen lesz. Ma 25 millió külön főzőkályha és ehez szükséges 25 millió külön konyhai felszerelés, 15 millió fütésre alkalmas kályha és 14 millió külön álló Furnace-ban kell tüzelni külön-külön, mely óriási pazarlást idéz elő csak a szénben, valamint, azt, mind külön-külön kell gondozni, kezelni.

NYERS ANYAG PAZARLÁS.

Szén. — Az emberiségnek nagy hasznára vált a szén melyet évmilliók hoztak létre és melyet nagyon nehezen tudna az ember mesterségesen előállitani, tehát az uj generáció elleni bün annak szándékos elpazarlása. Még is évente 750 millió tonna szén pazarlódik el.

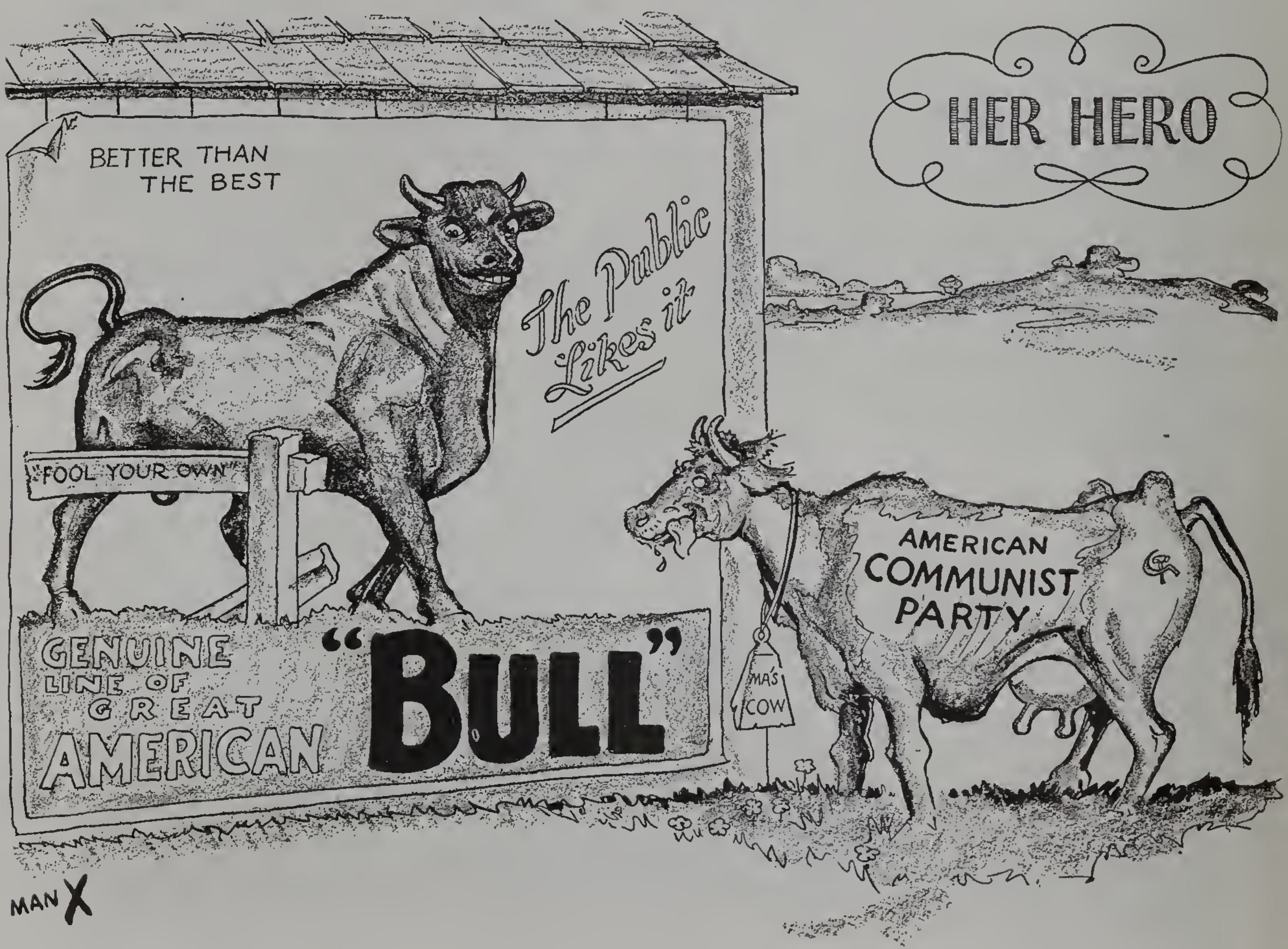
A szénnél elmondhatjuk, hogy elpazaroljuk az erőt, meleget, hogy elronthassuk egészségünket, szépséget, tisztaságot az által, hogy a füstöt, mely másképpen értékes mellék terményeket tartalmaz a levegőbe eresztjük, hogy azt mentől nagyobb mértékben megfertőzze. a helyett, hogy azt ipari cikkekre használnánk fel.

Ha észerüen használnánk fel a szenet, akkor egy tonna szénből kapnánk: 8.000 köbláb légszeszt, 10 gallon benzint, 20 font Ammonia sulfate, (mütrágya,) 30 gallon könnyü kátrányt, 10 quart olajat, 10 font kenőcsöt, a mellett, hogy a kokszból is megkapnánk annyi meleget mint a szénből kaptunk volna.

FA.

Amerikában még a konzervative nemzet gazdászok is sokszor feljajdultak azon nagymérvü pazarláson, melyet az ország erdejében famennyiségében vittek véghez a profitéhes paraziták.

Dacára, hogy több évtized kell a fa megnövéséhez, még sem gondoskodtak arról, hogy a népesség közös tulajdonát képező famennyiséget pótoltassák azokkal, akik a maiból nagy hasznot huztak. Millió és millió aker erdőt irtottak ki, de soha nem pótolták a nemzet kizsarolójai. A fa nagyon



hamar kifog fogyni igy. Ha még ma nem is, de a közel jövőben a fából a következő anyagokat fogják kivonni, melyet most a levegőben engednek füstbe.

Egy négyszögöl fából kapnánk: 50 font faszenet, 11.500 köbláb légszeszt, 25 gallon kátrányt, 10 gallon faszeszt, 200 font Acetate mészt (mütrágya.)

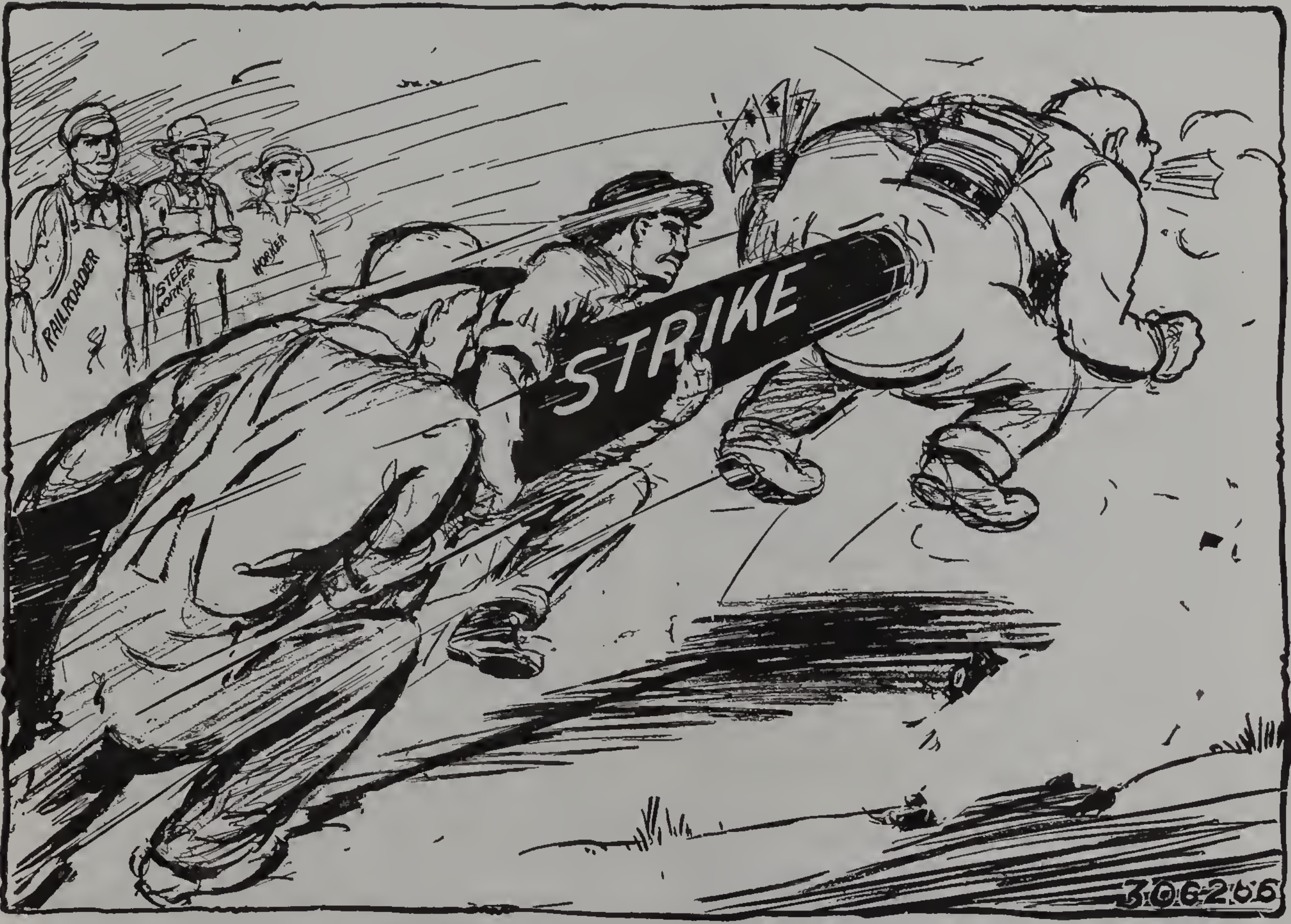
Még meg kell emliteni, hogy a jövő generáció erdő állományát nagymértékben pazarolják a sok hirdetésre felhasznált papirosok gyártására, valamint a sok különböző de mind hirdetésekkel telitett magazinok, napilapok, melynek 1.5 része elegendő volna, azonban erről nem teszünk kimutatást, mivel nem szorosan tartozik ezen tárgyunkhoz.

OLAJ.

Amint az ipari téren a szétosztás, ugy a természeti kincsek pazarlásánál az olajnál történik legnagyobb visszaélés, ott végeznek legnagyobb kárt a profitszentségét imádó tőkések. Azért erről is bővebben kell irnunk.

Az olaj kutaknál a kapzsiság a legnagyobb oka az olaj veszteségnek, hogy ezt megérthessük, szükséges az olajkut furásáról ismereteket szerezni, mely megérdemli, hogy erre vonatkozólag könyveket, cikkeket kutassunk fel és tanulmányozzuk. Azonban röviden, az olaj veszteségnek legnagyobb oka az, hogy ahol egy kut elegendő volna, oda hármat furnak, hogy mentől hamarabb kivegyék a földalatt levő természeti kincset, az olajat.

A föld alatt levő olaj medencék rendszeresen hosszukás kiterjedésüek, a medence felső részén nagymennyiségü természetes gáz van összegyülve, melynek a nyomása következtében az olaj nagy erővel tör felszinre, valamint ez a természetes gáz is. Igy az egymással versenyző olajkut tulajdonosok sietnek, hogy mentől több kutat



A háboru meghizlalja, a munkabeszüntetés megrémiti a tőkét.

furhassanak, hogy versenytársukat megelőzzék, vagyis az olaj medencéből mentől több olajat lophassanak el a másiktól.

Ezen hiába furt kutaknak a révén nagyon sok természetes gáz szökik meg, mielőtt az olajat kiaknáznák, igy az olajnak is egy nagy része bent marad, mivel a gázkiszökése folytán a feszültség megszünik a medencében sok helyen a homokos tető beomlik elzárja az olaj utját, hogy később még pumpával sem lehet az olajat felszinre hozni, holott ésszerü gazdálkodással, a természetes gáz azt mind felszinre tolta volna, valamint későbben azt a nagymennyiségü természetes gázt is fel lehetett volna használni.

Azért van egy billió hordó olaj veszteség évente, valamint 600 billió köbláb természtes gáz veszteség, melynek nagy részét a levegőbe engedtek és nagyrészt a föld gyomrában hagyják, lehetetlenné teszik annak az ujabb felnyitását.

Mindez csak azért történik, hogy az olajkut bitorlói, mentől hamarabb, mentől nagyobb hasznot csináljanak, nem törődve azzal, hogy a jövő generációtól pazarolják el a természeti kincseket, őrültséghez hasonló gazdálkodásukkal. 1913-ban, csak egyetlen kutnál a “Mid Continental Oil Co.” mezején 1.500.000.000 köbláb természetes gázt engedtek elszökni, nagy mennyiségü olajjal egyetemben, mivel hiányosan voltak felkészülve, hogy a nagy nyomásu gázt megfékezzék.

A kormány vizsgálata szerint, az olajmezők kincseit, 2.3 részben elpazarolják, a jelenlegi, “aki meri az nyeri” rendszertelenséggel, mert legtöbb olajkutat csak találomra és a hozzá nem igen értőkkel, hiányos felszereléssel furják.

A kormány vizsgálatok alapján a következő adatokat kapjuk:

Elpazarlódik	évente:	750.000.000	tonna gáz.
”	”	600.000.000	köbláb természetes gáz.
”	”	5.000.000.000	köbláb deszka és famennyiség.
”	”	50.000.000.000	lóerő energia kihasználható vizesésekben.
”	”	1.000.000.000	hordó olaj a rossz gazdálkodás következtében.

Ezeken felül nagy mennyiségü pazarlás megy végbe a termőföldek, állat állomány, fém, érc anyagoknál, melyről tiszta kimutatást nem adhatunk, azonban tiszta képet alkothatunk, ha számitásba vesszük, a kiirtott erdők hegyes, dombos vidékeit, ahol mivel a védő fa ellett távolitva, igy ki van téve a felső termékeny talaj a viz, szél rombolásának, melyet a lapájok, vizmedencék, folyók mentére hordott le, a dombokat terméketlen sivatagokká tette ahol az ujabb befásitást is lehetetlenné tették.

Másik oka a termény földveszteségnek a hiányos gazdálkodás, mely által nagy területeket kiaknáztak, terméketlenné tettek, az által, hogy ki igyekeztek venni belőle mindent, de nem pótolták azt trágyával. Ezeket is csak több évi rendszeres gazdálkodással lehet csak, ujból gazdaságossá tenni.

Nagy energia és anyag pazarlás megyen végbe a sok hiába való áru gyártás miatt, mint például Amerikában 994.840 külömböző fejsze, illetve baltát gyártanak, mely minőségben, mértékben külömbözik egymástól, de csak 40 félére volna szükség.

Férfi kalapoknál 66.845 féle szin, forma és nagyságban gyártanak, hozott 2.000 féléből is nagyon szép választék volna és nincs is többre szükség.

Azonban a következő ábrázat erről a pazarlásról hü képet ad:

Árucik neve:	Ma ennyi féle van.	Elegndő volna
Utca kövezethez tégla	66.	5.
Vas ábra vakolathoz	125.	24.
Drót sövény	552.	69.
Aszfalt vegyülék	88.	9.
Tetőre való pala táblák	60.	30.
” cserép ”	36.	19.
Durva épitkezési tégla	39.	1.
Sima ” ”	36.	1.
Reszelők, ráspolyok	1.325.	496.
Viz melegitők	130.	13.
Ágyhoz való rugany	78.	4.
Kovácsolt szerszám	665.	331.

Csavar és csavarházaknak, 40%-át kikellene küszöbölni.

Nem csak az árutermelésnél, hanem a termeléshez szükséges szerszámgépek, valamint gyártelepeknél is óriási pazarlás megy végbe. Ennek a megértésére legcélszerübben felhozhatjuk a cipő ipart, ahol egy-egy gyár háromszor annyit volna képes gyártani, mint amennyit elbir adni, ami által csak az év egy harmad ideje alatt vannak a gépek és az üzem használatban.

Egy gyár mely naponta 1.750.000 pár cipőt képes előállitani, de ha az egész évre felosztjuk a termelt mennyiséget, naponta csak 977.000 pár cipőt állit elő, mert nagyrészben csak részidőt dolgoznak, helyesebben csak szezon munkát.

Az Egyesült Államokban 290.000.000 pár cipőre van szükség évente, melyből minden emberi lénynek két pár jutna és még fenn marad 40 millió pár azon csámpások részére, akik évente több mint két párt nyuznának el. Mivel a jelenlegi gyárak és gépek segitségével, a mai munkásokkal 600 millió pár cipőt birnánk előállitani, de mivel csak 200 milliót birnak eladni, igy a cipőgyári munkások csak egy harmad rész időt dolgoznak évente. Még az uj rendszerben is csak fele gyárra és szerszámgépekre lenne szükség, amidőn 300 millió cipőt adnának ki évente.

Még meg kell emlitenünk azon emberi és energia pazarlást, mely a mai profit rendszernek a kinövése, részben ennek az átkos anarkisztikus rendszernek a védelmére van életre hiva. Mintha olyan nagy baj volna, hogy a fenti pazarlásokat végző, csak romboló, kizsákmányoló rendszert elakarnák pusztitani. Ezt nem, hogy védeni kellene az elpusztulástól, hanem siettettni az elseprését.

Ezen felesleges emberi anyag pazarlásában első helyen áll a hadsereg, melyet csak a békeidőkre számitunk be, nem a háborus őrültség idejére amidőn csak az Egyesült Államokban több mint 12 millió munkás volt lekötve a hadseregben és azoknak az ellátásában.

Az Egyesült Államok béke hadsereg állománya, a milliciát beszámitva 1.500.000 ember, melyhez hozzá számitva az ilyen haszontalan munkát végzők ellátására szükséges társadalmi anyag pazarlást, áru készletet 8 billió dollár évi kiadást, pazarlást jelent.

Van egy másik hadsereg, mely a mai rendszernek a szülöttje és azt csak a rendszer megszüntetésével lehet feloszlatni, a rablók, tolvajok hadserege, persze csak a kis tolvajokat számitjuk ezek közzé, akiket elitéltek, mert csak kicsiben üzték az üzleteiket, ez a hadsereg évi átlagban kitesz 320 ezret.

Ezekkel a bujócskásdit játszó rendőrség, börtönőrök, biróság létszáma 400.000 ember. Ezek közzé nincs bele számitva a rendőrségnek fele, melyet mint forgalmi rendőrséget hasznosnak ismérnek el.

Még az elpazarolt életek közzé kell sorozni a prostituáltakat, akiknek a számát nem lehet pontosan megállapitani, csak az elfogottak és igy nyilvántartásban kerülteknek a száma 250.000-t tesz ki, de a szám sokkal nagyobb. Még ezekhez lehetne számitani a prostituált iróknak, tanárok számát is, azonban a statisztika azt nem mutatja, igy mi is kihagyjuk a számitásunkból. Pénzben a prostituáltak 700.000.000 forgalmat csinálnak évente.

Ezeket a statisztikai adatokat, 1924-ben szedték össze és nagyon is konzervativ számitásokat tettek, hogy a rendszert védő álszenteskedők, álprofesszorok megne támadhassák, igy egész biztosan elfogadhatjuk, sőt ha az igazsághoz akarunk ragaszkodni, 10 százalékkal meg is lehetne a számadatokat toldani. Azonban az összegezésnél eszerint is igy állunk:

Ezen iparokban elpazarolva:	Emberi erő:	Pénzben:
Hirdetésekben	600.000	1.284.000.000
Patent orvosságokban	400.000	800.000.000
Hamis és bukott részvényekben	500.000	1.000.000.000
Tulzott fényüzés	6.000.000	11.000.000.000
Biztositásokban	800.000	1.500.000.000
Vissza tartott szabadalmakban	400.000	800.000.000
Szétosztás körül	1.500.000	3.000.000.000
Katonaságnál	1.500.000	8.000.000.000
Prostitució révén	250.000	500.000.000
Rablók, tolvajok	320.000	700.000.000
Rendőrök, börtönőrök	400.000	750.000.000
Összesen:	12.670.000	29.334.000.000

1934-ben munkanélkül van	14.000.000	
Összesen nem, vagy részben dolgozik	26.670.000	ember.
A munkaképes munkásság száma	42.000.000	
Hasznos munkát végez, csak:	15.330.000	ember.

Ezen számarányon nem változtat a mai munkanélküliség, mely nem volt olyan nagy mértékü 1924-ben amikor ezen adatokat össze gyüjtötték, mint ma, de az ha változtat is, csak a paraziták számát, illetve a tolvajok, prostituáltak, házaló ügynökségeket és nagyobb mérvü hirdetési kampányt tette szükségessé hogy a 15 millió hasznos munkát, termelést végző emberek az áru készitményét eltudják adni.

Ezt az őrültséggel határos pazarló rendszert akarja az IWW elpusztitani, megsemmisiteni. Helyébe felépiteni az Ipari szabadság rendszerét, ahol mindent tervszerüen, mentől kevesebb energia és anyag pazarlással termelünk, nem haszonra, hanem szükségletre, igy 4 vagy 5 száz órai munka mellett évente minden egyén aki dolgozik, vagy a társadalom által munkamentesnek van elismerve, mint az aggok és gyermekek, megkapja az élethez szükséges ruhát, élelmet, lakást, szépmüvészetet, tudományt, mindent ami ésszerü, egészséges és a civilizált embernek szükséges.

Egy kicsit nehéz téma volt, de a munkásságnak ezeket tanulmányozni kell, hogy megérthessük, valamint másokkal is megtudjuk értetni az ilyen pazarlást, vagy is az orvoslást is tanulmányozni kell, azt az uj társadalmi rendszert, melyet az IWW ajánl, az Ipari szabadság rendszerét. Ha a munkásság már ezt tanulmányozza — megérti — akkor holnap csatlakozni fog az IWW-hoz, hogy mentől hamarabb képesek legyünk az ilyen nagy mérvü pazarlást megszüntetni, a boldogságot, gazdasági egyenlőségen, testvériségen alapuló ésszerü, tudományos rendszert megvalósitani.

Ez a kötelessége minden öntudatos munkásnak.

LÁZAS A GYERMEK

— Anyám, adj egy kis kenyeret! —
nyöszörög vackán a gyermek.

Az anya ránéz szótlanul
és sóhajtása csókba ful.

— Nem adsz? Az éhség ugy belém
mar. . .
Talán akad egy kis kenyérhaj?

Az anya könnye megered,
ahogy kérencsél a gyerek
és mint a szive, hangja lágy:
— Lesz kenyér, fiam, hoz apád.

— Hol van most apám, mond, anyám?
Hogy éhezem, nem tudja tán
s nem siet haza a kenyérrel?

— Siet, de csak most veti még el
a magját kint a buzaföldön
és várja, hogy kalászba szökjön,
aztán levágja, kiaratja,
de, hogy lisztté legyen a magja,
malmot is épit, hol a henger
elbánik minden buzaszemmel.
De lásd, a hengert bányamélye
rejtegeti előle félve.
Lefur a mélybe, mint vakondok
s az ércet is fölhozza onnat
kohóba dobja s ha a hámor
kiönti, ő addig kovácsol,
amig a kalapács alatt
megszületik egy gépdarab.
Majd gépet épit, óriásit,
aminek szája rá is ásit
és kezét, lábát beharapja,
de ám ő még sem hagyja abba:
őröl a malom, lesz kenyér
és apád mindgyárt ideér

Az anyját hallgató gyerek
szeme az ajtóra mered
és várja haza édesapját,
aki majd hoz tán egy falatkát. . .

Este, mikor a láz, az éhség
legjobban kinozza szegénykét;
egy óriást lát: apja tért meg,
de hire sincs a friss kenyérnek.

A piros arcu lázbeteg
az óriásra rámered:

— Hát hol a kenyér, mondd, apám,
ugy-e, a mások asztalán?
Bár te vetetted, te arattad,
te őrölted, — nem jut magadnak,
nem jut anyámnak, a fiadnak,
mi koplalunk és te miattad,
mert gyáva vagy, bár óriás vagy:
téged kifosztanak, leigáznak,
habár erős vagy, de hiába;
mert gyáva vagy te, gyáva!

Az anya, apa összenéznek,
nem kérdenek, nem is beszélnek,
de a szemükben ül a válasz:

— Lázas szegényke, lázas. . .

FARKAS ANTAL.

A Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség

HAVI MÉRLEGE 1934 JULIUS HÓRÓL.

Maradvány 1934 junius végén	$141,826.75
Bevétel 1934 julius hóban	6,044.36
Összesen	$147,871.11
Kiadás 1934 julius hóban	5,264.77
Maradvány 1934 julius hó végén	$142,606.34

SZÖVETSÉG VAGYONA ÉS KÖVETELÉSE.

East Pittsburgh Savings and Trust Co.-nál	$ 18,118.45
Union Trust Co.-nál	9,304.34
National Bank of America Bankban	760.12
East Pittsburgh Savings Trust Co.-nál, ifjusági	4,032.31
United States Treasury Bondokban	47,851.35
First Mortgagekben	51,400.00
Készpénzben	100.00
Checkszámlán keresendő beváltatlan checkekre fedezet nélkül	7,882.12
Összesen	$142,606.34

EZ AZ ÖSSZEG IGY OSZLIK MEG:

Betegsegély alapon	$ 3,440.49
Haláleseti alapon	131,969.90
Általános alapon	1,445.71
Ifjusági alapon	3,916.16
Fitkóné örököseinek	470.81
Domonkos örököseinek	307.87
Kacibár örököseinek	541,39
Kerekes örököseinek	239.00
Szallár örököseinek	275.01
Összesen	$142,606.34

BIZTOSABB EGYLETET NEM TALÁL!

ALAKULT 1906-BAN

LÉPJEN BE

A MUNKÁS BETEGSEGÉLYZŐ SZÖVETSÉGBE!

A MUNKÁS BETEGSEGÉLYZŐ SZÖVETSÉGNEK a törvények által előirt tőkéje nem csak hogy megvan: de feleslege is van.

A MUNKÁS BETEGSEGÉLYZŐ SZÖVETSÉG az egyedüli a nagy magyar egyletek között, amelynek nincsen elértéktelenedett papirokban befektetése. Igy a MUNKÁS BETEGSEGÉLYZŐ SZÖVETSÉG áll a legbiztosabb pénzügyi alapon.

A MUNKÁS BETEGSEGÉLYZŐ SZÖVETSÉG az American Experience Táblázat biztos befizetési rendszerének alapján biztosit 300, 500, 750, 1000 dolláros haláleset járulékra. Ennek a táblázatnak multja bizonyitja, hogy ennek alapján müködő egyletek jövő fizető képessége biztositva van. Ne azt nézze ön tehát, hogy valamely egylet valamivel olcsóbb, hanem azt, hogy biztos-e. Biztositás csak akkor ér valamit, ha biztos az, ellenkező esetben nem ér egy hajitó fát sem.

A MUNKÁS BETEGSEGÉLYZŐ SZÖVETSÉG jelenleg fizet hat dollár heti segélyt nyolcvan cent havi dijért és 9 dollár heti segélyt 1 dollár 20 cent havi dijért. Összesen háromszáz napra egész segélyt, háromszáz napra félsegélyt és ezen felül csonkulási dijakat is. A munkaviszonyok javulása után tizenkét dolláros heti segélyeket is fog megint fizetni.

BELÉPÉSI DIJ NINCSEN. Első és második havi diját a központ fizeti. Három éves tagság után kölcsönre van joga, igy ha munkanélkül lesz, nem kell töröltetni magát, hanem a kölcsönével fizetheti havi diját.

AZ IFJUSÁGI OSZTÁLYBAN havi tiz centért 100-tól 200 dollárig terjedő haláleseti járulékot fizetünk, minél tovább tag, annál többet. És egy évben csak kilenc hónapban kell a havi dijat fizetni, a másik három el engedtetik.

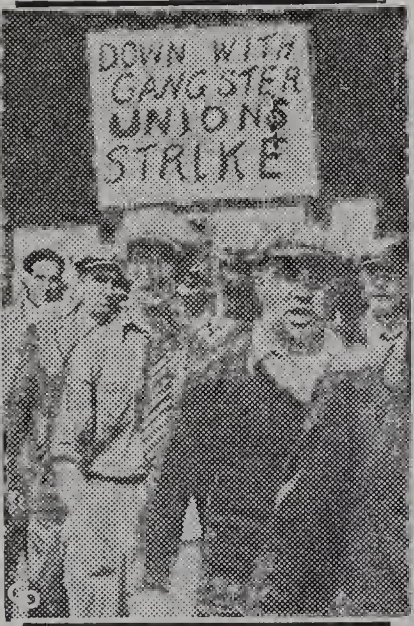
Sok mindenféle egylet van az Egyesült Államokban. Sok mindenféle utazó ügynökkel, akik mindenfélét összebeszélnek és sok lehetetlenséget állitanak és olyan tagsági kötvényeket adnak el, amelyek olcsóbbak, de nem érnek semmit sem. Legyen óvatos. Csak jó egyletbe lépjen be. Ilyen egylet a MUNKÁS BETEGSEGÉLYZŐ SZÖVETSÉG. Amely munkás emberek egymásbeli támogatására alakult.

Ha van osztálya Szövetségünknek abban a városban ahol ön lakik lépjen be abba. Ha nincs próbáljon alakitani uj osztályt nyolc vagy több taggal. Ez utóbbi esetben irjon nyomtatványokért a következő cimre:

B. VITÁLIS titkárpénztárnok.

Box 1180 East Pittsburgh, Pa.

A san franciscoi általános sztrájk képekben



A sztrájkolók tiltakoznak a company uniok ellen.

Élelem hiányában megtámadták és kifosztották ezt a füszer üzletet.

A "nemzet" őrség torlaszok mögül várja a parancsot a sztrájkolók megtámadására.

John Mooney, Tom Mooney öcscse kerekes korcsoján megy villanyos hiján.

Tar Borcsát citálták

Irta: Szentmiklósi József

A SZOLGABIRÓ — penészes koponyáju, régi vágásu ember, egykori pandurkomiszáros — ki szörnyen meg volt elégedve magával, mikor az itéletet lediktálta. És mert még egyszer gyönyörködni akart ragyogó judikaturája gyöngyében, rárikkant a vékonybélü irnokra:

— Kérem, Vandlik, olvassa föl! Nem akarom, hogy valami szamárság tévedjen bele.

A közigazgatás inasa gyönge jércehangon belevágott az olvasásba és a járás atyaistene pipaszó mellett élvezte végig ismételten az endrődi patikus tanulságos históriáját, aki ugy hágott ki a legutóbbi követevési cécónál, hogy abcugolni merészelte a kormánypárt jelöltjét, megháboritván ilyeténképpen a szent és sérthetetlen közcsendet. Taksálta pedig a szélbali patikus eme passzióját az itélet ötszáz koronára, vagy ötven napi elzárásra, sulyosbitó körülményül hozván föl az indokolásban, hogy “bár a terhelt a kormánytól kapott patikajogot, mégis a kormányjelöltjét abcugolta.”

Miután csakugyan nem csuszott be semmi badarság a leirásba, a szolgabiró elégedetten veregette meg a vállát az ambiciózus Vandliknak. Közben nyikorgott az ajtó és a sujtásos hajdu alázatal jelentette, hogy Tar Borcsa megjött.

— Lássuk!

Az asszony kissé bátortalanul állitott be a hivatalba. A dagasztást hagyta félbe, hogy elegett tegyen a magas parancsnak. Csak éppen a szopós gyereket kapta ölbe.

A főbiró ráorditott. Süket volt a szerencsétlen és igy az orditozás nyavalyája volt.

— Tudja-e mért hivattam?

— Ha megmondja a tekintetes ur...

A tekintetes ur megmondta. Azzal kezdte, hogy nem tartja becsületes asszonynak. Ha becsületes asszony lenne, nem élne Tar Istvánnal, aki egyebet se tesz, mint folytonosan izgat az urak ellen. Mintha bizony a paraszt megélhetne, ha ur nem volna, aki munkát adjon a parasztnak!

Az asszony jámboran hallgatta az orditozást. Mikor aztán megunta a sok zagyvaságot, közbeszólt:

— Az uram dolga. . . Tudom, hogy a lelke hajtja; tudom, hogy senkinek se árt; de asszonynak nincs is efélébe beleszólása.

A szolgabiró rácsapott az asztalra:

— Maga rosszabb, mint az ura. Hát van szeme, egy lázitóval egy födél alatt lakni?

Az asszony rántott egyet a vállán s a kurta, néma felelet — még jobban dühbe guritotta a járás közigazgatás főcsőszét. Sorra szedte Tar István egész bünlajstromát és kiszinezte az asszony előtt a jövőt, mely börtönnel várja az izgága embert és nyomorusággal a párját, meg a kicsi fiát. Tromfnak hagyta a tegnapi esetet, a népgyülést, melyet ugy elhuzott gonosz elvetemedettséggel Tar István a vörös pódiumról, hogy a délutáni istentiszteletet nem lehetett megtartani.

A pulykaember megint felpofozta az asztalát:

— Hát ez is semmi?! Ebbe sincs magának beleszólása?! Ez már csak istentelenség! A káplán ott várja a templomban a népet és a maga mákvirágja kiállt a piacra szónokolni és tartja szóval a falut estig, nehogy valaki is eljusson a templomba. . .

Tar Borcsa nem tudta hirtelen, mit válaszoljon a méregdudának. Valahogy aztán kibökte:

— Pedig szolgabiró ur, már ezután igy lesz. . . Eleget próbáltuk a templommal, nem volt foganatja. Pbáljuk templom nélkül. . .

— Nem féltek a pokoltól?

— Nem. . . Megszoktuk mi már a poklot a földön.

A szolgabiró más hurokba kapott. Kérlelni kezdte az asszonyt szép szóval. Hagyja ott az urát, vagy próbáljon becsületes embert faragni belőle. Nem lehet boldogságos az élete olyan semmiházi fráter mellett, mint Tar István. Ha nem akar megtérni, föl is ut, le is ut. A szélesutcai ház a Borcsa jussa, parancsolja ki belőle a szájas naplopót.

Az asszony keserüséggel hallgatta végig a párja ócsárlását.

— Csak ezért tetszett hivatni?

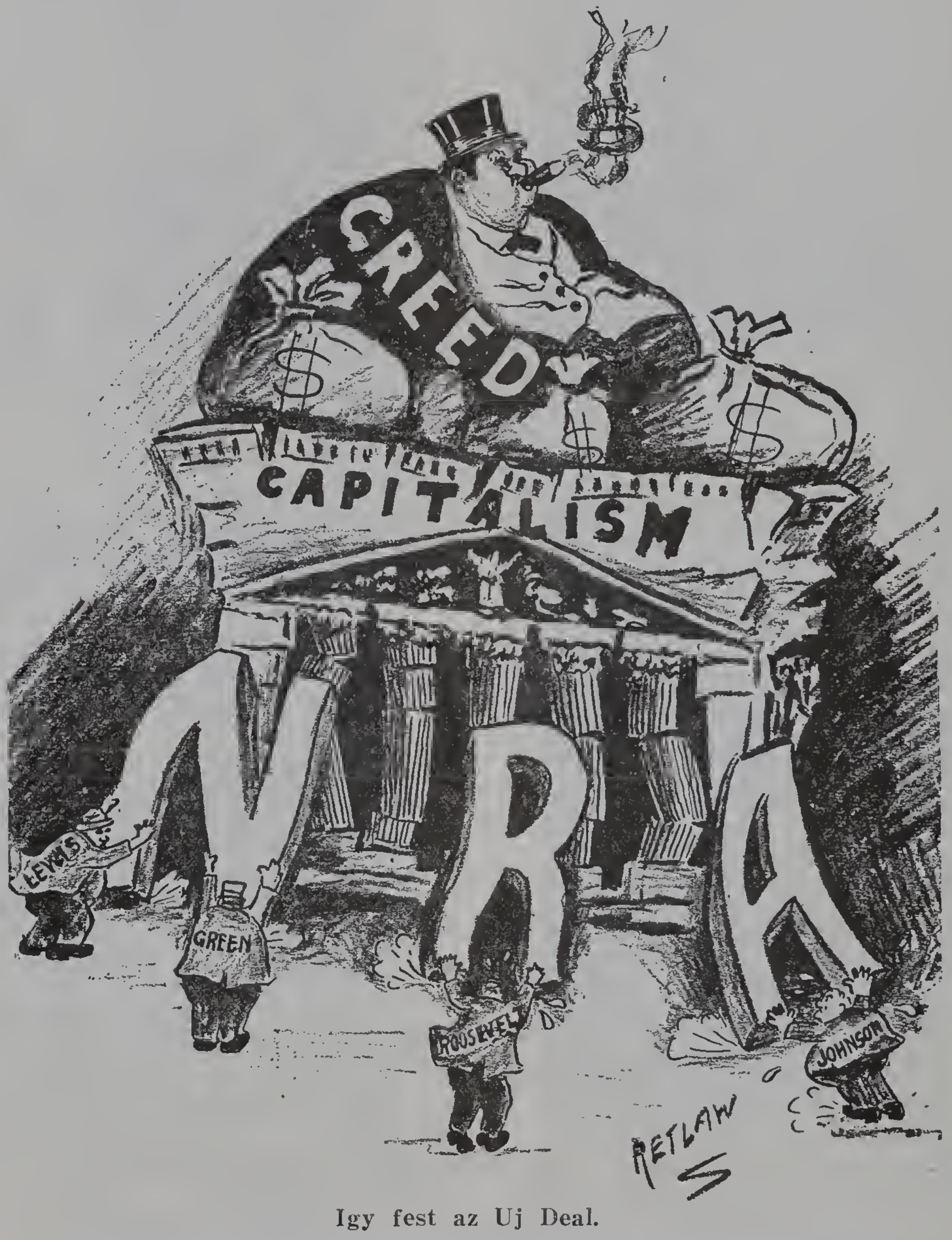
— Ezért.

Tar Borcsát elfutotta a vér és nehezen birt ura maradni magának. Állt némán, Szótlanul. Egy kicsit a sirás is környékezte.

A nyakig zsinór szolgabirósági hajdu megint bedugta a fejét az ajtón.

— Alássan jelentem, Tar István.

A sokbajszu biró kellemetlenül érezte magát, de nem volt mit cselekedni. Tar István már ott állott a másik pillanatban az asszonya mellett, aki boldog volt, hogy jött a védelmezője, a lecke embere, akit menél inkább gyaláznak, annál jobban szeret.



Igy fest az Uj Deal.

Tar István megölelte az asszonyt.

— Minek hivattak?

Az asszony nem felelt. Féltette az urát, hogy bajba sodorja az indulat. Remegve ölelte magához a kicsi pólyáséletet és a tekintetével akarta megnyugtatni a háborgó lelkü embert, akit utána kergetett a tudniakarás, aki el nem tudta képzelni, hogy mit akar az asszonyától a szolgabiró.

Néhány másodpercre megnémult a hivatali szoba. Mikor aztán Tar István ráunt a gyötrő tapogatózásra, ugy találta odanézni a szolgabiró szeme közé, hogy a hatalmas urnak — kissé dadogva, de megerdt a szava:

— Én akartam beszélni vele. Hogy vagy téritse kendet jó utra, vagy legyen lelke — és ne maradjon egy ilyen izgató, hazátlan senki felesége. . .

— Instállom, hát ahoz mit tetszene szólani, ha én meg a tekintetes asszonyt bizgatnám efélére?

A szolgabiró ugy tett, mintha nem hallaná. Dühöngve folytatta azzal a rettenetes vitézséggel, amely csak akkor üt ki a fajtáján, ha tulontul biztonságba érzi magát.

— Igenis, hazátlan senki kend, aki nem érdemli meg ezt az asszonyt. Mit lármázott már tegnap megint a népgyülésen az urak ellen?!

— Nem volt az lárma. . . Csak megmondtam ápertén — ami igaz is, hogy az ármentesités körül is gazemberek voltak a tizezerholdasok és gazság az a sok ármentesitési adó is, amit megfizettetnek a koldus kisemberekkel hiába. . . Mert a sok gátnak, csatornának, szivattyunak más sem veszi hasznát, csak az uraság. Azt mondtam, hogy hajdanta az árviz csak talán-talán nyomoritott meg bennünket, de most biztos nyomoruság — az ármentesitő társulat.

— Kis ember kend ahoz, hogy az urak dolgát értse. Csak karattyolni tud, meg ágálni a papok, meg az urak ellen.

— Nem is az urak dolgát akarjuk mi érteni, hanem a magunk teendőit, hogy az urak rablásának végét vessük azzal, hogy a sötétben botorkáló kizsákmányolt társainkat fölvilágositjuk, hogy szervezkedjenek és szervezett erejükkel ellentállhassanak minden huncutságnak.

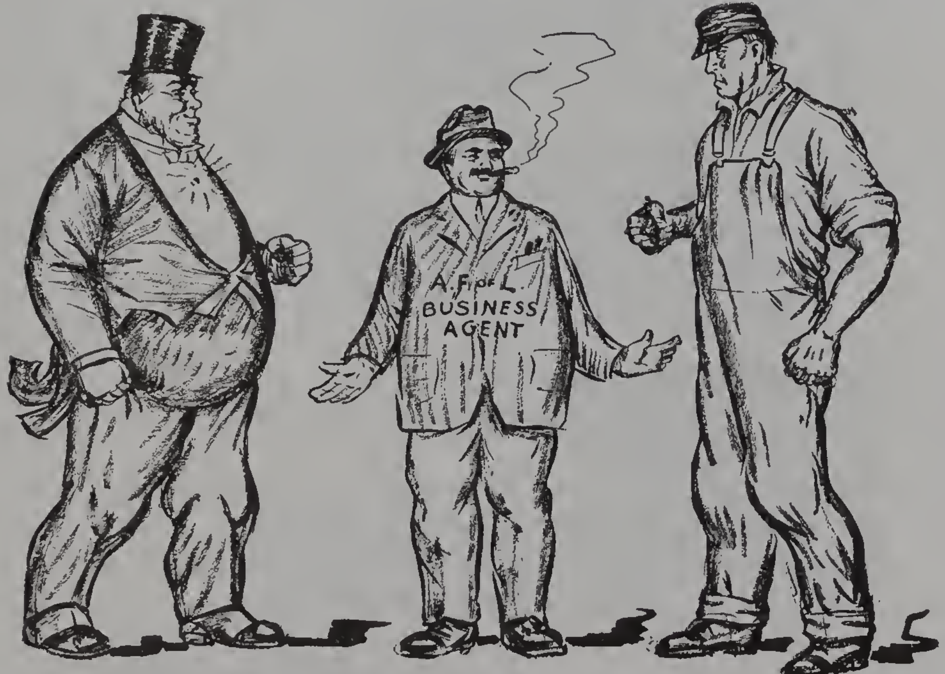
A szolgabirót megint a zsinóros legény zavarta: "Toloncokat hoztak!"

— Elmehetnek Tar. . . Annyit azonban megigérek, hogy nem fog kend munkát kapni nyárára. Vagy innen pusztul. Itt nem dózsázunk.

Tar István megfogta párja kezét és indultak. Az ajtóból szólt vissza a szolgabirónak:

Hiszen, hogy a szolgabiró ur, meg az uriosztály haragszik rám, azt én jól tudom. De, hogy a munkám ne kelljen — attól igazán nem félek. Annyira sosem haragszik meg az ur a parasztra, hogy dologra fanyalodjon helyette.

Ezt kellene a munkásoknak megérteni.



AFofL kártyakeverője.

A LÁMPAGYUJTÓ

Ráborul az utcára az éjszaka,
a szemvakitó, a tilalomfás éjszaka. . .
Minden alszik, de tompa zsibongás. . .
Az élet fekete bakacsinban is él,
A vakondok menzedéke sötétben is
Vakondok, . . . tur, tur s előretör.

Köd belül, ködös homály szerteszét.
. . . De im kigyul egy-egy csillag itt-ott,
Villám és gázcsillagok.
Világ szürődik a világtalanokra,
Lopott csillagok napocskamimelők. . .

Apró, sejtelmes alakok tolongnak,
Sötétbe burkolva, észrevétlen,
Névtelenül: — a lámpagyujtók.
Mire csillant a fény, tovaoson már,
Nyoma nem látszik, csak a csillag ég,
Melyet fénye gyujtott. . .

Örökösen a sötétben bolyong
Ki világot gyujt,
A névtelen a névteleneknek.
S ha nappallá gyult az éjszaka,
Eltünnek ők, — a lámpagyujtók.

Ki ismeri őket? Melyiknek a neve
Kél ki az éjszakából?
Mégis minden fény a kietlen éjben
Őket dicsőiti, a suhanó névteleneket,
E napot lopó csillagmimelőket. . .

Irigyellek lámpagyujtogató!
Névtelenül, láttatlanul világot gyujtani,
A sötét éjszakán! . . .
Nappal se bérem, se dolgom,
Az éjszaka surranó munkása vagyok,
Láttatlan maradva, mikor lábom nyomán
Kigyul egy világ az én sugaramtól! . . .

Fényes Samu.

Magyarországi beszámoló

Irta: **F. S. József**

KEZDJEM talán ott, hogy az ország "öröklés utjáni" miniszterelnöke Gömbös Gyula egyik amerikai lapban nyilatkozott arról, hogy a mi kies honunk az egyetlen sziget Európában ahol rend van? És ez a magyar nép öntudatának köszönhető.

Hát ami a rendet illeti ez azután igaz, hogy van. De ez a rend hasonlatos ahoz a rendhez miket rendezett temetőkbe lehet találni. Ahol csendesség honol és a halottak szép sorjában azaz rendekbe sorakoznak egymás mellett.

Demokráciáról is regélt Gömbös. Hát ez is van. Ennek tudható be például az, hogy hivatalosan nem tiltották ki Magyarországból az amerikai BÉRMUNKÁST, ellenben egyszerüen már közel egy éve rendszeresen elsülyesztik ahelyett, hogy a cimzetteknek lekézbesitenék.

Ugyanigy a demokráciához tartozik az is, hogy a Bérmunkás naptár 1934. éves számát 90%-ban ugyancsak elsülyesztették, még mielőtt a póstai szállitás jogát megvonták volna. Előfordult, hogy az akinek mégis lekézbesitették az megkapta a naptárnak az egyik felét, ugyanis szétszakitották és csak a felét kézesitették le. Valószinüleg a Hitler imádat váltotta ki pártatlan kormányférfiainak eme intézkedését. Levél cenzura is vigan virul. Előfordult legutóbb is, hogy Pestről Debrecenbe cimzett levél tartalmát előbb olvasta el a hatóság, mint a cimzett.

Az ipari és kereskedelmi élet katasztrófálisan romlott az utóbbi időben. Nézzük csak minden foglalkozási ág éltető elemét az épitő ipart.

Ha az utolsó három év adatait nézzük láthatjuk, hogy amig 1932. év első felében 711 uj épitkezésre adtak ki engedélyt addig 1933. év hasonló szakában 491-re és 1934 évben már csak 306-ra. (Budapestre vonatkozó adatok. 1932-ben 3.140 lakást nem béreltek ki, addig 1934-ben ez a szám már 12.843-ra emelkedett és 4.822 üzlet helyiségre rugtatott fel.

A szoba konyhás lakások havi 40—50 pengő. Igy 16.137 ember szükséglakásban (jó részben földbevájt lyukakban a kiserdőben.) 1.751 ember az éjjeli menedékhelyeken lakik.

Találtak 7.778 szobában 6 embert, 1816 szobában 8 embert kik együtt laktak. A kormány, hogy a lakások "árát" fenntarthassák a háziurak, az épitkezést ugy megnehezitette, hogy az épitkezni szándékozóknak element ettől a kedvük. a munkás ma már heti 10 pengőt sem keres. De azért itt rend van. A rendről gondoskodik a szurony és géppuska.

Ez azonban sok, sok pénzbe kerül. Mit tesz ilyenkor egy zseniális politikai felülépitmény? Azok kiknek kezén van az ország vagyona, földje és kik mint Marci hevesen ugy élnek, életet és vért szivesen adnak e honért, azonban zabot illetve adót vagy egyáltalán semmit vagy jobbik esetben alig valamit fizetnek, miből az ő társadalmi rendszerüket a pribékek védelmezik, birja fizetni a kormány.

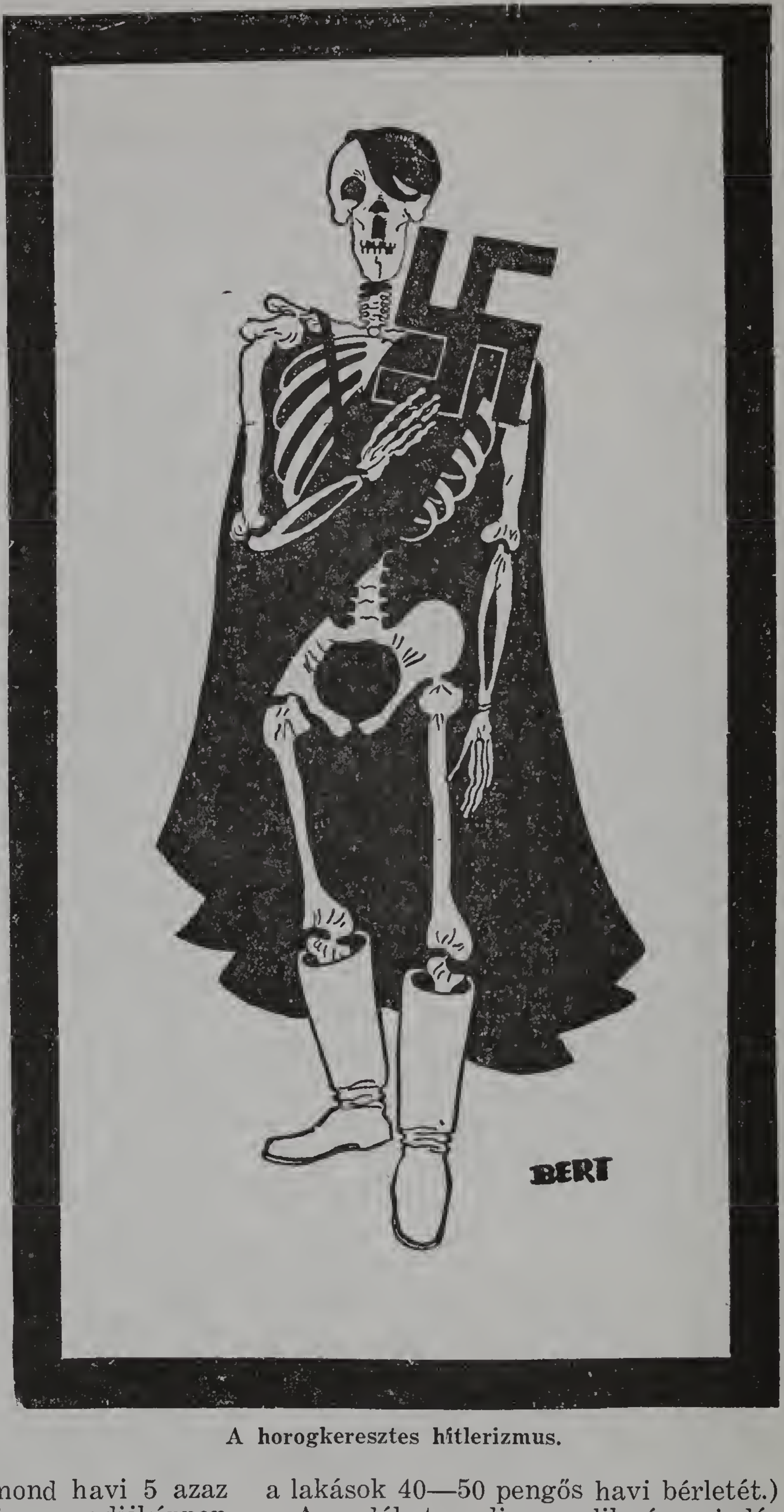
Azért van itt ez a hazátalan bitang proli banda (tartják ők,) hogy ez izzadja ki a poroszlók fizetését, meg annak a fegyvernek az árát, mivel a rendet garantálják.

Megadóztatnak mindent amit csak a tömeg fogyaszt. Igy a buzánál az ár 47 százalék, krumplinál 50 százalék, lisztnél 67 százalék, sertés husnál 68 százalék, kenyérnél 72 százalék, cukornál 80 százalék adó, mely a kincstárt illeti meg. A lisztforgalom egy év alatt 50 százalékkal esett vissza. Ha a zsebrák szellem a kenyeret nem adóztatná meg kilónként 24 fillérrel ugy 9 fillér volna egy kgr. kenyér ára. De a legtöbb kenyeret a prolik fogyasztják és igy 34 fillért kell fizetniök egy kgram kenyérért. Mivel a keresetből kenyérre is alig futja a prolik lassan lemondanak a kenyérevéshől és ez igazolja, hogy a liszt forgalom felére csökkent egy év alatt.

Budapesten mindennek dacára állandóan csökken az adóbevétel (a vidék már rég nem fizet.) Az állami adók julius végéig 3.533.718 pengővel csökkentek a mult év hasonló időszakában befizetett adókkal szemben. A fővárost illető adókból is 4.8 millió kevesebb bevétel volt.

Lovas nemzet vagyunk l.érkednek vele az uraink, igy természetes, hogy a lóhusra sem telik már. Ezt igazolja, hogy amit tavaly az év első felében a budapesti prolik még 1.848.000 kilógramm paripa hust fogyasztottak, addig 1934 év hasonló szakában csak 1.573.000 kilóra jutott már.

"A haza (értsd az uri osztályt) hálás lesz hőseinek." Ezt bömbölte 1914-ben minden csuhás és politikus. A prolik bedőltek nekik és mentek a vágóhidra, most pedig e hála közlegényeknél a 75 százalékos rokkant havi 32 pengőt tiszteknél 64 pengőben nyilvánul meg. A hadiözvegyek kik férjeiket veszitették el e hála révén ird és mond havi 5 azaz ÖT pengőt kapnak nyugdijképpen ami egy évben 60p. (lásd ezzel szemben a lakások 40—50 pengős havi bérletét.)



A horogkeresztes hitlerizmus.

Az adókat pedig emelik és mindég kreálnak ujjabbakat, természetesen olyan adókat melyeket kiváltképpen a prolikon lehet bevasalni. Most a legujjabb adó (Budapest fürdő város javára lett kreálva.) Minden szódaviz fogyasztás 1 fillér adót fizet. Ezekből az 1 fillérekből befutó összeget a fürdők kifejlesztésére forditják. Luxus fürdő van elég már eddig is ahová csak azok a prolik birnak bemenni kik ott a szenny eltakaritását végzik. A belépő dij ugyanis mindenütt oly magas, hogy egyszeri fürdés ezekben a fürdőkben egy munkás heti keresetéből nem telik ki. Olyan fürdő ahova munkások zsebéhez viszonyitva belehet menni mindössze kettő van Budapestnek. Lesz tehát a prolikon bevasalt uj adóból ujabb fürdő nem is egy, de majd azok élvezik azt is akik eddig is élveztek a luxusfürdőket.

A Gömbös kormány melynek nincs pénze az éhség csökkentésére és amely a demagóg 95 pontjával, mely a fejlődés terén gyorsvonati tempót igért szorosan követi a Bethlen rezsim utjait. A munkásság jobban levan ma tiporva mint valaha. Az alábbi kimutatás világosan igazolja azt a hatalmas eltolódást mely a népesség foglalkozásában bekövetkezett:

	Foglalkozás:	1910-ben	1920-ban	1930-ban.
1.	Őstermelés (földmüvelés)	4.256.172	4.449.104	4.499.814
2.	A.) Bányászat	86.980	117.344	112.693
	B.) Ipar	1.530.158	1.522.309	1.884.688
	C.) Kereskedelem	350.294	407.020	470.077
	D.) Közlekedés	307.466	356.126	338.378
	Összesen:	2.274.898	2.402.799	2.805.836
3.	Közszolgálat	303.445	372.166	435.919
4.	Véderő	63.164	124.600	72.905
5.	Napszámosok	178.015	97.469	122.513
6.	Nyugdijasok, tőkepénzesek	145.510	196.825	359.904
7.	Háztartási alkalmazottak	214.979	175.461	196.563
8.	Egyéb foglalkozás	170.788	161.719	194.865
	Összesen:	7.606.971	7.980.143	8.688.319

Egyfelől az IPAROSODÁS érezteti hatását, mert tiz évvel ezelőtt az őstermeléshez tartozó népesség még háromszorannyi volt, mint az iparból élők száma. Most azt látjuk, hogy az 50.000 lélekkel gyarapodott őstermelő osztály már csak két és félszer akkora, mint a 362.379 fővel közel 2 millióra szaporodó ipari munkás csoport. Husz év alatt az állami tisztviselők a (bürokraták) száma 303.445-ről 435.919-re hatalmasodott el, ez megmagyarázza miért van itt minden agyonadóztatva. A legmegdöbbentőbb növekedés a nyugdijasoknál van. Itt 150 százalékos az emelkedés. (Ezen nem lehet csodálkozni, mert minden panamista és sikkasztó politikus, miniszter stb. ha a rendszert segitette és meneszteni kellett a panamák miatt börtön helyett nyugdijazták.)

Ezekben a számokban van a gyökere tehát e kurzusnak. Ezt az erőt teljes erejével segiti a katolicizmus, mely a harácsolásban semmivel sem marad el Gömbösék mögött.

A munkásság sorait a munkanélküliség tizedeli: Elég ha a szakszervezetek statisztikáját nézzük. E szerint a famunkások 38.9 százaléka, az épitők 34.4 százaléka, a vasmunkások 34.4 százaléka, a nyomdászok 32.4 százaléka, a könyvkötők 29.1 százaléka, a szállodai munkások 21.4 százaléka, és igy tovább van munkanélkül. A szakszervezetek tagsága közül Budapesten 13.520, mig vidéken 9.328 tag van munkanélkül. Ezek az adatok a szociáldemokrata szakszervezetek tagságára vonatkozik, mely tehát elenyésző százaléka az iparokban dolgozó vagy onnan kiszorult egyébb felfogásu munkások számához viszonyitva. De igy is eleget beszélnek ezek a számok.

A vidéki helyzet sokkal siralmasabb országos átlagban 16—20 fillér kereset jut egy-egy lélekre hetenként és igy elképzelhető, hogy a nincstelen földmunkásság sorsa és életnivója mélyen a kinai kulikén alul van.

Egész vidékek lakósai golyvásak mert nincs egészséges ivóviz. A Gömbösék 40.000 pengőt vettek fel a költségvetésbe a vidék ivóvizének megjavitására. Ugyanakkor 150.000 pengőt költött el a katolicizmus Szent István napjának rendezésére. A katolikus ünnepek állami szubvencióban, kedvezményes támogatásban részesülnek. Az iskolák melyek az ő kezükben vannak és az ő irányitásuk alatt (vidék) hónapokon át nem fizették tanitóikat dacára a kegyetlenül behajtott egyházi adók hatalmas összegének, melyet elnyelt a feneketlen papzsák. Most rásózták a tanitóik fizetését is az államra, de ezenfelül az államnak semmi köze az iskoláikhoz nincs.

Sok templom nagy sötétség és még nagyobb nyomor bizonyitéka. Ez a közmondás ezerszeresen igaz. Templom van minden utca sarkon már és körülöttük tizezrével éhező emberek.

A katolicizmus, mely Magyarországból JEZSUITA államot csinált ennek dacára mind mohóbb (evés közben jön meg az étvágy.) Ma azt lehet bátran mondani, hogy a nemzeti vagyon nagyobb része kezükben van és mivel az általuk harácsolt vagyonról elszámolni nem tartoznak, hogy ez hova jut azt rajtuk kivül senki sem tudja. Már előzőleg az alsópapságot az állam tartotta el részben és most teljes egészében a tanitóik mintájára ezek eltartását is az állam nyakába akarják sózni (és sikerülni is fog nekik.)

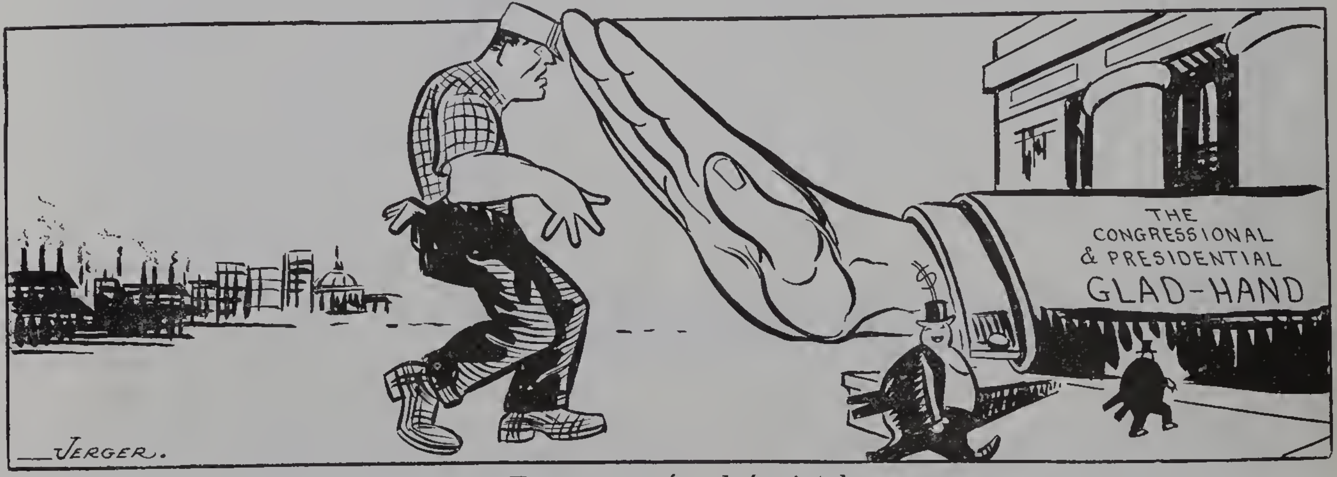
A magyar falusi lakósság helyzetét talán illusztrálja egy kis statisztika.

Egyik statisztikus 96 családot vizsgált meg és megállapitotta, hogy:

Csak 82 családnak volt baromfija	14-nek nem
” 23 családnak volt hizó disznója	73-nak nem
” 14 családnak volt tehene	82-nek nem
” 5 családnak volt anyasertése	91-nek nem

Általában egy család évi jövedelme az állattartásból összesen 30 pengő volt.

A munkásmozgalom izekre szaggatva vajudik. A legnagyobb és legtehetetlenebb ma még a szociáldemokrata mozgalom mely legális. Éles ellenzéke van az u. n. SZAKSZERVEZETI ELLENZÉK fából vaskarika féle alakulat. Ez az alakulat, mely a KMP befolyása alatt van legfőbb hivatásának tartja az erők szétforgácsolását. Nem egy ujabb szervezeti formáért, hanem hatalmi kérdésért. Évek óta tart ez az áldatlan harc és eredménye a munkásságnak megcsömörlése minden mozgalomtól. Szakszervezeti ellenzék mely valóságban a régi bürokraták helyé-



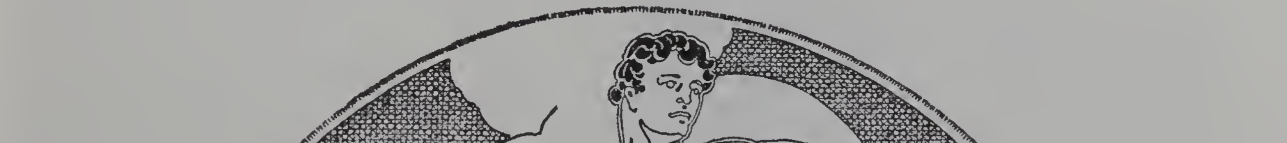
Ez a szavazó polgár jutalma.

be saját bürokratáinak elhelyezése körül forog teljesen téves utra vitte magát az osztályharc elméletét is.

A munkásság energiáját felőrőlik a személyi harcok és igy a sztrájkok sorozatos elbukása következik be. Ez a béka-egér harc azonban igen egyoldalu. Most legutóbb a cipészmunkások sztrájkja alkalmával a szoc. demszakszervezet vezetősége és a szakszervezeti ellenzék vezetősége kooperált. A szakszervezet a cipészmunkások között, gyüjtést inditott a sztrájkolók javára, mig a SZAKSZERVEZETI ELLENZÉK külön listán cselekedte ugyanezt, csak azzal a külömbséggel, hogy nem csak a cipészek, de általános gyüjtést rendezett tagjaik között. Az eredmény siralmas. A nagyhangu ELLENZÉK a szakszervezet által gyüjtött összegének mindössze NYOLC százalékát birta az egész tagjai között szakmára való tekintet nélkül összehozni, mig 92 százalékot a szakszervezet hozott össze csak egy szakma keretében. Ez a szám igazolja az u. n. szakszervezeti ellenzéknek a jelentéktelenségét gyakorlatban. A legérdekesebb ebben a kooperativ harcvezetésben az, hogy az ellenzék látva a kudarc közeledtét egy röpiratot adott ki, melyben gyalázatosan hátbatámadta azt a vezetést melyben ő is benne volt. Suttogó hirek szerint az ellenzék az általa gyüjtött sztrájk segély összeget alaposan megdézsmálta és ennek leplezésére támadta hátba a vezetést.

Frakciók alakulnak és mulnak el. Rózsaszinü jelszavak után mint pillangók mennek a hiszékenyek és lassan el is hullanak. Forradalmi szervezkedésre, mert ez komoly dolog és kockázatos még ma igen kevesen kaphatók. És igy a jelenlegi feneketlen nyomoruságnak nem kis részben a demagókon kivül a munkások saját maguk az okai.

Reméljük egyszer ennek is vége lesz és a munkásság a kapitalista élősdiekkel együtt a munkásmozgalom élősdieit is lerázza nyakáról HA NEM AKAR NYOMORULT ÉS GYÁVA MÓDON ELPUSZTULNI. . .



MARHASORS

Tiz évig tehén volt,
borjat, tejet adó,
béketürő jószág,
kérődző, hallgató.

Később csak marha lett
igahuzó barom,
ekét, boronát vont
szerte az ugaron.

Most meg vágóállat,
kötélen vezetik
a vérszagu hidra
s darabokra szelik.

Megnyalja a tőkét,
nem is gondol rosszra,
szelid bizalommal
néz a mészárosra.

Aztán sujt a tagló,
vége az egésznek,
vérespiros husán
legyek legelésznek.

Combját, tarját rakják
fagyos jégverembe,
urak eszik este
fényes étterembe'.

Bőréből bőrönd lesz,
csattos, lakkos, barna,
dámák utaznak el
véle tengerpartra.

Szarva kürt lesz, melyből
riadók riadnak
szabadulásakor
az elnyomottaknak.

(Budapest) **Korvin Lajos.**

Városok szerepe a kapitalizmus kezdetéig

E KIS tanulmánynak nem az a célja, hogy a városok történetét adja, sem az, hogy az emberiséget küzdelmeiben végig kisérje, inkább az, hogy kimutassa, hogy az emberiséget gazdasági érdekei kényszeritették bizonyos intézmények létesitésére és az intézmények mennyi oltalmat s biztonságot nyujtottak számára, és mennyire szolgáltak jövő életének fejlesztésére.

Ilyen intézményei között a városok voltak azok, melyek életküzdelmeiben és fejlődésében a leghatásosabb segitséget nyujtottak számára.

Azért azt hisszük, hogy nem végzünk hiába való munkát, midőn a városoknak ebbeli szerepéről, ha nem is teljes részletességgel, de legalább főbb vonásokban, a Bérmunkás Naptár olvasói számára tájékozást nyujtunk.

Városok alapitásának inditó okai.

Ugy az ókorban, mint a középkorban körülbelül azonos okok vezettek a város alapitásához, azért kiindulási ponttul a középkori gazdasági állapotokat vesszük.

Az államok e korban a leglazábban voltak egymáshoz füzve. Nem voltak egyebek, egymással ellenséges érdekek, vad tülekedésénél. A kicsi faluközösség legföljebb, egy néhány egymás mellett fekvő falut foglalt magába. Aki nem volt tagja a falu közösségnek, mindenütt idegenként kezelték. Minden ami más faluközösséghez tartozott, idegen világhoz tartozott. Még a nyelv sem tudott egybehozni egyes tartományokat. Ahány falu, annyi nyelv és dialektus választotta el őket egymástól. Minden egyes országban ezer féle nyelven és dialektusban beszéltek. Csak legnagyobb szükség idején hozta össze közös érdekük az egymáshoz közelfekvő falukat. Ennek elmulásával, ismét szétfutottak.

Ezt az állapotot a kor gazdasági alapja határozta meg. Ez a kor alig ismerte a pénzt, nem is volt rá szükség, mert a termékek gazdaságán alapult. Mindent a maga és a saját használatára termelt mindenki. Az emberek tevékenységi köre a család, a faluközösség és mindennekfölött a hübér ur volt, kinek a termékből járadékát be kellett szolgáltatnia. A hübér ur biztositotta ellenség ellen a védelemről, ezért fizetett neki minden termékből bizonyos hányadot. A földmüves a maga termesztette élelmiszerből élt, a kézmüves, — aki félig földmüves volt, — a maga falujának, vagy uraságának dolgozott. Nem volt semmi kereskedelmi kapcsolat az elszigetelt községek és kastélyok között. Országutak sem voltak, mert ennek épitésére nem serkentett a társadalmi szükséglet.

Ez az állapot örökké még sem tarthatott, meg kellett változnia. Meg is változott, mihelyt fennállásának ellenséges elemei — melyeket magában kifejlesztett — egy bizonyos fejlődési fokhoz érkeztek. Ezek egyike, az egyszerübb formákra törekvő munkamegosztás, mely kifejlesztette az önálló kézmüvességet. Az önálló kézmüvesipar termékei hamarosan tulhaladták az egyéni és faluközösség szükségleteit, kényszeritővé vált, hogy a fölösleget más csoportokkal cseréljék ki. Ez a kereskedelemhez vezetett, a kereskedelem pedig vásárok, piacok létesitését igényelte. Ezek a forgalom természetes csomópontjain helyeződtek el. Azok az értékek, melyek ilyen helyeken fölhalmozódtak, kisértésbe hozták, nemcsak a környék, hanem idegen népek kincssóvárgását is, amelyek pedig hajózható vizek mentén feküdtek, a kalózokét is. Igy a rablótámadások ellen való biztositás is szükségessé vált. Tehát meg kellett kezdődnie a falu megerősitett várossá való épitésének.

Ugy szintén, a fejedelem, hatalmasabb ur, vagy püspök székhelyén nagyobb embertömeg gyült össze a fejedelem, vagy nagy ur fegyvereseiből, várjobbágyaiból, kézmüveseiből stb. Ennélfogva élelmiszerek és kézmüves cikkek is nagy mennyiségben halmozódtak itt össze. Ennek megvédésére, fallal keritették körül a helyiséget. A fal, a vár épités tette várossá a falut.

Ez a városok kialakulásának kezdete mindenütt és mindenkorban.

Amilyen mértékben a gazdasági élet fejlődött, amilyen mértékben a lakosság a nomád életről a földmüvelésre tért át, ugy növekedett a termelés és vele a földmüvelő és kézmüves fölöslege és a fölöslegnek az árubabocsájtása.

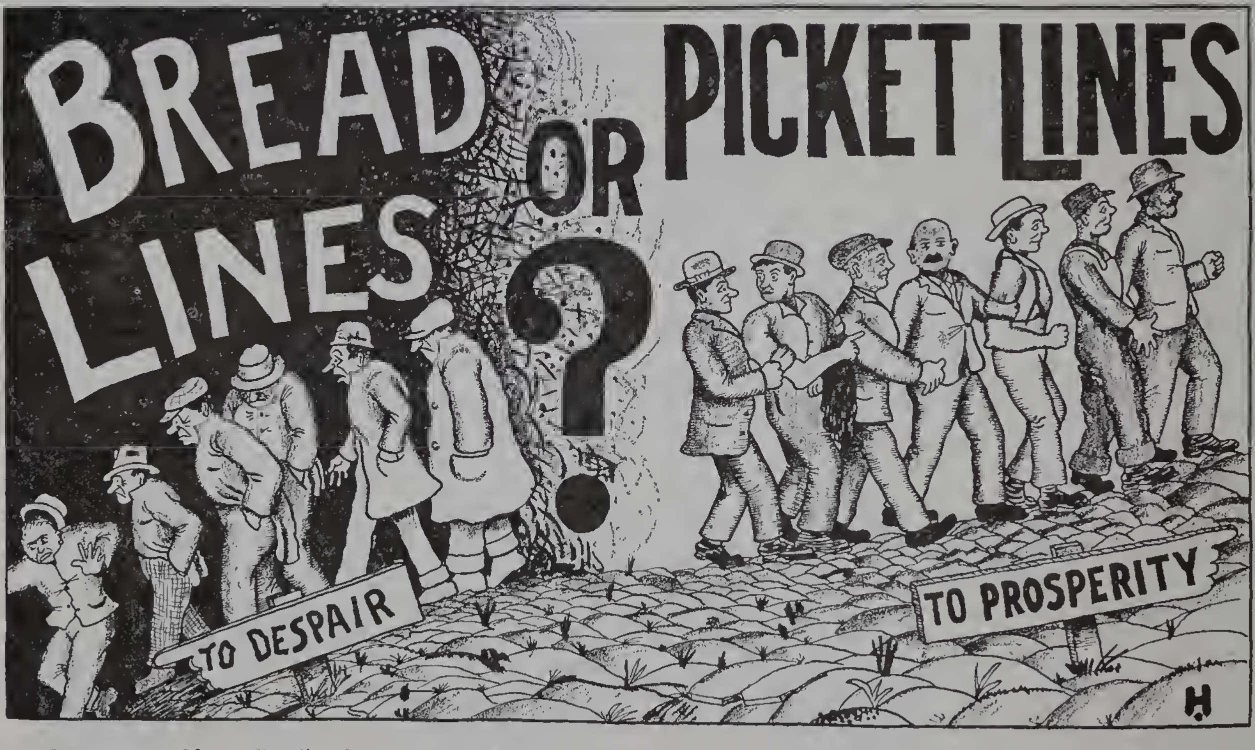
A fallal körülvett város a falunál nagyobb biztonságot adott a rabló urak és vad nomádok támadásai ellen, igy egyre több ember és áru gyült a város falai mögé. Tehát egyrészt, a fölhalmozott áru megvédésére, mint várra, másrészt ezen termékek adásvételének lebonyolitására, mint vásárra, volt szükség a városok megalapitására.

A munka fokozódó termelőképességével odajutottak a dolgok, hogy ezután már csakis a kereskedelem számára termeltek. Ez lett ezután az egyedüli fontosság, ezzel lépett ujra a világ szinpadára, az eddigi idők legforradalmibb tényezője: a pénz. Mennél inkább fejlődtek a városok és velük az árucsere, annál nagyobb hatalommá lett a pénz.

A városokban fejlődtek ki az árutermelő és az áruval kereskedő osztályok. A városok fejlődésével olyan termelési mód jutott a történelembe, mely a társadalom alapjának nem csak egyes részét aknázta alá, hanem léte egészen uj alapokra került általa. Ez az uj gazdasági mód először csak megbolygatta, azután szétrobbantotta a hübéri termelési módot.

A városok fejlődésének első szakában a kezdetleges árucsere csak szük határok közt mozgott, mert semmi nem ösztönzött a kiterjedésre, de a termelés fejlődése és a pénznek a kereskedelembe való bevonulása a világkereskedelem meginditásához vezetett.

A világkereskedelem legkorábban, a délolaszországi városokból indult ki. Ott keletkeztek Európa és a kelet kö-



Szolgai megadás, könyörgés, alamizsna vagy harc. Nézd a meghunyászkodó koldus sereget s a harcias picketelőket. . .

zött az első kereskedelmi összeköttetések. A tengerentuli kereskedelem is ekkor kezdődött, legelsőnek Konstantinápollyal. A délolasz városokat követték: Spanyol, Francia, Németország és a Földközi tengermenti országok városai.

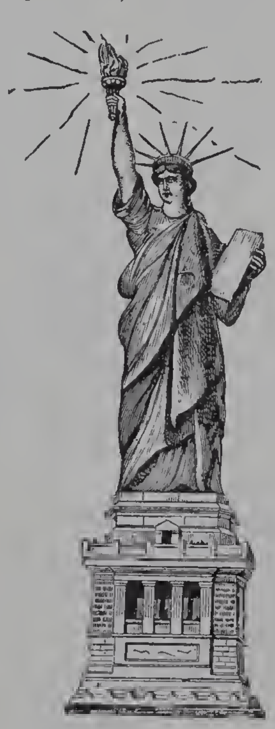
A városok fejlődésével a szükségletek, mindenhol az árutermeléshez vezettek, mig a kereskedelem végül, mindenhol világkereskedelemmé fejlődött. Ezután már, az emberiség sorsa nem azon fordult meg, hogy mit határoztak a rendi országgyüléseken, vagy a püspökök és hübérurak kastélyaiban, hanem azon, hogy miként alakultak az árak a városok kereskedelmi piacain. Alább megfogjuk látni. hogy a városok által kifejlesztett árutermelés és kereskedelem óriási forgataga mint változtatta át a hübéri gazdasági termelést árutermeléssé; és mint formálta át a jobbágy és földes ur egymásközti viszonyát. A paraszt forradalmak inditó okai is a városokból keltek utra.

A városok küzdelme a függetlenségért.

Mindenek előtt tudni kell, hogy a városok fejlődésük elején az egyházi, vagy világi hübérurak fönnhatósága alatt voltak. És minél jobban gazdagodtak és minél több vagyon halmozódott föl bennük, a hübérurak és egyházfejedelmek annál inkább szerették volna a városok lakosságát a hübéri uralom alatt tartani. A városok főtörekvése, ellenben az volt, hogy minél előbb kikerüljenek e befolyás alól. Igy állandó harcot folytattak a városok vagyonára éhes főurak és főpapapokkal szemben. A mennyiben a városoknak ez közös érdekük volt és hogy a harcot jobban állják, egymással szövetségi viszonyba léptek, hogy kiverekedjék önállóságukat és azt megvédjék a feudális országgal szemben. Ezért alakultak ki a városszövetségek.

A fejedelmek érdekei szintén ellentétben állottak a főurak érdekeivel szemben, igy a városokban hatalmas szövetségesre találtak.

A fejedelmeknek a külső és belső ellenség ellen katonaságra volt szüksége, ezek eltartása pénzbekerült, ennek előteremtéséről pedig nekik kellett gondoskodni. Pénz pedig nem volt máshol található, mint a városok gazdag iparosainál és kereskedőinél. Amennyiben a fejedelmek rávoltak utalva a városok pénzbeli segitésére, ezeket ennek fejében a hübéri kötelékek alul mentesitették, ugy, hogy kiváltságok és szabadalomleveleket állitottak ki számukra, melyek értelmében szabadon, minden főuri beleszólás nélkül, ügyeiket a fejedelmekkel intézhették el. A városok küzdelme egy percre sem szünetelt, mig a hübéri járom alól föl nem szabaditották magukat.


A Wall St. hivatalos jelvénye.

A kereskedelmi tőkének az érdekei központositott védelmet igényelnek, ennél fogva, a széthuzó hübéres nemesség érdekeivel ellentétben, a központi nemzeti állam kialakulását minden áldozat árán is előmozditani igyekeztek. A fejedelmek hatalmi érdeke ugyancsak ez. Igy találkoztak össze a városok és fejedelmek létérdekei.

A kereskedelmi tőke profitja annál inkább fokozódott, minél erősebb központi hatalom állt mögötte. a fejedelem annál inkább érvényt tudott szerezni hatalmi érdekeinek minél több és minél gazdagabb város állt pártjára. A saját és a város közös érdekeinek igy győzni kellett minden vonalon.

Amennyiben az egyházi és hübéri nemesség a tulhaladott gazdasági módot képviselte, a városok kifejlesztette árutermelés és kereskedelem, fejlődöttebb erejével szemben el kellett buknia. Ez volt a történelmi logika.

A nemzeti államok kialakulásával az országok nyelve is inkább egységessé vált. A nagy városokból a legerősebbek voltak, innen kellett e nemzeti nyelveknek is kiindulni. Onnan is indultak utjukra. A király és a városok szövetsége a hübérurak ellen, a nemzeti államok kialakulásának legerősebb eszköze volt. Hogy e szövetkezésből miként kerültek abszolut hatalomra egyes fejedelmek és ennek következményeit ugy a városi polgárság, mint a köznép mennyire megszenvedte, annak tárgyalása kivül esik e tanulmány keretén.

A városok hatása a föld népére.

A városok jelentékeny lakosságát eleinte, az uralkodó társadalmi osztályokkal ellentétes gazdasági érdekeket képviselő elemek képezik: A letelepedett és bevándorolt kézmüvesek, szabad parasztok, a földesuri hatalom alól menekült jobbágyak, és az adás-vevésből élő kalmárok, csak kis számban voltak a birtokos háztulajdonosok és nagy tőzsérek.

A lakosság a város fejlődésének első szakában arra törekedett, hogy a várost minél több ember szemében vonzóvá tegye. Aki a városban letelepedett, teljes jogu polgár lett, egyben szabad emberré is emelkedett. A legtöbb város ingyen telket is bocsájtott rendelkezésére, melyet az beépiteni tartozott. E cselekvésre a városok lakosságát késztette: a munkáskéz utáni kereslet, a városi védelem, a hübérurak erejével szemben való számbeli gyarapodás szükségessége és az adók terheinek nagyobb számra való elosztása. Tehát szivesen látták a városok a munkában és teherben résztvenni akarók szaporodását. Ezért nyitották meg kapuikat a hübéri uralom alól elmenekült jobbágyaknak is. Ez volt egyik fő oka a városok és hübérurak közti ellenségeskedésnek. Ez kényszeritette a földesurakat, hogy jobbágyaikkal emberségesebben bánjanak, különösen a városokhoz közelfekvő uradalmakban. Tehát a városok jótékony hatása a falakon kivül élő köznépre is kiterjedt.

Ahogy a városi ipar és kereskedelem fejlődött, határa a mezőgazdasági termelést is befolyásolta. Mig a feudális ur gazdasági szükségleteit a jobbágyok természetbeni és személyes szolgáltatása kielégithette, nem volt pénzre nagy szüksége. De a városi kézmüves ipar és a manufakturák kifejlődése és a kereskedelem térhóditása a mezőgazdaságot is érintette. Nyers anyagot az ipar részére — bőrt, gyapjut stb. — onnan vásároltak, viszont mezőgazdasági szerszámokat és egyébb ipari cikkeket a földtulajdonosoknak a városokból kellett beszerezni — pénzért. Az adót is pénzben kellett fizetniök, igy nekik is minél több pénzre volt szükségük. Mig a kereskedőket rabolni lehetett, hozzá is jutottak. De a városok és fejedelmek szövetkezése folytán szervezett állami és városi zsoldos katonaság ezt lehetetlenné tette. Kénytelenek lettek a földbirtokosok is árutermelőkké válni. Ezzel aztán egy csapásra megváltozott a hübérur és jobbágy viszonya.

Ezentul nem több jobbágyra: több földre törekedtek. A birtokokról törvényes és törvénytelen eszközökkel elüzték a parasztot. Tökéletesebb szerszámokkal, kevesebb számu munkással kezdték a földmivelését. A sok apró jobbágybirtokot egybevonták. a termelés vezetését felügyelőkre, igazgatókra és később bérlőkre bizták. Mig azelőtt a jobbágy fizetett termékéből hányadot a földesurnak, ezután a földesur fizetett **bért** (inkább természetben mint pénzben) a kevesebb számu cselédségnek. Igy váltotta föl a robotot a bérmunka.

A városok legtöbbje szintén jelentékeny földbirtokhoz jutott, melyeket eladósodott földesuraktól, vagy lovagoktól vásárolt össze. A városok is igy részben földesurakká váltak, a jobbágyaknak a városokban való letelepedését e gazdasági érdekből, ezután már nem kivánták. Ehhez járult akkori időben való céhek elzárkózása is az idegen elemek elől, amig a céhek fölvették sorraikba a jövevényt, vagy ezek fiait, mindenfelől tömegesen vonultak a szabad városokba. De ezek elzárkózása után nem tudtak ott megélhetést találni. Eddig a földesurral harcát a jobbágy ugyis megtudta vivni, hogy a kizsákmányolás elől a városba menekült, most menekülésének ez az egyetlen utja is bezárult előtte. A földről elüzték, a városba nem menekülhetett, aki még a földön maradt, még nagyobb szolgaságba jutott. Nem csoda, hogy lázadás-lázadást követett. Sajnos azt mind vérbefojtották!

Tehát a parasztlázadások hajtó ereje is a városokban született meg. A hübéri rendszer bomlását meginduló ipar és árutermelés robbantotta azokat ki.

A városok belső alakulása.

A városok a hübérurak és patriciusok ellen szakadatlan küzdelemben lettek naggyá és virágzóvá. Első idejükben a lakosságot vagyoni egyenlőtlenségek nem nagyon választották el. A kézmüveseknek a céhekben való tömörülésével a városok kormányzása teljesen a kezükbe került. A céhszervezet, mely a tagok közremüködésének tág teret engedett, az önkormányzat szellemét kifejlesztette bennük. Ahogy a hübéreknek megvolt az önkormányzatuk a megyékben, ugy e gazdasági érdekből kifejlesztett szellem megteremtette az önkormányzatát a város lakóinak is a városban. Érdekeit meg tudta védeni a városon belül. Legfontosabb országos ügyeit is, közvetlen a fejedelemmel intézte el.

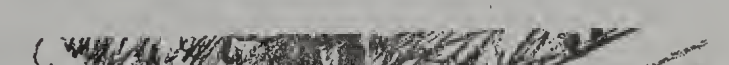
A nemesség és oligarchia fő jövedelmi forrása az ingyen jobbágy munka (robot) és a rablás volt, a városi polgáré pedig az állandó szakadatlan munkát és szorgalmat igénylő tevékenység. Tehát semmi féle közössége az ország uraival nem volt. Ennélfogva semmi érdeke, vagy ügye, nem tartozott a megyei, vagy országgyülés elé. Valóságos külön városi országgyülést teremtett magának. Nem a városok igazodtak az országhoz, hanem a városok sajátságos érdekeihez volt kénytelen az ország is alkalmazkodni.

Az emberek társadalmi tömörülésének is a városok vetették meg első szerves alapját. Ez a céh szervezet, mely eleinte vallási szinezetü segélyző egyesületekből fejlődött. Későbbi célja: a verseny kizárása és a fogyasztó közönség megfelelő kiszolgálása. Szabályaikban a legszigorubban elitélték a verseny minden fajtáját; rendelkezései kiterjedtek a jogi életre, a gazdasági forgalomra, sőt a tagok magáncselekvésére és erkölcsi életére is.

Eleinte örömmel vettek soraikba minden jövevényt. Arra törekedtek, hogy minél több tagjuk legyen, hogy számbeli és hadi erejük gyarapodjon. Az általuk fejlesztett ipar és keresekedelem és szervezett erejük sulya, később a városokban teljes hatalomra juttatta őket. A patriciusokat a kormányzásból kiszoritották, a mesteremberek kormányzását vezették be.

De mihelyt uralomra jutottak és a városok egyre szabadabbak lettek, megváltozott tendenciájuk, megindult elzárkózásuk. Mig harcolniok kellett, örömmel látták, ha többen telepednek le a városba, de a hatalomra jutás után elzárkózva egyedül akartak uralkodni.

A virágzó ipar és kereskedelem lassan vagyoni egyenlőtlenségre vezetett: uj harc indult meg a céheken belül is. A legények és mesterek harca, amely még — ha más formában is — egyre



Az acéltröszt rabszolgái.

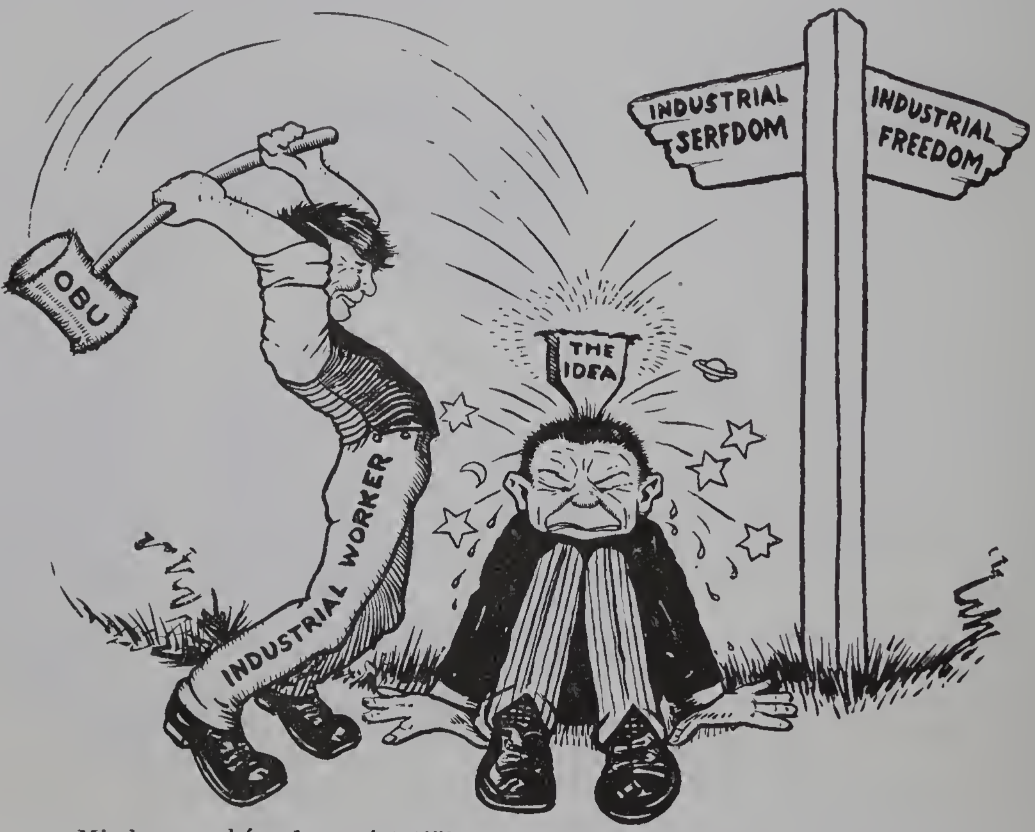
tart. (Ennek a tárgyalása szintén kiesik e fejtegetés keretéből.)

Az árukereskedelemből, uj világrészek felfedezése következtében kicsirázó kapitalizmus érdekének a kis üzem nem felelt meg. Megkezdődtek a nagyobb munkatelepek (manufakturák) létesitései. Ezek elhatalmasodását a céhek, minden eszközzel megakarták akadályozni. Erőlködésük hiába való volt. Csupán Németország és a tőle keletre eső országok városaiban tudták uralmukat tovább tartani. Ennek oka keleten a török hódoltság, mely a fejlődést 300 évvel tartotta vissza, Németországot pedig részben a harminc éves háboru, részben a keletindiai utnak a felfedezése, mely Németországon keresztül képezte a világkereskedelem főutját a másik utra terelte át.

A mindinkább erősbödő pénztőke lett az urrá a városokban. A gyárépületek mellett eltörpültek a kézmüves műhelyek, a paloták mellett a kis lakóházak, a hatalmas szállodák mellett a kis korcsmák, az országutak mellett a szekérutak, a nagy könyvtárak mellett az olvasókörök,a nagybankok mellett a kis uzsorás, a vásárcsarnokok mellett a kis piacok, a vizvezeték mellett a gyakran kiszáradó kutak, az egyetemek és főiskolák mellett a kis felekezeti iskolák, a központi fütés, világitás mellett a cserépkályha és a mécs, később az indóházak mellett a kocsiszin, ugyszintén a gőzzel hajtott gépek mellett a kézi szerszámok. Ledőltek a városokat körülvevő falak, hogy egy egész országot várossá tegyenek.

A városok kifejlesztették minden föltételét az emberi közös társadalomnak, kifejlesztették mindazon intézményeket, melyekre ezek alapul szolgálhatnak.

Nem a városok hibája, hogy ez a társadalom nem szerveződött meg, hiszen a népesség legnagyobb számban bennük él, csupán észre kellene térniök és a várost hasznos intézményeivel együtt az egész társadalom szolgálatába állithatnák.



Minden munkással megértetjük az Egy Nagy Szervezet szükségességét.

Ausztriai szemlélődés

Irta: H. Schrőder, Wien

AZ 1934 év meghozta az osztrák fascizmus erősödését is. Ez az erősödés nem Dollfusék érdeme, hanem a "DEMOKRATA" szociáldemokrata kezelőinek gyávasága. A mindenkor szavazatokat számláló szociáldemokrata rezsim, bár a Heimwehr-féle fascista csőcselék szervezkedését még kezdeti stádiumába lebirta volna szerelni ez év februárjáig állandóan deffenzivába volt ahelyett, hogy már türelmetlen és aránylag jól felszerelt véderőség mozgositását rendelte volna el. Szó nélkül türték, hogy a védőrségnek fegyverei után kutassanak a heimweristák, azokat elhurcolják, mert nagylelküséget számitottak Dollfustól.

E folytonos taktikázás és tanácstalanság vérszemet adott Dollfuséknak és februárban elérkezettnek látták, hogy megsemmisitsék a demokráciának utolsó magvát is. Dollfus ur mielőtt akcióba fogott, lerándult Budapestre ahol Gömbös és Horthyval folytatott tanácskozásokat és kért tanácsokat miképpen volna lehetséges radikálisan elbánni rebbellisekkel a kik ugyan akkor még a jó fiu szerepben tetszelegtek maguknak. E tanácskozások révén valószinüleg kellő kioktatásban részesitették Dollfust, mert ahogy repülőgépen hazajött pár napon belül nekifogtak a szociáldemokraták megsemmisitésének. A vezérek még mindég tanácskoztak, még mindég reméltek, hogy békéssen megférhetnek Dollfusékkal a husos fazék mellett.

A munkásintézményeknél vad házkutatások vették kezdetüket, melyek egyben rombolások is voltak. A Linz-i véderősség, bár a Wieni pártvezérek szigoru tilalmat bocsájtottak ki, mely az ellentállást megtiltotta, látták, hogy itt feltétlen megsemmisités előtt vannak. A hősi halált választották, de a zászlójuk becsületét megkisérelték

Wien XXI. Schlingerhof

Bécs egyik főutcája a gépegyverek elhallgatása után.

megmenteni. Jól tudták, hogy késő győzelemről ábrándozni, a harc eleve eldőlt, mégis a harcot választották. A munkásotthonba betolakodó Heimwehr csőcselékkel szembe szálltak és kitört a harc. Ennek hatása futó tüzként terjedt el és pár órával később, már itt Wienben, még mielőtt a védőrség felocsudhatott volna Dollfus katonaságot vonultatott fel a munkás épületekhez teljes hadi felszereléssel. A védőrség tagjai közé ékelték be magukat, a vezéreket jó részben összefogdosták és e csapatok hiányos felszereléssel egységes irányitás nélkül guerilla védelmi harcot folytattak s minden megállapodás nélkül harcot kezdtek a katonasággal.

Itt is eleve eldőlt a harc sorsa. A lakósság csupán szinpatizált a védőrség hősi küzdelmével, de aktivan nem avatkozott bele. A lapuló és fegyverzett kommunisták örömükben a nácikkal együtt röhögtek a véderősség kétségbeesett küzdelmén, mert azok azt hitték, hogy majd a gyümölcs az ő ölükbe hull végül.

Miután a véderősségi tagok küzdelme minden reményt felülmult és már ugy látszott, hogy a Heimwher, hadseregi és rendőrségi egyesitett karhatalmát kifullasztja, felvonultatták a nehéz tüzérséget ágyu és aknavetőikkel eggyütt. Ezek kezdték bombázni azután a véderősség által védett munkáslakóházakat. A házakban nem csak a harcban álló munkások, de asszonyok és gyermekek tömege volt, melyet Dollfusék nem engedtek eltávozni. (Hadd dögöljön meg belőlük minnél több annál jobb.)

A Marx ház-nál a gyermekek a kertben játszottak és ugyszólván senki sem vette észre oly hirtelen vonult fel a tüzérség a gyönyörü épület komplesszumhoz. Minden felszólitás nélkül tüzelni kezdtek és itt a gránátok és kartácsok irtózatos pusztitást vittek végbe a hancurozó gyermekek sorába. Az anyák tébolyult kétségbeeséssel rohantak ki az épületből megmenteni gyermekeiket, sok anya amint kilépett, máris huscafatok formájában feküdt a játéktér porában. Az épület bolthajtásai alá aknavetőket vontattak és felfelé lőtték be a la-

Egy szétrombolt lakás a bécsi zavargásból.

kásokba a gránátokat. Minden bolthajlás kapott 5—6 ilyen gránátot mely az emeleteken bent a lakásokban explodált, holott a véderősség a kapukat és háztetőt tartotta. A harcban első pillanatokban 20 gyermek testét tépte cafatokká a keresztet viselő dollfusi rezsim ágyuinak lövedéke. A Klaus gasse 28 szám alatti ugyancsak hatalmas és gyönyörü épülete mely két utcára nyilik és a Wieni munkások székháza volt valósággal szitává lőtték az ágyukkal, még áprillis végén is elzárva tartották a fegyveres heimwehristák az utcának ezt a szakaszát és oda senkit, de főleg külföldi érdeklődőket be sem engedtek. Ennek a háznak a másik oldala a Kreitner gasse 29 számu ház, ahol egy mozgószinház is volt, ugyanolyan állapotban mint a másik oldala. Ezt a gyönyörü épületet melyben a munkások laktak is 30 gránát lövés érte,

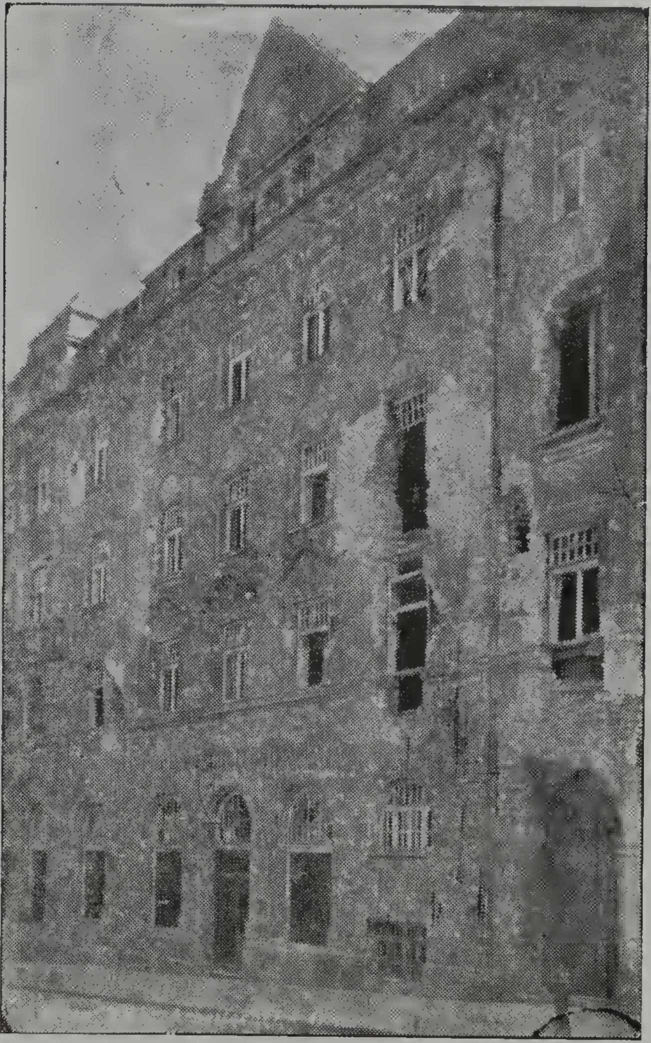
A Goethe-hof amely a duna mellett terül el egy hatalmas épülettömböt foglal el.

Csak a duna felőli részén 35 gránát érte az épületet. A lakások közfalait összerombolták, a benne levő butorok forgácsokká váltak, a lakásokban tartózkodók huscafatokká. A legrettenetesebb pusztitást itt végeztek Dollfus brigantjai. A Dunára néző fronton egyetlen üzlethelyiség, sem lakás épen nem maradt. Az épület egyik részén a legfelső emeleti lakással együtt valósággal letarolták a gránátok a háztetőt.

A harc megszünésével egyidejüleg rögtön állványokat huztak fel, és neki fogtak "alkotó munkáik" nyomát eltakaritani, legalább külsőleg de a pusztitás oly nagy mérvü, hogy még áprilisban sem lettek készek vele. Az épületeket és a környéket töltött fegyverü heimwheristák őrzik és különösen külföldiek számára lehetetlen oda bejutni szétnézés végett.

Az ellentállás leverése után a krelikális papság hálaadó diszmiséket mondott, megáldotta a brigantikat és fegyvereiket. Ez a papság, melynek a haja szála sem görbült meg a szociáldemokrata uralom alatt volt egyik ellenforradalmi szövetségese Dollfusnak és Dollfus ezek anyagi segitségével szervezte meg a Heimwher csőcseléket.

A harc leverése után szélcsend állott be a felszinen. A kommunisták rájöttek, hogy végtelen hiba volt a szociáldemokrata véderősségnek kétségbeesett harcát röhögve nézni,, mert a gyümölcs nem hullott ölükbe magától jó részben passzivakká váltak és lapulnak. Kisebb része most rágódik és keresi a kákán a csomót, hogy mik voltak a védelmi harc hibái. Ez mindenesetre könnyebb, mint harcba és esetleg mártirrá lenni. Tömeges letartóztatás, a letartóztatottak nyomorékká verése, megölése, kivégzése, ki-



Dollfus katonái elvégezték feladatukat

sérte a heimwher és a papság győzelmének utját. Még ezek el sem ültek az egyik titkos kárörvendő csoport a hitleristák elvesztették türelmüket és mivel látták a gyümölcs nem hull magától ölükbe akcióba kezdettek. A lázadásuk sokkal jobban volt előkészitve, mint a védőrségnek önvédelmi harca, felszerelésük itt tökéletes volt, összeomlásuk oka a védőrség hosszu napokig tartó harcával szemben azért következett be főleg Wienben (Bécs) mert 90 százalékban zsoldosok és nem elvi emberekből állott táboruk. A lakósság itt is passziv volt sőt ellenséges velük és akciójukkal szemben. És leverték őket akciójukkal együtt ágyuk nélkül is. Dollfust a tömegyilkost, csuhás és kapitalista bérencet elérte a végzete. A lázadó nácik egyetlen komoly cselekedete Dollfus láb alóli eltétele volt. Érdekes, hogy Fey alkancellár ki a nácik embere volt, hogy látta a puccs fiaskóját lépre csalta elvtársait. Állitólag Dollfust kit két lövéssel teritettek le, mivel a lázadók revolvereiből csak 1 golyó hiányzott, a második golyóval Fey végezte volna ki. Illetve lesből lőtt rá. Mindenesetre Fey, ki a készülő lázadásról fél nappal előbb értesült, mint közbiztonsági miniszter semmit nem csinált a kancellár életének megvédésére. Ma is miniszter. Ujra letartóztatások, nyomorékká verések, kivégzések, és a papság hálaadó miséi, hogy a lázadást sikerült leverni, töltik be Wien ezidei cselekvéseit.

Ausztria idegen forgalomból él. Bár a hivatalos urak szivvel-lélekkel a Németországgal való egyesülés mellett vannak, ezt nem teszik, mert ez esetben a volt antant kapitalistái nem hosszabbitják meg uralmi rendszerük életét. Már pedig Németország, mint bojkotált ország Ausztriától kapni és nem adni akar.

A munkásintézményeket itt is kifosztották, bár kevesebb eredménnyel mint Németországban, mert a szociáldemokraták a készpénz vagyont Prágába és Svájcba vitték az utolsó percben ki, mig ingatlanaik jórészét jóval előbb külföldiek nevére iratták át.

Az osztrák proletárság a kommunistákat kivéve hitet tett meggyőződése mellett, ennek védelmében fegyvert ragadott, és életét is kész volt feláldozni.

Nem hagyta magát csak ugy egyszerüen mint német, olasz és Magyarországon a reakció által lehengerelni. Számontartja szövetségeseit, ellenségeit, a munkásmozgalom árulóit és készül a közeli leszámolásra.

Jelenleg illegalitásban vagyunk, de szervezkedésünk a Dollfus és a papság uralma ma táborunkba szoritja politikájával azokat a tömegeket is melyek februárban szemlélői voltak kétségbeesett védelmi harcunknak.

Itt Ausztriában a Heimwher és papság uralma, nem lesz olyan hosszuéletü, mint olasz, német és Magyarországon.

Bécs, 1934 február. Ez a dátum örökre emlékezetes lesz a világ munkásságának történelmében. A bukó kapitalizmus előretolt védnökei itt törték pozdorjává a politikus szocialisták fellegvárait. Hangos figyelmeztetés a külömböző országok proletáriátusának hogy szilárd ipari alapokra kell épiteni mozgalmát.

* * *

A monogamia keletkezése és alapja

Eduard Fuchs nyomán

EZERFÉLE kisugárzásával és ezer vivmányával együtt, egész kulturánk alapja a magántulajdon intézménye. A magántulajdonra épült föl minden, vele egybeszövődik minden, az emberi szellem legmagasztosabb megnyilatkozása nem kevésbbé és nem lazábban, mint a napi élet közönségessége és kicsinysége.

A magántulajdon tendenciái teremtették és határozták hát meg a nemi morál alapformáját is. Ez az alapforma pedig a monogámia, az egypárosság.

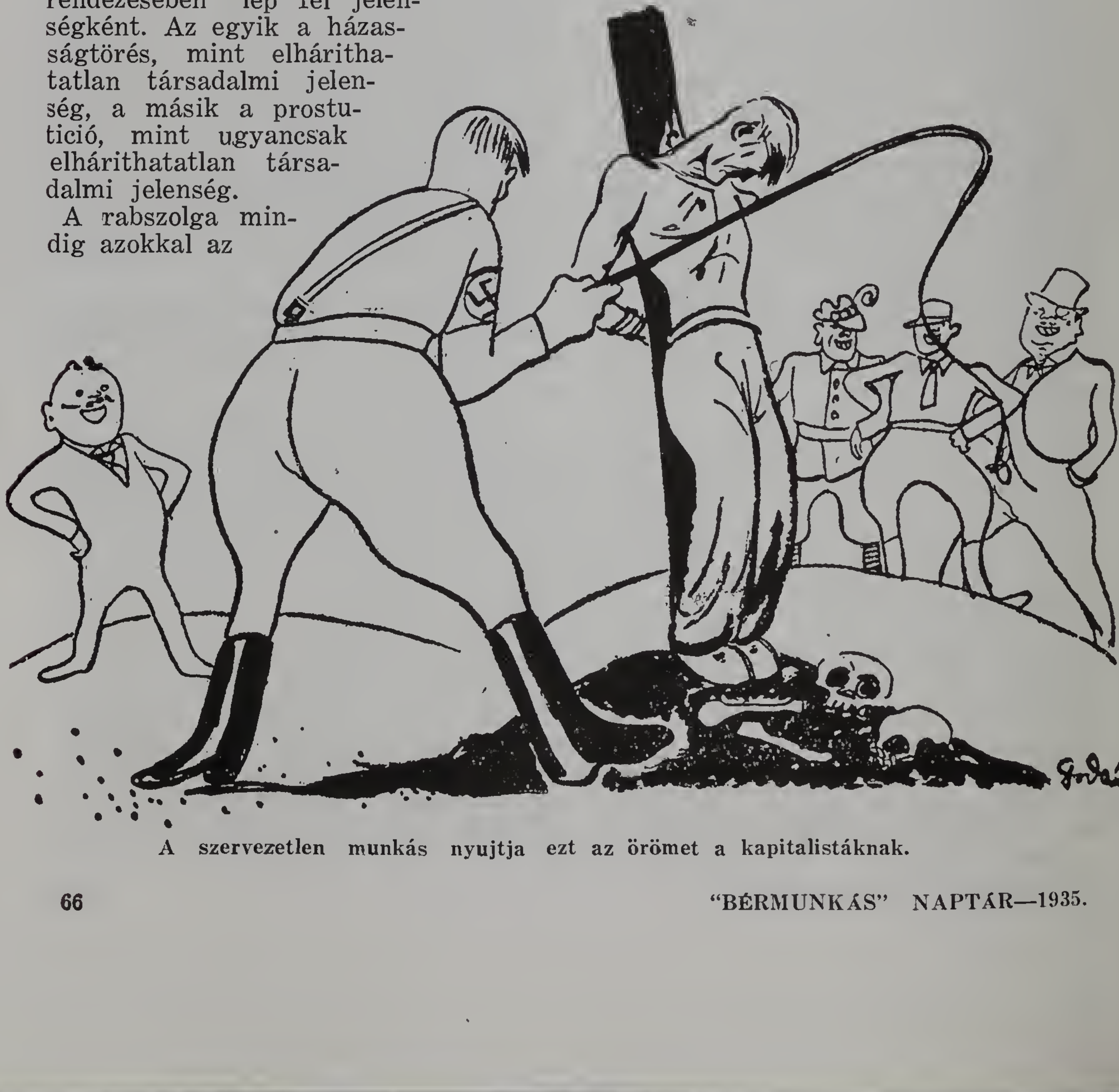
A monogámiát nem csak azelőtt, hanem általában ma is az egyéni nemi szerelem gyümölcsének tekintik. Ez pedig alapos tévedés, mert a monogámiának ezzel, sem a principiumában, sem a céljában, soha legkevesebb dolga nem volt. Hogy az egyéni nemi szerelem legyen a monogámia alapja, — ez legföljebb az az ideál, amelyre a monogámia mint intézmény törekszik, amit megérlelni azonban sohasem tudott, elérni, pedig mindezideig csak átmenetileg, legföljebb, ha egyik-másik osztálynál ért el. A monogámia egészen más kultureredményekből és egészen más társadalmi szükségletekből eredt. Eredt pedig, mint Leuis H. Morgan a "család fejlődésé"-ről szóló történeti munkájában kimeritően bebizonyitotta, a nagy vagyonoknak egy kézben, még pedig a férfi kezében — való koncentrálásából és abból a szükségletből, hogy ezt a vagyont a férfi gyermekei (és senki más) örököljék. Első és utolsó és évszázadokig egyetlen célja: a törvényes örökösök. Az asszony szüljön gyerekeket, akik kétségen kivül biztonsággal egyetlen férfitől eredjenek. A görögök akiknél a monogámia először fejlődött ki, leplezetlenül elismerték ezt a kizárólagos célját. Éppen ezért, — amit nyomban le kell szegeznünk, — a monogámia nem az asszony és férfi harmónikus egyesülésének az eredménye, nem is a legfelsőbb házassági forma, hanem, amint látni fogjuk, a "nemek összeütközésének az emberiség egész élettörténetében eddig ismeretlen proklamációja."

Ez a monogámia alapja és végcélja. A nemi tevékenység szervezeti formájának belső logikája tehát ezekhez a követelésekhez vezet: A kölcsönös nemi közlekedésnek egy férfinak egy nővel és egy nőnek egy férfival való közlekedésére kell szoritkoznia és pedig kizárólag a kettő között kötött házasságon belül. Ennélfogva tehát, ugy a férfi, mint a nő részéről, abszolut érintetlenség a házasság alatt. Ez lenne a logikus következmény, amit a monogámia intézménye az embertől megkövetel. Igaz, hogy ezt a törvényt hivatalosan is felállitották, de hajlithatatlan merevségében mindig csak a nőre volt érvényes, a férfire ellenben mindenkor legföljebb csak hivatalosan vonatkozott.

Ez feltünő és nyilvánvaló ellenmondás. De ez az ellenmondás éppen nem megoldhatatlan, sőt éppen — amint azt nyomban beláthatjuk — tényleg "a dolgok természetes rendje." Mert a monogámia nem az egyéni nemi szerelemből született, hanem konvención alapult olyan családi forma, mely nem természetes, hanem gazdasági föltételeken épül. De mivel ezek a gazdasági föltételek kizárólag a férfi gazdasági érdekeitől függenek, — igy kezdettől fogva az következett, hogy az egyik nem mindig leigázta a másikat, vagyis, hogy a házaséletben a férfié volt az uralom, ami természetesen a másik félnek, az asszonynak elnyomatásával járt. A magántulajdon keletkezése tehát csak azért követelte a nők monogámiáját, mert ezzel teljesült a cél, a törvényes örökösök elérésére. A férfiak nyilt, vagy titkos poligámiájának ellenben mi sem állt utjában. És mert a házasságban a férfi képviselei a fölényt, az asszony az alárendeltet, igy mindig a legszigorubban megkövetelte a nő érintetlenségét és épp oly gyakran a legnagyobb bünnek pecsételte az asszony hütlenségét, ugyanakkor azonban mindig magától értetődőnek találta, hogy a saját vágyai elé csak a leglanyhább korlátokat emelje. Mindez, ugyszólván, nem több és nem kevesebb, mint a dolgok belső szükségessége és éppen ezért "a dolgok természetes rendje."

E meghasonlás alapján azonban van még természetesen valami más is, valami, amit kevésbbé akartak, ami pedig szintén a dolgok "természetes" rendje: — az erőszakolt természet bosszuja. A természetnek ez a bosszuja két elhárithatatlan, a kulturánktól egyaránt elválaszthatatlan társadalmi berendezésében lép fel jelenségként. Az egyik a házasságtörés, mint elhárithatatlan társadalmi jelenség, a másik a prostitució, mint ugyancsak elhárithatatlan társadalmi jelenség.

A rabszolga mindig azokkal az eszközökkel bosszulja meg magát, amelyekkel legyőzték és leigázták. Az asszony férjén kivül férfival hajlékát meg nem oszthatja és testét másnak nem adhatja, — igy határozza a törvény, melyet a templom, állam és társadalom serdülésétől fogva lépten-nyomon, minden nyelven és ezer formában — formulában, egész életén át a nő elé tart, — a nő bosszuja pedig minden időben és minden népnél az volt, hogy más férfiakkal is megosztották hajlékukat és birták a testét és hogy a biztos apaság legföljebb erkölcsi meggyőződésen alapul. És hiába volt a társadalmi megvetés, ha egyszer a ballépés kiderült és hiába volt a kemény és gyakran barbár büntetés, amellyel az asszonyok bosszuját mindig megfenyegették. Elnyomhatatlan a hütlenség, mert a házasság alapja mindaddig természetellenes amig konvención nyugszik. Ugyan ez áll a pros-

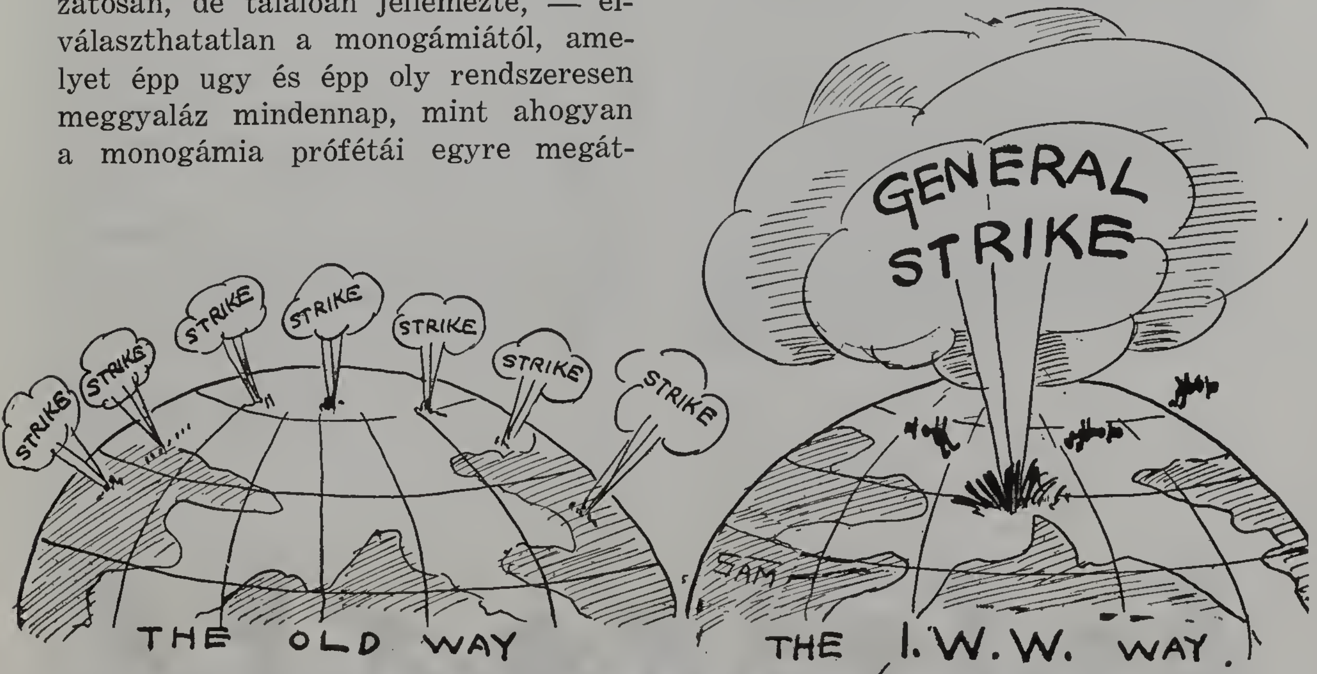


A szervezetlen munkás nyujtja ezt az örömet a kapitalistáknak.

titucióra is, a házasság szurrogatumára. Egyetlen törvény sem tudta valaha is elnyomni. Papnőinek még oly brutális megvetése sem tudta akár egyetlen napra az eleven társadalmi életből kiirtani. A prostituciónak, legfeljebb, ha néha napján bujdosnia kellett, amit néha meg is tett, de az utat rejtekhelyéhez mégis mindig minden érdekelt megtalálta. És ez az elpusztithatatlanság teljesen logikus is. A magántulajdon intézménye, a kereskedelem felé való gazdasági fejlődésen alapul és mindennek valami árujelleget adott, minden dolgot a maga pénzügyi viszonyaira vezetett vissza. A szerelem éppen azért ugyanolyan árucikk lett, mint akár a ruha. És éppen ezért a házasságok nagy részétől szinte elválaszthatatlan a közönséges kereskedelmi üzlet karaktere és amint a prostitució — a szerelemnek bérben való megfizetése, az egésznek akkorában való elintézésével ellentétben, ahogyan a cinizmus a prostitució és a házasság külömbségét gyalázatosan, de találóan jellemezte, — elválaszthatatlan a monogámiától, amelyet épp ugy és épp oly rendszeresen meggyaláz mindennap, mint ahogyan a monogámia prófétái egyre megátkozzák, éppen azért, mert végül mégis csak a prostitució az a biztonsági szelep, amelyre a monogámiának okvetlen szüksége van, hogy főcélját, a törvényes örökösöket valahogyan biztositsa. Szóval tehetünk akármit és ha még oly bosszantó és kinos is a dolog: házasságtörés és protitució elkerülhetetlen társadalmi jelenségek.

Hogy megváltozik-e ez az állapot valaha? ugy felelhetünk rá: hogy ha a magántulajdonra épitett társadalmi rendszer megváltozik, illetve megszünik, a házasság intézménye is a megváltozott gazdasági rendhez idomul.

Az uj gazdasági rendszer megvalósitására kizárólag a forradalmi munkás mozgalom van hivatva, amely a mai rendszert nem foltozgatni akarja, az intézményeket nem uj vezetőkkel ellátni törekszik, de az egész rendszert minden káros intézményével megszüntetni és helyébe az Ipari Demokrácián alapuló intézményeket helyezni el, amelyek tisztán és kizárólag a nép érdekét szolgálják.



Elavult és uj módszerek a munkásharcokban.

AZ OSZTÁLYHARC HŐSEINEK MA

A lét bitófájára vonszolt életek vére
csobogva lecsorog a pocsolyába, s
az ökrök, birkák vérmocskos patája
vadultan gázol a sáros utakon.

Feltornyosult jajjok járnak az égbe;
átkok morajlanak bárgyu lagerokból,
aknákat termel ma a világ,
osztály-akarások lávája sistereg.

Az ember-gép betört bordája bolond
szilánkokkal mered a mechanizmusra;
hájas agyak a multját pörlik vissza:
kisértetek kacarásznak az ormokon.

Kimult kulturák hiu halálhada
keresztre feszíti a riasztó Mát,
s a megállapitások hiuság-várfokán
véres fejjel vagdalkozik a Mult.

öreg bigottságok cifra uj köntösben
a döglődő ma sebeit takarják;
Krisztus föltámadt s visszafeszült:
lázas apostolok ujra tritgetnek.

Világ-emberség fénye vakit a térben,
dolgoknak arcán már uj sugárzás,
de széthullt láncok, tört ágyutorkok
ujra falankszolják a Tegnapot.

Tröszt-bálnák falják a munkásokat,
óriás testükben az elsikkadt kultura;.
a telhetetlen vágyuk egymást is vájja,
ha gyomruk romlik: gyilkot okádnak.

Malmok és bősz bányák poklában
ember, gép, genius profitot kotor
és az izzadságok mély tavai alatt
kráteres morajok szüntelen üzennek.

Korbácsolt szolgák tunyán tanyáznak
profit-uradalmak zsoldos ugarán
a megroggyant inuk sorsosan bukik
a kibérelt robot mohó gödreibe.

A gyermek-élet csak éji lepkehad:
szerteszét szőnyegzik az uton,
és sok millió kis zászló integet
a tévedt cél gép-zsoldosainak.

Tépett emberek sujtanak egymásra;
ujra a "hazáért," mely a másé;
alig-tegnap, még a "demokráciáért,"
mely körmükre ége az uraknak.

Ma keresztes-háboruk rosszsebü öle
csirázza ujra dögletes csipőjét
és tizedelt népek, tizedelt kulturák
temetője tárul a tőkés sivatagban.

De megrendül majd a pokol szive is,
ha az elvetélt Élet döngeti ajtaját,
ha az uj szabadság konok martirjai
beverik az istenek ablakait.

Ma borzalmak erdei őrzik a kaput,
amelyen tul vár egy uj világ,
virág és uj élet Munkás-birodalma —
a Mont Blankot áttörő hősökre.

SOMLÓ LIPÓT.

A debreceni Téglavető riport

Irta: Bajomi Endre

HA AZ idegen Debrecenbe jön, büszkén mutogatják neki a város uj épitkezéseit. Kiviszik a Nagyerdőre, ahol a modern egyetemi épületeket megtekintheti, a gyönyörü strandfürdőt, a monumentális stadiont. Az idegen álmélkodik és fejét csóválja. . . nem érti. . . hogyan lehet a válság éveiben ilyet alkotni? Nem tudjuk, hogy az idegenvezetők miképen felelnek erre a tapintatlan kérdésre, mi azonban megmondjuk az igazat. Hát hogyan? Inségmunkával! Ez az a varázsszer, amely olyan csodálatos hatást tud elérni. Egyrészt szép parkokat hint a földre, hogy legyen hol játszani a frauleinos urigyerekeknek, stradfürdőt épit az erdő közepébe, hogy legális uton elégitse ki élemedett urak szekszuális kiváncsiságát, stadiont teremt a sportrajongóknak, krematóriumot az enyészetnek. Másrészt e pozitiv alkotásokon kivül ennek a mesebeli varázsszernek, az inségmunkának másik, negativ haszna is megvan: lecsapolja a szociális erjedést, morális segélyt nyujt a munkanélkülieknek, nem ugy, mint egyes barbár nyugati államokban, ahol erkölcstelen munkanélküli segéllyel korrumpálják a munkásságot, nem is szólva a szovjetpokolról, ahol se inségmunka, se munkanélküli segély és — mellékesen megjegyezve — munkanélküliség sincs.

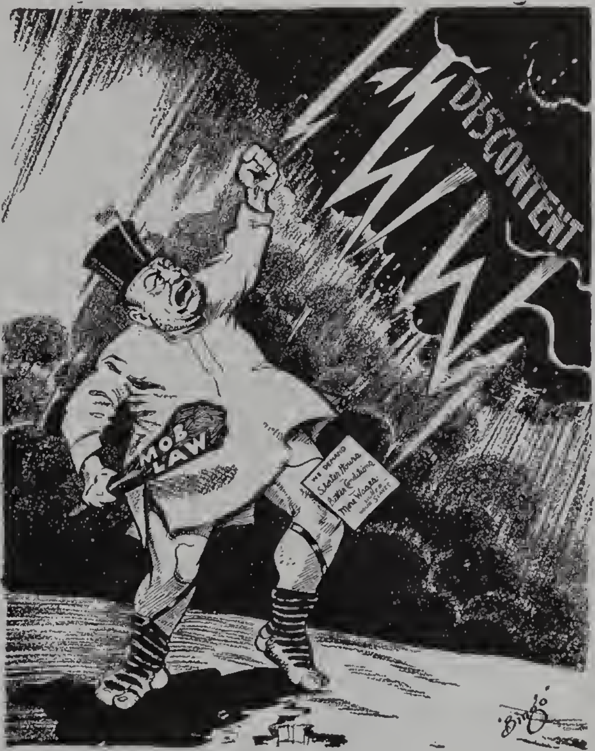
No de ne értekezzünk annyit az inségmunka szociális hatásáról, szerepéről és jelentőségéről. Minden elmélkedésnél bizonyitóbb erejü: az élet. Keressük fel az inségmunkások egyik telepét és majd meglátjuk, hogyan élnek ők maguk, az alkotók, a teremtők, akik a két kezük munkájával varázsolták elő azt a sok szép épületet, fürdőt és parkot.

Az inségmunkások nagyrésze a Téglavető nevü telepen lakik. A Téglavető a várostól három km.-nyire, északnyugatra levő téglagyárak mellett keletkezett. A sorompók után még jön egy kis üres térség, mezők, kaszálók, amely mint egy demarkációs zóna választja el a várost a teleptől. Bár a város szivétől kifelé haladva, természetesen fokozatosan romlik a kép, nő a szegénység, de ez a párszázméteres köz, amely elválasztja a várost a Téglavetőtől, mégis olyan óriási szakadékot jelent, olyan hirtelen ugrást, amelyet csak a legnagyobb fantáziával lehet elképzelni.

A poros országuton tartva, már távolról kibontakozik a 3000 lakosu, tehát egy jó magyar falu létszámával rendelkező település képe és már innen megállapithatjuk, hogy bizony sokkal kisebb területet foglal el, mint egy hasonló lélekszámu falu. Ugynevezett "határa," amely alatt a faluhoz tartozó, a falu lakossainak tulajdonát képező földet értik — egyáltalán nincs.

A Téglavető lakosai csak azt a földet birják, amely közvetlenül a talpuk alatt terül el és azért is a gazdag, a hires, tágterületü Debrecen városának 1.20 pengőt kell fizetniök négyszögölenkint. Aki 5 év alatt nem fizeti ki a telek árát, azt irgalmatlanul kitelepitik. Elvégre ingyen nem lehet adni ezeknek a nyomorultaknak ezt az óriási földterületet, amely majdnem akkora, mint a — stadion!

Amint a telep széléhez érünk, az országut mellett közvetlenül két hatalmas szemétdombot pillantunk meg, amelyeket legyek és asszonyok lepnek el. Hirtelen döbbenettel, egész nyomoruságos mivoltában jelenik meg előttünk a téglavetői élet egy jellemző epizódja. Melegen süt a nyári nap, orrfacsaró büz terjeng a levegőben, de ezzel mitsem törődve sürögnek-forognak az asszonyok a szemétdombon. Közelebb érve, látjuk, hogy a gyermekek zsákot tartanak és az anyák abba szedegetik össze a különféle ócska holmikat és néha a sok lim-lom közül, mint valami gyémántlelet, kerül elő egy használt vaskályhacső vagy valami kiderithetetlen növényi eledel, amit fel lehet használni a konyhán, vagy ami jó a kecskének. Felénk sem szagolnak, se nézéstől, se fényképezéstől nem zavartatják magukat, egészen belemerültek a dologba. Ez számukra a munka. Évezredeket csuszva visszafelé, a nomád életen is tul, a primitiv gyüjtögető életmódhoz kényszerültek folyamodni. Magukhoz véve egy foltos vén zsákot, járnak a szemétdombra és járnak a rétre füvet tépni a kecskének. Mint megtudtuk, a kecske itt a legfőbb háziállat, akárcsak a kietlen hegyvidékeken, mert kevéssel beéri és mégis ad tejet, turót és a gyerekek is elbánnak velük, istálló sem kell, szóval van sok előnye. Egy kecske itt körülbelül 15 pengőt ér.



Az elégedetlenség nyilai.

Az országutra letérve, a Téglavető főutcájára jutunk, amelyet igen találóan, méltó nevén Gödrökköz utcának hivnak. Ha végigmegy rajta az ember, elámul szeme-szája a nagy csodálkozástól. Csodálatos és fönséges a naprendszer óriási bolygóival, millió kilométeres távolságaival, nagyságával és gyorsaságával. Még csodálatosabb az ellenkező végtelenség piciny világa, az atom mikrokozmosza, millimikronos parányi távjaival és elektron-rendszerének elképzelhetetlenül kicsiny pontosságával. Szép és csodálatos a Rue de la Paix, az Unter den Linden, a Kaerntnerstrasse vagy az Andrássy-ut, de mik ezek a Gödrökközutcához képest!

A Gödrökköz-utca a nyomor változatosságát mutatja. Ez a nyomor nem egyhangu és nem szintelen. Van rajta mit nézni és van rajta mit csodálni. Ahány ház, annyiféle változata a kunyhóknak, oduknak, lyuknak, gödörnek. Ahány tető, anynyiféle fedőanyag. Szalma, zsup, kukoricakóró, cserép és semmi! (Mert van tetőnélküli ház is.) Hát még a keritések! Általában ugyan nincs semilyen, de néhol van ócska hordóabroncsból, van rozsdás drótsövényből, van fából, bádogból, papirból, szőnyegből. Kémény van lábasból, pléhből, semmiből. Konyha áll ódon sparhertből, 3 összetapasztott téglából, 2 téglából, semmiből. Ablak van még faspalettás is! Némelyiken gyanus eredetü csipkés függöny diszeleg. Van azonban olyan, amelyen nincs üveg, csak keret, van emelyiken nincs keret, csak egy lyuk és van olyan "ház," amelyiken nincs ablak, csak ajtó és van olyan, ahol ajtó sincs, csak egy bejáró lyuk, amelyet talán egyesitett ajtóablaknak lehetne nevezni. A Gödrökköz-utca a nyomor ilyen szines, változatos világát nyujtja.

A telep mintha kihalt lenne. Csak az állatok és gyerekek szaladgálnak össze-vissza. Lógó nyelvü kutyák éhesen kódorognak valami hulladék után, kiálló bordáikon rengeteg léggyel van tele a lelógó bőr. Az utcák girbe-görbe szakadozotsággal térnek el az eredeti irányvonaltól. De nem csak horizontálisan, hanem függőlegesen is erősen szeszélyes az utca: mély gödrök tégla- és egyébb törmelékekből álló halmokkal váltakoznak. A házak nem nagyobbak egy rendes szobánál, mellettük van ól, kut (a földbe vájt 4—5 méteres gödör, oldala betonozva, tetején fedél természetesen nincs) és távolabb az árnyékszék. Egy jellegzetes téglavetői W. C.-t láttunk rögtön az országut mentén: háromoldalu vályogfal, belül egy deszka-ülőke, elől nincs ajtó, de van egy szakadozott zsák, amely felülről lefele lóg és körülbelül elfedi a bentülő fejét, de ezt csak a felnőttek használják, a gyerekek ott végzik el a dolgukat, ahol éri őket. Szóbaállunk egy gyerekkel, illetve csak azt hisszük, hogy gyerek, 10—12 évesnek néz ki. Mint kiderül: 15 éves. Hosszu parasztnadrágban van, ócska leventesapkával a fején. Jobb válla alatt kis pup domborul. Nyakán hosszu forradás. Bizalmatlan, halkan beszél:

— Apám nyolc évig dolgozott szénbányában. Most otthon fekszik. Munkaképtelen. Anyám nincs. Nekem kellene eltartani. De nincs munka. 15 éves vagyok. Hust, tésztát emlékezetem óta nem ettem. Kéregetni, lopni gyáva vagyok, tulnehéz munkát végezni gyenge. Apám rövidesen meghal. Aztán én is. . .

Mindezt nagynehezen lehet kihuzni belőle. A lakást nem akarja megmutatni. Nem tudja, mifélék vagyunk. Csak — ugy látszik — nincs bizalma bennünk. Hangja végtelenül panaszos, de nem lázadó. Fiatal fiunál ilyen letargikus pesszimizmust még nem tapasztaltunk. (Imrédy, mint legutóbb kijelentette: optimista.)

Megyünk tovább. Egy keritésen ilyen felirat lóg: "EZ A TELEK ELADÓ." Megtekintjük a "telket." Csupa gyom. A giz-gazban egy fiatal férfi fekszik. Feltápászkodik.

— Mennyi ez a telek?

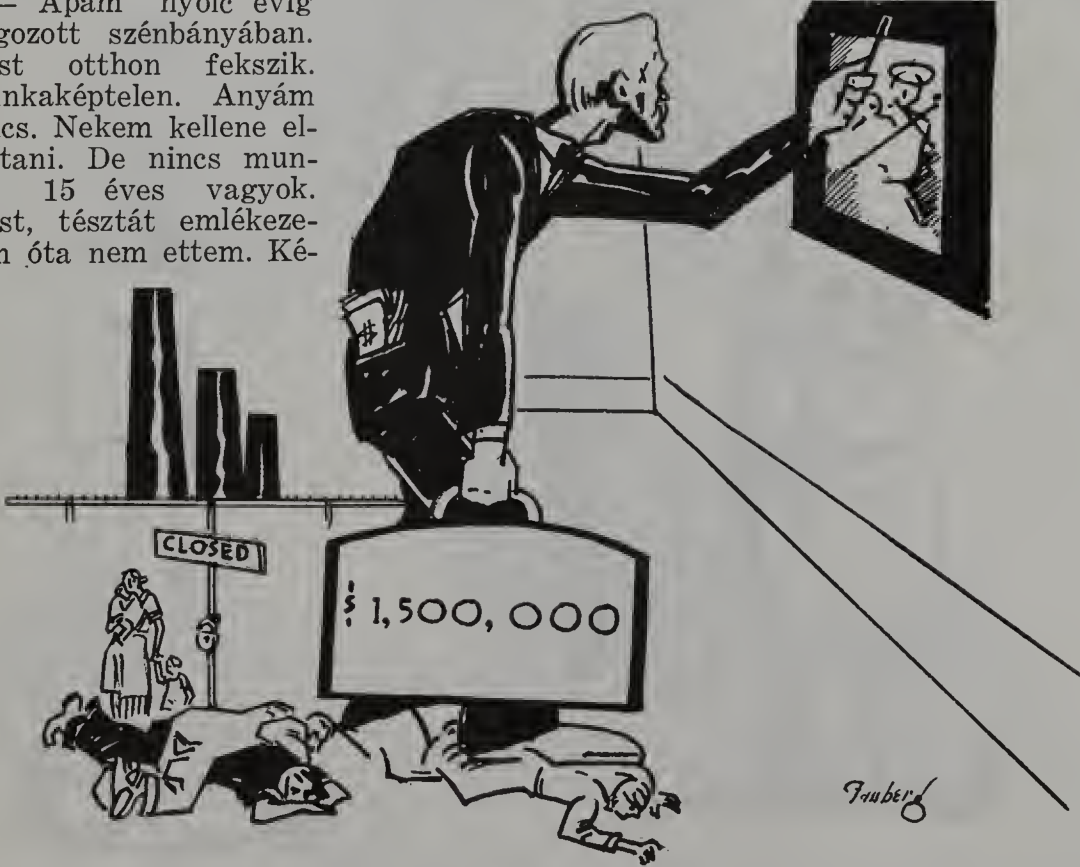
130 pengő.

— Hiszen akkora sincs, mint egy nagyobbfajta sirhely!

— De házzal együtt annyi.

— Ház? Hol van?

A hátunk mögé mutat. Meglepetten látjuk, hogy csakugyan van ott vala-



A termelt áruk helyszinén pusztul el a szervezetlen munkás család.

mi földbevájt viskó. Ajtaja nincs. Be lehet látni: légy, legyek, piszok, limlomok és ócskaságok halmaza.

— Van ól is! — mondja az ember. Egy, a háztól nem sokban különböző lyukra mutat. A "ház" és az "ól" egyformán piszkos, egyformán egészségtelen, a különbség mindössze annyi, hogy az egyikben emberek, a másikban állatok laknak. Egyébként néhol ez a különbség is elsimul, ott t. i., ahol a ház és ól együtt van.

Füszerkereskedés. Cégtábla, üzlethelyiség nincs. Csak egy kalyibára van irva: "Kenyér kg. 20 fillér." Persze itt a kenyér — füszer, lukszus, minden. Feltünő, hogy sok helyen ki van irva a lakó régi foglalkozása: cimfestő, kovács, stb. Mindez persze csak emlék, mert itt minden férfi munkanélküli.

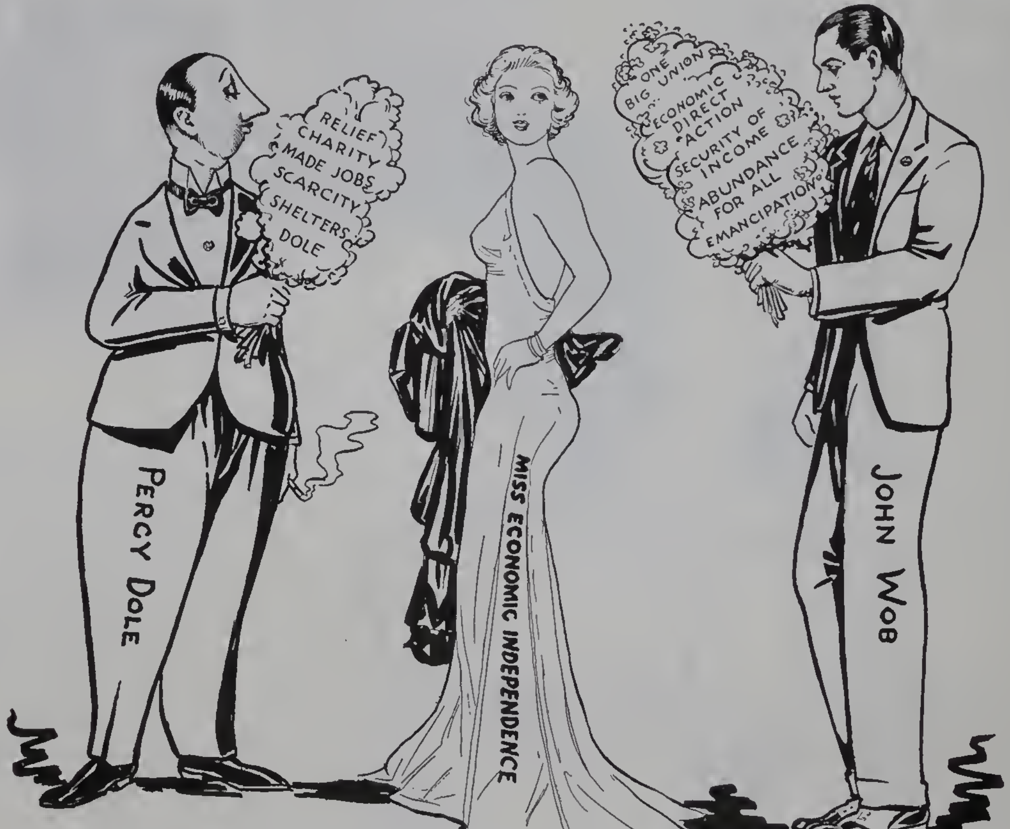
Benézünk egy átlagos kinézésü házba. (Félbenmaradt cseréptető, ajtó itt sincs, csak egy rothadt zsák, mint függöny.) A ház, illetve szoba, jobbanmondva lakás közepén teknő, benne egy gyerek kergeti magáról a legyek felhőit. Piszkos. Két szék. Törött. Egy asztal, egy ágy, egy szalmazsák, petróleumlámpa. A falon két kép: egy elegáns iparos fényképe és egy régi ujságból kivágott Ferenc Jóska. Körülnézünk. A gyerek elvisitja magát. A szomszédból egy férfi jön át. Meg egy másik. Köszönés.

— Meg lehet nézni a lakást? — kérünk utólagos beleegyezést.

— Meg! — feleli olyan hangon, mint akinek semmije sincs titkolni való és semmi, amit veszithetne.

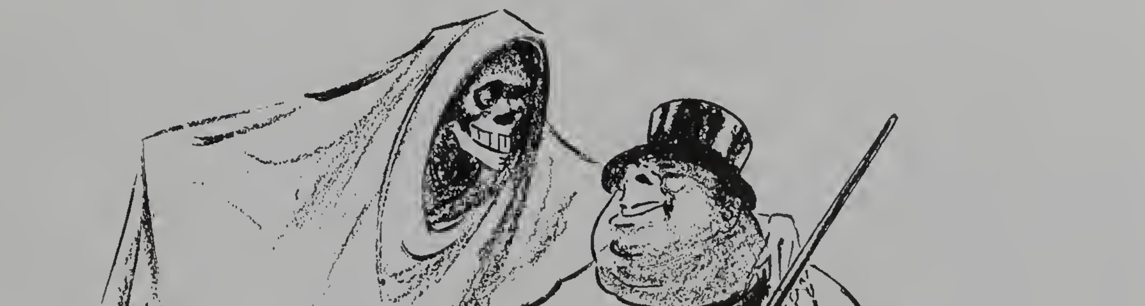
Eleinte bizalmatlan. De a másik teltszáju proli. Hónapos szakálla le-fel remeg, mikor beszél. . . beszél, csupa elnyomott erő, csupa elfojtott elégedetlenség. Lassan belemelegedik a beszédbe. Jól esik neki. Vastag sugárban buzog, sőt patakzik fel belőlük a nyomor borzalmas siráma:

— Évek óta vagyunk munka nélkül. Egész évben csak az inségmunka ke-



Az amerikai demokrácia gyakorlatban.

retében dolgozunk egy pár hétig. Persze, a keresetet rögtön feléljük. Hogy mégis megvagyunk: valóságos csoda. A városba sem járunk be. Nem érdemes. Ugy sincs semmi. Az "embervásárba" sem járunk. Városi napszámos nem kell. A parasztnak mégis van valami enni, ő olcsóbban elmegy aratni. Nem birjuk a versenyt. Nincs bennük semmi öntudat. Pár fillérért dolgoznak hajnaltól napszállatig, mint a barom. Mink meg itt rohadunk. Etetni kell a gyerekeket. Fizetni kell a telek diját. Azért ide is eljönnek beszedni az urak. Nem biznak semmiben. — Négy évvel ezelőtt elmentünk munkát, kenyeret követelni. Piros cédula volt a kalapunknál. Engem ugy hátbavágtak egy kardlappal, hogy na. Azóta sem tüntettünk. Nem szervezkedünk. Ujságot nem olvasunk. Politika nem érdekel. Igy is rossz, ugy is rossz. Szegény ember fogja be a száját. Van egy imaház, vasárnap eljárunk oda beszélgetni. Egyszer összehivott bennünket Benke Tibor tiszteletes ur, cigarettával kinált és kérte, hogy támogassuk Vásáry polgármestert, mert nagyon furják. Na, hogy mi támogassuk! Mink! Akiknek ilyen telepet méltóztatott adni. Ilyen szép tetőkkel! (A félbehagyott fedélre mutatott.) De még ezt is elveszik felőlünk. Ma reggelire kenyeret ettem. Mi birjuk az éhezést, de a gyerekek rinak. Iskola? Persze, könyv kellene. Irka, világitás kell. Télen cipő kell. Aki kimarad, azt szigoruan megbüntetik. Jaj, a tél! Betegség, hideg! Fogadom, hogy egy egészséges ember sincs itt. Télen a heptika, nyáron a tifusz arat. Tüdővész, tifusz, tüdővész . . . El vagyunk-e keseredve? Fene



Az utcán lármázók tömege a legbiztatóbb látványa a tőkésnek és a halálnak egyaránt.

tudja, megszoktuk. Egész napi semmitevés: unalmas! Néha kártyázunk. Olykor nevetünk is. Ha asszonyaink nem volnának: egy-kettőre éhenvesznénk. A piacra járnak, vagy mosni mennek. Foltoznak, varrnak. Bezzeg, ők is az urak, ők hordják a kalapot. Nem sokra becsülik a férfiakat. A lány, akárhogyis, legrosszabb esetben kereshet a testivel. De mink? Mivelünk mi lesz?

Letörten hallgatnak el. Semmivel sem biztatjuk őket. Nem ér itt semmit a vigasztalás. Elbucsuzunk. "Mi lesz velünk," — zug fülünkbe a kérdés. A kérdés, amelyet nem lehet elfelejteni.

———

Gyerekek játszanak a porban. Főzőcskét. Az egyik kislány kavicsokat rakosgat.

— Ez a hus, ez kenyér, ezt megtörjük, vizbe öntjük, veres bor lesz belőle. Terka, te mit szeretnél enni?

———

Messzebbről csunya szitkok hallatszanak: egy apa szidja ringyó lányát, mert kevés pénzt hozott haza. (A Ferenc József-ut 62. szám alatt egy apa azt mondja a fiának: Remélem, nem fogod nőkre költeni!)

Visszaérkezünk a városba vezető ut mellé. Gyerekek jönnek zsákkal, viszik a füvet a kecskének. Asszonyok jönnek a városból, hangosan társalognak. Szófoszlányok: "Öt pengő. . két napig dolgoztam ingyen a rühesnek. . . 48 fillér. . . harisnya. . . 16 fillér. . . kenyér. . . hogy a nyavalya törje ki. . ."

———

Félóra mulva a városban vagyunk. A Bika előtt két urforma beszélget:

— . . . hidd meg, kérlek, egy észszerü földreform, talán az még segithetne.

— Á, fenét, kérlek, nem ér az semmit. Gyökeres változásra van szükség. Vagy visszatérünk a régi jó idők liberális gazdaálkodására, hogy fellendüljön a vállalkozói kedv, a kezdeményező erő és az egyéni iniciativa, vagy elpusztulunk, mint a férgek. . .

Botjával nyomatékosan veri az aszfaltot, lesujtóan dobja el kiszit cigarettáját.

A cigarettavég a járda mellé hull. Öt perc alatt elhamvad. Félóra mulva biztos jön egy proligyerek, szájába veszi és fütyörészve megy tovább. . .

* * *

A munkanélküliek elhelyezése, mint látható épp oly probléma a kis Magyarországban, mint nagy Amerikában. Itt kicsikét késve, de már pengetik az inségtelepek alapitását. Ezt be sem várva hatósági közbenjárás nélkül szervezték meg a debreceni inségtelepekhez hasonlók ezreit, mely a folyók és tavak partjait, vasutak mentét tarkitják szerte Amerikában. Felnőttek és gyerekek, aggok és árvák az életszinvonalnak nehezen leirható, még nehezebben érthető, szinte csodás mélységben vegetálnak a társadalom söpredékévé redukálva.

Szerk.

Jézus Krisztus sikkasztott

Irta: **Farkas Antal**

A FŐTISZTELENDŐ ur a két káplánnal együtt jött haza a temetésről. Zsiros temetés volt. A megboldogult hárompapos ceremóniát rendelt meg a maga számára és az ágya körül szomoru képpel üldögélő örökösöknek meghagyta, hogy a temetésért kerek száz forintot fizessenek a plébános urnak, aztán tegyenek a lelkeüdvösségére vagy ötszáz forintos mise-alapitványt.

A megboldogultat ugyanis kinos érzések gyötörték. Uzsorás volt világéletében és akit betudott csapni, becsapott. Mikor érezte, hogy itt kell hagyni ezt a virágző üzletet, mely annyit juttatott koldusbotra s oly szép vagyont hozott neki, eszibe jutott, hogy lehet ám más világ is. A papok mindig erről prédikálnak, az iskolában is ezt tanitják; hátha igazuk van?

Ha történetesen igazuk van, akkor megette a fene a dolgot. Amiért a földiigazságszolgáltatás nem csiphette nyakon, majd elbánik vele a tulvilági. Az a néhány öngyilkosságba hajszolt hitelező már a másvilág kapujában torkon ragadja:

— Itt vagy, vén gazamber, Csató András! Gyere csak az uristen elé, majd leszámolunk!

Az uristen menten rápipakodik:

— Hogy mersz elébem jönni vén disznó? Százhusz percentre dolgoztál ugye?

Csató András lelke tagadni próbál.

— Hadd el, most nem a járásbiróság előtt állsz. Hamis tanuk itt meg nem menthetnek. Örökéltig tartó purgatóriumra itéllek. Most a pokolba!

Csató Andrást megfogják az ördögök. Olyan barackokat nyomnak a feje bubjára, hogy csak ugy füstöl bele. Aztán forró vizzel telt üstbe nyomják, szurokba mártják, meggyujtják, sütik-főzik, vasvillával forgatják és ez a mulatság mindaddig tart, amig az uristennek tetszik, mig Csató András lelke meg nem tisztul a százhusz percentes bünöktől.

Csató András ezt mind elgondolta a betegágyában. Elhivatta a papot, aztán tanácskozott vele. A pap beszédéből Csató András tehát meggyőződött arról, hogy a pénz igen hasznos portéka. A földi igazságszolgáltatást is meg lehet vele venni, de a tulvilágit is ám. Ha szép temetése lesz, ha nem sajnálja a pénzt a miseköltségekre, hát az ur Jézus Krisztus szivesen közbejár a másvilágon az ő lelke érdekében. Szól az atyaistennek, hogy Csató Andrással kiméletesen bánjon, aztán igy hamarább megszabadul a purgatóriumbeli gyötrelmektől.

Csató András azt gondolta magában:

— Lám még a másvilágon is huncutok vannak. A pénzzel ott is lehet boldogulni. Az ördög sajnálja azt a kis költséget, ugy sem veszem semmi hasznát, ha egyszer kiszáll belőlem a szusz, Kenjük meg a Jézus Krisztust, igy majd szivesebben protezsál. Ha pedig nincs másvilág, ha a papok hazudtak, akkor ugyis mindegy. Semmi kellemetlenségem nem lesz többé.

Csató András igy jutott hárompapos temetéshez és a plébános ur igy jutott mise-alapitványhoz. A főtisztelendő ur igen örült neki. A temetésért kerek száz pengőt kapott az örökösöktől, akik azt igérték, hogy a mise-alapitványt is behozzák még a héten.

A főtisztelendő ur a temetésiköltséget bezárta az iróasztala fiókjába, aztán levetkőzött és leültek kártyázni.

A nagyobbik káplánnak csunya szerencséje akadt. Nyert, folyton nyert. A plébános ur hiába szivta a körmit, a nagyobbik káplán minden bankot besöpört. Már bekellett menni pénzért a szobába. A Csató András temetési költségét akarta kihozni az asztal fiókjából.

Kinyitja a fiókot, keresi, kutatja a pénzt, de nem találja sehol. Irgalmatlanul káromkodik, de ez sem használt.

A pénz nem volt az asztalfiókban. Már a csendőrökért akart küldeni, hogy megmotoztatja a szolgálót, meg a kocsist, mikor az iróasztalon egy kis irást pillantott meg. Azt mondja az irás:

— Kedves pásztorom! Igazán szép beszédet mondtál arról a vén uzsorásról. Magam is majd elhittem, hogy ugy van, ahogy te mondod: Csató András becsületes ember volt, kitünő hazafi, buzgó egyháztag. Hanem az én privát értesülésem mást mond. Csató András gazember volt, még pedig akkora gazember, hogy a magam reputációja megőrzése arra kényszerit, hogy az én Atyám előtt kegyelemre ne ajánljam. Még ezért a száz forintért se, amit az én nevemben megkerestetek, amit az én egyházam céljaira adtak. Tudván azt, hogy ti apostoli egyszerüséggel megáldott emberek vagytok, akik lelketek mélyéből megvetitek a világi vagyonnak e hitvány termékét, a pénzt, ami külömben is engem illet és nem titeket, a száz forintot köszönettel fövettem tőletek azzal a jó szándékkal, hogy a Csató András áldozatai között szétosztom. Ezzel a jócselekedettel tan tudok segiteni a Csató András lelkén.

Kiment a káplánhoz és az irás fölmutatása mellett elmondta a csodát.

— Ez nem illik a Jézus Krisztustól! Tetszett volna kölcsön kérni, vagy itt bankot adni. A pénzszerzésnek ez a módja beleütközik a büntető paragrafusokba. Jelentsük föl a rendőrségnél.

A kisebbik káplán türelemre intette őket.

— Hátha a Jézus Krisztus csak tréfál. Ne kompromittáljuk az isten fiát a falubeliek előtt. Ha hitelét veszti, igazán nehéz lesz az ő nevében üzleteket kötnünk. A nyugtát megőrizzük s annak idején bemutatjuk a püspök ur ő eminenciájának, ha megakar bennünket számoltatni. Játszunk tovább!

A plébános ur egész éjszaka nem tudott aludni. Nagyon sajnálta a száz forintját. Megeshetik, hogy a Jézus Krisztus a saját céljaira használja föl. A mai romlott világban minden megtörténhetik.

A mise-alapot másnap behozták az uzsorás örökösei. A plébános ur az ötszáz forintot belehajtogatta a tárcájába és a tárcát a reverendája belső zsebébe dugta.

— Igy csak nem viszi el a Jézus — gondolta magában.

Akkor nap misét is mondottak Csató András uram lelke üdvéért. Este a jegyzőéknél vacsorázott a plébános ur és éjfél után hangos jókedvében bezörgetett a falu legszebb menyecskéjének ablakán. akinek az ura külföldre vándorolt és akire a plébánia szakácsnéja igen haragudott, míg meg nem érkezett a nagyobb káplán ur

A reverendát itt levetette a főtisztelendő ur és világos hajnalban vette magára. Mindjárt a tárcáját nézte. A pénz nem volt sehol, hanem a helyén ez az irás állott:

— Tisztelt pásztorom! Igazán haragszom rád, hogy ide fárasztottál. Én a keritésen való átugrálásokat nem szoktam meg. A kapun hiába zörgettem volna, ugysem eresztettetek volna be, azt hivén. hogy Cifra Péter érkezett haza külföldről. A dolog igen sürgős, mert Csató András lelke nagyon jajgat a pokolban. Elhatároztam, hogy megmentem, hiszen te is nagyon kértél erre a reggeli misén. Leghatásosabb eszköznek mutatkozik az öngyilkosságba kergetett szerencsétleneken való segités. A mise-alapitványt kiosztom köztük. Ez ugy is engem illet, nem titeket. Arra a célra adódott, hogy Csató András lelke megmentődjék. Az én egyházam már olyan gazdag és azok az özvegyek és árvák olyan szegények. Béke velünk! Éljetek apostoli egyszerüségben. Ne kártyázzatok! Ne lumpoljatok! Ne kivánjátok a ti felebarátotok vagyonát és házastársát! A miséket alapitvány nélkül is elmondhatod, az én nyugtám ellenében.

Dicsértessek én, a Jézus Krisztus.

A főtisztelendő ur nagyot káromkodott.

Én?! Pénz nélkül misét mondjak?! Hát ha az ördög elviszi annak a vén huncut gazembernek a lelkét!

Egyenesen a csendőrökhöz ment és az egyházi pénzek elsikkasztása miatt följelentette a Jézus Krisztust.

A BOSSZU

Irta: **Csehow Antal**

EGY alkalommal kártyázgatott egy barátjánál aki a nevenapját ünnepelte Savitsch Turmanow Leo, egy átlagos nyárspolgár, akinek szép összeg pénze, kopasz kobakja és csinos felesége volt. Pechje volt a kártyában és közben eszébe jutott, hogy jó lenne egy korty konyakot inni. Felkelt a kártyaasztaltól, lábujhegyen imbolygó léptekkel kisompolygott. Utjában a szalonon keresztül, ahol a fiatalság táncolt, leereszkedően mosolygott és atyailag megveregette egy fiatal patikussegéd vállát és végre elért a büffé terembe. Itt egy kerek asztalkán álltak a konyakos üvegek. Mellettük hagymával és zöld petrezselyemmel garnirozott hideg sültek között buslakodott egy megkezdett hering. Savitsch Turmanow Leo konyakot öntött egy pohárkába, egyet csettentett nyelvével, hősies állásba vágta magát mintha egy beszédet akarna tartani és leöntötte a konyakos pohár tartalmát az elég bő torkába, közbe savanyu képet vágot akár egy vértanu. Azután egy villát ragadott és elszántan bökte a buslakodó heringbe. . . de hallva a szomszéd szobában mintha beszélne valaki. . . Rendben van, hallatszott egy merész és élénk női hang, de mikor és hol fogunk találkozni?

Hisz ez a feleségem! gondolta Savitsch Turmanow Leo aki felismerte felesége hangját, kivel beszél az asszonyka? Amikor akarod szivecském, hallatszott egy mély baszus hang, ma már alig lesz alkalom, holnap pedig egész nap el vagyok foglalva.

Hisz ez Dechtarjew! mormogta Turmanow, aki a basszusban felismerte egyik barátja hangját. Ez a bitang is ilyen dologban sántikál. Ez a csapodár asszony már Dechtarjewet is horogra kapta. Igazán ez a nyugtalan természetü asszony, nem talál nyugalmat. Egy napot nem tud átélni kaland nélkül. Igen, holnap el vagyok foglalva folytatta a basszus hang tulajdonosa. Ha akarsz irj nekem holnap. . . Végtelen örömet szerzel nekem, boldoggá teszel.

De tudod szivecském a levelezésünkre egy biztos módot kell kieszközölnünk. Valami ügyeset. Postán nem tanácsos ilyen leveleket küldeni.

Ha én irok neked, a te vén gunárod elveheti a levélhordótól. Ha te irsz nekem libuskám, megtörténhet, hogy az én öregem kezeibe kerül, és ha én esetleg nem vagyok otthon egész biztosan felbontsa.

Hát hogyan csináljuk a dolgot?

Valami ügyes módot kell kigondolni. A cselédnek nem tanácsos egy ilyen levelet a kezébe adni, mert az a vén komondor férjed bizonyára regulában tartja a cselédséget. . . Most egész biztosan kártyázik.

“Igen folytonosan kártyázik az a vén tökfilkó” és mindig veszit. Talán a szerelemben több szerencséje van, felelte Dechtarjew nevetve. Jó ötletem jött mókuskám.

Holnap este pont hat órakor a hivatalból hazamenet a városi sétakerten megyek keresztül, mert a főkertésszel kell beszélnem. Igyekezz tehát szivecském holnap este még hat óra előtt egy levelecskét a szőlőlugastól balra lévő márvány tartályba tenni. . . “Ó az nagyszerü, rendben van.” Tudod ez valami uj, folytatta Dechtarjew, ennek titokzatos és regényes ize van. Erre sem a te potrohosod sem az én sárkányom nem gondol. Ugy-e megértetted cicuskám?

Savitsch Turmanow Leo leöntött még egy konyakot és visszasompolygott a kártyaszobába. Amit most fölfedezett nem volt neki valami ujdonság, nem igen csodálkozott fölötte és legkevésbbé sem izgatta. Az az idő már rég elmult amikor ilyen dolgok miatt felizgult, a feleségét összeszidta vagy meg is verte. Idővel rájött, hogy legjobb szemet hunyni kedves életepárja szerelmi kalandjai fölött. De a ma hallott dolog mégis kellemetlen volt neki. Gunár, komondor, potrohos stb. jelzők egy kicsit sértették önérzetét. Ez a Dechtarjew mégis egy gazfickó gondolta magában, mialatt a veszteséget számitgatta. Ha az utcán találkozom vele, ugy tesz mintha ő lenne a legjobb barátom, vigyorog rám, a pocakom simogatja; most látni milyen hazug fráter! Szembe barátjának nevez, hátam mögött meg gunárnak, potrohosnak és komondornak titulál.

Minél többett vesztett annál jobban bántották a csufolódások. Ez a tejfelesszáju gondolta magában és dühében a krétát elpattantotta a kezében, no megállj te zöldfülü majd megmutatom én ki a komondor! Te gazember!

A BÉKÁK

(Goethe.)

Egy nagy tó befagyott a télen,
S a sok békát bántotta mélyen,
Hogy már nem kurutyolhat.
S mind esküvé — álmába tán,
Hogy danol, mint a csalogány,
Mihelyt a jég megolvad.
S a jég olvad, tavasz legyint,
A béka partra tör megint
És — dehogy is danoltak!
Megint csak kurutyoltak.

A vacsoránál nem tudott Dechtarjewnek barátságosan a szemébe nézni, dacára, hogy ez folytonosan kérdéseivel zaklatta, mennyit nyert? miért oly szomoru? Sőt annyira szemtelen is volt, annyira élt a házibaráti jogával, hogy jól összeteremtette Turmanow feleségét, mert szerinte az nem ügyel kedves férje egészségére. Az asszonyka pedig, mintha misem történt volna, szerelmes pillantásokkal ostromolta férjét, folyton nevetgélt, vigan csevegett ugy, hogy magának az ördögnek sem jutott volna az eszébe, hogy szarvakat rak férje ura fejére.

Amikor hazaért ugy érezte Savitsch Turmanow Leo mintha borjusült helyett egy pár gumicipőt evett volna vacsorára. Mindent megbocsájtott volna folyton nevetgélő és csevegő feleségének, ha nem jutottak volna a gunár, potrohos jelzők az eszébe.

Megérdemelné, hogy jól fültövön vágjam ezt a gazfickót, gondolta magában, no majd megkapja a magáét, morfondirozott tovább. Legjobb lesz ha jól elpáholom. . . vagy párbajra hivom és nyomorékká lövöm. . . vagy megfosztani az állásától. . . az lenne a cifra ha a márványtartályba valami jó büdöset tennék. . . mondjuk egy döglött patkányt. Az sem lenne rossz a felesége levelét kivenné a márvány tartályból és helyette egy jó zaftos verset beletenni "a téged forrón szerető Leokádiád" aláirással, szóval ilyes valamit.

Sokáig járkált föl-alá a hálószobában és valóságos mámorban uszott amikor ezekkel az ördögi tervekkel foglalkozott, egyszerre csak megállt, mutatóujját a homlokára tette. . . nagyszerü! megvan! vigyorogta, valósággal kéjelgett tervén. Na megállj majd lesz neked nemulass!

Amikor a felesége elaludt, az asztalhoz ült, elferditett kézirással és szándékos helyesirás hibákkal a következő levelet irta:

"Igen tisztőt Dulinow kereskedő urnak: —

"Igen tisztőt uram, hogyha maga máma östvére hat órakkor nem tész kétszáz rubelt az városi sétáló kert márvány kütartályba, abba amelik balkézre van az szöllőlugastul, hát maga agyon lesz lüve, meg osztán a bőrős boltját a lebegőben lesz robantva, hogy még irmagnak sé marad belüle semmi." Amikor Savitsch Turmanow ezt a levelet bevégezte kitörő örömmel ugrott fel az asztaltól.

Ezt nevezem aztán remek gondolatnak! mormogta és boldogan dörzsölte kezeit. Remek gondolat. Ennél ördögibb bosszut maga Lucifer sem eszelhet ki. Természetesen ha ez a hülye boltos ezt a levelet elolvassa ugy megijed, hogy azt sem fogja tudni, hogy fiu-e vagy leány, rögtön tudatni fogja a rendőrséget. A rendőrök persze elfognak bujni a bokrokban és amikor

Dechtarjew urfi belenyul a márványtartályba. . . Püff neki a rendőrbácsi nyakon csipi az ipsét.

Mintha látnám már hogyan fog ez a tejfelesszáju uriember habagni az ijedtségtől. Amig a dolog teljesen kiderül lesz majd nemulass!

Valószinü, hogy egy pár napra dutyiba kerül ez a kalandvágyó fickó! Nagyszerü eszme!

A levélre bélyeget ragasztott és személyesen vitte a postára. Boldog mosollyal ajkán aludt el és már régen nem aludt olyan nyugodtan. Másnap reggel szokása ellenére vigan dudolgatott és annyira megelégedett és boldog volt, hogy még tréfálkozott is hütlen életepárjával. Hivatalba menve folytonosan mosolygott és maga előtt látta Dechtarjew halálra ijedt arcát amikor majd csapdába kerül.

Pont öt órakor elment a hivatalból és egyenesen a sétakertbe ment, hogy saját szemeivel gyönyörködjön ellenségének kétségbeejtő helyzetén.

Ahá! jól kezdődik, mondotta amikor egy rendőrt látott a közelben.

A szőlő lugas közelében elbujt egy bokorba szemeit várakozóan a márványtartályra szegezve várt. Bozasztó izgatott volt.

Hat órakor pontosan megérkezett Dechtarjew.

A fiatalember jó hangulatban volt. Cilindere merészen hátrabökve ült a koponyáján, felöltője kigombolva és Turmanownak ugy tetszett mintha Dechtarjewnek nemcsak a mellényét de a szivét is látta volna.

Egy dalt fütyörészett, közben egy szivart pöfékelt.

Na megállj! nemsokára eszedbe jut a gunár meg a komondor! gondolta Savitsch Turmanow kárörvendően. Megállj csak!

Dechtarjew a márványtartályhoz lépett és egykedvüen belenyult. Savitsch Turmanow Leo egy kissé fölállt és epedve várta minden mozdulatát. A fiatalember egy kis csomagot vett ki a tartályból. Megnézte jobbról-balról és a vállát vonogatta, azután felnyitotta a csomagot.

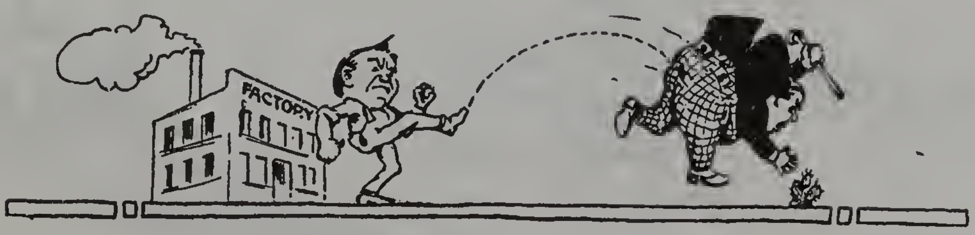
Arcáról határtalanul örömteljes csodálkozást olvasott le Savitsch Turmanow.

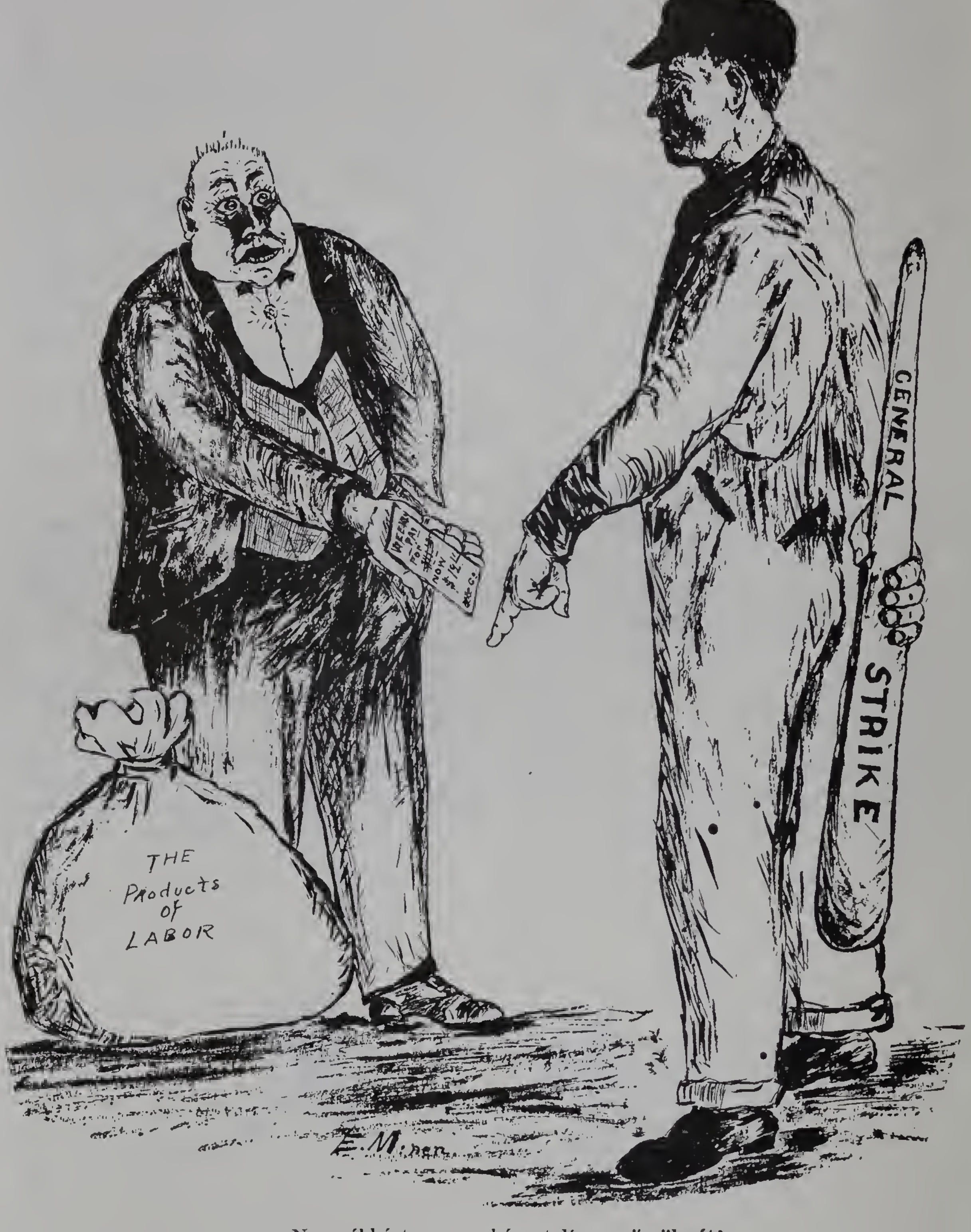
A csomagban két százrubeles bankó volt.

Dechtarjew sokáig és csodálkozva nézte a két százrubeles bankjegyet. Azután egyett rántott a vállán, zsebrevágta mindkettőt és hangosan kiáltotta ugy, hogy Turmanow is hallotta; köszönöm szépen!

A szerencsétlen Turmanow az est beáltával órák hosszat ácsorgott Dulinow boltja előtt.

Mindkét keze dühösen ökölbe szorult és folyton suttogta; gy-á-á-á-v-a! rőflovag! országos marha! gy-á-á-á-v-a kutya! ó te hájfejü göböly!

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Nem éhbért, a munkám teljes gyümölcsét!

Osztályharcok a régi Rómában

Irta: Vlasits Márton

A RÉGI kulturnépek történetéről a modern kornak elég bő ismeretei vannak. Elismert tény, hogy a Rómaiak története a régi birodalmaké között a legismertebb. A könyv nyomtatás modern technikája ma már lehetővé teszi mindenki számára a könyvolvasást. De az olvasásnak csak akkor van az osztálytudatos munkásnép részére értéke, ha azt ellemezni és forradalmi birálattal megitélni tudja. Ehez szükséges, hogy a forradalmi érzésü munkás a történelmi tényeket mindig a történelmi materializmus szempontjából gondolja át. Abból a szempontból, hogy ugy a multban mint a jelenben az emberiség történelme az osztályharcok szakadatlan láncolata. Föltétlenül tudnunk kell, hogy államok, birodalmak és az egész emberiség történetét a különböző társadalmi osztályok egymáselleni harcai, a munka és termelési szerszámok használata, a gépek és ennek kapcsolatán a termelés fejlődése befolyásolták. A történelem olvasásnak semmiféle, különösen az osztálytudatos munkásság részére értéke nincs, ha az akkori termelési erőket, gazdasági viszonyokat és osztálytagozódásaikat figyelmen kivül hagyjuk, mert ezek nélkül a történelem nem más, mint egy mindennapi, átlagos és semmitmondó regény, vagy dajkamese olvasása.

> "És lázadó? . . . ha lázadás az,
> Midőn az ember érzi és kimondja,
> Hogy ő is ember mint bárki más,
> Ugy büszkén mondom lázadó vagyok.
> S, tudnám csak mindazt, amit érzek,
> Ugy, amint érzem, kimondani,
> Föllázadnának milliók velem,
> S, reszketne a világ,
> Mint Spartacustól Róma reszketett,
> Midőn eltépett láncaikkal
> Verték falát a gladiatorok!"
>
> Petőfi, AZ APOSTOL, IX Rész

Róma város alapitása körülbelül 700 esztendővel a mostani számitás előtt történt. A monda szerint a Trojai háboruból visszajövő görögök alapitották. Erről nagyon kevés történelmi bizonyiték van és az irók csak a hagyományokra és legendákra támaszkodnak. Kezdetben a királyság intézménye állott fenn. Az uralom abszolutisztikus, magyarul, önhatalmu és senkinek felelősséggel nem tartozó volt. A királyság idejében Róma uralma csak magára Rómára és annak közvetlen környékére szoritkozott. A király az alattvalóinak élete, halála és vagyona fölött rendelkezett.

Formailag a várost szenátorok kormányozták, akik a gazdag emberekből kerültek ki. Ezek viszont mint családfők szintén a családon belül élet és halál fölött rendelkeztek. Az alacsonyabb rendü munkát rabszolgák végezték, akik az összefogdosott hadifoglyok voltak.

A királyság intézménye körülbelül 250 évig állott fenn. A királyt elkergették és helyébe a konzulátus intézményét vezették be. A konzulokat a szenátorok választották egy évi időtartamra. Konzulnak csak szenátort lehetett választani, tehát csak az uralkodó osztály tagjait. Szenátor pedig csak patricius mint az elnevezés is mutatja a születési nemesség tagja lehetett.

Ebből látni, hogy az uralkodó osztály már két és félezer esztendő előtt gondosan ügyelt arra, hogy a hatalmat megtartsa.

Nagyon természetes, hogy a patricius családok egyes tagjai többféle körülmény folytán elszegényedtek, vagy a család kiközösitette őket magából. Továbbá voltak olyanok, akik a környékbeli telepekről jöttek be a városba mint munkások vagy mesteremberek. Ezeknek a száma idővel megnőtt és ezek képezték az ugynevezett plebs néposztályt.

A királyság idejében ezeknek semmiféle jogaik nem voltak. Nem voltak rabszolgák, tehát a patriciusok nem rendelkeztek fölöttük, csak a király. Földbirtokot akkor még nem is vásárolhattak. Háboru esetén azonban sokszor nagy szolgálatot tettek a gazdagoknak. Ha a király valamely ellentétbe került a gazdag nemességgel több esetben fölhasználta a nép szolgálatát. Később a konzuli vagyis a köztársasági uralom alatt ezeknek már földbirtokot is volt szabad vásárolni és közülök sokan meg is gazdagodtak. A vagyontalan plebs-eket proletároknak, vagy mint a szószerinti forditás mondja, gyermeknemzőknek nevezték.

A rómaiak vallása nagyszerüen és hüen beleillett az államrendszerbe, mert a könnyenhivő nép józan észt megzavaró, az az butitó hatást gyakorolt. Polybios görög bölcs szerint a római vallási ceremóniákat azért üzik, hogy a tömeget elszéditvén, ne tudjon józanul gondolkozni.

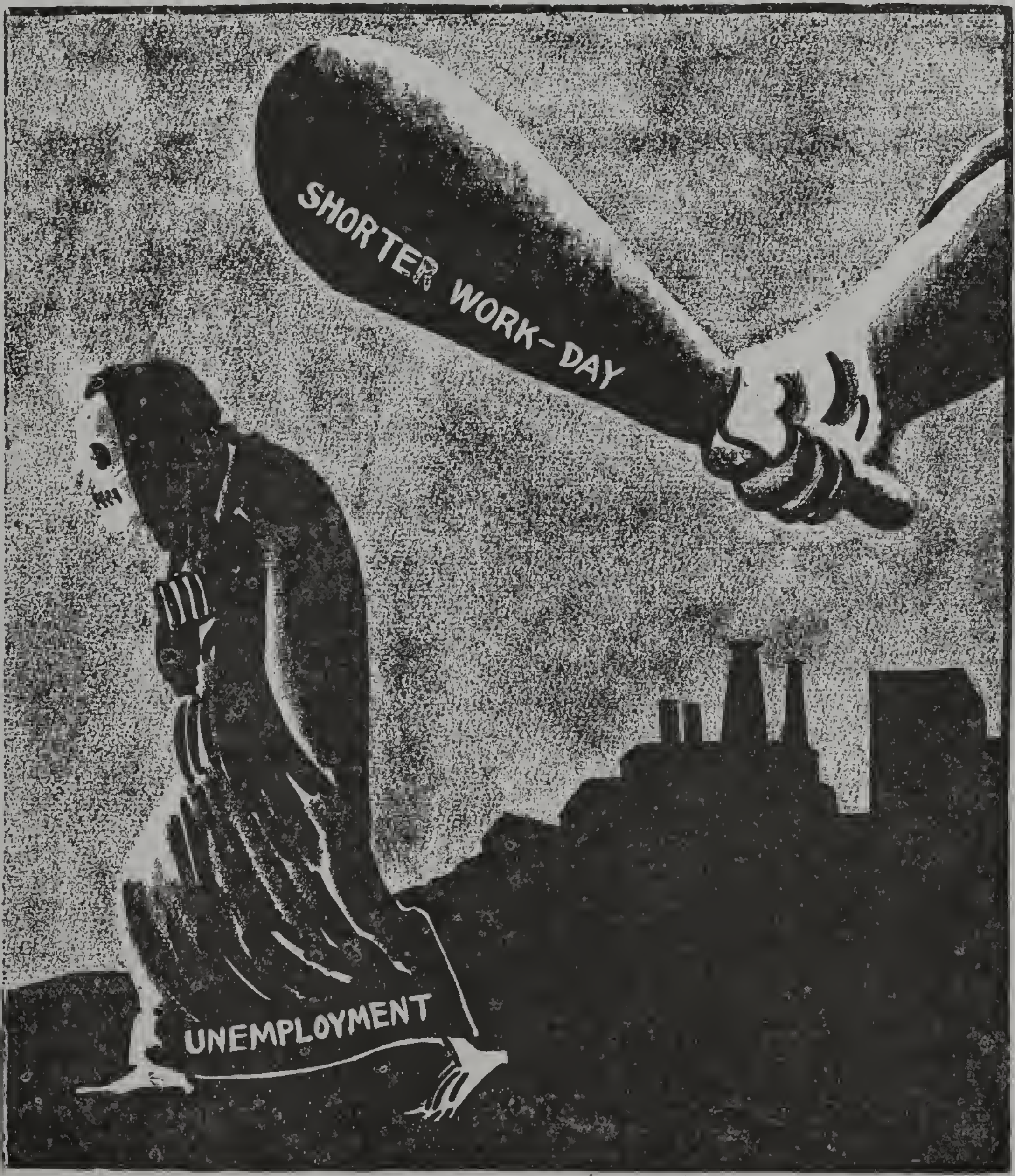
A római vallás papjai akiket augaroknak (jóslóknak) neveztek, a madár repülésből, vagy az áldozati ökör beleiből jövendöltek. Ez a gyakorlat és butitás annyira elfajult, hogy valahányszor két augar találkozott, mindig egymásra nevettek.

Tehát a római társadalom tagozódása a következő volt: Először a főnemesség amely a születési és vagyon arisztokráciából állott. Másodszor a plebs, a nép akik bár szabadok, de nem részesültek azon jogokban mint a nemesség. Az államéletre és a közügyekre bár nem nagy, de volt befolyásuk. Harmadszor a proletárok akik nem voltak ugyan rabszolgák de sorsuk csak abban különbözött azokétól, hogy uraik nem rendelkeztek életük fölött, nem lehetett eladni őket. Végül a rabszolgák akiknek a sorsa csak akkor különbözött az igavonó barométól, ha emberiesen érző urra akadtak. Ura a rabszolgát eladhatta, kinozhatta, megölhette, anélkül, hogy ezért valakinek felelősséggel tartozott volna.

A római uralkodó osztály a rabszolgát beszélő állatnak nevezte. Nem tekintette embernek.

Az uralkodó osztály történetirói a római társadalmat civilizáltnak és magasrendünek jellemzik. A római jog a kapitalisztikus termelési törvénynek és rendszernek alap forrása. De az egész római birodalom történetében nem találunk olyan embert aki komoly kisérletet tett volna a rabszolga intézmény eltörlésére. A rabszolgaság intézménye nélkül a római birodalom nem lehetett volna azzá ami volt. Az uralkodó osztály nem fejthette volna ki azt a pompát és fényüzést amely bámulatba ejti még a mai embert is. Az akkori uralkodó osztály részére a rabszolga életszükséglet volt. Aristoteles aki görög filozófus lévén a rabszolgaság intézményét föltétlenül szükségesnek tartotta és szerinte csak akkor lehet eltörölni ha majd minden szerszám magától dolgozik. Pedig tudvalevő, hogy Görögországban a rabszolgák sokkal emberiebb módon lettek kezelve mint Rómában.

Hogy az osztályok között állandó verseny és torzsalkodás volt, az nagyon természetes, Róma fölfelé törekvő hatalom volt. Állandó háboruban volt a szomszéd területek lakóival és lassanként az egész apennini félszigetet, a mai Olaszországot elfoglalta. Állandóan háboruskodott. Háboruban a nép vitte a bőrét a vásárra. Több izben csak ugy volt hajlandó a vágóhidra menni, ha neki igéreteket tettek. Az igéretek azonban csak igéretek maradtak. Végre ezt a nép megsokalta és amikor ismét háboruba vonulásról volt szó, azt a fegyvert használta a nép, amelyet ma a munkásság használ. Kimondotta a sztrájkot. A nép tömegesen kivonult a városból, a város közelében fekvő ugynevezett "Szent Hegy"-re. Egy hadvezért választott és megindult a város felé, hogy a szenátust emlékeztesse azon igéretekre amelyet már többször tett amikor a népre szüksége volt. Az volt az igéret, hogy a kiuzsorázott nép terhein könnyiteni fog. A nép még nem adta át a fegyvereket amelyeket az utolsó háboruban használt és igy a szenátusnak volt elég oka a rettegésre. A nép hadsereg megindult, és ekkor egy küldöttség jelent meg a szenátus küldöttsége. Menenius Agrippa szenátor egy beszédet mondott, amelyben elmondotta a gyomor és a többi testrészek közötti harcot. Ez a példabeszéd amelyet még ma is használnak, körülbelül igy szól: Az összes emberi testrészek igen elégedetlenkedtek az miatt, hogy a gyomor csak élvezi mindazokat a jókat amelyet a többi testrészek beszereznek és megteremtenek. Elhatározták tehát, hogy ezentul nem adnak semmit sem a gyomornak. A következmény az lett, hogy az egész emberi test felmondotta a a szolgálatot. A gyomor, Menenius Agrippa szerint a szenátus, az az a gazdag emberek voltak. Ha ők, a nép, nem adják meg a gazdagoknak a jót, az élvezetet, ugy az egész társadalom romba fog dőlni mint ahogy az emberi test felmondta a szolgálatot. Ezt a példabeszédet még a mai uralkodó osztály is találónak tartja. A rövid



A munkanélküliség orvossága: rövid munkaidő.

értelme az akar lenni, hogy szükség van a gazdagokra, mert azok nélkül a szegény embernek nem lenne munkája és nem tudna élni. Ez a filozófia akkor sem volt helyes és ma sem az.

Mindamellett a nép bedőlt ennek a félrevezetésnek és nem semmisitette meg a hitszegő államhatalmat. Csak annyit ért el, hogy az uzsoraadósságok el lettek egy időre törölve és a szenátust kényszeritették egy törvény elfogadására, amely biztositotta a néptribunátust. Tudniillik a két, a szenátus kebeléből választott teljhatalmu konzul mellé a nép választott a konzuli hatalom ellensulyozásaként két népvezért. A két választott népvezérnek a törvények alkotására vonatkozólag kevés hatalma volt. Körülbelül annyi mint a mai "nép képviselőknek." Mint birák már szélesebb hatáskörrel birtak, mert a plebejusok, a nép ügyeiben csak ők itélkezhettek. Itéletüket csak az egész város népgyüléséhez lehetett megföllebbezni. Joguk volt a konzulokat is maguk elé idézni.

Látszólag a néptribunátus intézménye demokratikus, de osztályjellegü volt. A két államfőt, a konzulokat csak is a főnemességből lehetett választani. A két népvezért a nép választotta, tetszése szerint. A néptribunoknak csak annyi döntése lehetett, hogy a meglevő törvények eltörlését megakadályozhatta, de uj törvényeket nem hozhatott. Az uralkodó osztálynak az érdeke pedig mindenekfölött az volt, hogy a meglevő törvények megmaradjanak. Ha ezek már tarthatatlanok voltak, ugy néha belegyezett valamelyes reformokba vagy foldozásokba.

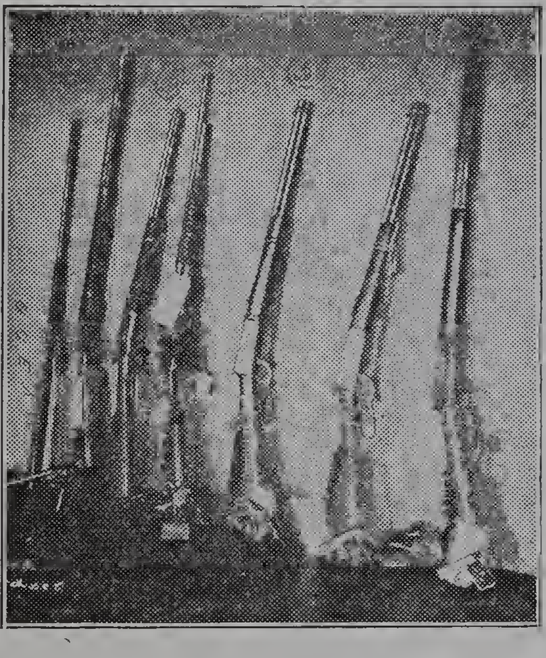
Nem lehet azon csodálkozni, hogy a nép által választott néptribunok és a szenátorok mint a gazdagok képviselői között állandó harcok folytak. Megtörtént ugyan az is, hogy a konzulok előbbrelátók voltak mint a néptribunok. Amikor az egyik konzul egy törvényt terjesztett elő, melynek értelmében az elfoglalt területek termőföldjét Róma birtoktalan polgárai között osszák föl, maguk a plebejusok voltak ellene, mert az illető konzul nem csak Rómában lakó hanem minden római polgárt beleértett.

A szenátus és a tribunok ellenezték a törvényt, de a konzul a népgyülés elé vitte. A vége az lett, hogy a konzult vád alá helyezték és mint hazaárulót végezték ki. A vád az volt ellene, hogy királyi hatalomra vágyott. Igéretet tettek a népnek, hogy majd kidolgoznak egy földosztási törvényt. De az igéret csak igéret maradt. Genucius néptribun több izben sürgette a földosztási törvény megvalósitását. Orgyilkossággal hallgatták el az igéret beváltását sürgető néptribunt. Általában véve az uralkodó szenátorok szokásukká tették azt, hogy ha a néptribunok a körmükre néztek, vagy visszaéléseiket ellenőrizték a hazaárulás vádját ellenük felhozni. A hazaárulás vádja már akkor is szokásban volt, mert ezzel lehetett a népet legjobban bolonditani. Az arisztokrácia és a nép között a harc mindinkább kiélesedett és az osztályharc jellegét vette fel. A harcnak gazdasági okai voltak és a hatalomért folyt. Az arisztokrácia látta, hogy a plebejusok általános elszegényedése Róma városán belül, reá nézve veszedelmes, beleegyezett a telepitésekbe. Mint már emlitém Róma aránylag rövid időn belül elfoglalta az egész mai Olaszországot. Hogy a népnek a folytonos hadbavonulását valamennyire izletessé tegyék megkezdték az elfoglalt területeknek római polgárokkal telepitését. Az igaz, hogy itt is mindenkelőtt a jobb földeket és a zsirosabb falatokat az uralkodó osztálybeliek foglalták el, de a forradalmi hangulat lecsapolására elég jó eszköznek bizonyult. Az eredmény azonban csak az lett, hogy a birodalomban több nagyobb város alakult, ahol a szegény és gazdag közötti ellentétek éppen ugy mint Rómában, kiélesedtek.

Nem kis szerepük volt az uzsorásoknak a római közéletben. Sokszor megtörtént, hogy egy uzsorást elitéltek. Hogy a népet megnyugtassák időrőlidőre megtiltották a kamatvevést általában. De azt már nem merték a törvényből kiküszöbölni, hogy az adós kényszeritve volt adósságainak meg nem fizetése esetén magát az uzsorásnak átengedni és neki éveken át ingyen dolgozni. Ezen törvény életben tartása jó fegyver volt az arisztokrácia és az uzsorások kezében, mert több esetben lehetett a nekik kellemetlenkedő plebejusok valamelyikét a szolgaságba alacsonyitani.

A korrupció, a hivatalnokok megvesztegethetősége, a jóbarátok és pereputyok előnyberészesitése, éppen ugy szokásban volt ott is mint a mai kapitalista államrendszerben. A néptribunok mint a középosztály és a nép képviselői a parlamentben éppen ugy mint ma, tüzes beszédeket vágtak ki az általános közéleti romlottság ellen. De azért minden a régiben maradt. Az akkori kornak egyik nagy embere, Cato, Mondotta: "ha valaki egy polgártól lop, életét láncraverve börtönben végzi be, de ha valaki a közvagyont dézsmálja meg bibor palástban járhat és aranyban duskálhat."

Hogy az uralkodó osztály a nép figyelmét a csalásaiktól és rablásaiktól elterelje gondoskodott arról, hogy Rómában a kenyér a körülményekhez képest olcsó legyen. Igy ha a hadsereg valamely területet leigázott az első dolga az volt, hogy az ott levő gabonakészletet lefoglalta és Rómába küldte, miáltal a nép olcsó kenyérhez jutott. A különféle és sokszor megtartott nyilvános népünnepélyek és pompával kifejezett zajos játékok pedig a városi csőcselék szája ize szerint lettek lerendezve, ugy, hogy a "Cirkuszt és kenyeret" jelszóvá lett. Ezt a kort és szokást Cato igy jellemzi; A nép bendője ha teli van nem hallgatja meg az okos szót; A hasnak nincsenek fülei, tehát nem hall. A politikusok "saját költségükön" mulattatták a csőcseléket. A választásoknál az volt a nyertes aki zajosabb vagy nyersebb élvezetet adott a lumpenproltáriátusnak. Nagyon természetes, hogy vagyontalan embernek alig volt esélye magát megválasztatni és igy a politikai hatalmat csakis a gazdag emberek, arisztokraták és plebejusok bitorolták. Az általános közéleti romlottságot Mommsen a neves történetiró igy jellemzi: Ez a kor a szélcsend kora volt a vihar előtt, a politikai középszerüség kora. Akárhova nézünk mindenütt a bomladozó és összedülni készülő épitményt látjuk. Az épületet támaszszák és foldozzák jobbról-balról. De alapos át vagy ujjáépitésre senki sem gondol, bár tudják, hogy az egész rendszer romba fog dőlni, csak azt nem tudják, hogy mikor.



A legujabb felfedezés szerint az örök békét a fegyverekre épitik.

Mint már jeleztem a római birodalom társadalmi összetételét a pariciusok, a plebejusok, a proletárok és a rabszolgák képezték. A három elsőről már elég volt és most a rabszolga intézményről lesz egynehány szó.

A rabszolgák száma a királyság idejében amikor Róma a hatalmának csak a kezdetén volt aránylag csekély. De abban az arányban ahogy a birodalom hatalma nőtt a számuk szaporodott. Tekintetbe kell még venni, hogy rabszolgát csak nagyon ritkán szabaditottak fel. Továbbá azt is, hogy a szaporodásukat az uralkodó osztály ugyszólván kötelezővé tette, amennyiben azon rabszolganőt aki 4 egészséges fiugyermeket szült felszabaditotta. Természetes, hogy a gyermekek rabszolgák maradtak, az anyát fel lehetett szabaditani, hisz már ugy sem soká élvezhette a "szabadságát." Hozzájöttek még a hadifoglyok akik szintén szaporitották a rabszolgák számát. Ezeket egy-egy háboru végén ezrével hajtották láncraverve a római rabszolgavásárra, ahol árverés utján lettek eladva.

Amikor Róma a mai Sardinia szigetet, amely igen népes volt, Carthagotól elfoglalta és a sziget népét mint rabszolgákat a vásárra hajtották, az áruk annyira lement, hogy szálóige lett ez a mondás hogy: "Olcsó mint a sardiniai rabszolga."

A római arisztokrata vagy a gazdag plebejus igen kedvelte a fényüzést, a pazarlást és a dőzsölést. A rabszolgáit azonban minden képzeletet felülmuló barbár sorsban tartotta. A római arisztokrata és plebejus féltette a szabadságát, de a rabszolgáját állandóan megláncolva tartotta éjjel-nappal, még munkaközben is.

Megszökés esetén vérebekkel hajszolták fel őket. Ahol nagy számban voltak a birtokokon, szokásban volt őket tüzes vassal megbélyegezni. Mivel a zendülések napirenden voltak, még éjjel is amikor nyugovóra tértek fegyveres őrök vigyáztak reájuk. Gazdag rómaiak éppen ugy kereskedtek rabszolgákkal mint állatbőrrel. Nem volt abban semmi lealacsonyitó még Cato a nagy római bölcs és népszónok részére sem, hogy rabszolgavásáron spekulált. Hisz nyiltan kérkedett zsiros üzleteivel melyeket egy-egy rabszolga adás-vevésen kötött. Hogy ilyen körülmények folytán ur és rabszolga halálos ellenségek voltak talán fölösleges emliteni is. Hogy maguk a rabszolgák között minden megegyezést vagy megbeszélést megakadályozzanak szokásban volt többféle nemzetiségeket összevegyiteni, hogy egymást meg ne értsék. Gyakorlatban vol a nemzetiségeket egymás ellen lázitani és izgatni. "A Divide et Impera" az az uszitsd őket egymás ellen és uralkodj fölöttük jelszó, abból a korból származik.

A rabszolgákat azonban nemcsak nehéz testi és produktiv, termelő munkára használták, hanem a tulhajtott élvezetektől elpetyhüdt testü, és a kicsapongásoktól megromlott idegzetü semmittevők mulattatására és szórakozására is. Mint már emlitettem Róma uralkodó osztálya, hogy a néphangulatot egyensulyban tartsa, gondoskodott arról, hogy a népet különféle ünnepélyekkel szórakoztassa.

Ezekhez a gladiator vagy vivójátékok is tartoztak, melyekre csak rabszolgákat használták. Ezek a vivójátékok rendszerint halálos végüek voltak, hisz éles tőr, vagy kard volt a fegyver. Ezeket a rabszolgákat jól táplálták, hogy képesek legyenek ezeken a nyers és veszélyes játékokon magukat produkálni.

Nagyon természetes, hogy ilyen körülmények között és ilyen brutális uralkodó osztállyal szemben a rabszolgáknak más utja nem maradt a felszabadulásra mint az erőszak, a fegyveres fölkelés. A plebejusokat és a nem rabszolga szegénységtől az uralkodó osztály nem félt annyira mint a rabszolgáktól. A városi plebejusok részére a "törvényes ut" nyitva volt, de ezt csak akkor tudták igénybe venni, ha valaki a nemességből az ügyüket felkarolta. Egy ilyen eset volt, amikor Tiberius Grachus felkarolta a polgárság ügyét. Ez azért emlitendő külön, mert az illető arisztokrata tényleg önzetlenül küzdött a nép érdekében. A nép azonban annyira félrevezethető volt, hogy a kritikus pillanatban cserben hagyta a vezérét. Tiberius Grachus az életével fizetett a nép ügyéért.

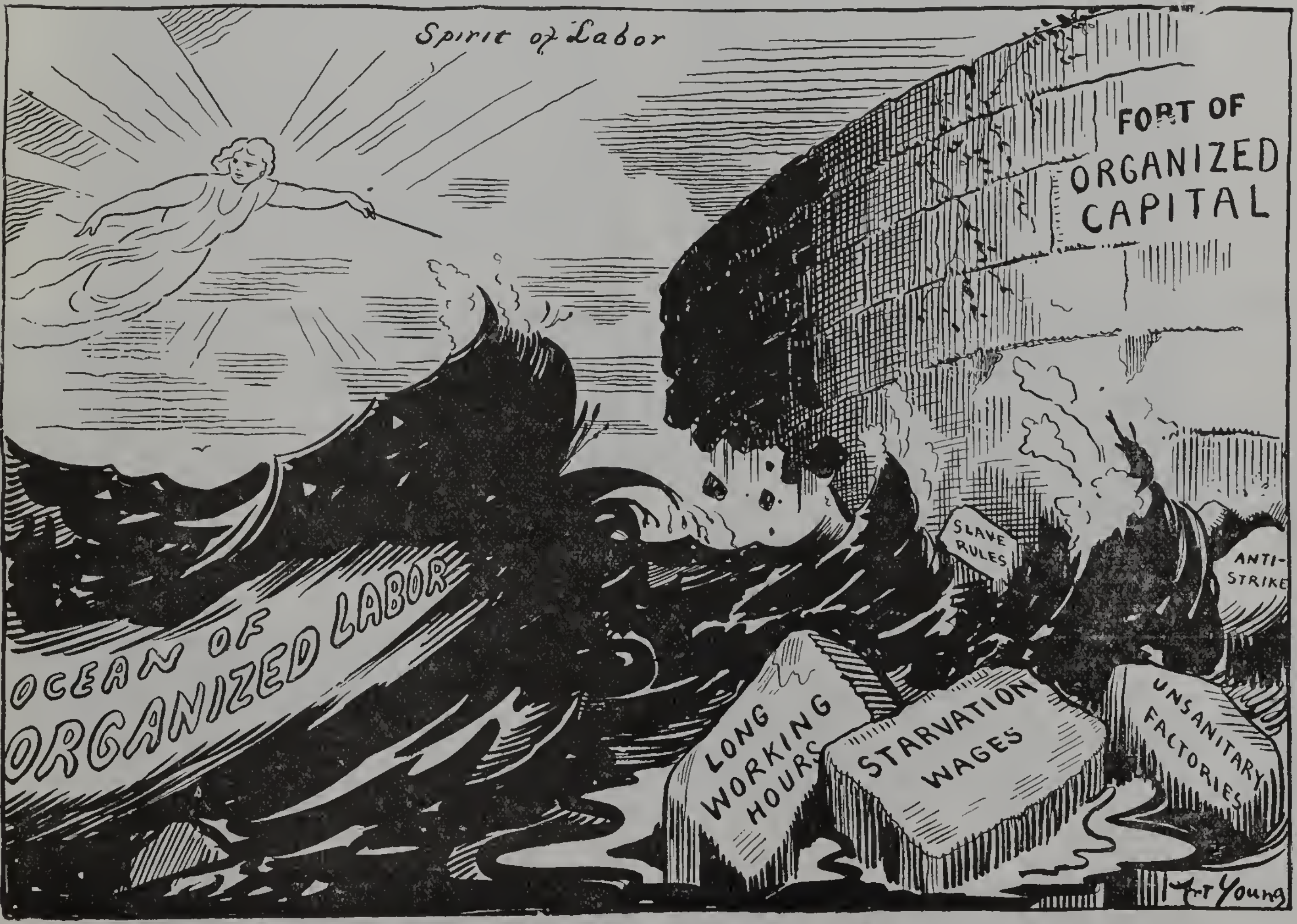
A rabszolgák sorsának javitására vagy pláne fölszabaditására nem találkozott az arisztokraták soraiból senki sem. Ezeknek tehát maguknak kellett a küzdelmet fölvenni. Az első rabszolgazendülés Rómában tört ki, melyet azonban a légiók (katonaság) segitségével már a kezdetén elfojtották. Az uralkodó osztály itt igen elővigyázatos volt. Tulnyomó katonai erővel rendelkezett és igy a rabszolgák nagyon is béklyóba voltak verve.

Nem volt azonban a hatalom Szicilia szigetén ugy fölkészülve mint Rómában. Szicilia sziget már akkor igen népes és a természettől igen megáldott föld volt. Itt a rabszolganyuzás olyan mértékben divott, hogy maga a római szenátus többször közbelépett, mert azt a kegyetlen sanyargatást amiben a sziciliai rabszolgák részesültek még a szenátus is megsokalta. Egy csoport elmenekült rabszolga lefegyverezte Enna város katonaságát és felszólitotta a rabszolgákat a csatlakozásra. A fölkelés futótüzként terjedt az egész szigeten. A sziget katonai parancsnoka erős haderővel támadta meg őket.

A rabszolgák erélyes ellenállást tanusitottak. A felkelők mindenütt visszaverték a légiókat és itt azt a hibát követték el, hogy minden katonát futni engedtek aki a fegyverét átadta. Ezt később megkeserülték, mert a futni engedett katonák ismét fölfegyverkeztek. Ez megnehezitette a rabszolgák állapotát.

De annak dacára a sziget nyugati partjain egy erősebb zendülés tört ki, melynek vezére Kleon egy volt görög katona, igen jó hadvezér és adminisztrátor volt. Ha hadba vonult a légiók ellen, csak a volt, harcedzett katonákat vette maga mellé. A többit a föld megmunkálására fogta és igy sikerült neki megverni a római légiókat és egyidejüleg az élelmezésről és jólétről is gondoskodott.

Tryphon szintén egy volt görög rabszolgának sikerült a pásztorkodó rabszolgákat maga köré gyüjteni és ezekkel együtt Kleonhoz csatlakozott aki az Athenion nevet vette föl. Sziciliában már akkor tekintélyes városok voltak, melynek nincstelen polgárai a proletárok szintén a rabszolgákhoz csatlakoztak. A római szenátus bajban volt. Lukullius hadvezért küldte igen nagy számu hadsereggel a rab-



A szervezett munka folytonos ostroma alatt bomladozik a kapitalizmus bástyája.

szolgák ellen. Ezt követte Servilius is de mindketten vereséget szenvedtek. A római szenátus mindkettőt halállal büntette. Végre több mint három évi nagy küzdelem után sikerült az első rabszolga fölkelést elfojtani.

Mint már kimutattam, a római birodalom gazdasági ereje a rabszolga és proletár dolgozók munkáján nyugodott. De mert ezek a mérhetlen kizsákmányolás miatt állandó harcban álltak az uralkodó oszállyal folyton ingadozott. Ha a rabszolgazendüléseket a hatalom elnyomta, egész biztosan lehetett a szegény polgárság és proletariátus fölkelésével számolni.

Mint már láttuk a római szenátus nem volt hajlandó az elfoglalt italiai városok és területek polgárainak azokat a politikai jogokat megadni, amelyeket a római polgárok élveztek. Márius, egy szegény földmives gyermeke, aki szorgalmasan tanulmányozván a nagy római népvezér, Grachus történetét volt az aki Róma népét a hatalmasok ellen vezette. Márius mint fiatal ember a katonai pályára lépett. Részt vett az ibériai félszigeti (a mai Spanyolország) harcokban. Itt gyorsan emelkedett a katonai ranglétrán. Szép vagyont gyüjtött, később egy gazdag polgárleányt vett feleségül, miáltal megnyerte a politikai pályára lépés alapföltételeit. Végre megválasztották konzulnak. Mint konzul egy törvényt fogadtatott el, miszerint mindenkinek lehetővé vált a katonai pályán fölemelkedni tekintet nélkül származására, vagy vagyoni állapotára. Ezért a nép igen megszerette és hallgatott szavára. mikor azt a törvényt terjesztette a római nép elé mely szerint azok a katonák akik Róma háboruiban szolgáltak ingyen földet kapjanak. Az arisztokraták heves ellenállást fejtettek ki. Ez nem sokat használt, mert a nép egyöntetüen pártolta a törvényjavaslatot. Saturninus tribun vezette a tanácskozásokat. A leszavazás előtt az égboltozat elsötétült és heves villámlás reszketette meg a levegőt. Ekkor a szenátorok az augorokkal együtt a népgyülés föloszlatását követelték, s mert mint mondották ez annak a jele, hogy az Istenek ellene vannak a törvénynek.

Nem baj! mondotta Saturnius ha menydörgés van, mert arra rendszerint vihar következik. A vihar tényleg be is következett, de olyformán, hogy a nép a szenátorokat akik nem szaladtak el alaposan elverte és a törvényjavaslatot törvényerőre emelte.

Ezzel a törvénnyel tényleg az elfoglalt területek polgárai egyenjoguságot nyertek a római polgárokkal. Az igaz, hogy ezeket a törvényeket az arisztokrácia több izben hatályon kivül akarta helyezni. A polgárság azonban mindig ellenállt és sokszor véres összetüzések voltak emiatt. Több izben a polgárság a rabszolgák segitségét is igénybe akarta venni, de ezek mivel nekik ezekből a törvényekből semmiféle előnyük nem származtak, nem voltak hajlandók a polgárság részére a gesztenyét a tüzből kikaparni.

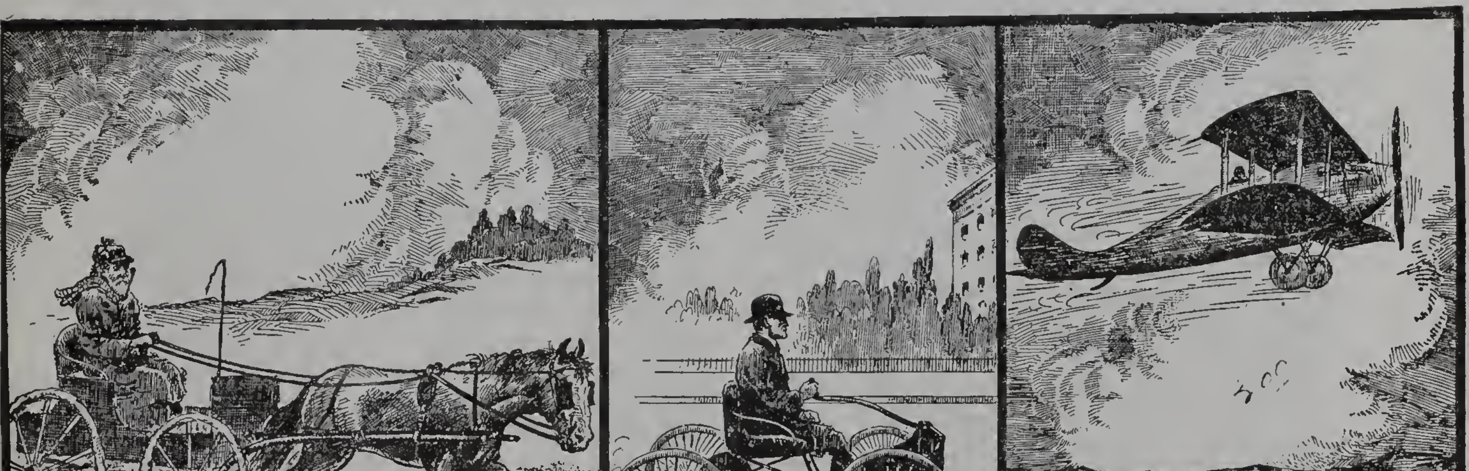
Ilyenformán a római birodalomban minden ugynevezett szabadon született polgár egyenjogu volt. Mindenkinek nyitva állt az ut az érvényesüléshez, persze csak papiron. Ma is ugy van ez papiron. De ugy akkor mint ma, a gazdasági elnyomás volt és van. Pénzért mindent lehetett szerezni, persze politikai hatalmat is. Plutarch a legnevezetesebb római történetiró szerint a római választásoknál sátrak voltak fölállitva, ahol a polgárok nyiltan adták el szavazatukat annak aki legtöbbet igért, vagy adott. Bár politikai szabadság volt, de mellette gazdasági rabság, tehát az osztályharc a különféle társadalmi osztályok között annál hevesebb lett. Ezekben a harcokban a rabszolgák keveset vettek részt. Ezek egy ideig némán türték szenvedéseiket, mig egyszerre kirobbant az a rabszolgalázadás, amelyet a gladiatorok szabadságharcának vagy Spartacus fölkelésnek nevez a történelem.

Mint már emlitve volt, a római uralkodó osztály a legdurvább és nyersebb vivójátékokban szeretett gyönyörködni. A szereplők az az a vivók élet-halál harcot vivtak ilyenkor egymással és az Afrikából szállitott vadállatokkal. Ezek a vivók rabszolgák voltak, akiket az erre berendezett vivó vagy gladiator iskolákban képeztek ki. Egy ilyen iskola volt Capuában egy olaszországi városban. A kiképeztetésben ezeknek a rabszolgáknak emberfölötti fájdalmakat és megaláztatásokat kellett eltürni. Egy alkalommal hetvenhárom rabszolga kitört az iskolából. Utközben egy fegyverszállitmányt zsákmányoltak. Egy egész ezred katonaság vette őket üldözőbe. A Délolaszországban fekvő Vezuv tüzhányó hegy oldalán elsáncolták magukat. Vezérüknek Spartacust, egy thráciai görög rabszolgát választották. Két alvezér is volt mellette kelta származásu Krixos és Oenanaos.

Ez a kis elszánt csapat eleinte ügyesen kikerült minden nagyobb összeütközést a római rendes katonasággal. A Vezuv közelében levő arisztokrata kastélyokat fosztogatták. Az arisztokraták jajveszékelésére 3.000 római katona vonult ellenük, akik a Vezuv tüzhányó hegy minden szorosát és utját elzárták. A terv a rabszolgahad kiéheztetése volt. Ez sikerült volna, ha a rabszolgák Spartacussal élükön meg nem támadták volna őket. A támadás oly heves és váratlan volt, hogy a római rendes katonaság eszeveszetten menekült, hátrahagyva élelmiszereket és fegyvereket. A közeli vidék nincstelen parasztsága erre tömegesen csatlakozott hozzájuk, ugyszintén nagy számu rabszolgák.

Hiába küldte a római szenátus a legjobb katonaságot a gladiatorok ellen. Azok a katonák akik csak egyszer is összetüztek a jól kiképzett rabszolgákkal másodszor már nem voltak hajlandók. Tömegesen dobálták el fegyvereiket és menekültek. Ilyen körülmények folytán a rabszolgahadsereg rövid idő alatt negyvenezerre szaporodott, ami az akkori időben óriási számot jelentett. Spartacus terve most már az volt; átvonulni Olaszországon, átmenni az Alpeseken, Galliát, a mai Franciaországot felszabaditani. A rabszolgák azonban ellene voltak a tervnek, ők Olaszországban akartak maradni. Spartacus meghajlott a többség akarata előtt. Elfoglalta Délolaszországot. A kedvező éghajlat, a föld dus termékenysége igen sok római arisztokratát idecsalt. Ha ezek a rabszolgák kezeibe kerültek, bizony nem volt jó dolguk. A rabszolgák ezeket kényszeritették ugy harcolni vagy egymást ugy szétmarcangolni, mint ahogy ezek azt a rabszolgákkal tették.

Spartacus győzelmei Rómát páni fé-



Egy század fejlődése a közlekedésben.

lelemmel töltötték el. Tenni kellett valamit. A szenátus a régi cselhez folyamodott. A divide et impera módszerhez. A rabszolgahadba elküldték a kémeiket, akik ügyesen elvetették az egyenetlenség magvát. A kémek rábeszélték a kelta vezéreket Krixost és Oenanaost, hogy ne engedelmeskedjenek a thráciai Spartacusnak. A két kelta vezér különvált Spartacus hadseregétől és igy sikerült ezeket a rómaiknak megverni. Borzasztó vérfürdőt rendeztek közöttük. De nem volt könnyü Spartacus hadseregét legyőzni. Ez átvonult Olaszországon és magát Rómát is fenyegette. Nagyszámu lovasságot szervezett. A kikötővárosokban a kalózoktól nagymennyiségü vasat és rezet vásárolt és tervezte magát Róma várost a birodalom gazdasági és politikai központját megrohanni és hatalmába keriteni. De a római arisztokraták pénze és kémjei sem aludtak. Sikerült a délolaszországi kikötők és vizek kalózait megvesztegetni. Spartacusnak nem voltak hajói. A kalózok segitségével át akarta a seregének egy részét Sziciliába vinni, ahol remélte a sziget lakosságát a rabszolgaság ügyének megnyerni. A kalózok azonban cserben hagyták Spartacust. Ez azonban nem adta fel a rabszolgaság ügyét. Crassus római hadvezér seregét kiüzte Lukania tartományból. Itt azonban sikerült a római ügynököknek a germán és kelta rabszolgákat Spartacustól elvonni, mert mint ezek vezérei kijelentették, nem akarnak engedelmeskedni neki mert ő thraciai. Igy a hadserege igen meggyengült. Crassus kihasználta a rabszolgák egyenetlenségét bekeritette a germán és kelta rabszolgahadat és egytől-egyig leöldöste őket.

Az igy megfogyott rabszolgahadat sikerült Crassusnak bekeriteni, Spartacus az utolsó leheletéig harcolt. Azokat a rabszolgákat akik nem estek el a harcban, foglyul ejtették. Mint az egykori történetirók irják, a Capuából Rómába vezető uton hatezer kereszt állott amelynek mindegyikén egy rabszolga volt kifeszitve. A római birodalom italiai tartományában csend lett, a temető csendje.

A Spartacus féle lázadás leverése után nem volt több olyan méretü rabszolga fölkelés. Az uralkodó osztályok ezután még kegyetlenebb szigorral nyomták el a rabszolgák esetleges mozgolódását. Ami ezután következett az a plebejusok és az arisztokraták harca volt a római birodalom politikai irányitásáért. Ezen harcnak a vége a Cézárizmus diktaturája lett. A római arisztokrácia diktaturát választotta a dolgozó nép fölszabaditása helyett. A római birodalom elérte hatalmának csucspontját. Hatalma kiterjedt az akkor ismert világrészek minden országára. De egyidejüleg a rothadás magva is megérett benne. Aránylag rövid idő mulva rohamosan hanyatlott. A császárok közül kevesen haltak meg természetes halállal. A császárok által kitartott gárdák küldték "szeretett" uralkodójukat a másvilágra. Róma rabigába görnyedt, de vele együtt megszünt a rabszolgaság intézménye is.

* * *

Jelen irásommal melynek anyagát "Mommsen Tivadar a római birodalom története" és Most János proletár iró, Társadalmi harcok a régi Rómában" cimü munkákból vettem. Megakartam ismertetni munkástársaimmal és a "Bérmunkás Naptár" olvasókkal azt, hogy amióta magántulajdon létezik, osztályharcok voltak. A patricius sanyargatta a rabszolgát, a nemes lenézte a jobbágyat, a kapitalista kizsákmányolja a bérmunkást. Ez az állapot mindaddig tart, amig a munkásnép fölismerve osztályhelyzetét megvalósitja a szocializmust az osztályok nélküli dolgozó nép társadalmát.

A Magyarországi Általános Munkásszövetség megalakulásának hiteles története

Elmondja Tóth István

A magyarországi munkásmozgalom történetében óriási fordulatot jelent az "Általános Munkás Szövetség" megalakulása, amely dokumentum arra, hogy a munkásság szakitani kiván az eddigi hagyományos felfogásával. Változtatást akar a szervezeti életben olyformán, hogy az elavult szakszervezetek helyett, egy korszerübb szervezetet teremt meg és a "gép" korszakhoz viszonyulva a modern kapitalizmus ellen, szakmakülömbségnélküli egységes "Ipari" szervezett erővel veszi fel a harcot, a kiméletlen gazdasági elnyomatás ellen.

Már a világháboru előtti utolsó éveiben észlelhető volt e megnyilvánulás, amely igen nagy fontossággal bir, a magyarországi munkásmozgalom számára annál is inkább, mert az "egységes" gazdasági szervezet megalakulásáért való törekvések, ezekre az időkre vezethetők vissza. Ezekben az időkben a munkásság között, nagy nyugtalanság és elégedetlenség volt, a szakszervezeti életben. Az érdekelt vezetők sejtették is, hogy valami belső eltolódás készül, valami uj gazdasági szervezkedés, amely uj perspektivát fog nyitni a munkásság számára, ami csak a világháboru kitörése miatt, nem következett be.

A szakszervezetekben már az akkori időkben is elég ok volt a nyugtalanságra, amely okok még ma is megvannak sőt fokozódtak. Az átalakulási törekvések ma sem szüntek meg és mind addig nem is fognak megszünni, mig a háboruk által szünetelt orientálódás teljes befejezést nem fog nyerni, ami a szakszervezetek teljes bukását fogja jelenteni. Ezekben az időkben volt egy lelkesedő kis csoport, amely propagandát kezdett egy uj szervezet létesitése érdekében, mert történelmi szükségszerüségnek látta azt, hogy a meglévő szakszervezeteket egy szakmakülömbségnélküli gazdasági szervezet váltsa fel.

Magyarországon 1911-től, 1914-ig, a világháboru kitörése előtt született meg az a gondolat, hogy egy korszerübb gazdasági szervezetet létesitünk és ennek a propagálására lapot fogunk kiadni. a szervezetnek telesen ujjszerünek kell lenni és semmi esetre sem lehet szakszervezet. Ekkor vetődött fel a szakmakülömbségnélküli szervezkedés gondolata, amely gondolat mellett szivósan kitartott az a kis csoport és az "Ipari" szervezet megvalósitását határozta el, amit akkoriban a szakszervezeteknél "Szindikalista" törekvéseknek neveztek el.

A csoport vegyes társaságból állott és hetenként kétszer jöttünk össze. Szabó Ervin, aki egy összejövetelkor felszóllalásában világosan kifejtette, hogy a munkásmozgalomban történelmi átalakulásnak kell bekövetkezni melyet az ipari fejlődés és a gazdasági változások fognak elő idézni. A csoport a Rózsa utca és a Jósika utca sarkon lévő vendéglő külön termében tartotta összejöveteleit és mint szabad szervezet müködött. A csoportban ismertem több munkástársat, többek között a következőket: Szabó Ervin, Répánszki J., Csikós F., Bőhm H., Ferencz F., Takács J., Guttmann A., Bellért J. Iszkuljev, Krausz, Mosolygó, Hargitai, Bitteva, Goldesz, Bizdevi, Botka stb. stb. A szervezet megvalósitását és a lap kiadását azonban az 1914-ben a világháboru kitörése megakadályozta. A csoportnak minden tagja bevonult katonának, akik a hosszu háboruk és forradalmak alatt teljesen széjelszóródtak. A fentnevezett munkástársak egyrészével a háboruk és forradalmak lezajlása után találkoztam, akik teljesen elvoltak fásulva mint akik reményüket veszitették örökre. Egyrészük jómagam is, visszamentünk a Szociáldemokrata párthoz és a szakszervezetekbe, egyesek pedig szétszórva kitudja hol talán még most is várják a jobb idők kialakulását.

A háboruk és forradalmak után, a történelem legvéresebb és legsötétebb napjainak lezárása után, az "Ipari" szervezet megvalósitását néhány munkástárssal ismét megfontolás tárgyává tettük. Visszatérve az előbbeni tervekhez melyet a munkástársakkal ismertettem amit nagyban helyeseltek. A munkásság a kezdeményezést mindenhol rokonszenvel fogadta, a szakszervezetekben azonban, ahol értesülve a dolgokról nyugtalanságot idézett elő ez a megmozdulás és ellenünk meginditották a hajszát.

Ezekben az időkben még tagja voltam a szakszervezetnek, az agitációt azonban ahogy megkezdettem kiméletlen támadásoknak voltam kitéve. Levonva tehát ennek tanulságait és elhatároztam, hogy az uj szervezet éppen ugy mint ahogy ezt a háboru előtt is akartuk, csak a szakszervezeteken kivül valósulhat meg, mint szakmakülömbségnélküli "Egységes" gazdasági szervezet. Ez volt 1921 és 1923 között ezekben a sulyos időkben, amidőn ebbeni törekvésemet intenzivebb erővel kezdettem meg és elsősorban is Fekecs Sándor munkástársat kerestem fel, hogy szándékaimat ismertessem. Fekecs munkástárs teljesen magáévá tette ebbeni törekvéseimet és a megbeszéléseink után együtt, fáradtságot nem ismerve hozzá fogtunk a "Szövetség" megalakitásához. Az agitációnk később visszhangra talált a többi szakmai munkásság között is amely a megalakulást csak siettette. Azok a munkástársak, akik általunk felismerték az "Egységes" szervezkedés fontosságát bizalmatlanságot tanusitottak a szakszervezetekkel szemben és segitő társaink lettek. A propaganda irányitást én és Fekecs munkástárs végeztük, Garai Miklós, aki azóta elhalt szintén nagyban segitkezett, ugy, hogy számithattunk a legnagyobb sikerre.

A szaktanács és a szakszervezetek érdekelt vezetősége sem maradtak azonban tétlenül. Engemet és Fekecs munkástársat kizártak a szakszervezetből és többeket választott biróság elé akartak állitani, hogy a munkásságot megfélemlitsék. Ezekben az időkben párhizamosan a politikai irányban is kiterjedt az uj orientációs mozgalom igy a szociáldemokrata párt és a szakszervezetek igen agresziván léptek fel azokkal szemben, akik szükségesnek látták azt, hogy a viszonyokhoz képest kell a meglévő gazdasági szervezeteket át csoportositani. A kizárásokat tehát, a legnagyobb erővel fojtatták, ugy a politikai mint a gazdasági szervezetekben. Azok a munkástársak, akik nem tudták elnézni a szaktanács és a szociáldemokrata pártnak ezt az aljas munkáját, ezrével és ezrével hagyták ott a szakszervezeteket ami részünkre igen kedvező alkalmat nyujtott, hogy a szövetséget megalapitsuk. Igy jutottunk el odáig, hogy a munkástársak is belátták azt, hogy az egységes szervezetet a szakszervezeteken kivül lehet megvalósitani, nem pedig a szakszervezeteken belül.

A földmunkásoktól Ignat Tivadar munkástárs több társával együtt csatlakozott hozzánk, azonkivül különböző szakmabeli munkástársak támogattak bennünket, hogy a szövetséget minél előbb megvalósithassuk. Az alakuló gyülést 1924 március hóban tartottuk meg, Rózsa utca 34. szám alatt a Lévai-féle vendéglő külön helyiségében. Az alakuló gyülés simán folyt le, a a szövetség a "Magyarországi Általános Munkás Szövetség" nevet kapta az én előterjesztésemre melynek alapszabályát az alakulás után, nyomban fel is terjesztettük a belügyminisztériumhoz jóváhagyás végett. Ez az első kisérletünk azonban nem valósult meg, mert az alapszabály jóváhagyását valakinek sikerült megakadályozni, egy meghasonlott személyen keresztül és igy az első alapszabályt jóváhagyás nélkül visszakaptuk.

Ezek után a propagandát hatványozottabb erővel fojtattuk. Közben a szakszervezeteknél teljesen kiéleződött a helyzet és azokat a munkástársakat akikkel a munkásság összpontositásán fáradoztunk mindenhol iparkodtak lehetetlenné tenni, amely csak fokozta az elhatározásunkat. Rövid idő mulva a megbizhatatlan személyek kihagyásával uj csoportositást kezdeményeztünk, hogy a “Szövetség” alapszabályát ismét felterjeszthessük. Érintkezésbe léptünk különböző szakmabeli munkástársakkal, ugy, hogy ismét abban a helyzetbe kerültünk, hogy a “Szövetség” alapszabályát ismét felterjeszthettük.

Az épitő munkások közül érintkezésbe léptem Berke József munkástárssal aki készséggel segitségünkre volt. Azután Zigler Tamás munkástárs több társával csatlakozott hozzánk és együttesen fogtunk hozzá az aktiv munkához, hogy minél előbb összehivhassuk az uj alakuló közgyülést. Később a cipész munkások részéről Holové János, Ispánki J. és többed magával szintén megértették a dolgot és ugy az épitő munkások mint a cipész munkások segitségünkre voltak a többi szakmabeli és más munkástársakkal együtt. Erre az alakulásra teljesen uj alapszabályt dolgoztam ki, amit nyomtatott füzetekben is megjelentettünk, melynek első oldalán, hogy a propagandát ezzel is megkönnyitsük, közöltem egy rövid felhivást. Az uj alakuló gyülést a régi képviselőház nagytermében tartottuk meg. 1926 május 9-én, melynek az előadója én voltam. A gyülésre 1000 darab meghivót készitettünk amit csak a legismertebb munkástársak között osztottunk ki. Erre az óvatosságra szükség volt, mert a “Szocialista Munkáspárt” által kiadott “Szocialistamunkás” cimü időszaki lap 1926 május 1-én, megjelent számában támadást intézett az alakulóban lévő “Magyarországi Általános Munkás Szövetség” ellen, hogy az által az alakuló gyülést megakadályozza.

Ez a párt az ugynevezett “Vági” párt volt és mi jól tudtuk, hogy ennek a támadásnak ki a mozgatója. Ez bennünket nem hátráltatott meg és a támadást egy “Nyilt Levél” kiadásával vertük vissza. Az alakuló gyülésen az egybegyültek az alapszabályt egyhangulag elfogadták amit az ideiglenes vezetőség a belügyminisztérimhoz felterjesztett jóváhagyás véget. Az ellenünk intézett intrikák lassan elmaradtak, de az alapszabály igen soká nyert jóváhagyást. Végre majdnem két évre rá, 1927 november hó végén visszakaptuk az alapszabályt jóváhagyva, cim változtatással és bizonyos módositásokkal kiegészitve. A cim változás ugy történt, hogy a “Magyarországi Általános Munkás Szövetség” helyett “Magyar Általános Munkás Szövetség” cimre módositották a minisztériumban.

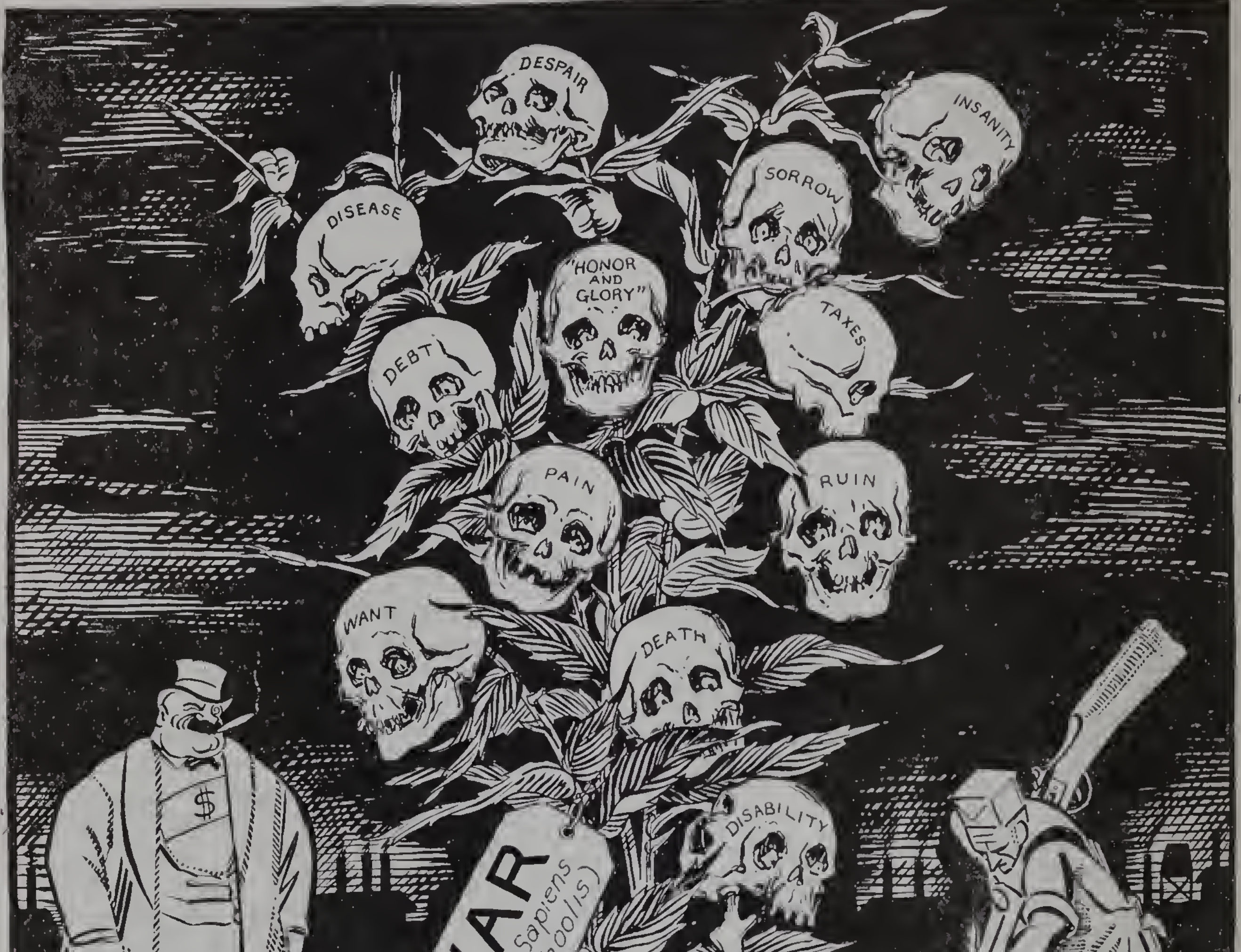
Az alapszabály jóváhagyása után azonnal érintkezésbe léptem Bartha Lajos munkástársal az amerikai Ipari szervezet külföldi levelezőjével és kértem, hogy az amerikai munkásság legyen a segitségünkre, amit a munkástárs legnagyobb készséggel magáévá is tett. Később Kozsán munkástárs, aki szintén minden igyekezetével elősegitete Szövetségünk fejlődését. Egy bizonyos idő után ezek a kölcsönös kapcsolatok megszakadtak, azóta a Szövetségünk igen nagy viszontagságon ment keresztül, mégis az vigasztal bennünket, hogy bármi is történik a közel jövőben annyi bizonyos, hogy az egész világon az “Ipari” szervezeté a jövő.

Az “Általános Munkás Szövetség” megvalósitásáért való törekvésem ezzel befejezést nyert. Akik ezekben a sulyos időkben segitségemre voltak, hogy a “Szövetség” megvalósuljon óriási szolgálatot tettek a magyarországi munkásmozgalom története számára.

A munkásságnak történelmi hivatása a bérrendszer eltörlése. Nem nézve tehát azt, hogy ki milyen szerszámmal dolgozik, hanem szakmanélküliségnélkül, egy hatalmas “Ipari” Szövetségben a helye, mert csak igy tudja megvivni osztály harcát, hogy elérhesse végső célját, a saját felszabadulását.

Fel tehát a küzdelemre. “Világ munkásai” egyesüljetek.

Budapest, 1934.


DESPAIR
INSANITY
DISEASE
SORROW
"HONOR AND GLORY"
DEBT
TAXES
PAIN
RUIN
WANT
DEATH
$
WAR (Homo Sapiens Damphoolis)
DISABILITY
PROFITS
$

A tőkés gyönyöre.

SZILÁNKOK

Faragja: Sebestyén Pál

A KÖVETKEZŐ elbeszélést ugy adom le, a hogy hozzám jött B. S.-től. Anyaga érintetlen; nyelvezete kissé kisimitva. Mig szerzőjének, esetleg az olvasónak próbálok szolgálatot tenni közlésével, felmentve érzem magam a "Bérmunkás"-ban megjelenő "Szilánkok"-hoz hasonló anyaggyüjtés és feldolgozástól, melyet a Naptár részére megigértem. Ugy vélve, hogy az itt elmondandóknál jobbat, tanulságosabbat aliha tudtam volna találni.

KINT A JÉGEN.

Hosszukás arcu, kiálló pofacsontokkal, bozontos szemöldök alól sandán néző kis patkányszemek, Napoleonra emlékeztető jókora orr alatt hiányos fogsorokat takaró nyilás, mértelen, majdnem szánalmasan lecsüngő szájszél, nyakszirthez siető ajak, szóval olyasmi, mely sok kivánni valót hagy a természet koronájának alsó alkotmánya befejezéseül.

Nem is láttam volna mindezeket meg mintahogy nem szokásom az embert külső anatómiója alapján elbirálni. Elvégre az alak, a külső forma sok ezeroldalu körülmények, átöröklés, mindennapi élésmód, klima és a jó ég tudja, mi minden szülötte és müve. Köztünk, munkások között különösen ujságszámba megy az, ha telt arc, kifejlett izmok, testalkat birói is vannak. Lévén osztályrészünk az élet mostohaságának legmostohábbsága.

Mondom: az élet kegyetlensége szántotta vonalak megtépázott külsőség lidércnyomását a később leirt irónikus helyzet nyomta rám. Nem tudok tőle szabadulni: hosszu idők utáni viszontlátás a keserü kiábrándulás. . .

Váratlanul, minden előkészültség nélkül bukkantam rá egykori játszótársamra, valamikori bajtársomra: Keserü Jánosra.

* * *

Együtt szőttük gyerekes álmainkat, együtt kerültünk a zajló élet — visszásságok elleni lázadók mozgalmába; együtt szerveztük meg az első Ifju Munkások egyletét, együtt szenvedtünk a kezdeményezésünkért s együtt indultunk az óhazai szakszervezetek és Párt által kijelölt göröngyös utakon, hogy aztán az idők haladásával két külömböző világrészben, két külömböző világnézettel megéretten, a középkort meghaladó ötven felé közeledő évszámokkal terhelve lássuk viszont egymást. Csoda-e ha megláttam tetőtől talpig, különösen azt a részét, amit költői nyelven a lélek tükrének neveznek.

Hogy én hova fejlődtem, az mellékes vagy mondjuk: szóra sem érdemes, mert ha volt valaki ezen a kerek világon aki észrevett, az többnyire magam voltam. Forradalmakban, csatározásokban nem vettem részt; itt-ott egyegy elejtett szóval talán ugy néha-néha juttattam másoknak is az énemet tüzelő ideákból, talán egy-két sor, melyet nagy akarással megirtam, hagyott is nyomot az olvasó gondolatvilágában, mindez azonban nem helyezett a tömegek élére s ami ebből érthető a felelősség ami ebből származott, nem sok, ezért járom életutamat az átlagember szürke ösvényén, amely ha nem is ad diadalrózsákat, de ápolja a nyugodt lelki folyamatot.

Nem igy keserü barátommal:

Ő a magasságokban szárnyalt. Napokatélt át, mely minden a fejlődés taktusát sürgetőt megbocsátható irigységgel tölt el. Ott volt az intenziv agitációnál, a barikádoknál vivta harcait ifju álmunk ideáljaiért, szóval a forradalmár teljes életét élte. Ott volt, — na de ha ezt én mondom el, az nem adhatja tükrét egy kiforrt forradalmár életének oly hüen, mintha azt ő maga mondja el. Be kell vallanom magam igazolására, hogy az imént emlitett megokolt irigység rajtam is erőt vett, igy kellettlenül és duzzogva bár, de kész vagyok a szót átengedni.

KESERÜ JÁNOS BESZÉL.

"Ezelőtt huszonkét évvel szerveztem meg az első antimilitarista mozgalmat, irtam meg az első antimilitarista röpiratot. Huszonegy évvel ezelőtt ismét irtam egyet, melyért és a "Társadalmi Forradalom"-ban megjelent irásaimért királysértés, lázitás és izgatással vádolva álltam a biróság előtt, hol három évi államfogház büntetést szabtak ki rám, melyből a váci fogházban huszonhét hónapot ültem le."

Nem akartam Keserü barátomat zavarni közbeszólásaimmal, még kevésbé kérdezősködésekkel, Csak figyeltem és emlékeztem. Vörösödő fülek, valami kimondhatatlan fény kezdett jelentkezni amugy bágyadt szemében; hajlott háta a lehetőséghez mérten kezdett kiegyenesedni, az átszellemülés jeleit éreztetvén suta gesztusaival. S én ezalatt emlékeztem.

Végig futott szemeim előtt a magyarországi szakszervezeti és pártélet hagyományosan korrupt világa, hol a királysértés, lázitás és izgatást időközökben hideg számitással helyezték el lapjaikban, a röplapokban, amint azt a reklámhajhászásban megnyilvánuló politika megkivánta. Rokonok és barátok névlistája várt a szerzői felelősség vállalására. Igy épitették Bokányi, Pelcéder, Veltner, Frankl Jakab s magát Csizmadia Sándornak is karrierjét. A magasabb hivatalok százpercentes martiromságának előföltételei voltak ezek. Egy-két évi váci fogház nélkül reménytelen volt a pályázat. Igy a mozgalomban való előrejutás valamilyen személyes szolgálat, vagy rokoni köteléken alapult. Ezt csupán tévedés elkerülése végett szurom ide.

"A csepeli tölténygyár főbizalmija voltam 1911-től 14-ig, későbben ugyane kerület párttitkára és képviselőjelöltje." Ez utóbbi kijelentését a megszokot parlamentáris gesztus kisérte. Hm. hm. node csak hagyjuk. Most jön a java.

"A Károlyi forradalom ideje alatt tagja voltam a forradalmi katonatanácsnak és vezetője voltam a budapesti ezredeknek." Nini: a stratégikus! ki hitte volna.

"A Népbiztosok Tanácsa rám bizta egy teljes hadosztály szervezését a diktatura kitörésekor. Megbizatásomnak eleget téve bácskai és alföldi magyar fiukból rövid idő alatt megis szerveztem négy gyalogezredet és két tüzérezredet, kiknek hősies harca a bukás utáni időkbe nyulott." Stratégiai géniusz barátom bizonyára elfelejtette a lefujást.

"Majd Bécsben telepedtem le, hol a "Kommunisták Magyarországi Pártja" és a "Balkáni Federáció" vezetőjeként müködtem, majd a "Magyar Párt" titkárává neveztek ki engem s Ludas Jenőt.

"Az Internacionale megnagyobbitott Végrehajtó Bizottságának gyülésére engem küldtek Moszkvába 1922-ben. Ott felismerve szervező képességem és jó hirnevemet az "Internationale Politikai Bizottsága" engem ajánlott Ruthenberg figyelmébe, mint aki alapos felkészültséggel birok az "Amerikai Párt" kitatarozására. Szóval az "Amerikai Párt" költségén ide kerültem 1923 elején." (Faképnél hagyva a bécsi "Magyar Párt"-ot, a Federációt, stb.)

"Amint látod, huszonhét évig voltam a munkásmozgalomban mindig mint vezér. Ezen idő alatt jól megismertem a börtönviszonyokat: Svájc, Jugoszlávia, Ausztria és Németországban — mozgalommal kapcsolatban."

Mégegyszer szemügyre vettem Keserü barátomat. Ez utóbbi szárnyat adott képzeletemnek.

"Huszonhét év alatt csak három évig huztam fizetést a mozgalomból." (Majdnem kiböktem "hát honnan a többit?")

A "LEHETŐSÉGEK HAZÁJA."

"Tragikusan győződtem meg a szemenszedett alakokból álló vezérkar áttekintésénél a fennti megállapitás igazáról. Mindazonáltal egy évig titkárja voltam a Kommunisták Magyar Szövetségének. A tatarozási szándék azonban hajótörést szenvedett a burzsoa párttagok és a párt bürokrácia egységfrontján."

Igy huszonhét éves multu viharedzett vezér a "lehetőségek hazájának" lehetetlen problémáival birkózva egyszerre lecsuszott magas piadesztáljáról, külső alakja is szinte összeroskadva állt előttem folytatva mind keservesebbre hajló litániáját, belekeverve a magyar kommunisták szócsövét, az "Uj Előré"-t, szerksztőit, a "taknyos zsidó kölyköket," a Munkás Betegsegélyzőket, a Verhovayit, Bebricset, Neményit, mindazt a helyet és csoportokat, kik között és ahol óhazai vezérségével járó felkészültsége fiaskóval végződött. Sehol, egyetlen szavából nem éreztem ki a dolgozó munkás bajaival való törődését csak olyan mértékben, ahogy az utóbbi kihasználása mértékadó volna a vezetések, a vezérségek megalapozásánál. Mint ilyen állt előttem egykori ifju munkás bajtársam hosszukás arccal, kiálló pofacsontokkal, bozontos szemöldök alól sandán néző patkányszemekkel, ki elbeszéléséből itélve soha nem alvadt bele a feltörekvők lelkivilágába, ki a munkásmozgalomnak mindig csak az élénél volt vagy akart lenni, ezerféle furfanggal élvezni annak dicsőségét vagy anyagi javait. Most igy megtörve, minden áthaladt hidat maga után felégetve ődöng kint a jégen.

Tanulság: az álpróféták büntetése a sanyaru számkivetés, melyet az illető mindig, minden esetben saját kezével készit elő.

SANYI ÉS MARCSA.

Sokszor halljuk ezt a szót előadóktól, sokszor találjuk irodalmi müvekben, tudományos értekezésekben, sőt mindennapi nyelven, társalgásban is használják. Ezuttal nem terjeszkedünk ki a szó jelentőségére technikai, orvostudomány, vagy más specializált ágak meghatározásaira, mindegyiket különvéve rengeteg anyagot ölelne fel és annyi helyet igényelne, amennyit ezen szerény kis rovat nem birna el. Kezdjük tehát és megis maradunk a hozzánk oly közel eső, általunk oly jól ismert munkásnál, az átlag munkásnál. S hogy még ezt is könnyebben kezelhessük, a forma kedvéért Sanyinak hivjuk. És nem fogunk elmenni Sanyinak bölcsőjéig vagy serdülő ifju koráig, megelégszünk azzal, hogy nyakon csipjük 24 éves korában.

SANYI MEGNŐSÜLT.

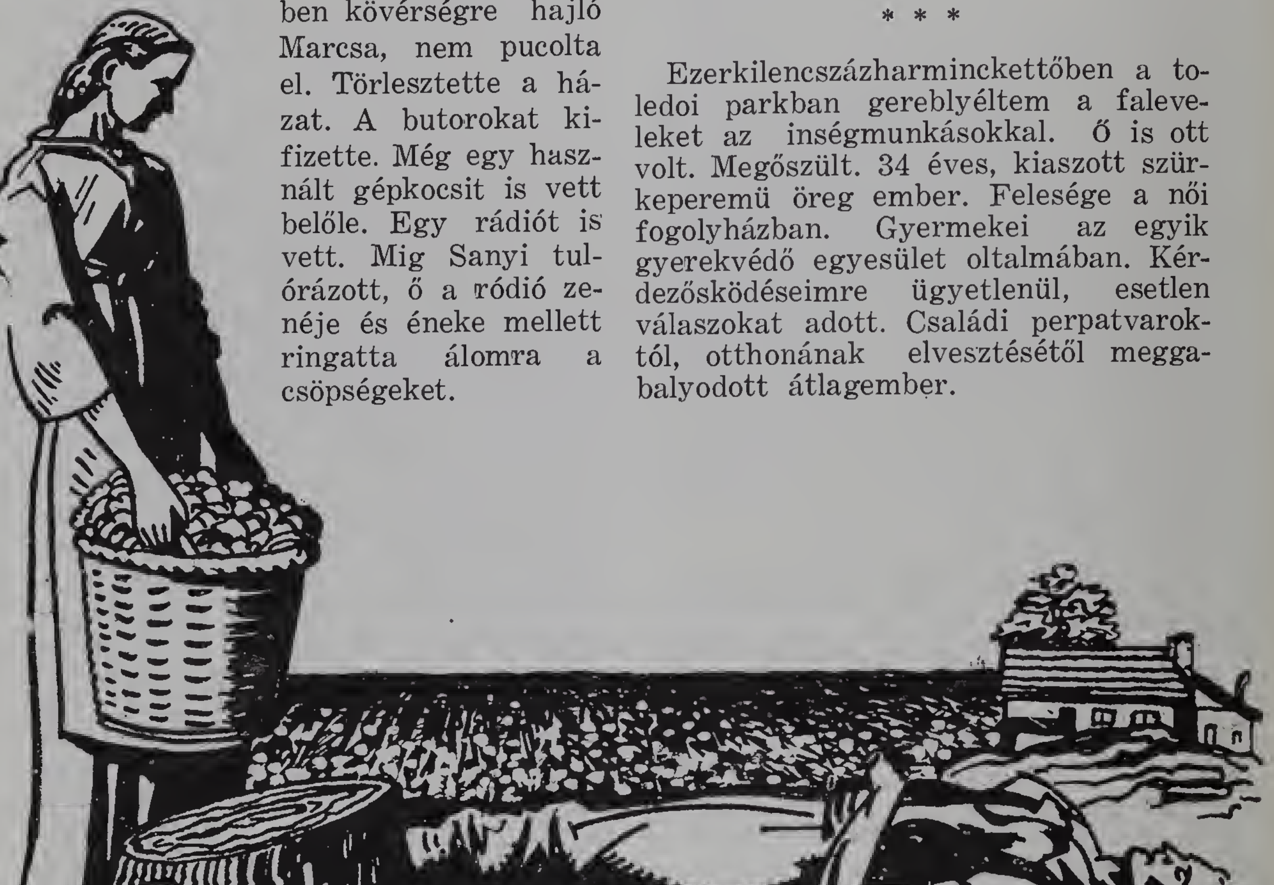
Huszonnegyedik évét töltötte be 1922-ben. Külseje amolyan hétköznapi emberé volt. Rendes. Sem testalkata, sem öltözködése nem volt feltünő. Észjárása, munkástársaihoz való alkalmazkodása sablonos. Templomba elment néha, de nem volt hü egyháztag. Ha barátjai egy-egy "good time"-ot rendeztek, ott volt és eliszogatott, de nem ment tulzásba. Sablonos neveltetése iskolája volt jövő életének.

Néhány száz dollárt takaritott meg otthon alapitásra. Marcsával együtt még egybekelésük előtt kiszemelték a szépen felszabdalt kültelken fekvő diszfákkal, virágokkal szegélyezett kert közepén szerényen meghuzódó ötszobás házikót. Lefizetésre beszerezték lakásberendezésüket; lefizetésre megvették a házat s a törvény követelményeinek megfelelően aláirták a házassági szerződést, a ház és butor adósleveleit. Sanyinak volt munkája; dolgozott. Marcsa, ki csak rövid idő előtt hagyta el a felsőiskolát, nyakába vette a várost, rövidesen elhelyezkedett egy szövőgyárban. Vállukat összevetve, szabad óráikban szeretkezve kezdték meg a kilenc ezer dollárhoz közeleső adóssággal való birkózást. Frissen. Üdén. Sanyi már betört; Marcsa az iskolában belecsöpögtetett baksiremény, baksi lelkesedés tüzével. Teltek a hetek, hónapok. Marcsa üde arcáról egyenkint tüntek el a vonalak, melyek oly gyönyörüen összeolvadva diszitették lányos ajkait. Aztán uj életmódjának velejárója: az anyaság jelentkezett.

Marcsa boldog volt. Sanyi is. Ezután még szorgalmasabb, még odaadóbb volt Marcsához, a kis otthonhoz s főleg munkaadó gazdájához. Utóbbi már azért is szükségszerü volt, mert a kis jövevény bezárta Marcsa előtt a szövőgyár kapuit.

Ha agitátorok jelentek meg a gyár előtt vagy az utcasarkán, bolondok paradicsomának nevezvén a fejetlen termelési és szétosztási folyamatot, támáskodva hallgatta őket. Mint a többiek: némán távozott.

Közben jött a második, harmadik, negyedik és az ötödik gyerek. Bolondul ment a munka. Sanyi figyelemmel kisérte az előmunkás születésnapját s ezen figyelmességéért tulórázás járt ki. 50—60 dolláros hetifizetését boldogan szorongatá a közben kövérségre hajló Marcsa, nem pucolta el. Törlesztette a házat. A butorokat kifizette. Még egy használt gépkocsit is vett belőle. Egy rádiót is vett. Mig Sanyi tulórázott, ő a ródió zenéje és éneke mellett ringatta álomra a csöpségeket.



Sanyi fáradtan, ványodtan nyomta apai csókjait a kis alvók homlokára. Még aludtak a kicsikék, mikor már ő ismét ment. Mindennap. Vasárnap is. Növő fizetésénél gyorsabb ütemben nőttek elkerülhetetlen kiadásai. Mig egyszer 1929 decemberében minden megállt. A tulórázás a rendes napi munkával együtt.

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Évekig dolgoztam vele együtt. Megszoktam. Jó fiu volt. Józan. Kicsikét bátortalan. Különösen a feljebbvalókkal szemben. Fájt az elbocsátása. Soha nem felejtem szivfacsaró, lelketrázó kétségbeeső tekintetét. Mintha utólszor bucsuztunk volna el. Nem hiszem, hogy volt életének jelentősebb eseménye ezideig.

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Ezerkilencszázharminckettőben a toledoi parkban gereblyéltem a faleveleket az inségmunkásokkal. Ő is ott volt. Megőszült. 34 éves, kiaszott szürkeperemü öreg ember. Felesége a női fogolyházban. Gyermekei az egyik gyerekvédő egyesület oltalmában. Kérdezősködéseimre ügyetlenül, esetlen válaszokat adott. Családi perpatvaroktól, otthonának elvesztésétől meggabalyodott átlagember.

Naptárunktól Naptárunkig

A clevelandi szervezési munkálatokról

Irta: Lefkovits Lajos

NAPTÁRUNK, amelynek hivatása a munkások kezébe egy ismeretterjesztő és nevelő könyvet juttatni ugyszólván annak előállitási árában, nem lenne teljes a cél szolgálatában, ha a mult évi naptárunk megjelenésétől ez évi naptárunk nyomtatásáig az IWW-nak Clevelandon való zászlóbontása és terjeszkedésének külön fejezetet nem adnánk.

Ha az emberiség történelmét a szerszámok és termelési eszközök korszakokra osztották, állitjuk, hogy az IWW clevelandi szervezési munkálatai és eddigi eredményei uj állomáshoz juttatta nem csak az IWW harminc esztendős mozgalmát, de magának az Egyesült Államok bérért dolgozó munkásainak nagy küzdelmét az élet szükségleteinek a megszerzésében.

Amig az amerikai tőke piacot talált a termelt áruk elhelyezésére és a szakszervezetek munkaalkalmakat tudtak biztositani tagjaiknak az IWW szervezési munkálatai nagyobbrészt a "tanulatlan" munkások között mozoghatott, mert az ugynevezett szakmunkások szervezeteikkel egyetemben nem csak mint külön osztályt kezelték a dolgozóknak ezt a nagy tömegét, de sok esetben a munkaadónál is lealázóbb elbánásban részesitették őket a munkatelepeken.

Az IWW harmincesztendős történelme gazdag azokban a harcokban, amelyeket ezeknek a munkásoknak a védelmében megvivott.

Az amerikai tőke, amely a géptermelési rendszerének a bevezetésével hamar felismerte az IWW szerepét és befolyását a termelés jövő munkáskezeire nemkülönben a munkás agyakra, nem fukarkodott az eszközök használatától, amellyekkel a szervezetet megsemmisiteni igyekezett. A háborus őrületet vélte erre a legjobb alkalomnak, hogy a szervezetért agitálókat börtönbe juttassa.

Tagadhatatlan, hogy az aktiv IWW-isták százainak egyidőben való börtönökbe való juttatása, egy időre meggyengitette tevékenységét az IWW-nak, de éppen a clevelandi események mutatják, hogy ahová az IWW nem vihette el a tanitását, ott ezek a birósági tárgyalások "szenzációi" nyitották fel az agyakat az IWW megismerésére.

Mert a clevelandi harcok majdnem valamennyijében találunk munkásembereket, akik még nem voltak tagjai a szervezetnek, nem voltak hiveik a politikai pártoknak sem és amikor az IWW szónokát szemtől-szembe látták és hallották, az előbbeni ismeretük révén magyarázói és hirdetői lettek maguk is az Egy Nagy Szervezet eszmélyének.

A tizhónapos szervezési munkálatokban egyik felismerésünk az, hogy az IWW harminc esztendős tanitása nem a pusztába veszett szó és a megnem értett irodalom elfecserlése volt, mert a dolgozók ezreiben él az ipari unionizmus eszmélye és mint a clevelandi események igazolják, adott alkalommal azért harcolni is tudnak.

A városi szervező bizottság, amelynek gerincét a magyar munkások képezték, mert hiszen ők rendelkeztek hosszu esztendőkön keresztül ugy a szervezeti élettel, mint állandó helyiségekkel, még a tél folyamán kezdte meg a gyáraknál való agitációt. Az általános gazdasági helyzettel, a munkások kereseti viszonyával foglalkozó röpiratok tizezrei kerültek a gyárakból kijövő munkások kezeibe. Az ezen uton megszerzett cimek ezreit keresték fel a lakásukon és bővebb ismereteket adtak az IWW törekvése és szervezetéről.

Közel öt hónapig tartott az agitálásnak ez a módja, amikor április elején az **Ohio Foundry zománcozó osztályának** munkásai keresték fel az IWW Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 440 szervező bizottságát, kérve a gyárban uralkodó rossz viszonyok elleni harcukban a segitséget. Ugy a szervező bizottság, mint az IWW valamennyi clevelandi tagjai összefogtak, hogy ez a munkás megmozdulás sikeres legyen.

Ebben a gyárban az öntő munkások néhány hónapja az AFofL kötelékébe léptek, bár az unio még nem tett semmit a munkások helyzetének a megjavitása érdekében, ragaszkodtak az uniohoz és a telep többségi munkásának harcát nem voltak hajlandók szolidaritásukkal támogatni. A sztrájkolók megalkották az erős picket vonalat, amelyet napi 24 órákon át tartottak fenn és annyira megértették és gyakorlatban alakalmazták az összetartást, hogy tiz napi harc után meg nem félemlitve sem a gyáros, sem az AFofL által GYŐZELMESEN VEHETTÉK FEL A MUNKÁT megjavitott fizetéssel, a darabszám munka eltörlésével és a hajcsár rendszer kiküszöbölésével.

Ebben az időben bontakozott ki országszerte a kék sasos kormány akció, amely tudvalevően alátámasztéka lett a döglőfélben levő szakszervezeti mozgalomnak, amely országszerte egymás után veszitette el minden megmozdulását. Igy az Ohio Foundry munkásainak győzelme az IWW vezetésével annál nagyobb beszéd tárgya lett az egész városban.

Ennek a győztes harcnak a hirére május első hetében az **Accurate Parts Manufacturers Co.** 60 munkása kereste a kapcsolatot az IWW szervezetével és 36 órás munkabeszüntetéssel a gyár vezetősége által is ELISMERTETTE a Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 440-t, mint a munkások szervezetét. A munkások összetartása fokozatosan lehetővé tette itt is a munkabérek megjavitását.

Május 12-én, a **Draper Manufacturers Co.** 140 munkása a gyár vezetősége által meghonositani akart kompany union helyébe 9 órai munkabeszüntetéssel az IWW szervezetét vitte be 10 százalékos béremeléssel.

Ezek az egymás után követett megmozdulások és azoknak sikeres befejezésükre nem csak Cleveland dolgozói figyeltek fel, de az ország minden részében az IWW-t épitő munkástársak Clevelandba igyekeztek és csakhamar több mint egy tucat szervező volt itt, akik mint méhrajok támadtak a gyáraknak, hogy a bemenő és kijövő munkások előtt ismertessék az IWW-t és a munkásokat a szervezkedésnek megnyerjék.

Ezeknek a szervezőknek a tanitásai révén több gyár munkásaival kerültünk összeköttetésbe akik tömegesen veszik ki az IWW vörös kártyáját.

Május 24-én, a **Permold Co. zománcozó munkásai** a szervezettségük erejével nyujtanak be a gyár vezetőségéhez 10 százalékos bérjavitást, mely követelésüket meg is nyerik.

Május 26-án, a **Draper gyár munkásai** bizva szervezettségük erejében öt centes órabér javitást követelnek, amit a gyár vezetősége teljesit.

Az emberi gyarlóság és tudatlansággal magyarázható csak meg, hogy ott, ahol rövid idő alatt a munkások a szervezethez való csatlakozásukkal kétszeri béremeléshez jutottak, ahol a munka menetében a munkások javára nagy előnyöket nyertek, akadtak emberek, munkások, akik a szervezetet hátba akarták támadni és az IWW szervezete helyet a kompany uniot akarták a gyárba behozni. Ez történt a Draper hordógyárnál és ezt az akarást az IWW-t megismert munkások nagyrésze csak ugy tudták megakadályozni, hogy ismét sztrájkot mondtak ki és junius elején ujból leállitották a munkát és a telepet picket alá vették.

Ennek a harcnak a részleteiről nem kell, hogy itt megemlékezzünk mert hiszen hétről-hétre beszámoltunk arról a Bérmunkásban. Tudjuk, hogy annak szálai elnyultak Clevelandon kivülre is, amikor a sztrájk bizottság megtudta, hogy a Draper munkákat más városban készitik. Még az éjjel az autók sorai hatvan sztrájkoló munkást vittek az illető gyár elé, akik meggyőzték a gyárban dolgozókat, hogy munkástársaik ellen cselekszenek és akik igéretet is adtak, hogy a Draper hordókon a munkát beszüntetik.

A Draper harc mellett junius 23-án, az **American Stove Company** telepeivel lép összeköttetésbe a szervező bizottság. A munkások nagy számban csatlakoznak az ipari szervezethez és a bátrabbak végzik a szervezés munkáját a gyár falain belül. Két ilyen, a szervezetért agitáló munkást a gyár lefizet, mire a Company két telepén a **New Process** és a **Reliable** munka helyeken a munkások beszüntetik a munkát és 24 órás szolidaritás sztrájk után a gyárvezetősége vissza állitja az elbocsátott két munkást a munkába.

Ezen sikernek a hatása alatt a Company harmadik telepe a **zománcozó munkások** százszázalékik csatlakoznak a szervezethez és a shop committeet elismertetik a gyárvezetőségével is.

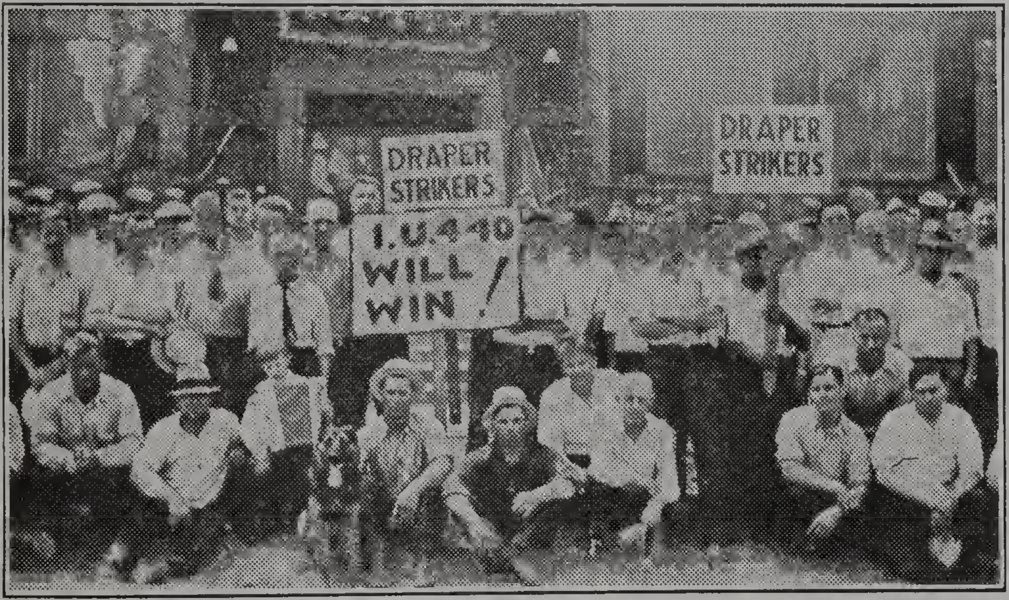
Junius végén az American Stove Company negyedik telepe a **Dangler** is csatlakozik a szervezethez, amiáltal ennek a társulatnak 1200 munkása az IWW vörös kártyájával rendelkezik.

A Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 440 szervező bizottsága ujabb és ujabb gyárak előtt tart gyüléseket a déli órákban. Ezek közül a **Virden** lámpa gyár munkásai között nyer a szervezet tagokat. Cleveland egyik számottevő munkatelepe a **National Screw and Manufacturing Co.**, ahol a munkások nagy százalékban magyarok. Ez a munkatelep sem mentes az IWW propagandájától. Több mint fél ezer munkás hordja itt is az IWW vörös kártyáját és csak erősebb munkaalkalmat várnak arra, hogy a munkabérek megjavitásáért harcba mehessenek.

Szeptember 10. Tizennégy hetes harc után a **Draper** hordó gyár munkásai győzelmesen veszik fel a munkát. A gyárat 100%-os IWW shoppá teszik. A munkabéreket megjavitják. A munkások kitartása az AFofL többszöri beavatkozását, a National Labor Board kisérletét, hogy ebbe a sztrájkba befolyjon, mind-mind sikeresen távoltartotta és ma ennek a gyárnak a munkásai nem csak erőssége a clevelandi megmozdulásoknak de a három hónapos sztrájk alatt annyi és olyan ismeretet szereztek az IWW felől, hogy most a gyár több munkása aktivan veszen részt a szervező bizottságnál a más munkatelepek megszervezésében.

Szeptember 20-án, a **Cleveland Wire Spring Co.** munkásai csatlakoznak az IWW-hoz.

Szeptember 30-án, a **Reliable Brass Co.** munkásai is csatlakoznak az IWW-



A Draper gyár sztrájkoló munkásai a gyárelőtti szabad területen hallgatják az IWW előadóit akik erősitik, hogy az összetartásuk megfogja hozni a győzelmet.

hoz és mindjárt harcba is lépnek a munka alkalom rendesebb elosztásáért. Három napos sztrájkkal követelésük teljesitéséhez jutnak és a munkát ujból felveszik.

Október elsején az **American Stove Company** egyik telepén egy előmunkásnő tetlegesen bántalmaz egy segédmunkást. A munkások követelik a magáról megfeledkezett előmunkásnő elbocsátását. A gyárvezetősége ezt megtagadja, mire a Company valamennyi telepének munkásai beszüntetik a munkát.

Az egész város munkás történetében az első eset, hogy 1200 munkás tegye le a szerszámot az "egyen esett sérelem orvoslásáért." Tiz napos harccal a munkások elérték, hogy a brutális munkavezetőnőt a gyár megrendszabályozta.

Október 5. **A Cleveland Wire Spring** 1600 munkása husz százalékos bérjavitásért és százszázalékos szervezett mühelyért sztrájkba lép. A gyár vezetőségének sikerült egy pár gyengébb jellemü munkást az IWW szervezete ellen állitani, akik a picket vonalakon keresztül törve a gyárba bejutnak. A gyár tiltó parancsot eszközöl ki a biróságtól a szervezet ellen. E naptár nyomás alá kerülésekor itt a harc a birói rendelet ellenére folyik, a munkások a gyár valamennyi kapuját picketelik és mivel a mechanikusok százszázalékban a sztrájkolók között vannak a győzelem itt sem lehet kétséges esetleg a harc lesz az eddigieknél is élesebb.

Október 26. **Az American Stove Companynál** a foreman személye elleni harc ugylátszik összehozta az előmunkásokat, akik a maguk sorsát látták meg a munkáról elhelyezett társuk esetében és a gyár valamennyi munkásához levelet intéztek, felszólitva őket, hogy lépjenek ki az IWW szervezetből és alakitsanak kompany uniont.

A munkások e levelek birtokában egy nagy közös gyülést tartottak és ujból kimondották, hogy ők az IWW szervezetével meg vannak elégedve. Ezt a határozatukat elviszik a gyár vezetőségéhez, megtoldva a gyártelepnek zárt, IWW szervezeti mühelyekké való tevése valamint husz százalékos fizetés javitást követelve.

A gyár vezetősége a munkások követelésére egy párnapos halasztást kért, mivel a gyár főirodája St. Louis, Mo.-ban van és az itteni igazgató még az nap utazik St. Louisba e követelések elintézése végett. A munkások hangulatának a megnyugtatására, hogy ők nem akarnak kompany uniont elrendelte, hogy a telepek valamennyi time clockjára függesszék ki, hogy a Company által elismert egyedüli szervezet az Industrial Workers of the World.

* * *

A tiz hónap győzelmes harcainak papirra vetésekor azokról a munkásokról emlékeztünk csak meg, akiknek ezek a szervezett megmozdulások magasabb munkabéreket, könnyebb munkaalkalmakat biztositanak, mert hiszen az IWW elmélete szerint ezeknek a munkásoknak kellett azokat kiharcolni. És a gyakorlat azt mutatja, hogy igy is van ez helyesen, mert ezáltal a munkások nem csak a sztrájkok tartama alatt tartják a szervezet kártyáját, de ahoz ragaszkodik azután is.

* * *

Kell, hogy az IWW clevelandi kibontakozásának az ismertetésével kapcsolatosan egy-egy névvel is megismertessük naptárunk olvasóit, azokkal a munkástársainkkal, akiknek tevékenységéhez füződik a tiz hónap sikerének nagyobb része. Ezek egyike Frank R. Cedervall a Metal and Machinery Workers Industrial Union No. 440 szervezője, aki fáradtságot és időt nem ismerve veszi ki a részét az IWW ipari szervezetének az épitéséből. A szervezési ügyek intézésében órapontossággal van mellette Fred Lundberg mtárs az IWW kis ipari szervezeteinek országos elnöke. A 73 esztendős, de fiatal hévvel naponta 3—4 beszédet tartó Jim Corrigan mtárs és a hosszabb-rövidebb időket itt tartózkodó angol munkástársak, valamint a már ismertetésünk elején emlitett magyar munkások nagy tömege, akiknek az elmult tiz hónapban lakásuk inkább a szervezet helyisége, a gyári gyülések voltak, mint a családjuk köre.

Hogy neveljük a munkásokat

Irta: Carl Keller

a Work People's College gazdasági tanára

A MEGELÉGEDETT bérrabszolgák némán tanuskodnak, a munkások nevelésének szükségessége mellett. Az iránytévesztett cselekvések, minden esetben igazolják, hogy a munkás osztály harcias csoportjainak, a jelenben lefolytatott kenyér és szabadság harcaiban is hiányzik a helyes nevelés.

Midőn állástfoglalunk e helyen, olyan irányitott nevelési mozgalom mellett, melynek karöltve együtt kell haladnia a céltudatos és forradalmi unionizmussal, nincsen szándékunkban értékében alá becsülni és fontosságában kissebbiteni, a nagybecsü tapasztalatokat, melyek a mindennapi küzdelmekből fakadnak. Elismert dolog, hogy amit a munkás a szervezeti gyüléseken és a picket vonalon tanul valódi alapul szolgál osztályismereteinek gyarapodásához. De ugyanakkor nem szabad felejtenünk, hogy a munkásság összessége — mint olyan — sem a multak tapasztalatain nem okul sem a más országok munkásságának tapasztalatait nem gyümölcsözteti olyan mértékben, mint a sajátját. Mert ha ez másként volna, jogosan feltételezhetnénk, hogy a kapitalizmus zsarnoksága, már régóta lehetetlenné kellett volna váljék.

Tény az, hogy egy osztály a szó szoros értelmében, mint osztály sohasem tanulhat. Az egyén igen. És amig az osztály megmarad, az egyén elpusztul anélkül, hogy az osztályharcban szerzett tapasztalatait, vagy azok egy kevés hányadát is átruházta volna, az utókorra.

Az utóbbi kilencven esztendő alatt, mintegy harminc általános sztrájk folyt le világszerte. És az utóbbiakban, a legelsőkben elkövetett hibák egy részének megismétlődését kell látnunk. A széleskörü munkásnevelés hiányának következtében, a jelen generációnak nem adatott meg az alkalom arra, hogy elődeinek tapasztalatából okulhasson.

Seattle városában is volt egy általános sztrájk 1919-ben. Bátran mondhatjuk hogy ha a jelenben egy hasonló sztrájkot vivna e város munkássága, csak alig tizenöt év leforgása alatt, a multban szerzett tapasztalatok annyira elhomályosultak, hogy a jelenre az akkor szerzett gyakorlat vajmi keveset jelentene. A sztrájk hullám, mely ez évben végig seperte az országot, sok olyan harcost ragadott magával, akik a multban számos ilyen küzdelmekben már részt vettek; és amennyiben állandóan fenn tartották kapcsolataikat a munkásmozgalommal, az ilyen öreg harcosok szolgálatai a sztrájkokban, felbecsülhetetlenek. De a legtöbb esetben ők csak az elenyésző kisebbséget alkotják. A mai időkben, a gépek vasfoga, könyörtelenül őrli fel a husból-vérből való embert. Az utóbbi másfél század alatt a ki-kiujuló harcok a munkásság ismételt lázadásai a kizsákmányolás ellen, olyan munkásokat vonultattak harcba, akik előtt az osztályharc nagyobb részben, azelőtt ismeretlen volt, hol a rank and file (össztagság) gyakorlat és tapasztalat hiányában kellett harcba szálljon.

De a multak, valamint a tőlünk távol eső országok munkásásgának tapasztalatai bizonyos tekintetben hozzáférhetők részünkről. Könyvekben, füzetekben és jegyzetekben vannak elraktározva. Ezeknek felkutatása, részekre bontása, a fontosabb részeknek egymás mellé illesztése olyként, hogy az osztályharc valódi képét kitükrözze, a munkás osztály oktatóinak feladata. A fiatal munkás világszerte lefolyt osztályharcok taktikáiból valamelyes tanulságot kell levonjon, melyet jelen harcainkban valamint jövő törekvéseiben gyümölcsöztethet; mert enélkül, a multak hibáit megismétli és sok drága időt pazarol el, hogy ismét felfedezze, amit a nagyapái már tudtak.

A multban használt módszerek és taktikák megismerése mellett sok más dolgot is elsajátithat a munkás tervszerü neveléssel anélkül, hogy lassu és fájdalmas gyakorlati hibákon és botlásokon keresztül kellene felismernie. Az ipari unionizmus előnyös volta a szakszervezeti mozgalommal szemben és a parlamentárizmus számos hibái, épp ugy sőt sokkal gyorsabban megérthetők az elméletek tanulmányozása által, mint a gyakorlatból.

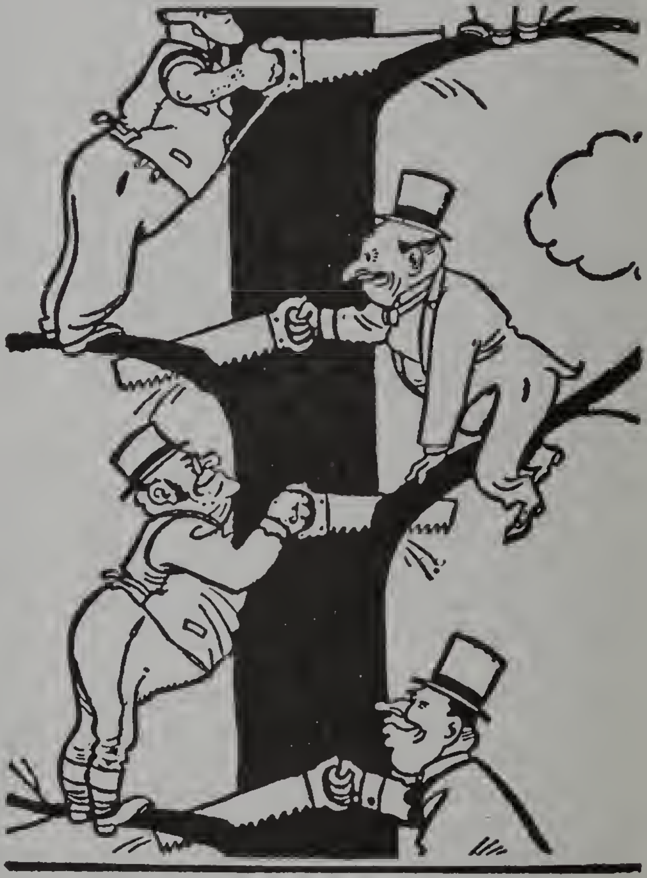
Viszont vannak olyan dolgok is, amelyek csakis tanulás utján sajátithatók el. Mint például az osztályharc alapját képező elviálláspontok, a történelmi materializmus és a kapitalista rendszer összetétele. Nevetséges volna azt állitani, mintha minden munkásnak megismernie kellene a forradalmi mozgalom filozófiáját, hogy harcossá vállhassék; de elvégre egyszer s mindenkorra tisztába kell jönnünk azzal, hogy valódi, alapos tudással felvértezett munkásemberekből a jelen számarányhoz viszonyitva sokkalta többel kell rendelkezzen a munkásosztály, mielőtt győzelem koronázza törekvéseit.

Az emberiség nem ösztönszerüleg épiti társadalmát, mint a méhek és a hangyák. A kapitalista rendszer, a vagyontermelés fölötti irányitás megszerzésének, a kapitalisták céltudatos törekvésének a terméke. A kapitalisták kezéből ez irányitás kicsavarásához, a munkásság részéről is céltudatos törekvést követel meg. A társadalom, nem fog magától az ipari köztársaságba sodródni sőt még vak véletlenségből, az elkeseredett tömegek forradalma sem fogja ebbe az irányba vinni.

Vannak gazdasági hajtóerők, melyek fölött egyetlen osztály sem rendelkezik, melyek ugyszólván napjában változtatják a világot, amelyben élünk. Ezen erőket nem uralják, de irányitják s amint a jelek mutatják, nem a szabadság irányába, hanem fascizmusba terelik az uralkodók. Történjék bármilyen változás az ipari életben és a materiális viszonyokban, mindaddig, amig a munkásság saját szolgaságát jóvá hagyja, amig csak jobban táplált szolgaságot kiván, az uralkodók fognak utat — módot — találni arra, hogy szolga-hajcsár minőségben megmaradjanak.

Több munkást kell osztálytudatra ébresztenünk és még többet történelmi hivatásának teljes és céltudatos megértésére képeznünk. Ehez azonban nem elég, a mindennapi egyszerü aktivitás sőt az egyszerü sztrájkmozgalmak sem. Ezek elkerülhetetlenül szükségesek és fontosak de ki kell pótolnunk alapos nevelő munkával.

Mindez mégsem jelenti azt, mintha a munkásokat vissza kellene küldeni az iskolai padokba, hogy ott megszerezzék a gazdasági és társadalmi kiképzést. Mert ha mi versenyezni akarnánk ilyen alapon azokkal az intézményekkel, melyeket a kapitalisták fenn



Önmaga alatt vágja a fát a telhetetlen tőke.

tartanak és támogatnak, a munkások félre nevelésére, nevetségessé válnánk. Amit mégis lehet és csinálnunk kell: hatványozottabb mértékben folytatni azt munkát amit az Industrial Workers of the World megalakulásával megkezdtünk. Röplapokat, füzeteket, könyveket kell adni a munkások kezébe, elhelyezni otthonaikban. Alkalomadtán, alakitsunk át, minden szervezeti helységet iskolákká és minden beszédünkben arra törekedjünk, hogy elhangzott szavainkban ne csak a szervezkedésről hanem a forradalmi szervezkedésről is beszéljünk.

Emellett szükség van munkás iskolákra és rendszeresen vezetett tanfolyamokra is. De a munkásmozgalom ezirányu törekvése, hogy ugy mondjuk, még csak a gyermek cipőjében van. Az IWW-nak van egy ilyen iskolája, a Work Peoples' College Dulluth, Minnesota-ban és egy néhány van ezen kivül is — más szervezetek fenntartásában. Mindezen intézményeknek megvannak az előnyösségei s ami a támogatást illeti, hiányosságai is.

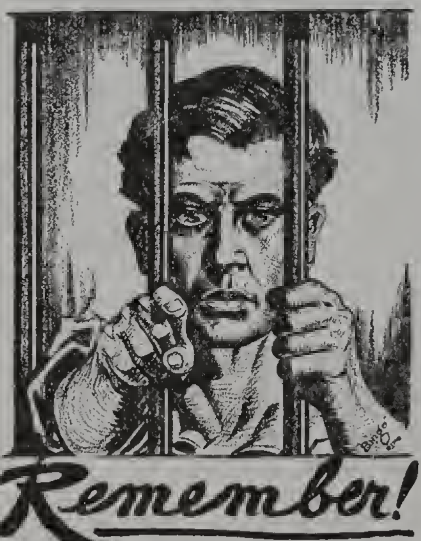
A Work Peoples' College-ról annyit mondhatunk, hogy mint pionér intézmény, nagyszerü multra tekinthet vissza. Tizennyolc éven keresztül az Ipari Unionizmus szolgálatában állott, amint azt az IWW hirdeti. Jó és rossz időkben egyaránt, évről-évre teljesitette feladatát és bocsájtotta utjukra, ki az életbe, a férfiakat és nőket, telitve friss lelkesedéssel, bátorsággal, tudással, hogy ki-ki a maga helyét, az osztályharc frontján elfoglalja. Kezdetben, a munkásmozgalom Finn nyelvü részének végezte a szolgálatot, miután a finnek alapitották és tartották fent. De az utóbbi években, az angol tanfolyamok lettek dominálók. Célja természetesen nem az, hogy a munkásokat a jelen rendszerhez való ragaszkodásra, vagy a környezethez való idomulásra nevelje: hanem éppen az ellenkezője. Megtanulják a tanulók, hogyan fejezhetik ki legjobban tiltakozásukat, lázadásukat a rendszer ellen. Ez kellene célja legyen, minden munkás nevelésnek.

Bármilyen felvilágositással szivesen szolgálnak a Work Peoples' College-ból az érdeklődőknek és levélre is szivesen válaszolnak. Box 39 Morgan Park Sta. Dulluth, Minn.

NEM FELEJTÜNK. Osztálytudatunkban állandóan ott el, hogy TI, bátor szó szólói a munkásosztály felszabadulási törekvésének a harc tovább szitásától, a még tudatlan munkások nagy táborának a felvilágositásától erőszakosan elvagytok zárva.

Nem elégszünk meg azzal, hogy ezt látjuk és hogy rátok gyakran gondolunk, hanem az ipari forradalmárok leghatalmasabb eszközével a szervezet állandó erősitésével kovácsoljuk börtönötök ajtajához a megnyitó kulcsot.

Ma Cleveland, holnap Philadelphia és sorjában az egész ország dolgozói megértik az "egy mindért, mind egyért" magasztos jelszót és harcba szállnak értetek, magukért, mert hiszen nektek sem nagyobb a bünötök mint nekik, mint nekünk, akik támadjuk a magántulajdonon épült rendszert a legfájdalmasabb helyen — a profit csökkentése által.



TI nem csüggedhettek, mert a tábor egyre szélesedik, a harcolók szelleme élesedik és meglátják, hogy a napi harcok mellett kötelezettségeik vannak veletek szemben is.

Ezt a felismerést és általa az akciót mindennappal közelebb viszi a megvalósuláshoz az IWW, mert MI NEM FELEJTÜNK!

KÉTSÉGEN felül álló tény, hogy az ember fogantatása pillanatától egészségét és életét is fenyegető kártevéseknek van kitéve, tehát nyilvánvalóan egyéni érdek, hogy ezen kártevések lehetőségeit csökkenteni és azokat természetüknek megfelelő módon elháritani igyekezzünk. Hogy e törekvés eredményes legyen, szükséges, hogy lehetőleg mindenki ismerje e veszedelmeknek eredő forrását és igy tudjon ellenük védekezni. Ez a cél volt előttünk, amikor az előző esztendők Bérmunkás Naptáraiban kis lexikonját közöltük a gyermeket, az embert megtámadó betegségek felismerésének a lehetőségéről.

Ez évi naptárunk az "Élet fejlődéstörténetét" közli a tudományos világ egyik legalaposabb ismerőjének Bölsche Wilhelm irása nyomán olyan népszerü nyelvezettel megirva, ahogyan csak erről a tárgyról munkásoknak irni lehet.

Kutatók, mint jelen munkájában Bölsche Wilhelm lépésről-lépésre mutatják ki a fejlődésnek évezredes történetét, amit a természet "koronája" az ember egy fejrázással intéz el a minden bizonyiték nélküli természet feletti dolgoknak minősitve a létezőt.

Ismertetésünk célja a kutató tudomány oldalára állitani ebben a kérdésben is a tanulni és tudni vágyó bérmunkások ezreit.

A Bérmunkás Lapbizottsága.

Bölsche: Az Élet Fejlődéstörténete

EGY bájos képe van előttem a természetnek. Ablakaim alatt smaragdzölden vonul a fiatal mező a völgy felé. Mint aranyos és viola-kék lángocskák emelkednek ki belőle a számtalan oroszlánszáj és harangvirág. Egy szürke gránitfal, ősidők tanuja, zárja be a vidám életnek ez eleven hullámát. Mint valami szürkéskék kulissza, tünik föl mögötte a közeli hegyoldalak fenyvese. És messze tul fölötte, mintha valami mélyebb árnyék folynék össze az ég lágy kékségével, a nagy hegygerinc. A napfényben csillogó hófehér felhő tünik most föl mögötte, tulnan az ismeretlen messzeségből jőve. Mindent ez a napfény von be, virágos mezőt, gránitot és erdőt, — átszellemülten pihen minden ebben a nagy egységben.

Most távoli hangokat hallok. A szürke sziklatömbök mögötti ösvényen emberek mennek. Idegen emberek. Nem látom őket. Mi minden lehet elrejtve az ilyen távolról hallatszó hangban, — jó és rossz! Mily végtelen sok különbözőséget jelent ez a szócska: ember, mennyi nemeset és fenségeset — és mennyi durvaságot! És mégis azt gondolom, hogy e gyönge léghullámok, melyek ama hangokat idáig hozzák, megreszketnek a természetnek arra az egyszerü tanitására, hogy minden ember, kivétel nélkül, testvérem. Annyira tehát mégis előhaladt már a kulturánk, hogy ezerötszázmillió embernek e sokfejü tömegébe a közösségnek, a közösség szentségének eszméjét oltotta be e fogalommal "ember!" Egyetlen egységet alkotnak ezek az emberek, egy nagy családot, melyen belül megtalálták egymást, készen arra, hogy büneiket együtt viseljék el és megbocsássák, örömeiket közösen élvezzék, karonfogva járják meg a világ e nagy rejtélyes völgyének utját.

De ama határozatlan hangok közé egy világosabb, erősebb hang vegyül, még szavak nélkül. Egész kicsiny gyer- ez az egyhangu sirdogálás, mely oly tehetetlen és mégis oly sok szeretetet vált ki. Mindnyájan ilyen gyermekmek hangocskájából, ilyen kis beszélni nem tudó embersarjból nőttünk föl és fejlődtünk ki! És tekintetem megint a zöld mezőn siklik végig. Mindezek az aranyos oroszlánszájak és kék harang-virágok is egyetlen sarjból lettek. E növények mindegyike egy jelentéktelen csirából került föl a napfényre. És elgondolom, hogy közülök egyik sem nélkülözheti a napot: sem a kis rózsás ember-sarj a bölcsőben, sem e mezei virágok barna durva sarjügye. Ha az a nap ott, mely tőlünk százötven millió kilométernyire magánosan kering a éghideg térben, ma kialudnék, az emberiség csakugy elpusztulna, mint ez apró mezei virágok népsége.

És az emberiség lelkének mélységeiből, onnan, ahonnan a természet tanitásai is jöttek, benső fülemet egy másik hang is megüti. Az a hang, mely a régi indusok bölcsességében szólalt meg először és itt azt mondja, hogy a közösségnek és testvériségnek a köteléke nem szünik meg az embernél, sőt inkább mindent felölel, ami létrejött ezen a földön, mindent, ami a nap sugaraiból a szentséges világtörvények hatalma alatt kisarjad és kifejlődik. Azonos ez azzal az egyszerü tanitással, mely azt mondja: az állatot se kinozd haszontalanul, a virágot se tépd le fölöslegesen, mert a természet megfoghatatlan nagyságban ezek még mindig — testvéreid; az a virág s benne a csillogó bogárka épp oly tehetetlenül állanak előtted, mint egy siró kis gyermek; de ebből a gyermekből ember lesz; ki tudja mi lehet még ebből a virágból, ebből a rovarból, vagy mivé lettek is már évmilliók előtt a hozzájuk hasonlók.

Ilyen érzések hatása alatt, amilyenek jobb pillanatainkban mindnyájunkat elfognak, kellene — gondolnom — megközeliteni "az ember származásának" nagy kérdését.

Ameddig az emberi részvét elér, addig szégyen és félelem nélkül elmehet megismerésének isteni ösztöne is. Akiben van annyi szeretet, hogy az az állatra is kiterjed, tiszta lelkiismerettel átadhatja magát szelleme ama kérdésének is: vajjon a vérrokonság, mely őt a többi emberekkel bizonyosan összeköti, nem megy-e még tovább, — vajjon ő maga is nem az állatból fejlődött-e? És határozott pillantással ismerheti föl, hogy erkölcsileg ez a tény nem jelent rosszabbat, mint az a másik, melyet minden anya szeretetének mély ösztönével mindennap ezerféleképpen ujra megerősit és szentesit: hogy a legnagyobb ember is csak ugy lesz egy sarjszerü, fejletlen gyermekből, mely még sem beszélni, sem járni nem tud, egyelőre csak a természet sötét rendjében csirázik, mint ahogy ott künt a nap forró csókja alakitja a kék harangvirágot. Igy lesz az egyes ember. Miért ne keletkezett volna egykor ugyanezen a módon az egész emberiség?

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Kerek egy millió ével ezelőtt volt. Ha valakinek akkor módjában lett volna, hogy dobozzal a kezében mint vidám vadászember járja be mai kultur-földrészünket, Európát, az ugyancsak furcsa országot látott volna maga előtt. A mi fogalmaink szerint okvetleül azt kellett volna hinnie, hogy a tropikus Afrikában van. Hetekig járhatta volna Dél-Európa beláthatatlan füves sikságait, melyeket csak ittott tarkitott egy-egy sürübb pagony. E zöld fütengerben az antilópoknak, a vad lovakhoz hasonló állatoknak és a zsiráfoknak ezernyi seregeit riasztotta volna föl. Holdvilágnál a forrás mellett tanyázva, látta volna, amint kolosszus-kolosszus után inni vagy fürdeni jön, mint valamikor látták az első vadászok, akik a Fokföldről Afrika belsejébe hatoltak: mindenféle elefántokat, két vagy négy agyarral, sőt esetleg lefelé forditott rozmár-fogakkal, tekintélyes orrszarvukat és félelmetes vizilovakat; mögöttük oroszlánoknak, tigriseknek és a füreszfogu óriásmacskáknak az orditása hallatszott volna. Aztán megint, inkább észak felé vonulva, a jelenkor legélénkebb kulturvidékeire, áthatolhatatlan őserdőkbe jutott volna, mint amilyenekben Stanley Afrika szivében, egy abszolut vad tropusi vidék merész meghóditásának minden borzalmait megismerte. A fölszini növényzet vastag sürüségéből pompás pálmák emelkedtek ki. Tarka papagályok rikoltoztak. A lombozatból hirtelen egy nagy, a mi gorillánkhoz hasonló, emberszabásu majomnak élesen kutató ábrázata nézett a vakmerő betolakodóra. Mindenek fölött izzott a meleg égöv forrósága. De hogy meg lett volna lepve vándorunk, ha a mai térképet az utjával pontosan összehasonlitotta volna! Ahol ma a Földközitenger kék tükre oly derülten terül el, ahol a hajó számára az utolsó part a horizont alá sülyed, ott száraz lábbal mehetett volna át, az égbolt egyik felétől a másikig még füves rét zsiráfokkal és bozót-erdő majmokkal. És ahol ma a hegyi ösvényen a zöld glecserjég fölött szédită magasságban virit a vörös alpesi rózsa, ott csak erdős dombvidéket talált volna, melyen a geologiailag iskolázott szem észrevehette volna a lassan, de föltartóztathatatlanul haladó emelkedés nyomait. És ahol ma csak a nap süt forrón a kopasz hegyoromra, (mint Franciaország szivében) ott éjjel, messziről odaérkezve, véresen vörös tüzfényt láthatott volna: tüzhányó hegyek forrongó láváját.

Egy idegen világ a rettentően távoli időben!

Mert egymillió esztendő valami rettentő dolog nekünk, akik a mi emberi kulturtörténetünket irott okmányokkal csaknem egészen hatezer évig tudjuk visszafelé követni. Egész könyvtárakat meg lehetne tölteni azzal, a mi velünk, emberekkel csak egyetlen ilyen évezredben történt. És most rakjunk egymás után ezer ilyen évezredet. Ki is csodálkozhatnék rajta, ha a kutatás tükrében, mely őt ez ősnapokba visszavezeti, egy egészen más Európát lát, ha a tengert és szárazföldet, hegyet és éghajlatot megváltozva látja?

A föld történetirója négy nagy korszakot különbözött meg, ha a növényi és állati élet ama változásaira és egymásutánjára gondol, amelyek a föld sok millió éves multjában mutatkoztak. Az egyszerü latin sorszámok megadják a neveket: primus az első, secundus a második, tertius a harmadik, quartus a negyedik. Itt van az első kor, a legelső, melyben a föld élő lakóiról valamit megtudtunk. Azok az erdők zöldeltek akkor, melyeknek megkövült maradványaiból a mi kőszenünk lett, és árnyékukban valami furcsa páncélos gyikok mászkáltak; a tengerben, melynek partjai körül ezek a fák zizegtek, ma rég kimult halak és rákok uszkáltak. Következik a másodkor, melyben az ichthiosaurushoz hasonló óriási borzalmas hüllők tették bizonytalanná a tengert és szárazföldet. De most jön, mint harmadik nagy korszák, éppen az a harmadkor, mikor Európa éghajlata és állatvilága olyan volt mint Afrikáé, zsiráfok, elefántok és majmok tanyáztak benne. Es csak mikor ez a korszak is elmult, jött a negyedkor, mely magában foglalja az ember egész történetét és amelyben még most is élünk. Tekintetünk csak ebben a negyedkorban érzi magát otthonosan. A föld fölülete olyan lesz, mint amilyennek megszoktuk; minden közeledik hozzánk. Ami megelőzi, az idegen, mint valami elmult világ, mint egy idegen bolygó álma.

És mégis: abban a harmadkorban már élt az ember.

Sem dal, sem hősmondák nem beszélnek erről. De ahol a hagyomány szava, az öntudatos emberiség krónikája hallgat, ott beszélnek — a kövek.

Az emberi hagyomány még a negyedkoron belül kialszik. Elérünk egy végső pontig, ahol a kinaiak, babyloniaiak és egyiptomiak fölirásai is elnémulnak. Az irás eltünik s ezzel az emberiség bölcsőjének önmagáról szóló legutolsó szava is. Azonban ezen tul, de még a negyedkoron belül egy másik fontos esemény is végbemegy a földön, melynek nyomai a kőzeteken világosan láthatók. A nagy jégkorszak ez. Európa és Északamerika fölött sok ezer éven át tornyosultak föl a glecserjég roppant tömegei. Mammutoknak (nagy, a hideg ellen vörös gyapjuval védett elefántoknak) seregei legeltek e glecserek szélén, mint ma a mósusz-ökrök és rémszarvasok fönt a sarkkörüli vidékeken. Nos, ezekből a napokból az ember félreismerhetetlen nyomai maradtak fönt.

De azt hiszem, gondolatban sem követhetjük a dolgokat idáig anélkül, hogy egy másik kérdés is föl ne merüljön és pedig az az egyszerü kérdés: nem lehet-e az ember még sokkal idősebb is? Ha elfelejtette a jégkorszakot, a németországi és franciaországi elefántharcokat, a harmadkori magnolia- és pálmaerdőt, — ki tudja, mi mindenen ment keresztül még azelőtt, amit éppen ugy elfeledhetett!

Annyi bizonyos: az igazi közös ősnek, mely legalább is a koponya és a lábak alkatában rendkivüli mértékben hasonlithatott a Pithecanthropushoz, már a miocénkorszak előtt, tehát a harmadkor első harmadában léteznie kellett. Az akkori "'e'm'ber" volt ez, egy lény azzal a képességgel, hogy belőle kifejlődjék az igazi ember, sőt azzal a képességgel, hogy a gibbont, csimpánzot, gorillát és orángot is létrehozza. Bizonyára testének tulnyomó részén szőrös volt, ugy ahogy ezt a mai emberszabásu majmok, az ő igazi "Ézsaui," megtartották. Ha a mai meztelen "Jákob" embernél a test legtöbb helyén e szőrözetnek már csak finom maradványát találjuk, akkor is teljes utbaigazitással szolgál az ősapa felől az a mély tanulság törvény a fiatalkori alakok hasonlóságáról: az anyatestben az ember testét is eleinte teljesen beboritja egy sürü gyapju-réteg. Sőt az arcát is szőr fedi, amit ma már az emberszabásu majmoknál se találunk, és csak a lábak és kezek belső fölülete marad szabadon: mert ezek bizonyosan kopaszok voltak már annál az ősnél is, melyet ez az emberi magzat most még egyszer lemásol. Csak közvetlenül a születés előtt tünik el az embernek ez az Ézsau-ruhája, de egyes megfigyelt esetekben makacsul megmaradt az egész életre és igy keletkeztek a hires kutya-emberek, melyeknek olyan szőrözetük volt, mint egy kutyának.

De kitől eredt maga az ős? Milyen alakba burkolózva tünik el visszafelé?

A rendszerben a négy emberszabásu majom után a többi alsóbb majmok következnek. De ez a rovat megint legalább is három különböző csoportot foglal magában. Egyiket képezik Ázsiának és Afrikának mai farkos majmai, a tengeri macska, pávián stb.; ezek szolgáltatják az állatkertjeinkben oly népszerü majom-csapatok nagyobbik részét. A második kizárólag Amerikában él, példaként fölemelitjük az okos kapucinus-majmot. A harmadik, szintén Amerikában korlátozva, egy csomó kisebb majmot foglal magába, melyeknél a kéz- és lábujjakon körmök helyett karmok vannak és igy majdnem inkább a mókushoz, mint valódi majomhoz hasonlitanak. Ide tartozik például a selyemmajmocska.

Ezt a három csoportot épp oly kevéssé lehet világos fejlődési sorozatba elrendezni, mint a négy emberszabásu majmot egymás között. Mindamellett is tisztán bonctani okokból az a határozott érzésünk van, hogy az ember legközelebbi alsóbb állomásának valahol itt a közelükben kell lenni.

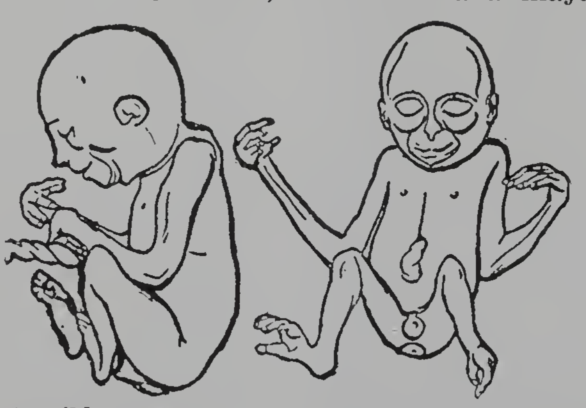
Már az első állatbuvároknak, akik a a gibbont leirták, föltünt, hogy ez a gibbon, a többi emberszabásu majmokhoz és az emberhez való erős kapcsolatai mellett különös módon éppen a tengeri macskaszőrü farkas-majmokhoz is bizonyos tatározott kapcsolatokat mutat. Ezeket csak az ősalakból örökölhette és ennél ismét csak mint örökség szerepelhettek még előbbről: egy olyan állapot idejéből, mikor az ős általában még jobban hasonlitott a majmok tömegéhez.

Maga az ember bizonyitja, hogy volt valaha egy őse, melynek még hosszu külső farka volt. Nemcsak hogy megvannak még felnőtt állapotában is az elsatnyult, kivülről persze nem látható farkcsigolyák (sőt nála még jobban vannak kifejlődve, mint az emberszabásu majmoknál,) hanem az anyatestben lévő magzatnál — mindig ama mély törvény hatása alatt — egy külsőleg erősen kiálló farkat láthatunk még; kivételes esetekben megmarad ez a "magzati farok" a felnőttnél is és igy képződik a "farkos embernek" gyakran kétségbe vont, de ma már biztosan megállapitott abnormitása, mikor a felnőtt korban is megvan az ülőrész fölött a majom-farok; az persze nem igaz, hogy volna valahol a földön egy egész nép, mely csupa ilyen farkos emberekből áll, mint azt a geográfusok régebben mesélték.

Semmi sem áll utjában annak, hogy olyan ősökre gondoljunk, melyek ilyen farokkal birván, külsőleg csakugyan inkább hasonlitottak a tengeri macskához. A kövült csontmaradványok bizonysága szerint a mai óvilági csoportnak a farkos majmai meg voltak már a harmadkor közepén, amikor már az ember és az emberszabásu majmok is mutatkoztak. Egyik faj (a mesopithecus) nagy tömegben élt akkor Görögországban, ahol számtalan csontját találták. Ennek a görög majomnak egészen rendes farka volt. Amellett az orrának az alkotásában és a szemek állásában több hasonlatosságot mutatott az emberhez, mint mai farkos rokonainak az egész laza népsége együttvéve.

Viszont vannak e népség között minden emberi formától annyira eltávolodott, azt mondhatnánk egyoldaluan "bestializált" alakok, mint a szélső példát képező páviánok (gondoljunk csak a furcsa mandrilra,) amiből arra kell következtetnünk, hogy itt is egy, az emberi családfához eredetileg közeli ág teljesen oldalt hajlott el, igy hozva létre Ázsiának és Afrikának élő majmait. Tehát megint egy olyan ősalakra kellene gondolnunk, amelyből most mint nem egyforma fiak egyrészt az ember és az emberszabásu majmok őse fejlődött ki, másrészt ama görög mesoithecus és azután többfelé ágazva a többi afrikai-ázsiai farkos majom. Természetes, hogy ez az ősalak jóval régibb. Legkésőbb a harmadkor első harmadában élhetett. Külsőleg bizonyára valódi majomnak tartanánk s csak a bonctani sajátosságairól tudná meg a hozzáértő, hogy itt még nem a későbbi ágból származó majommal, hanem még csak olyannál van dolga, melyben visszafelé számitva a harmadik fokozatban rejtőzik a leendő ember.

Érdekes, hogy a harmadkor első harmadából csakugyan vannak maradványaink majomszerü állatoktól. Ameghino spanyol buvár találta őket Patagóniában, — olyan kőzetrétegben, mely minden valószinüség szerint még az első harmad vége előtt keletkezett. Ezt az első harmadot eocen-korszaknak, magyarul az uj kor hajnalának nevezik. Mikor Ameghino első izben vizsgálgatta egy ilyen meglehetősen kicsiny patagóniai majomnak a koponyáját, annyira egy kis emberi kisérletnek tünt föl előtte, hogy “Homunculusnak” keresztelte el. Ugy látszik azonban, hogy a hasonlóság az emberhez itt se sokkal nagyobb, mint a kapucinus-féle mai amerikai majmoknál, melynek csoportjában ezek az eocenkori majmok is tartoznak. Nem tagadható, hogy a kapucinus-majom testileg is, szellemileg is sok hasonlóságot mutat az emberhez. Neki is vannak titkos kapcsolatai a gibbonhoz és igy a pithecanthropus-tájéki őslakóhoz. És igy van valami abban az ujabb föltevésben, hogy végül is ezek a csinos, szelid és kétségtelenül magas intelligenciáju amerikai kapucinus-majmok állanak legközelebb az embernek ahhoz a valódi “majomformájához” (mely éppen az eocénkorszakba esnék!,) — közelebb, mint a most élő farkos óvilágiak.



A gibbon-magzat az anyatestben a fejlődés előhaladottabb fokán. Feltünő az emberi magzathoz való nagy hasonlatossága.

Viszont az apró mókusszőrü selyemmajmok teljesen elütő oldalágat képeznek; ugy látszik egészen egyoldalu, különleges délamerikai alkalmazkodás voltak.

De ha már ennyire vagyunk, kétségünk sem lehet a legközelebbi kérdés felől. Ha az ember oly mélyen összebonyolódik a majmok törzsével, akkor visszafelé is csak ezeknek a közös sorsát oszthatja. Ahonnan általában a majom származott, onnan származik az ember is. Mindkettő ugyanazon ősformában rejtőzködik.

Az emlősök szokásos rendszere a majmok alatt megint mint egy nagy hágcsón halad tovább. Következnek a félmajmok, bőregerek, rovarevők (például a sündisznó,) ragadozók, rágcsálók, a patásoknak sokféle ágazó nagy csoportja és igy tovább. De ez a hágcsó csak látszólag történelmi. Nem boldogulna, aki azt akarná kimutatni, miként ment valaha az ember keresztül mindezeken az elváltozásokon. Ha teszem azt egy nyulnak a fogzatát egy majomszerü állatéval összehasonlitjuk, nehezen tudnánk belenyugodni a gondolatba, hogy utóbbi a nyultól származott le. Ha a majomszerü emlősök fogazatának ideális tipusával az emberét vesszük, akkor ugy vagyunk vele, mintha a müvészetben valami egészen egyszerü, nemes épitőstilust, valami bizarr, modoros stilussal hasonlitanánk össze; senki sem fogja elhinni, hogy az egyszerü alakult ki a modorosból. Igy az embernek a fogsora is mintha valami egyszerü templomépület nemes stilusa lenne, melyben minden szépen, egységesen van kiképezve. Ellenben egy nyulnak, lónak vagy akár macskának a fogazata az emberé mellett ugy tünik föl, mint amaz egyszerü témának a modoros változata, itt kihagyásokkal, amott tulhajtásokkal.

Természetesen tarthatatlan az ellenkező gondolat is, — hogy mindezek az emlős csoportok ilyen majomszerü emlősökből fejlődtek volna ki. Ellene mondanak a legegyszerübb történeti okok. Az ősvilági állatok csontmaradványai nem mutatják azt, hogy például először csupán patások, aztán, mondjuk, rágcsálók, majd ragadozók és végül majmok léptek volna föl, —

de arra sem tanitanak, hogy az összes magasabbrendü emlősök közül legelőször a majmok lettek volna meg és csak azután apránként a patások, rágcsálók stb. Ez azt a benyomást kelti, mintha mindezek a csoportok bizonyos időben egyszerre jelentek volna meg a porondon.

De ezekből az egymásnak ellentmondó gyanitásokból mégis csak kivezetett egyszer a kihalt emlősöknek mindinkább mélyülő ismerete.

Mindazok az emlőscsoportok még a harmadkor első harmadában föllépnek, a már többször emlitett eocén-, vagy hajnalkorban. Maguk a majmok is, amint láttuk, megvannak, már ekkor. Ha tehát e dolgok eredetétől valamit meg akarunk tudni, akkor még hátrább kell keresgélnünk, ugy körülbelül az eocén-korszak kezdetén.

Ma is él még a Szunda-szigeteken, tehát ott, ahol a gibon és oráng laknak és valamikor a pitsecathropus kóborolt, egy furcsa kis teremtmény, mely félig kis majomhoz, félig a guggoló ugró-egérhez hasonlit és egész külsejében annyira kómikus, hogy az emlősök leveli békájának nevezték el. Koboldmaki (tarsius spectrum) a hivatalos neve e kis erdei kisértetnek. Ez a koboldmaki a rendszerben a félmajmokhoz tartozik. Ide tartozik még néhány, átlagosan macskanagyságu állat melyeket az állatkertjeinkben "makiknak" neveznek és valamennyi Madagaszkárból ered, azután az ugynevezett galagók Afrikából, a részben délafrikai, részben délázsiai lori-k és az egészen különös, szintén madagaszkári ujjas állat. Régebben voltak Madagaszkár-szigetén olyan maki-fajták, melyeknek nagysága megközelitette az emberét.

A kis koboldmakinak van egy tulajdonsága, mely őt a legszorosabb kapcsolatba hozza a valódi majmokkal és pedig közelebbről az amerikai kapucinus-majommal. Akinek volt már alkalma egy ember születésénél jelen lenni, az emlékszik arra az erősen véres képződményre, mely a szülés után jön ki. Ez a "magzatlepény" vagy placenta. Mig a kis ember, mint magzat az anyatestben tartózkodik, ez a magzatlepény az ő legfontosabb szerve, mert ezen keresztül kapja a magzat teste a táplálékot az anya véréből. Már most ez a magzatlepény, mint a test egyéb berendezései is, közös az embernél és az összes magasabb emlősöknél. De abban a közelebbi módozatban, ahogy a magzatlepény az anyatestben képződik, jelentékenyen eltérnek egymástól a magasabb emlősök egyes csoportjai. Az ember és az emberszabásu majmok magukban egy különleges módszert képviselnek — ez megint kitünő példa az ember és az emberszabásu majmok összetartozandóságára, és e szempontból jelentékeny vivmány volt, mikor a már emlitett Selenka a gibbonnál és orángnál is kimutatta (az egész állatországban csak az embert jellemző) közös módszert. Más módszerük van a tengeri macskához hasonló farkos majmoknak és megint más, teljesen eltérő és eredeti az amerikai majmoknak. A magzatlepényképzésnek ez utóbbi módjához érdekesen csatlakozik a koboldmakié, mig a valódi makik főtömege megint más és saját módszereket követ. Minthogy Amerikában már nagyon régi, a középharmadkorból való koboldmaki-maradványokat találtak, mind valószinübb lesz, hogy az amerikai majmoknak a koboldmakihoz hasonló félmajmok voltak az elődei. Ez volna egyszersmind a legközelebbi állomás az ember családfájában. Bizonyára a középső harmadkornak ezek a koboldmakijai képviselik történetileg (a fentebb mondottak értelmében,) a cernay-i és ujmexikói állatnépség ama részének továbbfejlődését, mely a törzsalaktól már a félmajmok felé kezdett eltérni. Tudományosan ma többnyire "Lemur"-oknak nevezik e félmajmokat és ezért nevezték amaz ősi előfutárokat pachylemuridaknak.

A harmadkorból visszafelé menve a másodkorba, mintha hirtelen eltünnének az összes magasabb emlősök, még a cernay-i és ujmexikói törzsalakok is. De mindenütt, ahol egyáltalán emlőscsontok előfordulnak, föllépnek helyettük az alsóbb emlősök egy egész határozott csoportjának a képviselői, — az ugynevezett "erszényes állatok."

Az erszényes állatokat igy nevezik egy olyan sajátságukról, melyet az állatkertben a gyermekek is megismernek a kengurunál: az anya a nagyon éretlen állapotban megszült, azt mondhatnánk rendesen koraszülött fiát egy ideig egy védő bőrzacskóban, az ugynevezett "erszényben" magával hordozza. Ebben az erszényben találja meg a kölyök az emlőt is, melyen emlősszokás szerint táplálkozik. Egyenesen erre a célra berendezett szivó-szája mintegy odaköti az emlőhöz, mig az egyidejü lélegzés (mely csak az orron keresztül történhetik) a légcsőnek és a tüdőnek különleges berendezését teszik szükségessé és a mellső lábak erős karmokkal ellátott kapaszkodó szervekké alakultak ki, ellentétben az eleinte satnya és tökéletlen hátulsó lábakkal. Teljes joggal nevezték "lárvá"-nak ezt az erszényes-kölyköt, mely részben különleges, később megint eltünő szerveket fejleszt ki az erszényben való tartózkodás idejére, mintha csak egy emlősállat "békaporontya" volna. Az erszényes állatoktól följebb egyetlen magasabb emlősnél sem találunk még csak hasonlót sem ehhez a csodálatos "erszényes lárvához." De ezeknél a magasabb emlősöknél is megtaláljuk az erszénynek egy nagyon jellegzetes maradványát egy kétségtelenül ehhez tartozó záró-izomban. Ez egész biztosan mutatja, hogy az egész magasabb emlős-népség, az embert is beleértve, őseiben átment az erszényesállat fokozaton. Hogy pedig ez a fokozat szorosabb kapcsolatban volt a ma élő valódi erszényesekkel, kitünik az utóbbiaknak egy másik sajátságából, melyre csak ujabban lettek figyelmessé. Megint a föntebb emlitett magzatlepényről van szó. Még eddig csak ugyanazon magzatlepény különböző alakjairól hallottunk, ugy látszik, hogy az élő erszényesek megállottak azon a fokon, ahol a magzat-lepény egyáltalán fejlődni kezdett.

Lehet, hogy a jura-korszakot követő kréta-korszak folyamán, a magzatlepény-képzés kezdeteit mutató valamelyik erszényes-csoportnál ment végbe az a fejlődés, mely a cernay-i és ujmexikói magasabb törzscsoportokhoz vezetett. Emellett tekintetbe kell vennünk, hogy az elálló hüvelykujjakkal biró ötujju láb, amit a félmajom, majom, emberszabásu majom és az ember kezük alkatában máig hiven megőriztek, már az erszényesek mászó fajainál, főleg az amerikai erszényes patkánynál vagy opossumnál is előfordul.

Még mielőtt az anyatestben lévő emberi magzatnál a külső emlőbimbók kifejlődnének, keletkezik a bőrben a tejmirigy. Ha arra a "biogentikai alaptörvényre" gondolunk, az a benyomásunk, mintha bizonyos fokon az ősöknél is meglett volna már a tejmirigy, még mielőtt a külső emlő kifejlődött volna. Épp ugy látunk az emberi magzatnak egy korai fejlődési szakán egy sajátságos képződményt a hátsó testnyiláson: a vizelet és a ivartermékek csatornája a végbélbe nyilik, ugy hogy mindhárom dolog: az ürülék, vizelet és az ivari termékek számára kezdetben csak egyetlen nyilás van. Csak a harmadik hónapban képződik a leendő emberke végbelében egy válaszfal, mely azután e váladékokat két cső (két nyilás) között osztja meg: egy vizelet és ivarvezeték és a végbél között. Ez az egymásután annak megfontolására indit bennünket, vajjon nem-e itt is valami ősi vonatkozással van dolgunk. Voltak-e csakugyan valaha olyan embert rejtő emlősök, melyeknek már voltak tejmirigyeik, de emlőik nem, és amelyeknek a vizelet, ivartermékek és váladékok kiüritésére csak egy nyilásuk volt?

Még ma is vannak ilyen emlősök! Ezek a hires ausztráliai csőrös állatok. A szárazföldi csőrös emlős vagy echidna egy nagy südnisznóhoz hasonlit, ő is erős tüskékkel van fölszerelve. Az ausztráliai szárazföldön, Tasmániában és Ujguineában fordul elő. A vizi csőrös emlős a szőrözetét és életmódját illetőleg inkább a mi vidránkhoz hasonlit, igen jól uszik s az ausztráliai szárazföld kisebb folyóiban és tavaiban lakik. Egyik csőrös állatnak sincsenek külső emlői, de vannak szabályszerü tejmirigyei; a bőrnek egy tányérszerüen bemélyedt és átlikgatott helyén keresztül csöpög a tej a fiatalok szájába.

A test hátulsó részén is egész életén át csak egyetlen nyilás van az ürülék, vizelet és ivartermékek eltávolitására; ezt a nyilást "kloakának" és eszerint a csőrös emlősök egész csoportját "kloakás állatoknak" nevezik.

Ugy látszik, hogy ez a csőrös állat, mely virágzása idején kortársa volt a hüllő-saurusoknak, egyenesen e hüllőkhöz vezet, anélkül, hogy a madarakat érintené. A mi régi rendszerünknek az egyszerü sorozata: emlős, madár és csak azután a hüllő, itt tévutra vezet. A madárról egészen biztosan tudjuk ma, hogy a hüllőnek külön fejlődött egyoldalu hajtása, melynek nyilvánvalólag semmi köze az emlős kialakulásához.

Igaz, hogy a madár vére is állandó hőmérsékletü, mint az emlősé és ez a hasonlóság közel is hozta őket egymáshoz a rendszerben. Sőt még valamivel "melegebb vérü," mint mi. Ez azonban csak olyan tulajdonság, amely egészben véve magasabb fokot jelöl ugyan meg, de az egyes csoportok teljesen önállóan, egymástól függetlenül is megszerezhették. Igy például egymástól nagyon távoli állatcsoportok: legyek, méhek, szitakötők, lepkék (tehát a rovarok,) aztán halak (repülő halak,) békák (a szundaszigeti repülőbéka, mely az ujjai között kifeszitett bőrrel repked,) gyikok (az ausztráliai repülő-gyik,) aztán maguk a madarak és az emlősök közül a repülő erszényesek, bőregerek és a repülő mókusok, mind külön sajátitották el a repülést. Ezekben az esetekben szó sem lehet arról, hogy egyik állatcsoport a másiktól örökölte volna a szóbanforgó képességet, — mindegyik a körülmények kényszeritő hatása alatt, mint alkalmazkodást, külön "találta föl." A kihalt régi hüllők egy részénél (sok dinosaurusnál és a repülő sárkányoknál) sokféle okból valószinünek tehetjük föl, noha határozott bizonyiték nincs rá, hogy már ők is melegvérüek voltak. Bizonyos, hogy egyes kigyóknál (a python óriáskigyónál) még ma is időleges melegvérüség lép föl, és pedig akkor, mikor a tojásaikat lerakták és ezeknek a kiköltéséhez szükségük van bizonyos állandó hőfokra. Igy elég közelfekvő dolog volt, hogy ezt a tulajdonságot a madár, mint a hüllők sarja, élethossziglan megszerezte. Az archeopterix nevü furcsa keverékállat kövült maradványa bonctanilag félreismerhetetlen átmeneti alakot szolgáltat a gyikok általános tipusától a jurakorbeli madárhoz, egy olyan formához, amely sok tekintetben már igazi madár, de még egész csomó jellemző hüllő-tulajdonsága is van, például a hosszu gyikfark. Viszont semmiféle átmenetünk nincs a madártól az emlőshöz.

Kétségtelen, hogy a kétéltüek egyes élő képviselőinél pontosabb vizsgálat mellett találunk igen fontos olyan részleteket, melyek egyenesen az emlősök törzsére utalnak. Sok békánál és varangynál meglepetéssel vesszük észre az utódokról való gondoskodás kezdeteit, legalább abban az értelemben, hogy majd a him, majd a nőstény magával hurcolja a tojásokat. Sőt a mi honi "bábavarangyunknál" ugy történik ez, hogy a him a nősténytől elveszi az egész petevezetéket, a hátsó lábai köré csavarja és hüségesen magával hordozza. Viszont a délamerikai pipa-békánál a nőstény hordja a hátán a petéket és pedig a bőrén kis zsebek keletkeznek, melyben a tojások megérnek s a fiatalok kibujnak belőlük. Az orrmányos varangyoknál és zsákos békáknál a kis zsebecskékből nagy költőzsákok és erszények lesznek, melyben a tojásokat és a fiatalokat éppugy magukkal hordozzák, mint a szárazföldi csőrösök és az erszényesek. Ugyanezeknél a kétéltüeknél fontos szerepük van a bőrmirigyeknek. Mindenki ismeri ezeket a varangynál, ahol a mirigyek védelmül maró folyadékot lövellnek ki. De ugyanezen mirigyeknek szerepük van a pipa-béka zsebképzésénél is, s nem nagyon messzefekvő gondolat, hogy abban a mirigyzacskóban felnövekvő kölyök elkezdi egy ilyen mirigynek a nedvét (melynek nem kell éppen mindig marónak lenni) állandóan mint tápfolyadékot szopogatni. De ezzel már ott is volnánk a csőrös állat fokán levő "emlősnél," ahol a tojásból kikelt kölyök szintén nem tesz egyebet az erszényben, minthogy egy izzadságmirigynek a kicsepegő nedvét nyalogatja.

De másrészt épp oly kevéssé tagadható, hogy éppen ennek a csőrös állatnak az egész bonctani szerevezete, amennyiben későbbi különleges alkalmazkodások meg nem változtatták, félreismerhetetlen hüllő-hasonlatosságokat mutat és pedig nemcsak a csontvázában, hanem a puha részekben is, például a szivben és az agyvelőben. Azonban a csontváznak egyetlen egy bélyegében a csőrös állat a többi emlősökkel együtt határozottan eltér ugy a hüllőktől, mint a kétéltüektől és pedig abban a módban, ahogy az alsó állkapocs a koponyához izül. A fogakkal ellátott alsó állkapocs a fölfelé hajló ágával közvetlenül a koponyához izül. Ellenben az összes hüllőknél és kétéletüeknél a tulajdonképpeni állkapocs előbb hátul egy több csontból álló izületi készülékhez kapcsolódik, amely csontok egyike alulról emelkedik a koponya felé, mig fölülről egy másik áll vele szemben és csak ez van többé-kevésbbé szilárdan egyesülve a koponyával. Ebben a pontban tehát ugy a hüllönek, mint a kétéltünek jelentékenyen át kellett alakulnia, hogy emlőssé — ha mindjárt csak csőrös állattá is — lehessenek.

Ezekben a bonyodalmakban megint csak a kövült őslények vizsgálata igazit el bennünket. Mert amennyire jogosult volt annak idején a ma élő állatokkal szemben, hogy az állattan a hüllőt és a kétéltüt szigoruan elválasztotta: — a távoli ősnapokban, hiszen ránk nézve most ez a fontos, a rendszertani határ kezd megint eltünni, — hüllő és kétéltü megint mind jobban közelednek egymáshoz.

Az a kor, melyben a legrégibb csőrös-állatszerü emlős a legközelebbi alatta álló törzsalakból kifejlődhetett, körülbelül az elsőkor és másodkor határvonalai, tehát a kőszénkorszaktól az első nagy hüllőkorszakig, ama triászkorig, melyben az ős-csőrösöknek első fogait találták. De az éppen e korból való kövült maradványokból a következőket tudjuk meg.

A kétéltüek mai képviselői: a szalamandrák, gőték és békák, akkor valószinüleg nem éltek még, ezek bizonyára csak későbbi hajtásai a kétéltüek törzsének. Helyettük, mint már mondottuk, számos furcsa, többé vagy kevésbé szilárd csontpáncéllal ellátott, olykor krokodilusnagyságu kétéltüt találunk, melyek sok tekintetben annyira hüllő-jellegüek, mintha itt a kétéltüek ága már közvetlenül átmenne a hüllőkébe.

Azonban a hüllőnek és kétéltünek éppen ezen a keveredési határán látjuk az állatoknak még egy igen különös társaságát föllépni, mely ma teljesen kihalt, — állatokat, melyek részben erősen a hüllőkhöz huznak, de amellett félreismerhetetlen jellemvonásokat mutatnak — az emlősöktől. Ezeket a terményeket együttvéve teromorpháknak nevezik, ami magyarul "emlősködőket" jelentene. A legtöbb csontmaradványukat Délafrikában a Fokföldön találták. Vannak köztük nagyon groteszk legények, például nehézkes csuszó-mászó állat két hatalmas rozmár-foggal egyébként fogatlan szájában aztán olyanok, melyek kemény csontsugarakból való óriási fésüket hordottak a hátukon és sok másféle "sárkányalak." Később egyesek kiváltak a sorból, mert ezekben állapitották meg a teknősbékák őseit. Ami azonban kezdettől fogva leginkább fölkeltette a szakemberek csodálkozását, bizonyos csontvázrészeknek és különösen a fogaknak az emlősökkel való hasonlatossága volt. A buvárok nagy része azonnal ama nézet felé hajlott, hogy itt közvetlenül az emlősök keresett őseivel van dolgunk. Bár ezt más oldalról ugyanolyan élénkséggel cáfolták, de éppen az utóbbi időben igen illetékes szakemberek megint csak ebben a biztosan el nem dönthető dologban még oly óvatosan nyilatkoznak, bizonyosnak tekinthető, hogy a hüllő és kétéltü határon mutatkozó ingadozáshoz, ama kritikus ősnapok kövült maradványaiban még egy ingadozás járul a hüllő és emlős között. Azt hiszem, hogy a helyes következtetés ez lesz.

Semmi különös akadálya nincs, hogy ezeket az emlősöket, melyek nyilvánvalóan legtovább — egész az emberig

— vitték, tekintsük megint a törzscsoport központi ágának vagy koronasudarának. A leértelmesebb ág bizonyára ők voltak, ők lehettek tehát testileg a legjobban fölszerelve, ők voltak a nagy közös gyökerének szélsőségekbe legkevésbé elaprózott hajtásai.

Bizonyos, hogy ezek a föltevések, a rendelkezésünkre álló adatokra épitve, a logika szempontjából kifogástalanok. Annak a föltételezett vegyes csoportnak a kövült maradványait eddig még nem lehetett kétségtelenül kimutatni. De nem szabad elfeledni, hogy szemlélődésünk most mind jobban és jobban a földtörténet hajnalkori szakaszaiban vész el, ahol általában minden lazává és ingadozóvá lesz már. Ezen a határon tul fokozódó mértékben kell folyamodnunk a többé-kevésbbé finom következtetési bizonyitékokhoz. Nem várhatjuk többé, hogy az összes fokozatok külön-külön és az összes bonyodalmak élesen kifejezésre jussanak, — meg kell elégednünk a logika adta megközelitő fővonallal. De ehhez még most is elég utmutató adat áll rendelkezésünkre.

Bejutottunk immár, mint mondottuk, a nagy hüllő-korszakon tul az első (primaer) korba. Közeledünk a legrégibb korszakokhoz, melyekből a föld egykori életéről a kövületekből közvetlenül megtudhatunk még valamit. Roppant kőzettömegeket találunk itt, melyek a tenger iszapjából rakódtak le valamikor, most pedig legföljebb halak kövületeit találjuk bennük, melyek akkoriban — ugy látszik — az egész gerinces-népségnek még egyedüli képviselői voltak.

Az a benyomásunk, mintha az első kortól visszafelé minden magasabb, a kétéltütől és hüllőtől az emberig, egyszerüen a hal-ban rejtőzött volna — hiszen más gerinces nem is volt még.

Ez a történeti tény pontosan megegyezik az elfogadott rendszerrel, mely a hüllők és kétéltüek után a halakat állitják oda a legközelebbi alsóbb gerinces osztálynak.

A halat a felnőtt szalamandrától és békától, a gyiktól vagy teknőstől, a madártól vagy emlőstől és az embertől testileg az első pillanatban megkülönbözteti a lélegzésmódja. Az előbbiek mind tüdővel lélegzenek a szabad levegőn. Ellenben a hal tökéletes alkalmazkodás a vizi életmódhoz. Mivel a lélegzéshez neki is levegőre van szüksége, egy olyan szerve fejlődött ki nála, mely mindig a vizzel érintkezvén, képes a vizben oldott levegőt fölvenni és földolgozni: ez a hal nyakán elhelyezett ugynevezett kopoltyu.

De azt meg minden iskolásgyerek tudja, hogy a mai kétéltüinknek, tehát a szalamandrának, békának és gőtének a tojásaiból először ugynevezett poronty-lárva lesz, amely halacska módjára teljesen a vizben él. Kezdetben ez a poronty is rendes kopoltyukkal lélegzik. Csak mikor kifejlődik a béka vagy a szalamandra s elhagyja a lárva-állapotot, áll be a tüdő-lélegzés, a kopoltyuk tönkremennek, mint ahogy a gyermeknek a tejrogai kihullanak. De az ilyen poronty semmi egyéb, mint szabadba helyezett magzat. Ama törvény értelmében, mely szerint a magzat sok tekintetben az ősök alakulásait ismétli meg, ilyen föltünő esetből csak arra következtethetünk, hogy a szalamandrák és békák olyan teremtményektől származnak, melyek kopoltyukkal lélegzettek, — tehát, mivel a gerincesek közül nincs más választásunk, a halaktól.

Viszont ha a szalamandrák és békák, az előbbi föltevésnek megfelelően, csak annak a törzscsoportnak egyik kiágazása, melyből mint másik ág az emlősök is eredtek, akkor nem marad más hátra, minthogy ezt az egész törzscsoportot és vele együtt a mi emberi családfánkat is ugyancsak halszerü vizi állatoktól származtassuk le.

Akármilyen magzatot nézzünk meg, a valódi gyikét, kigyóét, krokodilusét, az ujzélandi hidasgyikét, a teknősbékáét, — vagy akár a struccét, gólyáét, tyukét vagy kanári madárét —vagy végül a csőrösét, erszényespatkányét, bálnáét, tengeri malacét, lóét vagy a majomét, mely sokkal közelebb van az emberhez — magzat a fejlődés bizonyos fokán mindig félreismerhetetlenül világos nyomait fogja mutatni a poronty- vagy hal-állapotnak. Ott vannak a nyakán a kopoltyuivek, ott mélyednek be a jellemző kopoltyuréssel, melyeken keresztül a vizben lélegző halnál a viz keringve megnedvesitheti a kopoltyuk lélegző fölületét. Az ezen a fokon felépülő végtagok még határozott uszonyformát mutatnak; mint kerekded lemezek nőnek ki, melyekből csak végtelen átalakulások után lesz később itt a bálna uszonya, ott a ló csüdje a patával, végül amott a madár szárnya, a bőregér repülő keze, vagy a szárazföldi teknősbéka nehézkes lába. Ha egyáltalán volna szükség még valami szigoru bizonyitékra ahhoz, hogy mindezek a magasabb gerinces állatok történetileg egyetlen közös őscsoporthoz tartoznak, kézzel foghatólag nyujtaná ezt az ősi örökségként föllépő kopoltyus és uszonyos magzat. De éppen ezek a kopoltyuk és uszonyok azt mutatják, hogy ez az őscsoport legvégül egy kopoltyu- és uszony-állatban fut össze, — más szóval a halban.

Itt volna még az utolsó kérdés: hogyan áll ez a dolog magánál az embernél? Minden bonctani tankönyv megadja a választ. Bizonyos fokon az ember magzatánál is megtalálhatók a kopoltyu-nyilások a nyakon és azok az uszonylemezkék a későbbi karok és lábak helyén. Ez oly bizonyos, mint Kopernikusznak az a tétele, hogy a föld kering a nap körül. Senki sem tagadhatja ezt, aki csak kissé is tiszteli az igazságot. Igaz, hogy olyan emberek, akiknek kényelmetlen a fejlődéstannak ez a megkapó bizonyitéka, többször megkisérlették, hogy azt "hamisitásnak" bélyegezzék. Minden tankönyvben, mely a leendő orvos kezei közt van és amelynek tételeiből állami hatóságok előtt vizsgázik, benne van ez az egyszerü tény és ha a diák a vizsgán ezt le akarná tagadni, meggyülhetnék a baja az állami vizsgáztatókkal. Aki ennyire elvitázhatatlan és tudományosan sehol többé kétségbe nem vont tényeket hamisitásoknak mond, az az igazság kutatásának erkölcsi föltételein tulteszi magát.

Igy hát az ember is benne volt egykor a halban!

De ha kérdjük, hogyan volt lehetséges és mi adta hozzá a külső ingert, hogy a távoli ősnapokban a kopoltyukkal lélegző halakból végre tüdővel lélegző szárazföldi állatok lettek, akkor most megint egy élő állatalak szolgáltatja a legjobb utbaigazitást. Az ausztráliai szárazföld keleti részének néhány kis folyójában egy teremtményt födöztek föl, amely külsőleg, a pikkelyeiben, uszonyaiban és kopoltyuiban teljesen egy nagy lazachoz vagy potykához hasonlit. De ha megvizsgáljuk a belsejét, azt találjuk, hogy egészen rendes és használható tüdeje is van. Ha az életmódját is kutatjuk, rájövünk, mi a logikai célja ennek a viszontbiztositásnak. A száraz évszakban annak a vidéknek a folyói teljesen kiszáradnak. Csak néhány rosszvizü mocsár marad vissza, melybe nyüzsögve szorul össze a halak népsége és egymás számára szinte lehetetlenné teszik a lélegzést. Az ilyen sanyaru időkben a felületre uszik a mi nevezetes állatunk, levegőt nyel a tüdejébe és igy az igazi légbeli állatok módjára lélegzik, mintha egyáltalán szüksége sem lenne többé vizre.

Ezt a paradox legényt, mely tetszése szerint élhet hal vagy gőte módjára, "gőtehalnak" keresztelték. Latinul ceratodus a neve. De ezt a nevet eredetileg olyan halszerü lények megnevezésére találták ki, melyeket kövült maradványaikban, mint hosszu fejlődési sorozatot a legrégibb első korig követhetünk visszafelé és amelyekre nagyon jellemző, hogy a szájpadjukon sajátságos fogaik vannak. Pontosan ilyen fogai vannak az élő ausztráliai gőtehalnak is. És igy bizonyára jogos a következtetés, hogy a kettős lélegzés sajátságos módját is az ősnapokból őrizte meg: azon lények igazi utódainak tartják őt, melyek az átmenetet képezték a kopoltyuval lélegző ősvilági halaktól az első ősvilági tüdőlégzésüekhez, tehát a kétéltü, hüllő és emlős föntebb föltételezett vegyes csoportjához, és igy amaz ősvilági ceratodus-rokonok maradványait éppen ezen átmeneti csoport maradványainak tartják.

Az ausztráliai ceratodus mindenesetre világosan mutatja, milyen kényszerhelyzetben fejlődhetett ki a "tüdő:" mikor ugyanis a viz nagyon kevés vagy levegőben nagyon szegény lett. Afrikában él még egy közel rokon gőte-hal, a protopterus, mely tüdőlégzésével egy ideig azt is kibirja, ha a viz teljesen kiszárad.

Persze most megint azt kérdezhetnők, honnan teremtődött elő az uj szerv éppen a kellő időben, mint a varázsló megteritett asztala. A természet varázslata sohasem jön csak ugy a semmiből, mindig logikusan kapcsolódik valamihez. Pontos vizsgálatnál kitünik, hogy a gőtehal tüdeje is csak az igazi hal egyik már meglevő szervének átalakulása: az ugynevezett uszóhólyagnak. Ez az uszóhólyag a haltestben olyan levegővel telt léggömbfélét képez, mely eleinte csak arra szolgál, hogy a hal fajsulyát csökkentse, a hal sulyát "egyenlővé" tegye a vizével. A föl-és leszállásnál nagyon hasznos volt, hogy a léggömböt szükség szerint egy szelep szabályozhatta; sok halnál tehát az uszóhólyag megtartotta a béllel és a szájjal való nyilt öszszeköttetést, hogy levegőt vehessen magába és bocsájthasson ki. A tápcsatornának ez a tetszés szerint megtölthető vagy kiürithető légzsákja használtatott föl arra, hogy falának a véredényeit oxigénnel lássa el, és — ha már meg volt, szükség esetén helyettesithete a vizből kifogyott kopoltyukat is. A továbbiak folyamán ez az uszóhólyag teljesen átvette a helyettesithette a vizből kifogyott kopoltyu tönkre mehetett egész addig a kis maradványig, ami a magzatnál mutatkozik — és meg volt a szárazföldi állat. E nagy utra visszatekintve elmondhatjuk: hogy ezzel az ember is fölszabadult a hal-állapot vizhezkötöttsége alól.

Mikor igy a gőtehalat mint "élő hidat" látjuk magunk előtt, szeretnénk természetesen a másik hidfőt is látni, — azaz megtudni, miféle halakból alakult ki ez a hid. Mert hal és hal között óriási a különbség.

Az avatatlan persze e szónál az asztalra kerülő halak alajaira gondol, mert a népmüvelésügy mai állása mellett ezek ismertebbek, mint a finom állattani különbségeket mutatók. Ott tulnyomó többségben, sőt majdnem kizárólagosan az ugynevezett "csontos halak" szerepelnek, a tulajdonképpeni szálkás halak, többé vagy kevésbé szilárd vázzal. Az összes európai folyami halak ide tartoznak, a pisztráng és a csuka, a potyka és az ángolna és a tengeri halak közül is legismertebbek: hering, szardella, tőkehal stb.

De ha ezekkel együtt egy kis hordócska pompás kaviár kerül az asztalra, vagy a költséges inyencség koronájaként egyenesen orosz sterlet-et szolgálnak föl, akkor már a halak egy másik egészen eltérő szervezetü csoportját látjuk: az ugynevezett zománcos halakét (ganoidei.) Legbüszkébb képviselőjük a tok, melynek petéi szolgáltatják a kaviárt. E zománcos halak vagy tok-félék főleg abban különböznek a többiektől, hogy vannak közöttük olyanok, melyeknek már csak egészen puha porc-vázuk van.

Ez a porc-váz állandó jellegü lesz egy harmadik csoportnál, mely ugyan nem kerül az asztalunkra (csak a kinaira,) de amelyet mégis elég jól ismernek — a cápáknál.

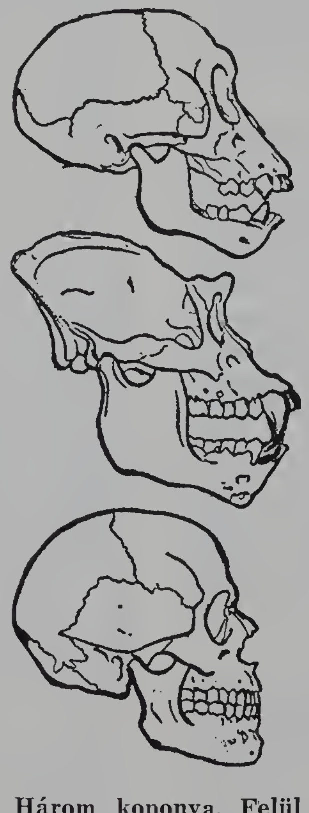
Azonban a hüllőnek és kétéltünek éppen ezen a keveredési határán látjuk az állatoknak még egy igen különös társaságát föllépni, mely ma teljesen kihalt, — állatokat, melyek részben erősen a hüllőkhöz huznak, de amellett félreismerhetetlen jellemvonásokat mutatnak — az emlősöktől.

Valamennyi ismert élő állat között, a lándzsahaltól lefelé, csak egyetlen kis csoport van, mely némi nyomát mutatja a "gerincoszlopnak" és pedig az ugynevezett zsák-állatok (ascidia.) Tengeri állatok, melyek fához hasonló anyagból készült köpenybe, mintegy zárt csigaházba, vagy zsákba vagy bőröndbe vannak bujtatva. Testalkatuk után inkább a férgekhez sorolnánk őket, egy és más emlékeztetővel a lágytestüekre. Nos, ezeknél a zsákállatoknál, a legtöbbnél csak a lárva vagy magzati alakban, de néhánynál élethossziglan, kialakul a testben egy finom porc-rudacska, mely legalább egy darabjában teljesen ugy helyeződik el, mint a lándzsahalnak ama háthurja. Meg kell tehát engednünk annak valószinüségét, hogy ezek a zsákállatok mégis csak valami közvetlen vonatkozásban állanak a gerinces törzsel. Egyik oldalon a féregszerüségükkel még mélyen alatta állanak a lándzsahalnak. De a másik oldalon már megvan a háthurjuk, tehát a valódi gerincoszlop első nyoma, amit semmi más gerinctelen állatnál nem találunk meg. Abból, hogy a legtöbbnél csak a magzat-korban mutatkozik a háthur, arra következtethetünk, hogy az őseiknél még erősebben volt kifejlődve, tehát azok közelebb is állottak a gerincesekhez, mint a fajnak most élő nyilvánvalólag elsatnyult képviselői. A lándzsahalat és a zsákállatott tehát ugy foghatnánk föl, mint annak a közös őscsoportnak két ágát, melynél először lépett föl a háthur. De ugyanakkor föl kell tennünk, hogy ez az ősalak minden egyébben még teljesen féregszerü volt, mert máskülönben nem tudjuk belőle a zsákállatot leszármaztatni. Eljutottunk hát az emberrel — a féregig.

“A féreg” szó ismét a rendszertani dolgoknak roppant tömegét foglalja magában. Százával vannak az egymástól alapjában eltérő féregcsoportok. Vannak köztük magasabbak, melyeknek már vérük, érzékszerveik és rendes központi idegrendszerük van. Persze, hogy ezekből szeretnénk a gerinceseket levezetni. Elgondolunk egy olyan férget, melynek — ellentétben a lándzsahallal és orsóhallal — még nincs háthurja, de már van egy idegkötege, melyből később a hal gerincvelője lehetett; alatta gyomorral, mely mint cső feküdt a testtömlőben, elől a szájban, hátul a végbélnyilásban végződve; az egésznek még nincsenek láb-uszonyai, még teljesen féregalaku. néhány élő magasabbrendü féreg tényleg megfelel ennek a mintának.

Viszont még most is vannak alsórendü féregcsoportok, melyek sokkal alantabb állanak, melyeknek még nincs bonyolult idegkészülékük, nincs véredényrendszerük, nincs alfelnyilásuk. Gyanitjuk, hogy ezek egy igen régi képet mutatnak be nekünk, magának a féregtörzsnek is egyik alsóbb fokát. Igy a férgen belül előttünk volna az ember több fokozatban is, többféleképpen elbujtatva, folyton lejebb és lejebb haladva valami egészen egyszerüig.

Ehhez azonban még valamit meg kell jegyeznünk. A rendszertanban a gerincesek mellett legalább három nagy csoport gerinctelen állatot találunk, melyeket testalkatuk szerint szintén a férgek fölé helyeznek, noha gerinctelenek. Ilyenek a rákok, pókok és rovarok, azután a puhatestüek (csigák, kagylók, (tintahalak) és végül a tüskebőrüek (tengeri csillag, tengeri sün és ezek rokonai.) A legmerészebb bonctani fantázia se volna képes arra, hogy e három csoportot egymásból leszármaztassa és az sem fog sikerülni, hogy a gerinces állatokat bármelyikkel is kapcsolatba hozzuk. Elképzelhetetlen volna, hogy egy lándzsahal a tengeri csillagból vagy tintahalból fejlődjék ki. Elméletben megkisérelték a halat a ráktól leszármaztatni, de csak olyan szalto mortaleval lehetséges hogy a gondolkodásom sehogy se tud belényugodni; az az érzésem, hogy itt a legmélyebb ür tátong. De milyen különös; egész jól el lehet képzelni, hogy mindazok a csoportok külön-külön szintén a gasabbrendü féregből indultak ki. Az a féreg (a pióca és giliszta,) melyhez a rákok és rovarok vonala csatlakozik, maga is megint na-



Három koponya. Felül a fiatal gorilláé, középen az öreg gorilláé, alul a mai emberé. A fiatal gorilla koponyája sokkal hasonlóbb az emberéhez, mint az öregé.

gyon különbözik egy zsákállattól. Nyilvánvaló, hogy már a magasabb féregnépségben sok mindenféle különvált és önállóan fejlődött ki. De ennek a képnek mégis csak nagy szuggesztiv ereje van: a "féreg" egy magasabb fokon elkülönült rovarra, puhatestüre, tüskebőrüre és gerincesre, mint a további fejlődésnek négy "lehetőségére," melyek közül persze csak a gerinlesek jutottak el a koronáig — az emberig; de ez a féregfokozat maga is az alsóbb férgekből indult ki, melyek tehát az összes féreg-unokák közös ősalakját képviselnék és igy — az embert is.

Ha most képet akarunk magunknak alkotni egy ilyen legmélyebb fokon álló féregről, akkor valami igazán csodálatosan egyszerü dologhoz jutunk el. Gondoljuk el, hogy egy embert darabról-darabra, szervről-szervre szétszedünk, — karokat és lábakat, koponyát, gerincoszlopot, végül magát a gereincvelőt és véredényrendszert, a gyomor és bőr közötti összes részeket elveszszük, — végül csak ez a bőr, a belül hozzá simuló gyomor maradtak meg. Gondoljuk, hogy az alfelnyilás, mely a magasabb féregnek a csőalakot adja, szintén be van nőve, csak egy nyilás maradjon, amelyik száj is, alfel is egyszerre.

És tényleg, a féregnépség legalsó határain vannak nagyon egyszerü teremtmények, amelyek körülbelül ilyenek. Bizonyos meduzákban élősködik egy parányi teremtmény, a pemmatodiscus gastrulaceus, melyet Monticelli 1895-ben fedezett föl: betüszerinti értelemben csak egy ilyen bőrből és gyomorból álló kettős serleg és mégis ez alakjában is teljes állatnak látszik, mert igy szaporodik. De édesvizeinknek egy nagyon ismert állatkája is alig emelkedik ezen tul: az ugynevezett hidrapolip vagy édesvizi hidra. Ennél a serleg alól oda van nőve valamihez, a száje körül finom fogókarjai vannak és a részletekben egyikmásik dolog valamivel "tovább" van. Tehát egész idáig érne le az ember?

Olyan emberről beszélünk, aki csak "bőrből és csontból áll." De ez még mindig gerinces-állat ember volna. E két szervben lappang minden, az emberi testet később megtöltő oly fenséges rendszer: idegrendszer, véredényrendszer, bélrendszer, nemi rendszer stb. Már sokan találták merésznek e föltevést, noha igen egyszerü rendszertani szemlélődés rávezet. Végül mégis csak a hidrapoliphoz érkezünk, ha az egyszerü mögött mindig a még egyszerübbet keressük. E logika elől nincs menekülés, ha már egyszer ide merészkedtünk a "következtetési bizonyitás"-nak ebbe a szögletébe, — akkor ez a legközelebbi logikai következtetés. De van egy másik is és nagyon fontos, hogy ez is ugyanoda vezet.

Egy idő óta nem beszéltünk a magzatról. De most megint őt kell tanuként megidéznünk.

Bonctanilag elgondolható (hiszen e szélső dolgokat csak az "elgondolhatóságuk" bizonyitja,) hogy az ilyen polipszerü bőrgyomorállatokból, a féregállomáshoz vezető másik vonal megkerülésével, közvetlenül le lehetne vezetni a valódi gerincteleneknek még egy utolsó csoportját: és pedig a szivacsokat, a magasabb polipokat és a meduzákat. Ezzel le volna zárva a gyürü: amaz alacsonyrendü bőrgyomor-állatokon tuli minden magasabb dolog egyetlen eredetre volna visszavezethető, és pedig a bőrgyomor-állatra magára. De jusson csak eszünkbe megint az a törvény, hogy a magzat-fejlődésnél sok minden ősi dolog még egyszer napvilágra kerül. Hogy ez a következtetési bizonyitás igazolva legyen, a meduzáktól a gerincesekig az összes állatok magzati fejlődésében látnunk kellene annak az állapotnak a visszatérését, amikor a magzat még csak egy bőrből és gyomorból álló, egyszerü szájjal ellátott kettős serleget képez, annak a pemmatodiscusnak vagy esetleg a hidrapolipnak mását És itt megint hiába szörnyüködünk. Tényleg ezt a magzati alakot látjuk föltünni az összes magasabbrendü állattörzsek minden sarkában és végében. Ez az a fokozat, melyet Haeckel bőrgyomor-álcának (gastrula) nevezett el. Nem vagyunk képesek eltérőbb dolgokat kigondolni, mint egy meduzát, egy magasabb férget, egy tengeri sünt, egy rákot, egy csigát kifejlett állapotban; és mégis ezek mindegyikénél megtaláljuk a jellemző bőrgyomor-álcákat. Sok, és lefelé mind több esetben fordulnak elő, a csupán gyomorból, bőrből és szájból álló, szabadon uszó serleg-magzatnak tiszta alakjában. Más esetekben valamivel bonyolultabb a dolog, mindenféle elváltozásokat találunk. De hiszen már mondottuk, hogy ez a törvény nem zárja ki az ilyen eltolódásokat. A lényeg azon van, hogy a legmerészebb elváltozásokban is mindig fölismerhető a bőrgyomoralakhoz való vonatkozás: ha nem képződik igazi serleg, akkor is két sejtréteg alakul ki, melyekből a későbbi test fölépül, — az egyik a bőrgyomor-alak bélfalának, a másik a külső bőrnek felel meg.

Ezek a dolgok nem szünnek meg a gerinces foknál se, sőt ellenkezőleg. A zsákállatnál és lényegében a lándzsahalnál is megvan még a tipikus bőrgyomor-álca, a bőrből, gyomorból és szájból álló szabadon uszkáló "ősporonty." De az említett finomabb vonatkozások a dolgok változó folyásában is kézzelfogható világossággal megmaradnak a magasabb és legmagasabb gerinces állatok, sőt az ember magzatéletében is Még az emlősnél is beszélhetünk a "bőrgyomor-állapotról," noha a dolog külső képe kissé eltérőnek mutatkozik, és gondos tanulmányozást követel.

Madnem félszázada, hogy Haeckel először gondolt arra, hogy a bőrgyomormagzat e makacs visszatérésének a magasabb állatoknál ez az értelme: valamennyi ilyen állat, a meduzától az emberig, a családfának egyik igen mélyen fekvő ősalakjától származott le, amelyik egész életében csak ilyen bőrgyomoralak volt. Hogy ócsárolták eleinte ezt a gondolatot! De azután egymásután belátták az állatbuvárok, hogy ez a "gastrula"-fogalom milyen pompásan használható vezérfonál gyanánt. Mindenütt elfogadták a Haeckel rendszerét, — a szó és dolog ma a fejlődéstani leirásokban mint maguktól értetődő dolgok szerepelnek, a bőrgyomor-alak ott van minden tankönyvben; különösen az emlősök gastrula-képződéséről nagy irodalom van, és egészen elfogulatlanul, mint elfogadott és bizonyitott szakkifejezés használják a "gastrulaio" megjelölést a majomnál és embernél is.

És a következtetéseknek most már csak rövid láncolata van hátra. Egy utolsó izzó csucs látmezőnk hajnalpírjában, mielőtt a szürkületi köd fehér függönye mindent elzárna.

A magzatfejlődés az összes állatoknál azzal indul meg, hogy a petesejt sok sejtre oszlik. De ez ugyanaz a mód, ahogyan ma azon élő egysejtüek óriási tömege szaporodik. Ha ilyen lény szaporodni akar, egyszerüen két, négy vagy husz darabra oszlik, melyek mindegyikéből egy uj egész sejt, tehát uj egyén is lesz. Igy tettek, gondolja Haeckel, azok az ősi egysejtüek is. Szaporodtak. Ha az utódok valahogy együttmaradtak, létrejöttek az első nagyobb sejthalmazok. Ismerünk a mai egysejtüek között is néhányat, amelyek igy csinálnak. Eleinte csak egyszerü nyers halmazok, annak idején bizonyosan szintén csak ilyenek voltak. De még az ősnapokban kialakult e sejttársaságokban valami szorosabb társas viszony. Bizonyos mértékü munkamegosztás érvényesült. Mindez egészen magától történt, a viszonyok egyszerü kényszeritő hatása alatt.

A gomolyag sejtjeinek mindegyike — a maga jóvoltáért — táplálkozni akart. Tehát, ahogy a gomolyag a vizen uszott, valamennyi kifelé igyekezett. A gomoly igy egyenlőre hólyaggá alakult át, valamennyi sejt a golyó felületére került s a belseje üres maradt. Aki az "igyekezett" szót nagyon erősnek találja, az tiszta darwini értelemben igy mondhatja: hosszu időn keresztül mindig csak a felület sejtjei maradtak meg, mert csak ezek jutottak táplálékhoz, mig a többiek tönkre mentek; az elhelyezkedési ösztön valahogy öröklődött és igy későbbre is megmaradt valami akarat azok számára, akik ezt egészen mechanisztikusan fogják föl.

Az ehhez a fokhoz vezető utat, mint élő példa, igen szemléletesen mutatja egy csillószőrös golyócska, a magosphaera planula, a norvég tengerekben élő sejtkolónia.

De igy is megvan annak a lehetősége, hogy a tagok részesedése egy kissé eltolódjék.

Ezzel csak azt akartam mondani, hogy az utat körülbelül igy is gondolhatjuk. Misztikus elem semmi esetre sincs a dologban. A bőrgyomor-állat volt: az egysejtü ősállattól az első leges sejtállam, melyben a sejtek együttélése bizonyos munkamegosztást hozott létre.

De ha ez kezdetben, az állati fejlődés ősnapjaiban, mindegyikre érvényes volt, — akkor bizonyára érvényes volt az emberre is. Az első utja is ez volt: az egysejtü ősállattaól az első többsejtü, bőrből és gyomorból álló tömlő-állatig, amely a tengeri rózsának, a meduzának, a gilisztának vagy tengeri csillagnak jóval alatta állott, de annak lehetőségével, hogy ilyenekké legyen, sőt több: lándzsahallá, cápává és szalamandrává és csőrös állattá és ősmajommá — és emberré.

Az egysejtü ősállat alakjában az ember körülbelül az ismert életnek a végső határán van. De ilyen élő magános sejtekből, az állatokkal párhuzamosan vezethetők le a növények is. Még ma is vannak ilyen egysejtü teremtmények, amelyek már más élőlényekből tartják fönt magukat és mellettük vannak mások, amelyek közvetlenül szervtelen nyers anyagokból táplálkoznak, szinte "köveket" esznek, nem pedig hust és kenyeret, mint amazok. Amazokban már ott van az állat, emezekben a növény. A logika értelmében csak azt tehetjük föl, hogy előbb voltak meg a növényi módszer képviselői s a másik, az állati módszer, csak mintegy másodkézből, mint valami amazok bőrére menő élősködés fejlődött ki. A növényi szervezet tisztán földet és levegőt vett föl s a napfény segitségével kenyeret sütött azokból, tápláló növényi anyagot; ebből a fejlődés folyamán ugy jött létre az állati, hogy egyesek a társaik fölfalására vetették magukat és igy a "kenyerüket" kész állapotban kapták. Ennek már az egysejtüeknél meg kellett történnie. Azontul a növények fejlődése a saját külön utjain haladt. Az állat továbbra is a növényt használta ugyan táplálékul, kivéve azon eseteket, mikor magához hasonlókkal táplálkozott; de a további fejlődésük egymástól tökéletesen függetlenül történt. De ráutalunk arra, hogy legeslegalól az ember összeolvad a növényekkel. Hiszen még ma is ezekből táplálkozik.

Csak egy kérdés volna még hátra. Az ember már ott rejtőzött a földi élet legegyszerübb kezdetében, melyet ismerünk. Ő is megy, ahová az élet megy, — ugyszólván le az élet atomjáig. Vajjon nem lehetne az életet általában, mint egészet, valami "másból" levezetni?

E kérdéssel kissé részletesebben kell foglalkoznom. Ez ugyanis igen sok emberre nézve, akik általában gondolkodva foglalkoztak nemük eredetével, mindig a válaszut kérdése volt és a tudománytól távolabb álló körökben szándékosan ilyenül állitották oda. Észreveszik és rámutatnak, hogy a darwinisztikusan iskolázott gondolkodás képviselőinél is sajátságos habozások, ingadozások és eltérések mutatkoznak. Olyanok, akik az ember állati származásának biztos talaján állanak, e végső határkérdésben lényegesen eltérnek egymástól. És az elfogulatlan szemlélőnek legalább is az a benyomása, hogy az élet őseredetét illetőleg igazi tudományos vélemény ez idő szerint még nem alakult ki.

Igy ezt a védtelen pontot hamarosan kihasználják. Elfogadják, hogy idáig a természetes fejlődés mellett szólnak az érvek; de itt még "minden lehetséges." Az "első élet" "teremtés utján" is keletkezhetett, vagyis más szóval: keletkezhetett minden okozati összefüggés, minden logikai alap nélkül.

Már magának ennek a "teremtés" szócskának a dolga is elég különös. Ha én, mint ember, valamit "teremtek," az semmi esetre sem történik ok nélkül. Mindenki tudja, hogy nem lehet a földből hadseregeket csak ugy előteremteni, vagy egy buzatáblát a tenyerünkből elővarázsolni. A kis fiu, aki fából egy kis hajót farag, tudja, hogy ehhez fára, késre, ujjainak erejére és egyéb dolgokra van szüksége. És tényleg mindnyájan, egész gyakorlati életünkben át vagyunk hatva az okozatosságnak ettől a képzetétől, attól, hogy minden, amit cselekedni akarunk, az okozatok láncolatától függ. Ha tehát a teremtésnek ezt a megszokott fogalmát alkalmazzuk az emberre és magára az életre, egy kissé világosabb gondolkodás mellett ez teljesen fedni fogja a dolognak fokról-fokra való természetes fejlődését! Ha az alapvető természeti erőt olyasvalminek gondoljuk el, ami fölfogásunk értelmében teremteni tudott és végre az embert hozta létre, akkor éppen a saját tapasztalataink alapján a teremtésnek semmi más lehetőségét nem látjuk, mint az egyszerü lépésről-lépésre való haladást az okozati kapcsolatok kényszeritő hatalma alatt. A következetes darwinizmus és az a "teremtés" éppen nem zárják ki, sőt az ut egész tartama alatt teljesen fedik egymást. Ebben a fölfogásban a "fejlődés" csupán a logikai vonal a teremtésben, a "teremtésnek" belső logikai módszere.

De nem igy vélekednek a gondolatnak azok a képviselői, akik azt mondják, hogy az "élet első kezdeténél" hirtelen "megszünik" a darwinizmus és helyébe lép a "teremtés." Ezek olyan teremtésre gondolnak, melyre nézve, hacsak a kulturemberiség gondolkodása a varázslatot általánosan el nem fogadja, nincsen semmi tapasztalati példánk: — nevezetesen egy okozati öszszefüggések nélküli, föltételek nélküli és alap nélküli kezdetre, eredetre. Azt mondják, hogy az élet a legeredetibb formájában valami "csoda" által keletkezett. Igen sokan vannak, akik azt hiszik, hogy ezzel egy egész világfölfogást mentettek meg, — a legalább ezen az egyetlen ponton igaznak vett csodával. Ezek közül a legtöbben azt hiszik, hogy a fejlődéstanba és az embernek az ősejtig visszavitt állati származásába is belenyugodhatnak egy második, későbbi csoda fejében. Amiképpen egészen alant az első sejt, ugy egészen fent az első igazi öntudatnyilvánulás, az első igazi embernél, megint minden alap nélküli csoda által történt legyen, függetlenül a máskülönben érvényes, logikai kapcsolatokon alakuló fejlődésfokoktól Ez utóbbi nézet önmagában is, de ama szempontból is csakugyan fölösleges. Véleményem szerint a tudat alapténye már minden egyszerü érzésben benne van. Valamit ilyennek vagy olyannak, világosnak vagy sötétnek, kellemesnek vagy kellemetlennek érzek, — ebben már benne van, azt hiszm, az öntudat legegyszerübb alapformája. De kétségtelen, hogy a legegyszerübb érzés alapjelenségei már annál a legősibb élő sejtnél is meg voltak; az összes jelek, hasonlóságok és következtetések erre mutatnak már az élet legalsóbbrendü ismert formáinál; sőt ez a mai tudomány szempontjából elengedhetetlen alaptulajdonsága mindennek, amit "élőnek" nevezünk. Természetes, hogy az egysejtü ősállat, egy sugárállatka vagy egy amőba, nem mutatja a mi emberi öntudatunknak végtelenül finom gondolkodásjelenségeit De ennek az alapeleme ott van már az ő egészen egyszerü érzésében, mikor a fényt kerüli, vagy érintésre összehuzódik. Ebben, ha nem is tudatosan, de intuitive ott van az "én."

De most az a kérdés, hogy az ilyen "csodát," bár csak ama legelső egyetlen alkalommal is, elfogadhatjuk-e a gondolkodás kibuvójának, hogy vajjon — hiszen csak ezt akarják — az egyébként darwinisztikusan következtető természettudomány elfogadhatja-e legalább föltevésnek? A magam részéről hangsulyoznom kell, hogy hosszu évekig komolyan fáradoztam, hogy e kérdésben ne itéljek elfogultan. Ismételten komolyan kérdeztem magamtól, nem volna-e lehetséges, hogy itt egy kis engedékenységgel a világnézeteknek rendkivül kinos, korunk kulturmunkáját minduntalan megzavaró perpatvarát leszereljük és kibékitsük a pártokat, melyek mindegyikének egy csomó tiszteletreméltó, erkölcsileg kifogástalan, a lét problémáinak utvesztőjében eligazodás után sóvárgó képviselője van. Azt a leplezetlen vallomást kell tennem, hogy minden megfontolás vaskövetkezetességgel mindig ugyanazzal az eredménnyel járt, — egy határozott nemmel. Nem is lehet másképp. Aki hisz az embernek az egysejtü őslényből való okozati kapcsolatokon alapuló, azaz természetes fejlődésében, az a logika szempontjából nem érezhet hajlandóságot arra, hogy az őssejt keletkezésénél teljesen más módszert alkalmazzon és az okság elvét hirtelen ugrással a csoda elvével cserélje föl. Annyi volna ez, mintha a mi, teljesen az okosság elvén fölépült logikai gondolkodásunk, a saját gondolatláncolata számára megkivánná a csodát, — itt, ma, bennem, minden kutatóban. De ma sehogy sem akar ez a csoda megtörténni és bizonyára hiába vártak volna rá annak idején is.

A helyzet ugyanis egyáltalában nem olyan, mint ahogy azt a csoda védelmezői gyakran előadják, — nem oly abszolut kilátástalan az oksági magyarázatra való további törekvések szempontjából. Sőt egész sora van az okozati, a csodától mentes lehetőségeknek, melyekkel az őssejt eredetét megmagyarázni próbálták. Igaz, hogy egymásnak ellentmondanak, egymást kölcsönösen kizárják: — de megvannak és nagyobb részben elég szilárd támpontul szolgálnak, amit nem szabad elhallgatni.

Mondották, hogy az élet történetileg nem okvetlenül ott kezdődött a földön, ahol ma a legrégibb kövült maradványait találjuk. Már évmilliókkal előbb kellett léteznie, hogy elérjen azokhoz a fejlődési fokokhoz, melyek ezekben az első kövületekben mutatkoznak. Közvetlenül semmi sem áll utjában, hogy ezt az ősteret gondolatban tetszés szerint kiterjesszük egészen addig, amit mi emberek az időmértékünkkel örökkévalóságnak nevezzük. A föld már végtelen idők óta rejtegethetett legalsóbbrendü élő lényeket, talán egysejtü amőbákat vagy baktériumokat vagy növényeket, amelyek csak azután, egy későbbi időponttól kezdve, valami különleges időbeli októl indittatva, léptek az emberiség vivő magasabb fejlődés utjára. E föltevés ellenében logikailag semmit sem lehet fölhozni. Az élő őssejt egy örök forma volna a földön ugyanazon értelemben, mint ahogy minden fizikus a melegről ugy szokott beszélni, mint a mindenség erejének örök formájáról. Azonban e gondolat ellen szól egy tisztán természetrajzi érv a geologusoknak a föld történeti sorsára vonatkozó, ma általánosan elfogadott véleményéből kifolyólag. Igen fontos okok szólnak amellett, hogy a föld nagyon régi ősnapokban egészében izzó, rendkivül forró, saját fényével világitó test volt, mint amilyen a nap még ma is, mely anyagi összetételében nagyon hasonlit a földhöz, de mindezeket az anyagokat fehéren izzó és valószinüleg valamennyit még gáz állapotban tartalmazza. Ez okok épületéből ma már letöredezett egy és más. De az alapzat egy része még ma is érvényes és az igazi geologiai szakértők között igen kevés van, aki ne tételezné föl, hogy a föld is valamikor napszerü állapotban volt. De ezzel a föltevéssel megváltozik a helyzet az élet kérdésében. Még ha az évmilliók egész sora előzte is meg a legrégibb kövületet: egyszer mégis csak az izzó földhöz jutunk vissza és a nap hőmérséklete mellett, melyben az összes fémek izzó gázokként lebegnek, nem élhet meg többé és nem élhetett az amőba. Vannak növények, melyek melegforrásokban élnek, s 80 fokos hőmérsékletet elbirnak, száraz baktérium-spórák pedig még magasabb hőfokot is, anélkül, hogy elpusztulnának. De teljesen lehetetlen gondolat, “élő” állapotban elképzelni az amőbát olyan világban, ahol még viz sem jöhet létre, mert a hőség az összes elemeket gázalakban tartja meg, ugy hogy még a vas is ilyen fémgőzt képez. Csak mikor a földgolyó a hideg világürben annyira lehült, hogy létrejött a szilárd kéreg az első vizlecsapódásokkal, élhettek meg az első legegyszerübb élő lények. De még ez a követelés se proklamálja a “csoda” jogát.

Azonban egészben véve még ennek a föltevésnek elfogadására sincs szükségünk, hogy a természetes oksági láncolatot megmentsük. Van még egy másik, melynek mindig sokkal több követője volt, és még több lenne, ha mindig ugy fogalmazták volna meg, ahogy tényleg meg kell fogalmazni, hogy minden durvább ellenvetéssel szemben megállja a helyét.

Már Darwin megkisérlette, hogy a fejlődésnek egy világos törvényét jelölje ki, olyan törvényt, mely nemcsak azt magyarázza meg, hogy az élő lények egymásból származtak le, hanem azt is, hogy miért. Magától értetődő, hogy e törvény az embert is magában foglalná és — ha helyes — megmondaná, miért kellett neki is kifejlődnie. Darwin alapgondolata a következő:

Ime egy egyszerü, ősi állatfaj. A tulajdonságaiban annyira alkalmazkodott a külső viszonyokhoz, hogy életképes, föntarthatja magát és szaporodhatik. De hosszabb idő telik el. Ennek az állatfajnak a helyén egy másikat találunk, amelyik sokkal jobban alkalmazkodott ugyanazokhoz a viszonyokhoz: Sőt: esetleg közben maguk a viszonyok változtak meg s csodálkozunk az uj állatfajon, mely sok dologban még hasonlit a régihez, de amellett az uj viszonyok szerint rendezkedett be, ezekhez alkalmazkodott. Mi történt itt? Ez a kép, mondja Darwin, elvben az egész fejlődés képe. A "nagyobb mértékü" alkalmazkodottság fogalmához tartoznak az agybeli, szellemi haladások is. Igy vezethetett az ut az amőbától az emberig, — tehát az egész előttünk lévő családfán át. Ezt megmagyarázni, annyit jelent, mint az amőbától az emberig való lépést megmagyarázni. És Darwin meg is kisérli a magyarázatot.

Az az első törzsalak utódokat hozott létre. Ezek az utódok — akármilyen okokból — nem voltak teljesen hasonlók. Egyénileg mind különböztek egymástól egy kissé — mint ahogy a testvérek még ma is különböznek egymástól, mint ahogy a növénysarjak változnak, mint ahogy a házinyulnak egyszerre szült fiai különféle szinüek. Nos e különbségekben adva volt egy kis plusz vagy minusz a törzsalak átlagos szinvonalához képest. Egyes utódok tulzások voltak, a szülői szinvonal nagyszerü emelései, a faj zsenijei, mások az átlagot mutatták, ismét mások hitványak. Ezek az utódok harcba kerültek egymással a külső életföltételek miatt, és harcba magukkal a föltételekkel, hogy egy összefoglaló szóval nevezzük, beállott "a létért való küzdelem" közöttük. A sorsuk különböző lett. A zsenik, a legjobban alakalmazkodottak a legjobban állták a harcot, bőségesebben és biztosabban jutottak szaporodáshoz, — az átlagosak és a gyengék elhullottak. Igy végül csak a legjobbak maradtak meg. A családfa további hajtásait csak ezek hozták létre Az ő utódaik közül megint csak a legjobbak maradtak meg. S igy tovább. A nemzedékek során át el kellett következnie az állandó javulásnak, a mind tökéletesebb alkalmazkodásnak és életképességnek.

De ime egy másik lehetőség. A külső viszonyokban változás állott be, mely egyszerre egészen uj irányu követelményeket támasztott. Akkor nem a szülői alkalmazkodást tökéletesebben mutató utódok voltak előnyben, hanem az utódok ama változatai, melyek meglehetősen eltértek a szülőktől, de éppen az uj követelmények irányában. Például megváltozott az éghajlat. Az előbb barna sikságot állandóan hó fedte be. A barna felszinen barna nyulak éltek. Eddig azok az utódok maradtak győztesek a létérti küzdelemben, amelyek legbarnábbak voltak, mert a leselkedő ellenségek a barnát a barna környezetben legkevésbé látták meg. Most hirtelen a fehér lett az ütőkártya. Ha egyéni változatként néhány fehérebb nyul született, ezeknek a védelmi esélye volt a legnagyobb, — megmaradtak, szaporodtak, fokozódó menynyiségben hoztak létre fehér utódokat, melyek közül mindig fehér ülte fehérrel a menyegzőt, — évek mulva az egész nyul-népség fehér volt: alkalmazkodás a hóhoz.

Darwinnak e gondolatmenetében kényszeritő logika van, mihelyest elfogadjuk, hogy az egyéni eltérések mindig elegendő anyagot szolgáltattak a kiválogatódáshoz, hogy mindig volt elegendő "zseni" s esetleg alkalmas "tehetség" is az uj utakhoz. A többi aztán egy matematikai példa, a malomnak őrölnie kell. De a zseni és tehetség dolga a mélyebb kérdések egész bonyodalmát rejti, — ezt már maga Darwin is fölismerte. Mi határozta meg a zsenik és tehetségek számát, ki felel azért, hogy mindig megvannak? E pont körül azóta is állandó vita van, melynek még nem láthatni a végét.

Elgondolható-e, hogy a szülők magaviseletéből szükségszerüen következik bizonyos fajtáju zseniknek a föllépése gyermekeik között? Ha egész életemben erősen üzöm a labdajátékot: — valószinü-e, hogy gyermekeim között született labda-zseni akad?

Kivezető ut gyanánt ez szolgált. A szülők gyakorlata mindinkább egyengeti a talajt a gyermekek számára. Ez lassanként abba az irányba visz, melyet Lamarck már jóval Darwin előtt fölismert. A képesség puszta fokozásához nem is kell többé a létért való küzdelem válogatása: zsenik lesznek az összes utódok a szülőktől nyert iskolázottság alapján. Eltekintve attól, hogy ez nem magyarázza meg a másik esetet s amugy is sokszer fölmondja a szolgálatot (például a föntebbi esetben hogyan fokozzák vagy változtatják meg a szinüket a nyulak "gyakorlás" által?,) nagy nehézségekkel szolgál e gondolat éppen a legfontosabb pontban. Kétségbe vonták, hogy a szülőknek a gyakorlás által szerzett tulajdonságai öröklődhetnek. Ha harminc évig játszom is labdát s ha izmaim és idegeim mind be is vannak erre gyakorolva — és azután gyermeknek adok életet, lehetetlennek mondják, hogy e gyermek testalkata inkább alkalmas a labdajátékhoz, mint akármelyik másiké. Weismann Ágoston egész a szélsőségig vitte az ebben való kételkedést. Nem is mondhatjuk, hogy teljesen bizonyitani tudnánk. De ez az ellenvetés legalább rámutatott, hogy a legegyszerübb tényeken is mily nehéz itt eligazodni.

Más oldalról de Vries Hugo akarta kimutatni, hogy a természetnek ez a változékonysága, zseni- és tehetségképzése, az eredeti értelemben még sokkal nagyszerübb, hatásosabb, mintsem Darwin sejtette, — akármi legyen is az oka. De Vries azt hiszi, hogy az utódok egy egyszerü apró kis változásai mellett még egy nagy és időszakosan föllépő folyamatban mennek át a fajok, melynek következményeképpen időnként az uj és tökéletesebb, öröklékeny formáknak óriási tömegét hozzák létre. E nagy áldásból aztán a létért való küzdelem csak az alsóbbrendüt vagy az egyenlőre értéktelent irtja ki, és igy keletkeznének a mindjárt kész uj fajok. (Mutáció-elmélet.) Ez sincs még eléggé tisztázva, noha kétségtelenül igen jelentős uj szempont. Igy ingadoznak a vélemények, mivel nyilvánvaló, hogy a logikai és ténybeli lehetőségeknek egész tömege van még Darwin alapgondolatain belül és azokon tul is. Bizonyos, hogy "az ember származása" szempontjából a "hogyan"-nak ezek a problémái is rendkivül fontosak. De ezek kivül állanak a családfa kérdésén, ahogyan ezt itt kifejtettük, és nem is kell ezeknek a külön magyarázatát megvárnunk. Itt is, mint az ősterműdés kérdésében, a megismerésnek egy ideiglenes határát érintjük, de ez nem tarthat vissza attól, hogy az e határig már meghóditott terülentek ne örüljünk.

És ilyen meghóditott terület ma az ember származása, — itt nem használ többé semmi panasz és kétkedés. Csak az segit, ha elszántan szembenézünk a dolgokkal. Amellett az ember az marad, a mi. Ezt senki sem veszi el tőle. Megmaradnak az összes ideáljai. Akinek a legmélyebb vallásos érzületében csakugyan életerő, eleven lélek van, az nem fog azon fönnakadni, hogy anynyi meg annyi beláthatatlan idő előtt az őse nemcsak bozontos állatbőrt hordott meztelen válla védelméül, hanem valamikor neki magának is ilyen állati bundája volt, a saját testére ránőve. A költészet sem szünt meg attól, hogy a nap valóságban nem keleten kel föl, hanem a föld fordul vele szembe, sem attól, hogy mi ezt tudjuk. Valójában az igazi vallásos érzés sokkal emberibb valami, a legnagyobb és legelevenebb értelmében, semhogy megtörhetnék az ember történetének szürke valóságán. A mi mai emberi erőnk diadala, hogy az évmilliók sirjába temetkezett multját össze tudjuk állitani. Ez a fölemelő e régi képekben. De érdemetlenek volnánk e diadalra, ha nem volna meg az erőnk ahhoz is, hogy a Mester nyugalmával idézzük föl e szellemeket, aki szeliden mondja: várjatok, — tiétek a kiküzdött mult; de én vagyok, és felettem az én csillagaim vannak!

Magyar Függeléke az IWW Alapszabályainak

AZ INDUSTRIAL Workers of the World az ipari unionizmust képviselő s tanitó munkásszervezet, amely a munkásokat ipari foglalkozásuk szerint szervezi abból a célból, hogy a termelési eszközöket kisajátitsa, a bérrendszert megszüntesse, miáltal egyenlő jogokat teremt a társadalom minden egyes tagja részére.

Ezt a célt csak ugy érheti el a munkásosztály, ha EGY szervezetben tömörül. Az IWW minden nyelvü és minden szinü bérmunkást az Egy Nagy Szervezetbe tömöriti. Ezért szükségtelennek tartja a külön nyelvi vagy faji csoportokat, mert ahogy az iparban együtt dolgozik minden nemzetiségü, vagy szinü munkás, ugy a munkán történő kizsákmányolás ellen is együtt kell a harcot fölvenni és megküzdeni.

Ehhez a tanitáshoz egyik legalkalmasabb eszköz a sajtó. És mivel minden bérmunkás az anyanyelvén jobban megérti az IWW tanitását, az IWW különböző nyelvü lapjaiban hirdeti az Egy Nagy Szervezet szükségességét.

Az IWW magyar sajtója, bár szorosan az Egyetemes Központ ellenőrzése alatt áll, annak terjesztése és fenntartása a magyar bérmunkások kötelessége.

Ebből a célból agitációs bizottságokat létesithetnek, ahol a magyar lap fejlesztését szolgáló ügyeket beszélik meg.

Az agitáció sikeresebb kifejtése céljából legalább egyszer évente értekezleteket tartanak és ha szükségét látják, országos értekezletre jönnek öszsze. Ugy a kerületek, valamint az országos értekezletek határozatait a magyarajku agitációt végző IWW tagok hagyják jóvá vagy vetik el.

A magyar lap ügyeinek intézésére az agitációs csoportok egy szerkesztőt, egy titkár-pénztárnokot s egy hét tagból álló bizottságot választanak egy évi időtartamra, mely bizottságnak föladata őrködni, hogy a lap IWW szellemben iródjék, hogy a lap körüli munkák elintézést nyerjenek, hogy a lap s igy az ipari unionizmus eszméjének terjesztése a magyar munkások között a legszélesebb körben történjék. E célból odatörekszik, hogy a magyar lap állandó tanitómunkája mellett szervezők is fölkeressék a magyarlakta területeket.

A magyar lap bevételeiről és kiadásairól, valamint a nevelést elősegitő céljairól havonta jelentést készit a lapbizottság és azt az agitációs bizottságok titkárainak, a delegátusoknak s a Bérmunkás lapkezelőinek megküldi.

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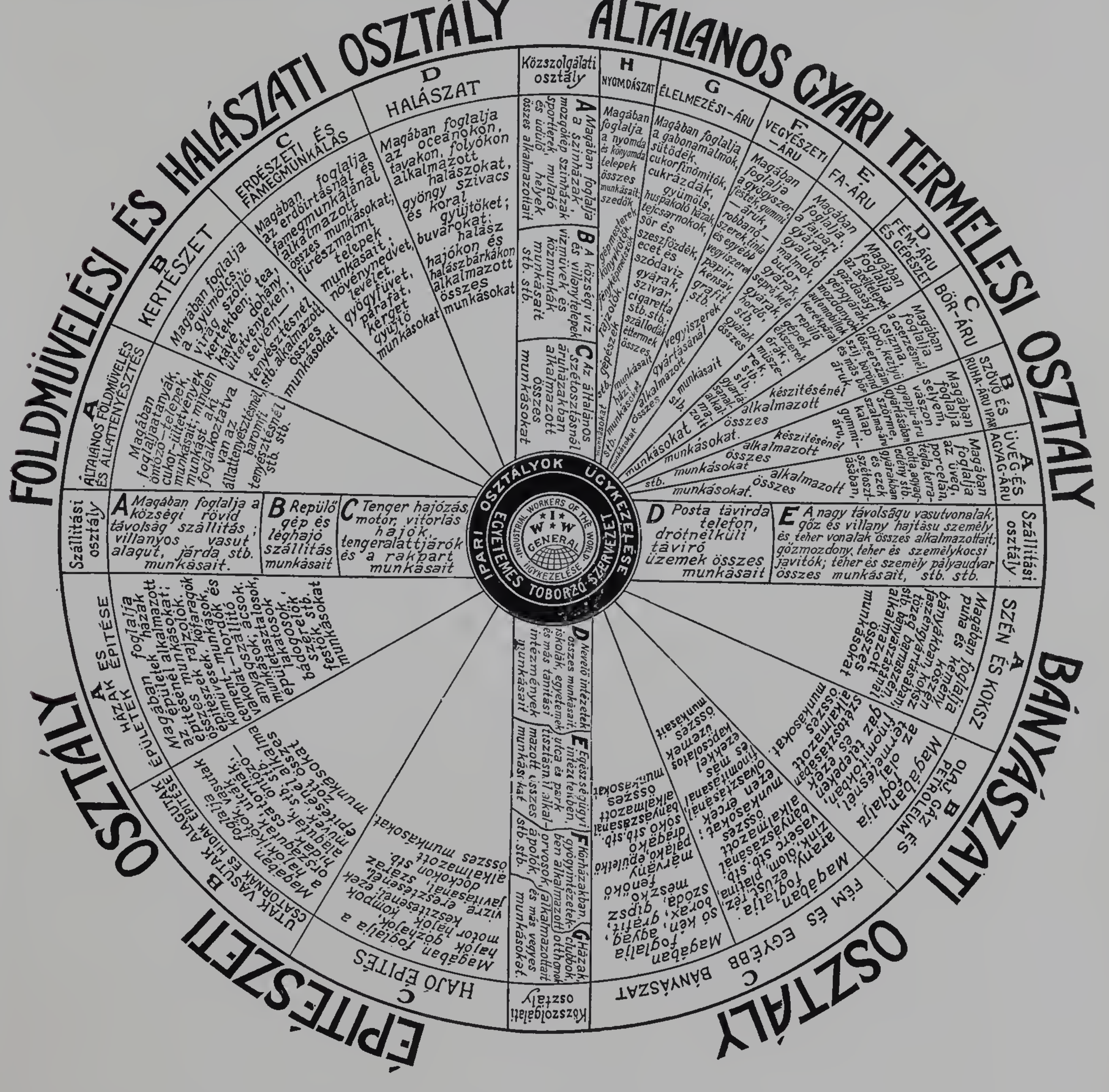
EGY NAGY SZERVEZET
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD


FÖLDMÜVELÉSI ÉS HALÁSZATI OSZTÁLY
A ÁLTALÁNOS FÖLDMÜVELÉS ÉS ÁLLATTENYÉSZTÉS
Magában foglalja a öntözö—telepek, cukor-ültetvények, munkásait; minden munkást aki foglalkoztatva van az állattenyésztésnél baromfi tenyésztésnél stb. stb.
B KERTÉSZET
Magában foglalja a gyümölcs, virág, szöllö kertekben; tea, kávé, dohány ültetvényeken; selyem— tenyésztésnél, stb. alkalmazott összes munkásokat
C ERDÉSZETI ÉS FAMEGMUNKÁLÁS
Magában foglalja az erdöirtásnál és famegmunkálásnál alkalmazott összes munkásokat; fürészmalmi telepek munkásait; növénynedvet, levelet, gyógyfüvet, parafát, kérget gyüjtö munkásokat
D HALÁSZAT
Magában foglalja az oceánokon, tavakon, folyókon alkalmazott halászokat, gyöngy szivacs és korál gyüjtöket; buvárokat; halász hajókon és halászbárkákon alkalmazott összes munkásokat
Közszolgálati osztály
A Magában foglalja a szinházak, mozgókép szinházak sportterek, mulató és üdülö helyek összes alkalmazottait
B A községi viz és villanytelepek vizmüvek és közmunkák munkásait stb. stb.
C Az általános szétosztásnál áruházakban alkalmazott összes munkásokat
ÁLTALÁNOS GYÁRI TERMELÉSI OSZTÁLY
H NYOMDÁSZAT
Magában foglalja a nyomda és könyomda telepek összes munkásait; szedök gépmesterek könyvkötök, fényképmetszök, rajzolók, gépészek stb. munkásokat
G ÉLELMEZÉSI-ÁRU
Magában foglalja a gabonamalmok, sütödék, cukorfinomitók, cukrázdák, gyümölcs, huspakoló házak, tejcsarnokok, sör és szeszfözdék, ecet és szódaviz gyárak, szivar, cigaretta stb. stb.; szállodák éttermek összes munkásait házi munkásokat
F VEGYÉSZETI —ÁRU
Magában foglalja a gyógyszer, festék, gummi —áruk, robbanó— szerek, tinta és egyébb vegyiszerek papir, kénsav, grafit stb. vegyiszerek gyártásánál alkalmazott összes
E FA-ÁRU
Magában foglalja a faipari gyárak; gyaluló malmok, butor gyárak, sepro, kefe gyárak, hordó, stb. gyárak összes munkásait stb.
D FÉM-ÁRU ÉS GÉPÉSZET
Magában foglalja az acéltelepek gazdasági gépgyárak, mozdonyok automobilok kerékpárak repülö gépek ékszerek órák; müsze- rek, stb. stb. gyártásánál alkalmazott munkásokat
C BÖR-ÁRU
Magában foglalja a cserzésnél, a csizma, cipö, keztyü, lószerszám szij, börönd és más bör áruk készitésénél alkalmazott összes munkásokat.
B SZÖVÖ ÉS RUHA-ÁRU IPAR
Magában foglalja selyem, vászon gyapju-áru gyártásában szörme, szalma-áru, kalap, gummi- áru, készitésénél alkalmazott összes munkásokat
A ÜVEG ÉS AGYAG-ÁRU
Magában foglalja az üveg, porcelán, tégla, terra- cotta, agyag- edény stb. gyárakban és ezek szétoszt- ásában, stb. alkalmazott összes munkásokat.
Szállitási osztály
A Magában foglalja a községi rövid távolság szállitás; villanyos vasut alagut, járda stb. munkásait.
B Repülö gép és léghajó szállitás munkásait
C Tenger hajózás, motor, vitorlás hajók, tengeralattjárók és a rakpart munkásait
D Posta távirda telefon, drótnélküli táviró üzemek összes munkásait
E A nagy távolságu vasutvonalak, göz és villany hajtásu személy és teher vonalak összes alkalmazottait; gözmozdony, teher és személykocsi javitók; teher és személy pályaudvar összes munkásait, stb. stb.
Szállitási osztály
OSZTÁLYOK ÜGYKEZELÉSE
IPARI EGYETEMES TOBORZÓ SZERVEZET
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
I W W
GENERAL
ÜGYKEZELÉSE
BÁNYÁSZATI OSZTÁLY
A SZÉN ÉS KOKSZ
Magában foglalja puha és kemény köszén bányákban, koksz faszéngyártásában; tözeg barnaszén, stb. bányászásánál alkalmazott összes munkásokat
B OLAJ, GÁZ ÉS PETROLEUM
Magában foglalja az olaj termelésnél, finomitókban, gáz telepeken és ezek szétosztásában alkalmazott összes munkásokat.
C FÉM ÉS EGYÉBB BÁNYÁSZAT
Magában foglalja: arany, ezüst, réz, zink, ólom, platina, vasérc stb. stb. bányászásánál alkalmazott összes munkásokat; ezen ércek olvasztásánál, finomitásánál és más ezekkel kapcsolatos üzemek összes munkásait
Magában foglalja só kén, agyag, borax, grafit, szóda, gipsz mészkö fenökö márvány palakö, épületkö drágakö sókö stb. stb. bányászásánál alkalmazott összes munkásokat
Közszolgálati osztály
D Nevelö intézetek összes munkásait, iskolák, egyetemek és más tanitási intézmények munkásait
E Egészségügyi intézetekben, utca és park tisztitásnál alkalmazott összes munkásokat
F Kórházakban, gyógyintézetekben alkalmazott orvosok, ápolók, stb. stb.
G Házak, clubbok, otthonok alkalmazottait és más vegyes munkásokat.
ÉPITÉSZETI OSZTÁLY
C HAJÓ ÉPITÉS
Magában foglalja a hajók gözhajók, motor hajók kompok készitésénél; ezek vizre eresztésénél, javitásánál, száraz dockokon stb. alkalmazott összes munkásokat.
B UTAK VASUTAK ALAGUTAK CSATORNÁK ÉS HIDAK ÉPITÉSE
Magában foglalja a hajókikötök, vasutak országutak, utcák, hidak csatornák, alagutak, stb. stb. öntözö— müvek épitésénél alkalmazott összes munkásokat
A HÁZAK ÉS ÉPÜLETEK ÉPITÉSE
Magában foglalja házak épületek épitésénél alkalmazott összes munkásokat: az épitészek rajzolók, kömüvesek, köfaragók cement—hordók és vakolat—munkások, amyagszállitó munkások, ácsok, épületasztalosok lakatosok, bádogosok, szerelök, festök stb. munkásokat

A FENTI ÁBRA AZ IPARI TÁRSADALOM ALAPRAJZA A SZERVEZET ÖSSZPONTOSITÁSÁT MUTATJA BE A HOGY AZ AZ UJ TÁRSADALOM, AZ — IPARI DEMOKRÁCIA FUNDAMENTUMÁT KÉPEZI.

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BÉRMUNKÁS NAPTÁR

1936

I.W.W.

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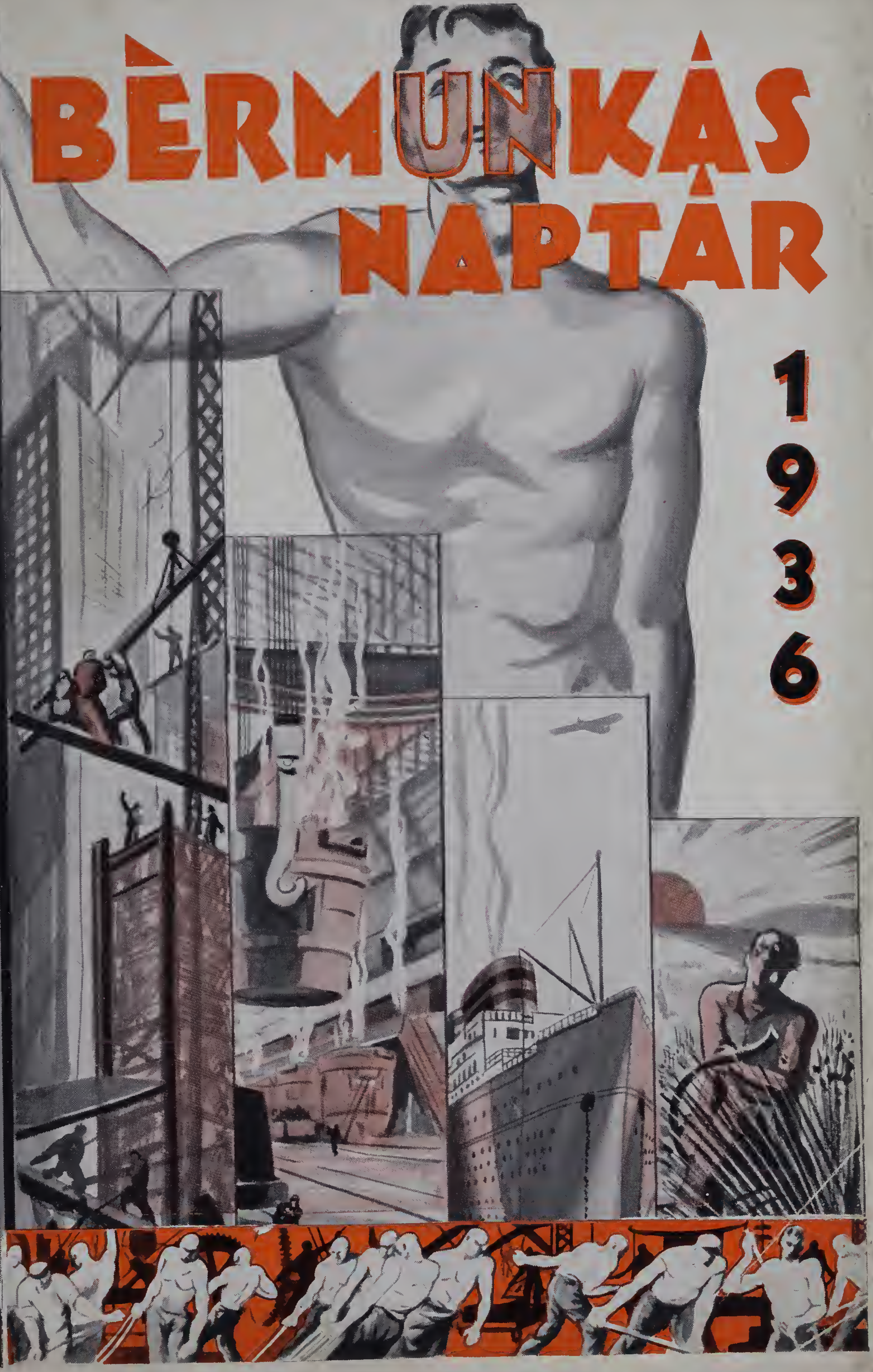

AZ
INDUSTIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
ELVINYILATKOZATA

A MUNKÁSOSZTÁLY és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

- E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

- Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni összpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszi arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharc esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

- E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden az egy iparban — vagy ha kell, valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát bármikor ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti.

- E maradi jelszó helyett: "Tisztességes napibért tisztességes napi munkáért," ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "LE A BÉRRENDSZERREL!"

- A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül.

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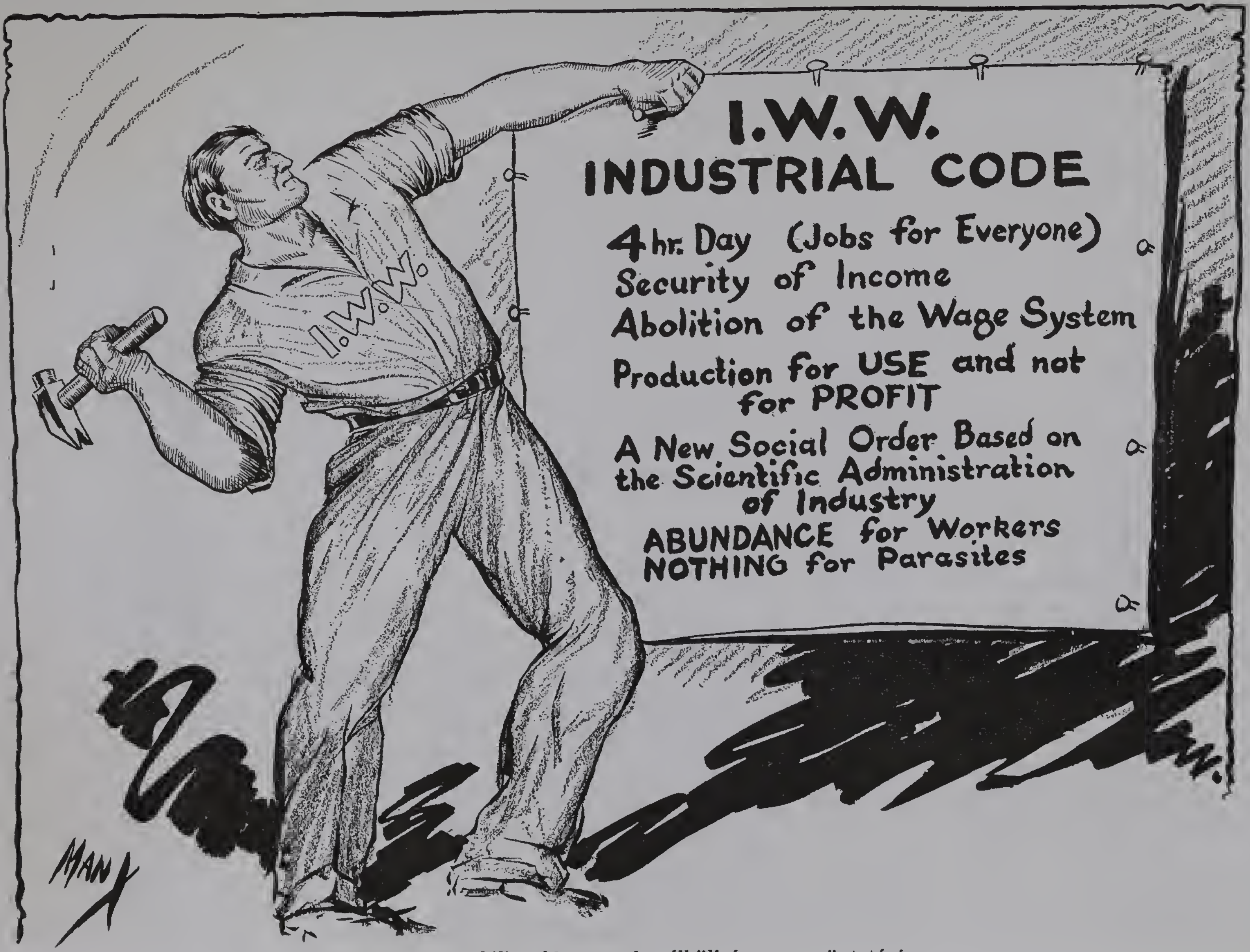
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I.W.W.
MANY

Az egyedüli mód a munkanélküliség megszüntetésére.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 JANUÁR 31 NAP

1	Szerda
2	Csütörtök
3	Péntek
4	Szombat
5	**Vasárnap**
6	Hétfő
7	Kedd
8	Szerda
9	Csütörtök
10	Péntek
11	Szombat
12	**Vasárnap**
13	Hétfő
14	Kedd
15	Szerda
16	Csütörtök
17	Péntek
18	Szombat
19	**Vasárnap**
20	Hétfő
21	Kedd
22	Szerda
23	Csütörtök
24	Péntek
25	Szombat
26	**Vasárnap**
27	Hétfő
28	Kedd
29	Szerda
30	Csütörtök
31	Péntek

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Január 1. Ujév.

TÖRTÉNELMI NAPTÁR.

1. Petőfi * 1823. Blanque † 1881. A rabszolgaság megszüntetése Észak-Amerikában, 1863.
2. Az Egyesült Államok kormányának hajszája a kommunisták ellen, 1920. — Orosz forradalmárok kivégzése Moszkvában, 1906. — Cabet * 1788.
4. Upton Sinclair * 1878.
7. A New York állami törvényhozásból kitiltják az öt szocialista képviselőt, 1920.
8. Galileo Gallilei † 1642. — Wilson megszerkeszti 14 pontját, 1918.
9. Német spartakusok felkelése, 1919. — Michel Lujza † 1905.
10. A versaillesi békét elismeri a német kormány, 1920.
11. A francia Ruhr invázió kezdete, 1923. — Károlyi Mihály a magyar népköztársaság elnöke lett, 1919.
12. A Lawrence-i (Mass.) I. W. W. szövősztrájk, 1912.
13. Noske a munkásokra lövet, 1920. — Olaszországi földrengés 40,000 halottal, 1915. — Rabszolgaság megszüntetése Mexicoban, 1825.
14. Perzsia törvényben eltiltja a 10 éven aluli leány- és a 8 éven aluli fiugyermekek dolgoztatását. — Az Egyesült Államok legfőbb birósága alkotmányellenesnek mondja ki a gyermekmunkát tiltó törvényt, 1922. — William Hightower 77 éves Kentucky, Harlan megyei szénbányász életfogytiglani börtönre itélve, 1932.
15. Általános sztrájk tör ki Dél-Afrikában, 1914.
16. Proudhon * 1809. — A magyarországi szociáldemokrata párt megtagadja a választásokban való részvételt, 1920.
17. XVI. Lajos francia királyt a nemzetgyülés halálra itéli, 1793. — Liebknecht K. és Luxemburg R. meggyilkolása a Spartakus felkelésben, 1919. — Cservenko Miklós szocialista párttitkárt a Prónai század laktanyájába hurcolják és meggyilkolják és nyomtalanul eltüntetik, 1920. — Benjamin Franklin * 1706.
18. A minden oroszok alkotmányos gyülését a szoviet feloszlatta, 1918.
19. Watt, a gőzgép feltalálója * 1736. — N. Lenin (Vladimir Ilytch Uljanov) † 1924. (Szül. 1870. ápr. 23.)
21. XVI. Lajos francia király lefejezése, 1893.
22. Gapon a cár elé vonult; a munkások lemészárlása, 1905.
24. Johann Guttenberg † 1468. — Kotoku és társai, 12 japán forradalmár kivégzése, 1911.
25. Veitling Vilmos †
27. Lissagaray † 1900. — Ady Endre † 1919.
30. Nagy munkanélküli tüntetés New Yorkban, 1894. — Charles I. angol királyt hazaárulásért kivégzik, 1649.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 FEBRUÁR 29 NAP

1	Szombat
2	**Vasárnap**
3	Hétfő
4	Kedd
5	Szerda
6	Csütörtök
7	Péntek
8	Szombat
9	**Vasárnap**
10	Hétfő
11	Kedd
12	Szerda
13	Csütörtök
14	Péntek
15	Szombat
16	**Vasárnap**
17	Hétfő
18	Kedd
19	Szerda
20	Csütörtök
21	Péntek
22	Szombat
23	**Vasárnap**
24	Hétfő
25	Kedd
26	Szerda
27	Csütörtök
28	Péntek
29	Szombat

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Február 12. Lincoln születése

Február 22. Washington születése.

1. San Diego-i (Cal.) I. W. W. szszólásszabadságharc, 1912. — George Washingtont az Egyesült Államok első elnökévé választották, 1789.
2. Antonio Labriola † 1904.
3. Az orosz szoviet elrendeli a vörös hadsereg megszervezését, 1918. — A kalaposokat $222,000 kártéritésre itéli a Supreme Court bojkottért, 1910., Denbury, Conn.
4. Woodrow Wilson † 1924.
5. Lovrov Péter orosz forradalmár † 1900. — Most János * 1864.
7. Az angol parlament megszünteti a királyságot, 1640, mint "haszontalan és veszedelmes" intézményt. — Kolcsák orosz ellenforradalmárt agyonlövik, 1920.
8. A clevelandi National Screw Co. munkásainak sztrájkja az IWW ellenőrzése mellett, 1935. — Kropotkin Péter tudós és anarkista filozófus † 1921. (Szül. 1842.) — Londoni munkanélküliek lázadása, 1880.
9. Giordano Bruno, olasz bölcset és szabadgondolkodót máglyán elégették, 1600. (Szül. 1548.)
11. A német köztársaság elnökévé választják Friedrich Ebert szociáldemokratát, 1919.
12. Abraham Lincoln * 1809 (meggyilkolták 1865. április 14-én). — Darwin * 1809. — Kant * 1804. — Börne † 1837. — Keményszénbányászok "fekete péntekje", 1926.
13. Richard Wagner † 1883.
15. A fehér terror bérgyilkosai megölik a budapesti Népszava szerkesztőit: Somogyi Bélát és Bacsó Bélát, 1920. — 3 ezer kinai bányász tüzhalála a Fushun szénbánya robbanásánál, 1931.
17. Heinrich Heine, német költő és forradalmár † 1856. (Szül. 1797. dec. 13.)
18. Luther Márton † 1564. (Szül. 1483. nov. 10.)
19. Az orosz szoviet kimondja a föld társadalmositását, 1918.
20. Voltaire * 1694. — Bolsevisták fegyveres támadása a szociáldemokrata Népszava épülete ellen Budapesten, 1919.
21. Kurt Eisner, a bajor forradalom vezérének meggyilkolása, 1919.
22. August Bebel német szocialista vezér * 1840. — George Washington * 1732. (Meghalt 1799. dec. 14) — Amerigo Vespucci † 1512.
23. A februári francia forradalom, 1848. — A kommunisták kiáltványának megjelenése, 1848.; irták: Marx és Engels. — Columbus Kristóf, Amerika felfedezője † 1526. (Szül. 1446., vagy 1451, a pontos dátum ismeretlen.) — Károlyi Mihály a saját birtokán, Kiskápolnán megkezdi a földosztást, 1918.
24. Kikiáltják a francia köztársaságot, 1848.
25. Wallenstein megölése, 1634. — Gróf Essex lefejezése, 1601.
27. Renan * 1823.
28. Hóra és Kloska kerékbetörése, 1785. — Frankel Leó * Budán, 1844.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 MÁRCIUS 31 NAP

1	**Vasárnap**
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	**Vasárnap**
9	Hétfő
10	Kedd
11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
15	**Vasárnap**
16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
18	Szerda
19	Csütörtök
20	Péntek
21	Szombat
22	**Vasárnap**
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat
29	**Vasárnap**
30	Hétfő
31	Kedd

Legyen tagja Ön is az Egy Nagy Szervezetet épitő mozgalomnak.

2. A kronstadti tengerészek felkelése a szoviet intézkedés ellen, 1921. — A jobbágyság eltörlése Oroszországban, 1861.
5. Külföldi Victor uttörő magyar szocialista † 1894. — Gróf Zeppelin feltaláló † 1917. — A brest-litovski béke, 1918.
8. Ford autó mágnás a békésen felvonuló munkásokba lövet. 5 halott, számtalan sebesült, 1932.
9. Tóth István és Fekecs S. kezdeményezésére a magyarországi IWW-isták megalakitották első izben a "Magyarországi Általános Munkásszövetséget." A belügyminiszter az alapszabályt nem engedélyezte, 1924. — Danton megalakitja a forradalmi törvényszéket, — 1793. — A spanyol inkvizició eltörlése, 1820. — A bécsi forradalom, 1848.
10. Ghandit, a hindu szabadságmozgalom vezérét elzárják, 1922, s 6 évi börtönre itélik. — Általános sztrájk Petrográdon, az orosz forradalom előtt, 1917.
11. Forradalom Oroszországban, 1917. — Megalakul a kinai köztársaság. — Oakfieldi mészkőbányászok bérharca, 1929.
13. A Kapp-puccs; az Ebert-kormány menekül, 1920. — II. Sándor orosz cárt bombával megölik, 1881.
14. Marx Károly † Londonban, 1883.
15. Hitler német kancelár feloszlatja a szindikalisták, kommunisták, szocialisták szervezeteit, vagyonukat elkobozza, lapjaikat betiltja, 1933.
16. A magyar forradalom kitörése, 1848. — II. Miklós cár lemond, 1917 s ideiglenes kormány alakul.
17. New Englandban kitör a forradalom Anglia ellen, 1776.
18. A párisi kommün kikiáltása, 1871. — Forradalom Berlinben, 1848. — I. György görög királyt meggyilkolják, 1913.
19. Most János † 1906.
20. Newton † 1727. (Szül. 1642. dec. 25.) — Ibsen * 1828. — Kossuth Lajos † 1894. — Kappék szászpárti puccsát az általános sztrájk csufosan leveri, 1920.
21. A proletárdiktatura kikiáltása Magyarországon, 1919. — II. Miklós cárt és feleségét elfogták, 1917. — Kinlochi szénbánya robbanás 47 halottal, 1920.
22. A magyarországi szoviet társadalmasitja a nagyipart, bányát és nagybirtokot. Szolidaritást proklamál az orosz szoviettel, 1919.
25. Tüz a Triangle Shirt and Waist Co. gyárában; 146 munkásleány tüzhalált halt a new yorki városi felügyelők és a munkáltatók hanyagsága miatt, 1911.
26. Bebelt és Liebknechtet Lipcsében elitélik, 1872.
27. Maxim Gorkij (A. M. Peskov) világhirü orosz iró * 1868.
28. Agent provokatőrök bombavetése a new yorki Union Squaren, 1908.
29. Liebknecht * 1726. — Bellamy * 1850. — M. I. Kalinint az orosz szoviet elnökévé választják, 1919.
30. Frankel Leo † Párisban, 1896. A párisi kommün kormányának magyar származásu tagja volt.
31. Descartes * 1596.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 ÁPRILIS 30 NAP

1	Szerda
2	Csütörtök
3	Péntek
4	Szombat
5	**Vasárnap**
6	Hétfő
7	Kedd
8	Szerda
9	Csütörtök
10	Péntek
11	Szombat
12	**Vasárnap**
13	Hétfő
14	Kedd
15	Szerda
16	Csütörtök
17	Péntek
18	Szombat
19	**Vasárnap**
20	Hétfő
21	Kedd
22	Szerda
23	Csütörtök
24	Péntek
25	Szombat
26	**Vasárnap**
27	Hétfő
28	Kedd
29	Szerda
30	Csütörtök

Egy mindért, mind egyért... csak az IWW által valósitható meg.

1. Mirabeau, a nagy francia forradalom vezére † 1791. — 600 ezer bányászok sztrájkja az Egyesült Államokban, 1922. A puhaszénbányászok aug. 15-én nyertek, a keményszénbányászok szept. 2-án győztek. — Militarista ellenes gyüléseket a kormány elnyomja New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, stb. városokban, hogy a "világot megmentse a demokráciának", 1917. — A nagy I. W. W.-pör kezdete Chicago, Ill., 1918.
2. Thomas Jefferson * 1743. — Zola Emil * 1840.
3. 1,200,000 bányász általános sztrájkja Angliában, 1921.
5. Danton és Desmoulin kivégzése a guillotinon, 1794.
6. Az Egyesült Államok csatlakozik a világháboruhoz, 1917. — Rafael † 1520. — Általános sztrájk Hollandiában, 1903.
7. Charles Fourier * 1772.; (meghalt: 1837. okt. 10.) — A kansasi bányászok megtagadják az állami békéltetési törvényt és sztrájkba mennek, 1920.
8. A New York állami törvényhozás leszavazza a nők és gyermekek 8 órai munkaidejéről szóló törvényjavaslatot.
9. William Shakespeare † 1616. — Lee generális, a déli államok seregeinek fővezére megadja magát, 1865.
11. Lassalle Ferdinánd * 1825. — Az Egyesült Államok legfelsőbb birósága megerősiti 80 I. W. W. tag elitélését, 1921. — Az angol szakszervezetek hármas szövetsége szétesik, 1921.
14. A debreceni országgyülés a Habsburg-házat trónfosztottnak mondja ki, 1849.
15. A "Titanic" hajóóriás elsülyedése, 1912, 1,625 emberélet odaveszett. — Dietzgen, szocialista bölcsész † 1888.
16. Sophia Perovszkaja és más orosz forradalmárok fölakasztása, 1881.
17. Benjamin Franklin † 1790. (Szül. 1706. jan. 17.)
18. A san franciscoi földrengés, 1906. — Cadiz, Ohioban a katonaság a sztrájkoló bányászok közé lőtt, 1932.
19. Charles Darwin † 1882. (Szül. 1809. febr. 12.)
20. Cromwell szétkergeti a parlamentet, 1625. — Ludlow, Col., asszonyok és gyermekek lemészárlása az olajtröszt bérencei által, 1914.
21. Mark Twain † 1910. (Szül. 1076. jan. 17.) — John Lamb centraliai áldozat szabadon bocsájtása Walla-Walla börtönéből, 40 évre itélve 1919-ben, 1933.
25. A guillotine "gyorsan ölő" gépet először alkalmazták 1792.
26. A szövetséges hatalmak kimondják a zsidók jogát Palesztinához, 1920.
27. Morse, a távíró feltalálója * 1791. (Meghalt: 1872. — Herbert Spencer * 1820. (Meghalt: 1903. dec. 8.)
28. Alexander Howatt és Dorchy egy évi börtönbe mennek a kansasi ipari törvény megsértéséért, 1922.
30. A budapesti hütlenségi pör vádlottait felmentik, 1872. — Amerika radikális szervezeteinek országos kongresszusa Tom Mooney, Waren K. Billings kiszabaditása érdekében, szabotálva a Kommunista Párt vezérei által, 1933.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 MÁJUS 31 NAP

1	Péntek
2	Szombat
3	**Vasárnap**
4	Hétfő
5	Kedd
6	Szerda
7	Csütörtök
8	Péntek
9	Szombat
10	**Vasárnap**
11	Hétfő
12	Kedd
13	Szerda
14	Csütörtök
15	Péntek
16	Szombat
17	**Vasárnap**
18	Hétfő
19	Kedd
20	Szerda
21	Csütörtök
22	Péntek
23	Szombat
24	**Vasárnap**
25	Hétfő
26	Kedd
27	Szerda
28	Csütörtök
29	Péntek
30	Szombat
31	**Vasárnap**

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Május 30. Decoration Day. (Halottak napja)

1. A világ munkásságának nemzetközi ünnepe. A forradalmi munkásság először ünnepli május elsejét 1890-ben. — A clevelandi véres május. Iványi József I. W. W. tag mártirhalála a Buckeye Roadon, 1919. — Az IWW magyarországi tagjai Budapesten Bérmunkás név alatt lapot inditottak, 1928.
2. A budapesti munkástanács a román bevonulás ellen elhatározta a proletárság mozgósitását, 1919. — Tom Mooney kegyelem kérvényének elutasitása California kormányzója által, 1932.
3. Kentucky állam felső birósága megpecsételi az életfogytiglan elitélt bányászok sorsát, 1933.
5. Marx Károly * 1818. — Napoleon † 1821. — Jókai † 1904.
7. A "Lusitania" elsülyesztése, 1915.
9. Tóth István és Fekecs S. ujbóli kezdeményezésének II-od izben megalakult a "Magyarországi Általános Munkásszövetség" — mint IWW szervezet a régi képviselőház üléstermében Budapesten, 1926.
10. V. Vorovszky, szoviet képviselőt a Lusane-i konferencia idején agyonlőtték. A biróság felmentette a gyilkost, 1923.
11. A hires Pullman-sztrájk, Debs vezetésével, 1899. — Megjelent az "Uj Társadalom" cimü magyar nyelvü I. W. W. lap, 1917. — Cle Ellum, Washington. A gátépitő munkások sztrájkja az I. W. W. égisze alatt győzelemmel végződött, 1932.
12. James Connolly, szocialista vezér agyonlövése Dublinban, 1916. Robert Owen * 1771. (Meghalt: 1858. nov. 17.)
16. Victor Hugó † 1885. — Jack Vanetter Kentucky, Harlani bányász meggyilkolása, 1932.
17. Franciaország tábornoki kara kormánynak lépteti elő magát, 1789.
18. A magyar kormány elfogadja az ántánt békefeltételeit, 1920. — Napoleon császárnak kiáltatja ki magát, 1804. — Wilson aláirja a kötelező katonai törvényt, 1917. — W. D. Haywood, az I. W. W. alapitó tagja † Moszkvában, 1928.
19. Saint Simon, utópista szocialista gondolkodó † 1825. — Fichte (meghalt) 1762. — Általános sztrájk Nagykanizsán, 1906.
20. A magyar jakobinusok lefejezése, 1795.
21. Francia parasztság lázadása, 1354. — A Ruhr egy millió munkását kizárják, 1924. — Dürer * 1471.
22. Thomas Hood, a "Song of the Shirt" szerzője * 1799. (Meghalt 1845. május 3.) — A német munkásszövetség megalakul Lassalle vezetése alatt, 1863.
24. Copernicus csillagász † 1543. (*1423. febr. 19.)
25. Delescluse elesik a barrikádokon, 1871.
27. Babeuf francia forradalmár lefjezése, 1797. — M. F. Voltaire, bölcsész † 1778.
28. A párisi kommün vége, 1871.
29. John Brown, amerikai abolicionista * 1800. Felakasztotta a rabszolgaság mellett levő csőcselék, 1859. dec. 2.
31. Fajháboru Tulsa, Okla. négerei és a fehérek között, 1921.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 JUNIUS 30 NAP

1	Hétfő
2	Kedd
3	Szerda
4	Csütörtök
5	Péntek
6	Szombat
7	**Vasárnap**
8	Hétfő
9	Kedd
10	Szerda
11	Csütörtök
12	Péntek
13	Szombat
14	**Vasárnap**
15	Hétfő
16	Kedd
17	Szerda
18	Csütörtök
19	Péntek
20	Szombat
21	**Vasárnap**
22	Hétfő
23	Kedd
24	Szerda
25	Csütörtök
26	Péntek
27	Szombat
28	**Vasárnap**
29	Hétfő
30	Kedd

Szervezetlenül könyör adományokért kilincselünk, szervezetten, mi rendelkezünk minden felett.

1. Goldberger László, amerikai magyar I. W. W. agitátor † 1922.
2. Első szakegyleti kongresszus Angliában, 1868. — G. Garibaldi † 1882.
3. M. A. Bakunin * 1814. (Meghalt 1876. jun. 30.) — Sacco-Vanzetti-ügy Massachusetts államban, 1921.
4. G. V. Plechanov, az orosz szociáldemokrácia megalapitója † 1918.
7. A francia kummunárdok lemészárlása, 1871. — Bert Blaur centraliai áldozat szabadon bocsájtása Walla-Walla börtönéből, 40 évre itélve 1919-ben, 1933.
9. Az angol klérus kéri Henrik királyt, engedje meg, hogy a nép olvashassa a bibliát, 1536.
11. Az amerikai kongresszus megbizza Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklint és Róbert T. Livingston kongresszusi vezető tagokat a "Függetlenségi Nyilatkozat" megszövegezésével, 1770. — A szerb királyi család megyilkolása, 1903. Megjelent a "Küzdelem", magyarnyelvü I. W. W. lap, New Yorkban, 1918.
13. A lázadó parasztok elfoglalják Londont, 1581. — A "General Slocum" kiránduló hajó elég 1000 gyermekkel, 1904. — Marat meggyilkolása, 1793.
15. John király aláirja a Magna Charta-t, 1215. — L. A. Blanquei vezeti a forradalmat Párisban, 1848.
16. Az első minden oroszok szoviet kongresszus megnyitása, 1917. — Proudhon † 1865.
17. A feudalizmus megszüntetése Franciaországban, 1793. — A Bunker Hill-i csata és Charlestown leégetése az angolok által, az amerikai függetlenségi háboruban, 1775.
18. Napoleon döntő legyőzetése Waterloonál, 1815.
20. A Marseillaise szerzője J. Audorf † 1898.
21. Az első gyári törvény Angliában, 1802. — Magyar mágnások beviszik az oroszokat Magyarországba, 1849. — Britt Smith centraliai áldozat szabadonbocsájtása Walla-Walla börtönéből, 40 évre itélve 1919-ben, 1933.
22. Az IWW megalakitásának 30 éves évfordulója, 1935.
23. A. Berkman, amerikai anarkista merényletkisérlete H. C. Frick, a U. S. Steel tröszt embere ellen, hogy megbosszulja a homesteadi sztrájkban lemészárolt munkásokat, 1892.
24. Forradalom Párisban, 1848. — Guttenberg * 1400.
25. Marx Károly "Kapital"-jának első kötete megjelent, 1867.
26. E. V. Debs szimpáthia sztrájkra hivja a vasutasokat a Pullman sztrájkban, 1892.
27. Megalakult az I. W. W., 1905. — A Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance első konvenciója, 1896. — Elfogják a "Küzdelem" héttagu lapbizottságát és három hónapig börtönben tartották, 1918.
28. Ferenc Ferdinándot és feleségét meggyilkolták, 1914.
30. E. V. Debst háboruellenes beszédéért elfogják, 10 évre itélik, 1918.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 JULIUS 31 NAP

1	Szerda
2	Csütörtök
3	Péntek
4	Szombat
5	**Vasárnap**
6	Hétfő
7	Kedd
8	Szerda
9	Csütörtök
10	Péntek
11	Szombat
12	**Vasárnap**
13	Hétfő
14	Kedd
15	Szerda
16	Csütörtök
17	Péntek
18	Szombat
19	**Vasárnap**
20	Hétfő
21	Kedd
22	Szerda
23	Csütörtök
24	Péntek
25	Szombat
26	**Vasárnap**
27	Hétfő
28	Kedd
29	Szerda
30	Csütörtök
31	Péntek

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Julius 4. — A függetlenségi nyilatkozat aláirásának évfordulója.

1. Táncsics Mihály kiadja az "Arany Trombita" cimü lapot, a melynek alcime "A Munkások Ujságja", 1869. — 400,000 vasuti mühelymunkás sztrájkja a bérlevágás ellen, 1922.
2. Rousseau, 1778. † 66 éves korában. — Békeszerződést köt az Egyesült Államok és Németország kormánya, 1921.
4. A kongresszus elfogadja a függetlenségi nyilatkozatot, 1776. Thomas Jefferson, a függetlenségi nyilatkozat egyik szerzője, az 50-ik évfordulón meghalt, 1826. (Szül. 1743. ápr. 2.)
6. Morus Tamás, az "Utópia" szerzőjének lefejezése, 1535.
7. Husz János, reformátor elégetése a máglyán, 1415.
11. Jack Cade, angol munkásvezér lefejezése, 1450. — Az IWW egyetemes titkárának, az Industrial Worker szerkesztőjének együttes kiáltványa a tagsághoz, a lap és a mozgalom megmentése érdekében, 1933.
13. Marat francia forradalmárt meggyilkolja Corday Sarolta, 1793.
14. A francia királyság börtöne, a Bastille, elesett, 1789. — A szocialista Internacionale (második) nemzetközi munkásünnepnek proklamálta május elsejét, 1889.
15. Győz a perzsa forradalom, 1909.
16. Az első nagy vasuti sztrájk az Egyesült Államokban a Pennsylvania vasutvonalon, 1877. — II. Miklós orosz cár agyonlövetése a számüzetésben Ekaterinburgban, 1918. — Chartista felkelés, 1839. — Proudban P. J. † 1859.
17. III. Péter cárt a felesége beleegyezésével megfojtották, 1762.
20. A teherautó munkások sztrájkjának letörése. A mineapolisi Farmer Labor Party-i rendőrkapitány a munkások közzé lövetett. 48 sebesült, 3 halott, 1934. — Martinovics Ignác * 1755.
21. Magyarajku I. W. W. tagokat (12-őt) internáltak Fort Oglethorpe és Fort Douglas-ba és majdnem két évig fogva tartották őket, 1917.
22. Agent provokatőrök bombát vetnek a san franciscoi militarista tüntetésbe, amiért Tom Mooney-t és másokat életfogytiglani börtönre itélték, 1916.
25. Blériot átrepül a La Manche csatornán, 1900. — Kerensky ideiglenes kormánya ujra bevezeti a halálos itéletet a hadvonalon, 1917.
27. Tom Mooney tizenkilencedik esztendejét kezdi meg San Quentin börtönében, 1935. — Robespierre, a látszólag teljhatalmu diktátor megbukik. Egy nappal később lefejezik, 36 éves volt, 1794.
28. Ausztria hadüzenete Szerbia ellen, ezzel megkezdődött a világháboru, 1914. — Feuerbach * 1804. — Héjjas "ébredő" bandájának vérengzése a Lipót-köruti Club kávéházban, 1920.
29. Bresci merénylete Umberto olasz király ellen, 1900. — Chester Poor Kentucky, Harlani szénbányász életfogytiglani elitéltetése, 1932.
31. Jourést Párisban meggyilkolták, 1914. — Petőfi Sándor † a segesvári ütközetben, 1849. — Loyola Ignác, a jezsuita-rend megalapitója meghalt, 1556.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 AUGUSZTUS 31 NAP

1	Szombat
2	**Vasárnap**
3	Hétfő
4	Kedd
5	Szerda
6	Csütörtök
7	Péntek
8	Szombat
9	**Vasárnap**
10	Hétfő
11	Kedd
12	Szerda
13	Csütörtök
14	Péntek
15	Szombat
16	**Vasárnap**
17	Hétfő
18	Kedd
19	Szerda
20	Csütörtök
21	Péntek
22	Szombat
23	**Vasárnap**
24	Hétfő
25	Kedd
26	Szerda
27	Csütörtök
28	Péntek
29	Szombat
30	**Vasárnap**
31	Hétfő

A Bérmunkást munkások irják a munkásoknak. Ne hiányozzék ez egyetlen bérmunkás asztaláról sem.

1. San Franciscoban Általános Sztrájk tör ki, 1934. — Frank Little IWW szónok meggyilkoltatása a réztröszt által, 1917. — Proletárdiktatura bukása Magyarországon; a szak szervezetek veszik át a kormányt, 1919. — Lamarek † 1744. — Az Egyesült Államok elnökének rádió beszéde a rövidebb munkaidő, magasabb bér érdekében, 1933.

3. Németország hadüzenete Franciaország- és Belgiumnak, 1914. — A sztrájkoló Indianai bányászok ellen kirendelték a katonaságot, 1932.

4. A francia hübérséget eltörlik, 1789. — Anglia hadüzenete Németországhoz, 1914. — A román csapatok megszállják Budapestet, 1919. — William Hudson, Kentucky, Harlani szénbányász életfogytiglani elitélése, 1932.

5. Az első kábelt tették le az Atlanti Oceánon keresztül, 1853. — Engels Frigyes † 1895. — Ausztria-Magyarország hadüzenete Oroszországhoz, 1914. — Peidlék bukása, 1919.

7. W. Liebknecht † 1900.

9. Békekötés Oroszország és Japán között, 1905. — Ernest Heckel † 1919. — Megjelent az "Ipari Munkás", magyarnyelvü I. W. W. lap, Chicago, Ill., 1917. — A Boulder Dam sztrájk kitörése az I. W. W. égisze alatt, 1931.

10. Cuba munkásosztálya általános sztrájkkal követeli az elnök azonnali lemondását, 1933.

13. A magyar forradalom vége, 1849. — Anglia hadüzenete Ausztria-Magyarországhoz, 1914. — August Bebel † 1913.

15. Napoleon * 1769.

16. A Dawes-terv elfogadása, amely a vereség minden terhét a német munkásosztály nyakába sózza, 1924. — Cuba elnöke az általános sztrájk nyomása alatt lemondott és elmenekült Cubából, 1933.

17. A szövetségi esküdtszék 166 I. W. W. tagnak öt hónapi vizsgálati fogsága és hat hónapig tartó tárgyalása után ötvenöt percig tartó tanácskozásban bünösnek mondja ki a vádlottakat. Wm. D. Haywood, közp. titkár és 14 más, köztük Rótfischer Károly, a "Bérmunkás" szerkesztője, 20 évi börtönbüntetést kapott; 33-an 6-tól 10 évig és 12-en 1—5 évi büntetést kaptak. Az összes pénzbirság $2,570,000-t tett ki, 1918.

22. A kommunista párt tikos konvencióját elfogják az E. Á. szövetségi ügynökei, Bridgeman, Mich.-ben, 1922. — Sacco és Vanzetti mártirhalála a charlestoni börtönben, 1927.

24. Gépfegyverekkel támadták meg a Progressive Miners Union 40 ezer tagját Tailorsville, Ill., 1 halott, számtalan sulyos sebesült, 1932. — A szólásszabadság harcának kitörése a Boulder Dam munkásai között az I. W. W. vezetése mellett, 1932.

26. Az I. W. W. első magyar csoportjának megalakulása, Chicagoban, 1911.

27. Anglia megszerzi a Holland gyarmatot: New Amsterdamot, a mostani New York várost, 1664.

31. Lassalle † 1864.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 SZEPTEMBER 30 NAP

1	Kedd
2	Szerda
3	Csütörtök
4	Péntek
5	Szombat
6	**Vasárnap**
7	Hétfő
8	Kedd
9	Szerda
10	Csütörtök
11	Péntek
12	Szombat
13	**Vasárnap**
14	Hétfő
15	Kedd
16	Szerda
17	Csütörtök
18	Péntek
19	Szombat
20	**Vasárnap**
21	Hétfő
22	Kedd
23	Szerda
24	Csütörtök
25	Péntek
26	Szombat
27	**Vasárnap**
28	Hétfő
29	Kedd
30	Szerda

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Szept. első hétfője: Labor Day. (Máj. 1. A nemzetközi munkásünnep ellensulyozására.)

1. Daugherty tiltóparancsot vesz ki a sztrájkoló vasuti műhelymunkások ellen, 1922.
2. A Progressive Miners Union megalakulása, Gillespie, Ill.-ban, 1932.
3. A nemzetközi munkásszövetség 1-ső Internacionálé kongresszusa, 1866. — A szocialista pártból kiszakadt balszárny két pártot alakit, a kommunista pártot és a kommunista munkáspártot, 1919. — Japán földrengésben 350,000 ember és sok város pusztult el, 1923.
4. III-ik Napoleon királyságának megdöntése. Kikiáltják a harmadik közrtársaságot, 1870.
5. Egy millió szövőipari munkás az AFofL vezetése alatt sztrájkba megy, 1934. — A zimmerwaldi szocialista konferencia, a háboruellenes akció és béke előmozditására, 1915.
6. McKinley elnököt megöli az anarkista Czolgosz, 1901. — Károlyi Mihály Cegléden a megegyezéses békét sürgeti, 1918.
8. A szakszervezeti kongresszus 5,250,000 munkás képviseletében a direkt akció mellett, 1910. — Rendőrsztrájk Bostonban, 1919.
9. A felszabadult gyarmatország felveszi az Amerikai Egyesült Államok nevet, 1779. — Tolstoj Leo * 1828. (Meghalt 1910. november 20.)
10. A clevelandi Draper gyár háromhónapos sztrájkjának az IWW vezetésével győzelmes befejezése, 1934.
11. Dante † 1321. — E. M. Wiggins szövőmunkásnőt meggyilkolták a kapitalista bérencek Gastoniában, 1929.
15. Kepler csillagász † 1630. — A monarchia békejavaslata az összes országokhoz, 1918.
16. F. M. Bratcher, Kentucky, Harlani szénbányász harmadszori felmentése a gyilkosság vádja alól, 1932.
17. Tom Mooney 18 esztendei raboskodás után kihallgatást kap a californiai Felső Biróságon, 1935. — Az Egyesült Államok alkotmányát elfogadja a szövetségi kongresszus, 1878.
18. 400,000 acélmunkás sztrájkja 24 országos szakegylet (A. F. of L.) közös bizottságának vezetése alatt, amelynek Wm. Z. Foster volt az elnöke. A sztrájk három hónapig tartott, 1919. — Általános sztrájk Olaszországban, 1904.
19. Kossuth Lajos * Monokon, 1802.
21. A francia köztársaság kihirdetése, 1792.
25. Az "uj osztás" kormánya leszereli a egymillió szövőipari munkás harcát, 1934.
27. Bulgária kiválik a központi hatalmak közül és külön békét kér, 1918. — Az I. W. W. Canadai adminisztrációjának első értekezlete, 1932.
28.. Népgyülés a St. Martins Hallban, Londonban, ahol az I. Internacionálé kiindult. — Jim Reynolds és Bill Burnett, Kentucky, Harlani szénbányászok három évre itéltettek, 1932.
29. Zola † 1902; 62 éves korában.
30. Szabó Ervin † 1918; 41 éves korában. — Csődöt mondott a szocialista-ellenes Bismarck-törvény 11 év után, 1890.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 OKTÓBER 31 NAP

1	Csütörtök
2	Péntek
3	Szombat
4	**Vasárnap**
5	Hétfő
6	Kedd
7	Szerda
8	Csütörtök
9	Péntek
10	Szombat
11	**Vasárnap**
12	Hétfő
13	Kedd
14	Szerda
15	Csütörtök
16	Péntek
17	Szombat
18	**Vasárnap**
19	Hétfő
20	Kedd
21	Szerda
22	Csütörtök
23	Péntek
24	Szombat
25	**Vasárnap**
26	Hétfő
27	Kedd
28	Szerda
29	Csütörtök
30	Péntek
31	Szombat

Egy kapitalista osztály van. Egy a munkásosztály is. Egynek KELL lenni a szervezetnek is.

1. Fulton Róbert első gőzhajója, 1809.
2. A clevelandi American Stove Co. munkásainak sztrájkja az IWW vezetése mellett, 1934. — Első vasut az Egyesült Államokban, 1833. — Öt sztrájkoló szövőmunkás legyilkolása Marion, N. C.-ban, 1929.
3. William Morris, uttörő angol szocialista † 1896.
4. Megalakult a Western Federation of Miners, Butte, Mont., 1890. — Cle Elum, Wash. Gátépitő munkásainak sztrájkja az I. W. W. égisze alatt ujból győzelemmel végződött, 1932.
6. A tizenhárom tábornok kivégzése Aradon, 1849. — Általános sztrájk Pécsett, 1903.
7. Fresno-i (Calif.) I. W. W. szólászabadságharc, 1909.
8. Kossuth Lajos, Magyarország kormányzója lesz, 1848. — Batthány Lajos gróf megöletése, 1849.
12. Amerika felfedezése, 1492. — A német kormány elfogadta Wilson elnök feltételeit, 1918.
13. A chicagoi nagy I. W. W. pörben az ügyészség az I. W. W. elvnyilatkozatát találja a legfőbb vádpontnak, 17,220 törvénysértést sorol fel az I. W. W. ellen, 1918. — Francisco Ferrer kivégzése, 1909.
15. A clevelandi American Stove Co. sztájkoló munkásai győzelemmel felveszik ujból a munkát, 1934. — Az uj Georgiai naptár Rómában, 1582.
16. Mária Antoinette lefejezése, 1793.
18. A coloradoi nagy bányászsztrájk kezdete az I. W. W. irányitása mellett, 1927.
20. A Knights of Labornak 1,200,000 tagja volt 1888-ban; alakult 1869-ben. — Eugene V. Debs † 1926.
21. Adler Frigyes agyonlövi Stürgh miniszterelnököt Bécsben, 1916. — Németország elfogadja Wilson fegyverszünet feltételeit, 1918. — A gastoniai N. C. szövősztrájkban vádaláhelyezett 7 munkást 50 percnyi tárgyalás után az esküdtek 2-od fokon bünösnek találták Aderholt rendőrkapitány legyilkolásában és összesen 117 évre itélték el őket, 1929.
23. Általános sztrájk Oroszországban, 1905.
24. Daniel Webster † 1852. (Szül. 1782. jan. 18.) — Bethlen nyolc munkáslapot betilt, 1922.
25. Mayor McSweeney 73 napi éhségsztrájk után meghalt, 1920. — John Sandgren IWW iró és szervező † 1932.
26. Charles Steinmetz † 1923.
31. Az "őszirózsás forradalom" Magyarországon: Károlyi kormányra jutása, 1918. — Tisza Istvánt meggyilkolják, 1918. — Az osztrák-magyar tengeri hajóhadat Horthy Miklós átadja a délszlávoknak, 1918.

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BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 NOVEMBER 30 NAP

1	Vasárnap
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	Vasárnap
9	Hétfő
10	Kedd
11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
15	Vasárnap
16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
18	Szerda
19	Csütörtök
20	Péntek
21	Szombat
22	Vasárnap
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat
29	Vasárnap
30	Hétfő

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Hálaadás napja a hónap utolsó csütörtökje.

1. Mussolini, az olasz fascisták élén hatalomra jut, 1922. — Egész Magyarország csatlakozik a forradalomhoz, 1918.
2. A német forradalom kezdete, 1918.
3. Spokane-i (Wash.) I. W. W. szólásszabadságharc, 1909.
5. Everett-i (Wash.) I. W. W. mészárlás, 1916.
6. A német császár lemond, 1918.
7. Bolshevik győzelem Oroszországban, 1917. — Felállitják a szovjetet. — A francia nemzetgyülés az ész vallását proklamálja, 1793. — Hittler, Ludendorff, Ulain fajvédő puccs csufos kudarccal végződött, 1923.
9. Ebert kancellár lesz, 1918.
10. Az orosz forradalmi kormány békeajánlata a központi hatalmaknak, 1917. — Az ántánt és Németország megköti a békét, 1918. — Vilmos császár és a trónörökös Hollandiába menekül, 1918.
11. Centralia (Wash.) Az I. W. W. Munkás Otthonban betörnek az American Legion parádéról; néhányan elesnek közülök. Wesley Everest-et meglincselik s később nyolc I. W. W. tagot 20-tól 40 évi börtönbüntetésre itélnek ebben az ügyben, 1919. — A haymarketi bombavetéssel gyanusitott anarkistákat, Spies és társait, ártatlanul kivégzik, 1887. — Németország aláirja a fegyverszüneti szerződést, 1918.
12. Dózsa Györgyöt, a magyarországi parasztforradalom vezérét tüzes vastrónon elevenen elégeti a magyar nemesség, 1514. — A "Vestris" gőzhajó elsüyedése, 1928. — A Bérmunkás ujból Clevelandon jelenik meg huszesztendős jubileumi számában 24 oldalon, 1931.
14. Hegel * 1831. — IV. Károly lemond a trónról, 1918. — A román megszálló csapatok kivonulása Budapestről, 1919. Az IWW egyetemes szervezetének országos konvenciójának megnyitása, 1933.
15. Megjelenik az I. W. W. első magyarnyelvü lapja, a "Bérmunkás", 1912. — Hauptmann Gerhard * 1862. — Kepler csillagász † 1620.
16. Owen Róbert † 1858. — A magyar népköztársaság kikiáltása, 1918.
17. Az I. W. W. magyarnyelvü lapja, a "Felszabadulás", ujra felveszi eredeti nevét, a "Bérmunkás"-t, 1923.
19. Joe Hill, I. W. W. költő kivégzése, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1915.
20. Az IWW egyetemes kongresszussa hetedik napján kimondja a 4 órás munkanap és 4 napos munkahétért való agitáció szükségességét, 1932.
21. Voltaire * 1604. — A lyoni selyemszövők fekelése éhinség miatt, 1881. — A coloradoi sztrájkoló bányászok legyilkolása a columbinei bánya előtt, 1927.
22. Babeuf * 1760. — Andre Tridon † 1922.
28. Friedrich Engels * 1829.
29. Small, Illinois állam kormányzója 20 kommunistának kegyelmet ad, 1922.

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BÉRMUNKÁS

1936 DECEMBER 31 NAP

1	Kedd
2	Szerda
3	Csütörtök
4	Péntek
5	Szombat
6	**Vasárnap**
7	Hétfő
8	Kedd
9	Szerda
10	Csütörtök
11	Péntek
12	Szombat
13	**Vasárnap**
14	Hétfő
15	Kedd
16	Szerda
17	Csütörtök
18	Péntek
19	Szombat
20	**Vasárnap**
21	Hétfő
22	Kedd
23	Szerda
24	Csütörtök
25	Péntek
26	Szombat
27	**Vasárnap**
28	Hétfő
29	Kedd
30	Szerda
31	Csütörtök

Figyelje meg a Bérmunkást csomagoló papirost és ha előfizetése lejárt ujitsa azt meg.

1. Az 1926 május 9-én, megalakult magyarországi Általános Munkásszövetség, nevének Magyar Ált. Munkásszövetség megváltoztatásával alapszabályát jóváhagyták és müködését ezzel az IWW szervezet megkezdte.
2. John Brown kivégzése, 1859.
4. Napoleon eltörli a spanyol inkviziciót, 1803.
5. A McNamara testvéreket életfogytiglani börtönre itélték, 1911.
6. Spartacus fölkelés Berlinben, 1918. — W. Va.-i bányarobbanás 500 halott, 1907. — Az ir köztársaságot hivatalosan elismeri Anglia, 1921. — Az állam és az egyház szétválasztása Franciaországban, 1905.
7. Megjelent a "Felszabadulás", az I. W. W. magyarnyevü lapja, Chicago, Ill., 1918. — Az ébredő csőcselék megtámadja a budapesti Népszava épületét és lerombolja a szerkesztőség, nyomda és kiadóhivatal helyiségét, 1919.
8. Dániel de Leon † 1914. (Szül. 1852. dec. 14.)
9. Vaillant bombát vet a francia kamarában, 1893.
10. A clevelandi Terminal Tower takaritó munkásnők sztrájkot kezdenek az IWW segitségével, 1934. — W. B. Jones, Kentucky, Harlan megyei bányász életfogytiglani elitélése, 1931.
11. Louis Blanc, az 1848-as francia forradalom feje † 1882.
13. Heine * 1799. — Samuel Gompers * London, Angliában, 1850. jan. 27-én meghalt az Egyesült Államokban, 1924. dec. 13.
14. Washington † 1828. — Amundsen felfedezi a déli sarkot, 1911. Amnesztiát kap több politikai és ipari fogoly Amerikában, 1923
15. Megjelent a "Védelem", az I. W. W. magyarnyelvü lapja, 1917, Chicago, Ill. — Rothfisher Károly, számüzetésben halt meg Mexicoban, 1930.
16. Oliver Cromwell Anglia főlordja lesz, 1653. — A "bostoni tea party", az amerikai szabadságharc kezdete, 1773.
20. Az Általános Sztrájk cimü füzet megjelenése angol kiadásban, az IWW Központja által szept. 27.—1929. — A börze összeroppanása a világ depresszió kezdete, 1932.
21. A "Bufford" hajó elindul a deportált forradalmárokkal Oroszország felé, 1919.
24. Megalakul a szindikalista inernacionálé, 1922. — Az amerikai munkáspárt megalakult New Yorkban, 1921. — Calumet-i tüzvész, 74 halott, 1913.
25. Newton csillagász * 1642.
28. Itélet a magyarországi népbiztos pörben, 1920. — Földrengés Sziciliában, 200,000 halott. — Megalakult a Knights of Labor, 1869.
29. László Jenő, Korvin Ottó, Kerekes Árpád, Dinnyés József, Schwartz Károly, Kovács Lajos, Gombos Ferenc, Dögei Imre és Horváth Mihály, magyarországi szoviet népbiztosokat a fehér terror uralom kivégzi, 1920.
30. Magyarországi néptörvény a 8 órás munkaidőről, 1918. — A Kommunista Liga megbizza Marx Károlyt és Engels Frigyest a szervezet kiáltványának megszövegezésével. Igy lett a hirneves Kommunisták Kiáltványa, 1847.

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* — született; † — meghalt.

NÉVNAP MUTATÓ

A

Absolon, ápr. 20. szept. 2.
Adalbert, ápr. 23.
Adél, dec. 16.
Adelgund, jan. 30.
Adolár, ápr. 21.
Adolf febr. 11, máj. 11. jun. 17, aug. 21, szept. 17.
Adolfin, szept. 24.
Adorján, márc. 4.
Amilián, szept. 11, nov. 12. dec. 6.
Aladár, okt. 1.
Albin, márc. 1.
Alajos, jun. 21.
Alfonz, aug. 2, okt. 30.
Alfréd, febr. 15, jul. 19.
Albert, ápr. 7 és 24, máj. 26, szept. 3, nov. 14.
Albertina, ápr. 23.
Albrecht, ápr. 23.
Amália, máj. 4, jul. 10, okt. 7, nov. 20.
Ambrus, okt. 16 és 19, dec. 7 és 20.
Anastázius, ápr. 21.
András (Bandi,) febr. 4, máj. 15, okt. 17, nov. 30.
Angelika (Angyalka,) márc. 11, máj. 31, aug. 14.
Anna, febr. 19, jul. 26.
Antal, jan. 17, febr. 12, máj. 10, jun. 13, jul. 28, szept. 2.
Antónia, ápr. 19, jun. 13, jul. 7.
Anzelin, ápr. 21.
Appolónia, febr. 9.
Aranka, dec. 2.
Arnold, jul. 18.
Arthur, jan. 7.
Atala, dec. 2.
Athanáz, máj. 2. nov. 26.
Attila, márc. 10.
Augusta, márc. 29, aug. 17.
Aurél, jun. 15.
Aurélia, dec. 2.
Ádám, dec. 24.
Ágotha, febr. 5, ápr. 28.
Ágnes, jan. 21, márc. 28, ápr. 20.
Ágoston, aug. 3 és 28, okt. 7.
Ákos, jun. 22.
Ármin, ápr. 7, aug. 11, dec. 28.
Áron, ápr. 16, jun. 21.
Árpád, jan. 5, febr. 10.

B

Balázs, febr. 3.
Bálint, jan. 7, febr. 14.
Barnabás, jun. 11.
Bazil, márc. 22.
Beatrix, jul. 29.
Bekény, márc. 21.
Béla, jan. 2, ápr. 23, máj. 26.
Bence, márc. 21.
Benő, márc. 21, aug. 30.
Benedek, márc. 21.
Benjámin, márc. 31.
Bernát, máj. 20, jan. 16, jul. 15, aug. 21.
Berta, jul. 4.
Bertalan, aug. 24.
Bertram, aug. 17.
Blanka, aug. 10.
Bódog, jan. 14, máj. 30, jul. 29, okt. 24, nov. 20.
Boldizsár, jan. 6.
Bonaventura, jul. 14.
Bonifác, máj. 14, jun. 5 és 25.
Borbála, dec. 24.
Brigitta, febr. 1, okt. 8.
Brunó, márc. 8, ápr. 21, máj. 17, szept. 7, okt. 6.

C

Ceasar, febr. 15, ápr. 28.
Cecilia, jun. 3, okt. 21.
Clarissa jan. 15, jul. 12.
Clementina, jan. 23, nov. 14 és 23.
Concordia, febr. 18.
Constantin, febr. 25, ápr. 22, jul. 27.
Constantina, szept. 19.
Crescentia, jun. 15.
Crispin, okt. 25.
Cyprián, szept. 10 és 26, dec. 9.
Cyriák, aug. 8.
Cyrill, márc. 9, jul. 5.
Cyprus, jun. 16.

D

Dagobert, jun. 15.
Damascus, dec. 11.
Dániel, jan. 3, febr. 16, ápr. 10, jul. 21, nov. 23.
Dária, okt. 25.
Dávid, dec. 30.
Dezső, febr. 11, máj. 23, dec. 18.
Dénes, ápr. 8, okt. 9. nov. 17, dec. 26.
Dietrica, máj. 6.
Domonkos, aug. 4, okt. 14, dec. 20.
Donát, febr. 17, aug. 7, szept. 1.
Dorottya, febr. 6, jun. 5, szept. 9.
Dömötör, ápr. 9, okt. 26, dec. 22.
Döme, aug. 4, szept. 27.
Dionyzia, dec. 12.

E

Eberhardt, febr. 23, nov. 28.
Edith, szept. 16.
Edmund, nov. 6 és 20.
Eduárd, márc. 18, máj. 27, okt. 13.
Egyed, ápr. 27, szept 1.
Endre jul. 17.
Elemér, nov. 27.
Emilia, jul. 18, szept. 12, nov. 12 és 24.
Elek, febr. 11, jul. 17.
Eleonora, febr. 21, jul. 11.
Eleuthér, febr. 20, okt. 9.
Eligius, dec. 1.
Ella, febr. 10, márc. 24.
Emerencia, jan. 23.
Emánuel (Manó,) márc. 26.
Emil, ápr. 5, máj. 22, nov. 21.
Emma ápr. 19, jun. 29, szept. 22.
Engelbert, nov. 7.
Erasmus, jun. 2.
Erhardt, jan. 8.
Eric, febr. 15, máj. 18.
Ernesztina, jan. 12, jul. 31.
Ernő, jan. 12, márc. 13.
Ervin, ápr. 25.
Erzsébet, jul. 8, nov. 19, dec. 25.
Eszter, máj. 24, jul. 7.
Etelka, febr. 5, dec. 16.
Eugen (Jenő,) jul. 13, nov. 15, dec. 25.
Eufernia, szept. 16.
Eukár, febr. 20.
Eulália, febr. 12, dec. 10.
Eustachius, márc. 29, szept. 20.
Euzéb, aug. 14, dec. 16.
Evald, okt. 3.
Ezechiel, ápr. 10.
Éliás, febr. 16, jul. 20.
Éva, dec. 24.
Ézsiás, jul. 6.

F

Fábián, jan. 20.
Fánni, márc. 9, aug. 20, okt. 5.
Farkas, okt. 31.
Faustinus, febr. 15.
Felicián, jun. 9.
Felicitas, jan. 11, márc. 7.
Félix (Bódog,) febr. 14, máj. 30, jun. 14, jul. 7, okt. 24, nov. 20.
Ferdinánd, máj. 30, okt. 19.
Ferenc, jan. 29, ápr. 25, jun. 16, jul. 24, okt. 4 és 10, nov. 9, dec. 3.
Ferike, máj. 20.
Fidél, márc. 23, ápr. 28.

Fildes, aug. 1.
Filemon, márc. 8.
Flavia, máj. 11.
Flavián, febr. 18.
Flóra, jun. 19, nov. 24.
Florentin okt. 17.
Flórián (Flóris,) máj. 4, jun. 4.
Fodor, márc. 6.
Fortunatus, jun. 1, okt. 24.
Franciska, márc. 9.
Frida, febr. 8.
Friderika, okt. 6.
Fridolin, márc. 6.
Frigyes, márc. 6. jul. 18, okt. 6.
Frozina, febr. 11.
Fülöp, máj. 1 és 26, aug. 23. okt. 22.

G

Gábor, febr. 10, márc. 24, ápr. 7, nov. 2.
Gabriella, febr. 10.
Gallus, okt. 16.
Gáspár, jan. 6, aug. 18.
Gebhard, aug. 27.
Gedeon, okt. 10.
Gellért, szept. 24.
Genovéva, jan. 3.
Gergely, márc. 12, máj. 9 és 25, nov. 17.
German, febr. 21, máj. 2 és 28.
Gertrud, márc. 18, aug. 1.
Gerváz, jun. 19.
Géza, jan. 16, febr. 25, márc. 23, máj. 10, nov. 18 és 23.
Ginda vagy Gunda, márc. 3.
Gizella, máj. 7.
Gordián, máj. 10.
Gottfried, máj. 7. nov. 8.
Gotthard, máj. 5.
Gottlieb, jul. 7.
Gorgonia, dec. 9.
Gorgonius, szept. 9.
Gracin, dec. 18.
Guidó, márc. 30, szept. 12.
Guntrám, márc. 28.
Gusztáv, ápr. 22, aug. 2.
Gyárfás, jun. 19.
György, ápr. 24, máj. 5, dec. 8.
Gyula, ápr. 12, máj. 27.
Győző, febr. 28, jul. 28.
Günther, okt. 9, nov. 28.

H

Hannibal, aug. 2.
Háromkirály (Gáspár, Menyhért, Boldizsár,) jan. 6.
Hartwig, aug. 21.
Hedwig, okt. 15 és 17.
Helén, aug. 18.
Heliodor, jul. 8.
Henriette, márc. 16.
Henrik, jan. 16, jul. 12.
Heribert, márc. 16.
Hermin, ápr. 13, máj. 6.
Herman (Ármin,) ápr. 7.
Hilár (Vidor,) jan. 14.
Hilaria, aug. 12.
Hildegard, szept. 17.
Hubert, márc. 20, nov. 8.
Hugó ápr. 1, nov. 17.
Humbertus, márc. 25.
Hyreonim, jul. 20, szept. 30.
Hygin, jan. 11.
Hipolit (Ipoly,) aug. 13.

I

Ida, márc. 14, szept. 4, nov. 3.
Ignác, febr. 1, jul. 31, dec. 15.
Illés, jul. 20, aug. 9.
Ilona, máj. 22, aug. 18, nov. 3.
Imre, nov. 5.
Imrike, jan. 23 és 30.
Ince, jul. 28, dec. 2.
Ipoly aug. 13.
Irén, ápr. 6.
Irma, márc. 26, jul. 4.
István, aug. 20, nov. 28, dec. 26.
Iván, jun. 24.
Ivó, máj. 20.
Izabella, jan. 4.
Izidor, jan. 7, ápr. 4.
Izrael, márc. 26.
Izsák, dec. 20, máj. 29.

J

Jácint, jul. 3, aug. 16, szept. 11.
Jakab máj. 1, jul. 11 és 25.
Janka, máj. 22.
Jairus, okt. 3.
János, jan. 23 és 27, febr. 8, márc. 8 és 27, jun. 12 és 27, jul. 12, aug. 20, okt. 22, nov. 24, dec. 27.
Jenő, jul. 13, nov. 18.
Jeromos, szept. 30, nov. 19.
Joachim, márc. 20, szept. 24, dec. 9.
Jób, máj. 24, szept. 2.
Jovita, febr. 15.
Jolán, nov. 18, jul. 24.
Jónás, nov. 12.
Jordán, febr. 13.
József, febr. 4, márc. 19, máj. 8, jun. 20, aug. 27, szept. 18.
Józsua, febr. 23.
Judit, jul. 30, dec. 10.
Judás, máj. 11, okt. 28.
Julia, (Julianna,) febr. 16, máj. 22, jun. 29.
Julián, jan. 9, febr. 17.
Jusztin, jun. 16.
Jusztina, ápr. 13, szept. 26, okt. 7.

K

Kajetán, aug. 7.
Kálmán, okt. 13.
Kalliszt, okt. 14.
Kamil, jul. 18.
Kamilla, jul. 27.
Kandid, okt. 3.
Kandida, dec. 2.
Kanut, jan. 19.
Karolina, jun. 14, jul. 14, nov. 4.
Károly, jan. 28, márc. 2, nov. 4.
Kaszter, febr. 13.
Katalin, febr. 23, ápr. 30, nov. 25, dec. 6.
Kázmér márc. 4, ápr. 16.
Kelemen, jan. 23, nov. 23, dec. 7.
Keresztély, máj. 14.
Kiltlib, jul. 8.
Kilit, ápr. 26.
Klára, aug. 12 és 18.
Klotild, jun. 3.
Kleofás, szept. 25.
Kolozs, okt. 30.
Konstancia, febr. 17.
Konstantin, máj. 21.
Konrád, febr. 19, nov. 26.
Kornél, jul. 3.
Kornélia, márc. 31.
Kordula, okt. 22.
Kozma, szept. 27.
Kristóf, márc. 15, jul. 25, dec. 18.
Krisztina, jul. 21.
Kunigunda, márc. 3.
Kuno, máj. 29.

L

Lajos, aug. 19 és 25.
Lambert, szept. 17.
László, jun. 27.
Lázár, febr. 21, dec. 17.
Laura, jun. 28.
Laura, márc. 28.
Lea, márc. 22.
Leó ápr. 11, jun. 28.
Leodegar, okt. 2.
Leander, febr. 27.
Leontine, jan. 28.
Lénárd, nov. 6.
Liberatus, aug. 17.
Livia, febr. 12, nov. 21.
Livius, febr. 28.
Lóránt, aug. 10, szept. 13.
Lipót, nov. 15.
Lothár, ápr. 2.
Lőrinc, aug. 10, szept. 5.
Lucia, jul. 9, dec. 13.
Lucian máj. 27, okt. 2.
Ludovica, jul. 9.
Ludmilla, szept. 16.
Lujza, jun. 9 és 21.
Lukács, okt. 18.
Lukrécia, ápr. 7, jun. 7.
Lydia, febr. 12, aug. 8.

M

Magdolna, máj. 27, jul. 22.
Magnus szept. 6.
Makár, jan. 2.
Malvina, okt. 7.
Manó, márc. 26.
Mansvét, febr. 19, szept. 3.
Marcellin, jan. 9 és 16, jun. 18, okt. 30.
Marcel, jan. 16, jun. 18.
Marcilán, jan. 10.
Margit, jan. 28. febr. 23, jun. 10, jul. 19.
Marius, jan. 19.
Mária, ápr. 9, jul. 22, aug. 15.
Márk, ápr. 25, jun. 18, okt. 10.
Mártha, jul. 19 és 27.
Márton, nov. 11.
Mártonka, jan. 30.
Máté, szept. 21.
Maternus, szept. 13.
Matild, jan. 11, márc. 14.
Mátyás, febr. 24.
Maximus, jan. 25.
Medárd, jun. 8.
Melánia, jan. 6.
Menyhért, jan. 6.
Mihály, máj. 8, szept. 29.
Miklós, febr. 23, márc. 23, szept. 10 és 29.
Miksa, máj. 29, okt. 12.
Modest, jan. 12, jun. 15 dec. 18.
Mór, jan. 15, febr. 21.
Móric, febr. 21, szept. 22.
Mózes szept. 4.

N

Narcis, okt. 29.
Nándor, máj. 30, okt. 19.
Napoleon, aug. 15.
Náthán, okt. 24.
Nathália, dec. 1.
Nemezius, dec. 19.
Nesztor, febr. 27.
Neszte, febr. 28.
Nikodém, szept. 15.
Noah, nov. 28.
Norbert, jun. 6.

O

Oktávián, márc. 22.
Olga, jun. 21.
Olimpia, ápr. 15.
Orbán, máj. 24.
Orsolya, okt. 21.
Oszkár, dec. 1.
Oszvald, febr. 28, aug 5.
Ottilia, dec. 12.
Ottmár, nov. 16.
Ottó, márc. 23, nov. 18.
Ottokár, nov. 4.
Örzsi, lásd Erzsébet.
Ödön, jun. 3, nov. 16 és 20.
Özséb, márc. 5, aug. 14, dec. 16.

P

Pál, jan. 10 és 25, márc. 7, jun. 26 és 30.
Paskál, máj. 17.
Patrik, márc. 17.
Paula, jan. 26, márc. 22, jul. 21.
Paulina, jun. 22, aug. 31.
Péter-Pál, jun. 29.
Péter, jan. 31, febr. 22, ápr. 16 és 29, máj. 19, aug. 1, okt. 19, dec. 5.
Piroska, jan. 18, nov. 28.
Pilus, máj. 5.
Pongrác, máj. 12.

R

Ráchel, jul. 11.
Rafael, okt. 24.
Rajner, jun. 17.
Rajmund, jan. 7, febr. 11, aug. 31.
Rebeka aug. 30.
Regina, szept. 7.
Reinhard, febr. 23.
Reinhold, jan. 12.
Rezső (Rudolf,) ápr. 17.
Rikárd, febr. 7, márc. 7, ápr. 3.
Róbert, ápr. 22, jun. 7.
Rókus, aug. 16.
Román, febr. 28, aug. 9.
Romana, febr. 23.
Roland, aug. 9.
Róza, aug. 30.
Rozália, szept. 4.
Rozina, márc. 11.
Rupert, márc. 27.

S

Salamon, febr. 8, szept. 14.
Salvator, márc. 18.
Sámson, jul. 28.
Samu, aug. 26.
Sándor, febr. 28, márc. 18, máj. 3.
Sára, jan. 19, máj. 19.
Sarolta, jul. 5.
Saturnin, nov. 29.
Skolastika, febr. 10.
Sebestyén, jan. 20.
Sergius, okt. 7.
Simon, febr. 18, okt. 28.
Simeon, jan. 5, okt. 28.
Simplicius, márc. 2.
Sótér, ápr. 22.
Soma, jul, 3.
Szaniszló, máj. 7, nov. 18.
Szebáld, aug. 19.
Szerafin, szept. 3, dec. 5.
Szervác, máj. 13.
Szeverin, nov. 8.
Szevér, okt. 23.
Szidonia, jun. 23, szept. 19.
Szilárd, febr. 17, márc. 11.
Szilvér jul. 20.
Szilveszter, dec. 31.
Sylvia, nov. 3.
Szörény, jan. 8.

T

Tádé, okt. 28.
Tamás, máj. 8, szept. 18 és 22, dec. 21 és 29.
Thekla, aug. 19, szept. 23.
Theodora, ápr. 30.
Tiberius, v. Tibor, ápr. 14.
Tibolt jul. 1.
Timóth, jan. 24, máj. 21.
Titus, jan. 4 szept. 18.
Tivadar, ápr. 1, nov. 9.
Tóbiás, jun. 13, szept. 12.
Tódor, febr. 6, nov. 9, szept. 11.

U

Ubald, máj. 17.
Ulrik, jul. 4.
Urika, aug. 6.

V

Valburgis, febr. 25.
Valér, jan. 29, ápr. 18, dec. 15.
Valter, nov. 29.
Vazul, nov. 29.
Venánc, máj. 18.
Vendel, okt. 20.
Vencel, szept. 28.
Veronika, jan. 13, febr. 4, jul. 9.
Victorian, márc. 23.
Viktor, febr. 11 és 26, jul. 28.
Viktória, máj. 10, szept. 5, dec. 23.
Vidor, jan. 13, okt. 21.
Vilibald, jul. 7.
Vilmos (Vilma,) jan. 10. ápr. 6, máj. 28, jun. 25. jul. 5, okt. 25.
Vince, jan. 22, ápr. 5, máj. 24, jul. 19.
Virgil, jan. 31, nov. 27.
Vitus, Vid, jun. 15.

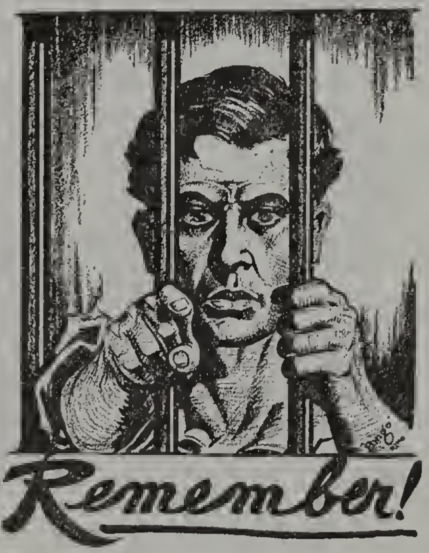
X

Xavér, dec. 3.
Xenia, jan. 12.

Z

Zakariás, márc. 14, szept. 6.
Zéno, jun. 23.
Zenobius, okt. 29.
Zoltán, márc 8.
Zsigmond, máj. 2.
Zsófia, máj. 15.
Zsuzsanna, febr. 19. máj. 24, aug. 11.

AZ 1935-ös esztendő elkeseredett harcokkal köszöntött az ipari unionistákra. A clevelandi Terminal Towert takaritó munkásnők harcából kifolyólag szilveszter este orozva megtámadták az IWW két szervezőjét és a szenvedett sérülések több mint egy hétig a kórház ágyához kötötték Tor Cedervall mtársat. A takaritó munkásnők 6 hónapos sztrájkja és a National Screw ellen folytatott harc sok tanulságot nyujtott nem csak e harcok közvetlen résztvevőinek, de minden gondolkozni tudó munkásnak, hogy az iparilag kifejlett országban a munkásság legkisebb bérkövetelésénél is nem egy gyár vagy műhely munkaadójával találja magát szemben, hanem a munkáltatók országos szövetségével amely hatalmas tőkével rendelkezik abból a célból, hogy a munkások egy nagyobb darab kenyérért inditott harcát leverjék.



A munkások szolidaritásának a megbontása, az osztályához hü munkások kegyetlen üldözésére nem válogatós az eszközeiben ez a szövetkezet, amely csak Clevelandon 272 munkást és munkásnőt hurcolt a rendőrség börtönébe. Ezek között Mike Lindway magyar munkást, akit frame-up-al 1-től 20 esztendeig terjedő időre küdték Columbus, O., hirhedt fegyházába. Amikor ezen sorokat irjuk, sikerült Lindway mtársat 8 hónapot elszenvedett börtönéből kiszabaditani, de az állam ügyésze felsőbb utasitásra ujabb vádat kovácsolt a profit ellen harcoló mtársunk ellen. Más államok börtöneiben is találunk munkásembereket, akiknek egyedüli bünök, hogy emberi érzékük és értelmük fellázadt a határt nem ismerő kizsákmányolás ellen.

19-ik esztendeje a Saint Quentin börtön lakója Tom Mooney, aki csak röviddel ezelőtt tett bizonyságot arról, hogy ma is ipari forradalmár, az IWW törhetetlen hive.

A Kentucky bányabárók is ugy hiszik, hogy a rozsdának adhatják azokat a börtön cella kulcsokat, amelyek Hightower, Johnes és a többi életfogytiglan elitélt bányamunkásokat tartja fogva hamis vádak alapján.

Egyetlen munkás sem állithatja, hogy ő maga mentve van attól, hogy hasonló helyzetbe kerüljön, mert hiszen az emlitettek mindegyike is a legszentebbet akarta a családja és munkástársai érdekében cselekedni. Azt, amit minden munkásnak tenni kell.

Mit tennél te, mit tene a családod, ha te kerülnél hasonló helyzetbe?

Csak azt és csak annyit kérünk tőletek az osztályharc martyrjai részére. Ahol megfordultok, hirdessétek azok ártatlanságát és segitsetek anyagi alapot teremteni ügyük igazságának bizonyitására. Minden támogatás General Defense 2422 N. Halsted St. Cchicago, Ill. küldöndő.

A munkásosztály martyrjai csak a munkásoktól várják szabadulásuk napját. Dolgozzunk, cselekedjünk az érdekükben, hogy a munkásmozgalomnak csak harcosai, csak épitői legyenek, akik az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekintik.

"...ÉS HA NINCS, HÁT MIÉRT NINCS?"

IRTA:

WAGNER JÓZSEF

TÖBB MINT KÉT évtized pergett le 1914 óta, amikor is Szerajevóban egy szikra lángba boritotta az imperialista puskaporos hordót és az emberiséget a világháboruba sodorta. A háboruskodó országok munkásainak nagy része szervezve volt jól fegyelmezett politikai pártokba és szakszervezetekbe, amelyeknek programjában volt a nemzetközi munkásság szolidaritása, a kapitalizmus megdöntése és a szocializmus keresztül vitele. Mindennek dacára képtelenek voltak meggátolni vagy még csak elódázni is a kitörését a történelem legborzasztóbb vérfürdőjének. Éppen ellenkezőleg, szervezeteik gépezete katonai sorozó és háborus propaganda ügynökséggé alakult. Hogyan lehetett ez?

Az elmult husz esztendőben, — amióta a világháboru befejeződött, — óriási halmaz könyvek, füzetek és cikkek jelentek meg és az előadások végtelen sorozata folyt le, melyekben magyarázták az okait amely kényszeritette ezeket az "osztálytudatos szervezeteket ebbe a ferde helyzetbe. Amint a háboru veszedelme fenyegette őket, éppen az ellenkezőjét kellett cselekedniök, mint amire az elmult félévszázadon át készülődtek.

A szocial demokraták magyarázata és védekezése az igazságnak megfelelőleg a következőképpen foglalható össze. "Azon hosszu idő alatt, amig ezek a szervezetek felépültek, nemzetközileg béke uralkodott, ennélfogva amig ezek a szervezett munkások bőséges gyakorlatot szereztek, hogy hogyan kell harcolni a reformokért, mühely viszonyokért, a háboru hiánya folytán, azon idő alatt minden tényleges, gyakorlat hiányában állottak a háboruval szembeni védekezések eszközeinek, igy aztán teljesen készületlenül meglepettve estek az imperialista csapdába, amikor a háboru már folyt, a védekezés teljesen lehetetlenné vált."

Ugyanakkor, amikor eme sorokat irjuk messze Afrikában az ágyuk bömbölnek, a levegő mérges gázokkal telve, s a védtelen nők és gyermekek testét marcangolja halálra, és több mint valószinü, hogy egy ujabb világháboru kitörésének előestélyén állunk, amely hatalmasabb pusztitást fog végbevinni, mint az elmult világháboru. Ujból felvetődik a kérdés, hogy a munkásosztály 1935-ben, amikor még az elmult háboru borzalmai élénk emlékezetében van és 21 éves tanulás és megvitatás után, jobban van-e felszerelve egy ujabb világháboru megakadályozására, mint az elmult világháboru kitörésekor volt? És ha nincs, hát miért nincs?

Az első kérdésre vonatkozólag minden osztálytudatos egyén tisztában van a válasszal. A második kérdést illetőleg, amiért a munkásosztály ujból készületlen maradt, köszönheti a régi szocialdemokrata vezetőség taktikája és ideológiájának, minek után teljesen diszkreditálta magát azon nyomorult cselekvéséért, melyet az elmult háboruban követett el. Azóta ujból sikerült nekik az európai országokban a munkásosztály nyakára ülni és most, éppen ugy mint 1914-ben taktikájuk és ideológiájuk érvényesül a munkások szervezeteiben. Ne értsük félre, ebben a szociáldemokrata tömegben belevannak kapcsolva az ugynevezett kommunisták, vagy bolshevikiek is teljes számban.

Mellékes az, hogy a bolshevikik és a szocdemek mennyire gyülölik egymást, mennyire harcolnak egymás ellen, egy és ugyanazon anyagból vannak gyurva, egy és azon jó madarak, a munkásosztály kérdéseiben álláspontjuk egy és ugyanaz. Végelemzésben mindketten egyenlően **ellene vannak, hogy a munkásosztály saját magát szabaditsa fel.**

Az igazi tervük a munkásosztály feletti uralom, hogy diktálhassanak felette. Külömböznek a módszerek használatában, céljuk elérése érdekében, de céljuk egy és ugyanazok, a munkásosztály feletti diktatura. A bolshevikiek módszere a nyilt, kegyetlen diktatura, a szociáldemokrácia feldisziti a diktaturát "demokráciával." A szocdem előkelősége karöltve kiván uralkodni a burzsoáziával; a bolsheviki komiszárok pedig egyedül kivánnak uralmon lenni. Egyiknek a programja sem foglalja magában a munkásosztály felszabaditását a bérrabszolgaság alól. Mellékes az, hogy melyik jut uralomra, az ő győzelmeik nem a munkásosztály győzelme; a munkásosztály számára még mindig megmarad a feladat, hogy felszabaditsák magukat és megteremtsék az osztálynélküli társadalmat.

Állj meg! Gondolkozzál! És rá jössz, hogy szervezkedned kell.

A BOLSHEVIKI URALOM TELJESITMÉNYE.

Az elmult 18 esztendőben a világ egyik leghatalmasabb országában a bolshevikiek kormányoznak. Uralomra jutottak, amikor az orosz cári kormány a hosszadalmas háboruviselés nyomán, — valamint az uralkodó osztályok — elveszitettek minden bizalmat s a kormány összeomlott s eme hatalmas ország anarhiával állott szemben. Az egyetlen szervezett tömeg — akik kihasználták a kedvező alkalmat — a szocialista pártok és az általuk kontrolált szakszervezetek voltak. Oroszország ipari hátramaradottsága folytán ezek a szervezetek sem voltak kifejlődve s ezek a fejletlen kis szervezetek is két részre voltak oszolva s különkülön programmal szervezték az orosz népet.

A mérsékelt szociáldemokraták azt kivánták, hogy a széjjel züllött burzsoázia maradványait hozzák össze és emeljék őket uralomra s támogassák őket mindaddig, amig a kapitalizmus hivatását be nem fejezte "mert amig ez meg nem történik nem jöhet létre a szocializmus."

A bolshevik párt pedig ugy gondolkodott, hogy a kapitalizmus Oroszországban összeomlott, ami azt jelenti, hogy "hivatása befejeződött" ennélfogva a szocialista uralmat kell felállitani a megválasztott munkások, parasztok és a katonák szoviet tanácsa által.

Következetesen e két párt programja nem volt összeegyezhető, ennélfogva bármelyik is jutott volna uralomra, az egyiknek pusztulnia kell.

A szoviet oldal győzedelmeskedett és minden más össze lett törve, az adott viszonyokhoz mérten, s ez nem is történhetett másképpen. De ne tévesszünk szemelől egy nagyon fontos tényezőt. A szoviet kormány megalakulásakor a munkások, parasztok és az egyenruhás katonák szervezeteinek képviselete volt. A kiváltságos idők következményeképpen az országban polgárháboru dult, az idegen nemzetek beavatkozása, az iparok összeroppanása sokféle határozatokat szőttek, de azért mindenki meg volt elégedve s reménykedtek, hogy ezek mind megszünnek, amint a termelés és a béke helyre áll.

És éppen az ellenkezője történt. Amint a bel- és külügyi helyzet fokozatosan javult és az állam intézményei megerősödtek, a munkásosztály ugyanoly mértékben veszitette jogait. Amig ma, 18 év multával a szoviet uralom megalakulása után nem maradt semmi egyébb számára mint a név — SZOVIET.

A munkásoknak nincsen joguk véleményeiket nyilvánitani; a munkások szakszervezeteit a kormány felügyelete alá vették, s a munkásoknak annyi joguk sincsen, mint az amerikai company uniok tagságának. A munkások bérrabszolgák, akik külömböző bérekért dolgoznak, a fizetési mennyiséget a kormány komiszárjai, döntés utján szabályozzák. A munkások sztrájkra való jogait elkobozták, s minden kisérletet sulyos büntetés mellett nyomnak el, a munkások kizsákmányolása teljesen kapitalista mintára folyik.

Igy vitte keresztül a bolsheviki párt a programját! A bolshevikiek Páris, London, Moszkva, Chicago, New York, Tokió, Róma, Belgrád, Berlin vagy Budapesten biztositanak bennünket, hogy ami végbemegy ma Oroszországba, ők ugyanazt kivánják végrehajtani mindenütt s a mai Szoviet Oroszország példája követésre méltó, minden más ország által. Bármint is kérkednek programjuk felől, amint azt Oroszországban végrehajtották, egész biztosan nem vezet a proletáriátus felszabaditása felé.

SZOCIÁLDEMOKRÁCIA.

A mérsékelt szociáldemokraták megbélyegzik a bolshevizmust és semmi közösséget nem vállalnak vele és biztositanak bennünket arról, hogy az ő programjuk teljesen az ellenkezője, mert ők a **demokrácia** hivei, s meghatározatlan időkre a burzsoa demokrácia követői és szociáldemokráciát kivánnak a messze jövő számára.

A szociáldemokrácia kimagasló egyénei Kautzky, Bauer, Adlertől Garamiig megegyeznek ezen a ponton. Garami a "Forrongó Magyarország" cimü füzetében nagyszerüen beszámol a magyarországi 1917—19-es forradalmi korszakról. Ebben a munkájában többszörösen felemliti, hogy a szociáldemokrácia hivatása megteremteni a kapitalista, burzsoa-demokráciát és a szociáldemokratáknak meghatározatlan időre támogatniok kell az uralmon levő kapitalista demokráciát, amig az "betöltötte hivatását." Garami éppen ugy, mint a többi kimagasló szociáldemokrata próféták elfelejtik nekünk megmagyarázni, hogy hogyan határoznak, amikor a kapitalistaosztály hivatása "beteljesült." Elkeseredetten ellenzi a bolshevizmust. Garami azt állitja, hogy a fehér terror és a fascizmus Magyarországon a reakciós Kun Béla vörös terrorja nyomán keletkezett s ha nem lett volna vörös terror nem juthatott volna Horthy diktárosághoz Magyarországon. Bizonyitékul felhozza Ausztriát, Németországot, ahol nem sikerült a kommunistáknak a forradalmat kisajátitani, ahol a szociáldemokraták betöltötték "hivatásukat" és a bukott burzsoáziát visszahelyezték az uralomra. Ezekután biztositottak bennünket, hogy ebben a két országban a békés demokratikus burzsoázián keresztül fejlődnek át a szocializmusba. Garami Ernő 1920-ban irta könyvét s ma mind a két becézett ország népe fascista uralom alatt nyög.

A fentebb elmondattakból itélve

tisztán látjuk, hogy a szociáldemokrácia eme két intézménye nem vezet bennünket, a munkásosztály felszabaditásához a bérrabszolgaság alól. Nem is lehetnek segitségére a munkásosztálynak a háboru megakadályozásában, mert ténylegesen ma mindkét rész a háborut dicsőiti. Nekik hivatásaik, kötelezettségeik vannak, amelyek egy cseppet sem a munkásosztály hivatásai. Amig a munkásosztály a politikusok karmai között marad, addig egész biztosan elárulják, kiszolgáltatják őt az iperializmus számára. A munkásosztály felszabaditását csak a munkásosztály maga valósithatja meg, saját szervezetein keresztül.

Az IWW a munkásosztály szervezete. A programja kizárólagosan a munkásosztály programja. Az IWW tagjai nem sajátitják ki a magukszámára a szervezet programját, az összmunkássággal egyetemben élvezzük annak gyümölcsét.

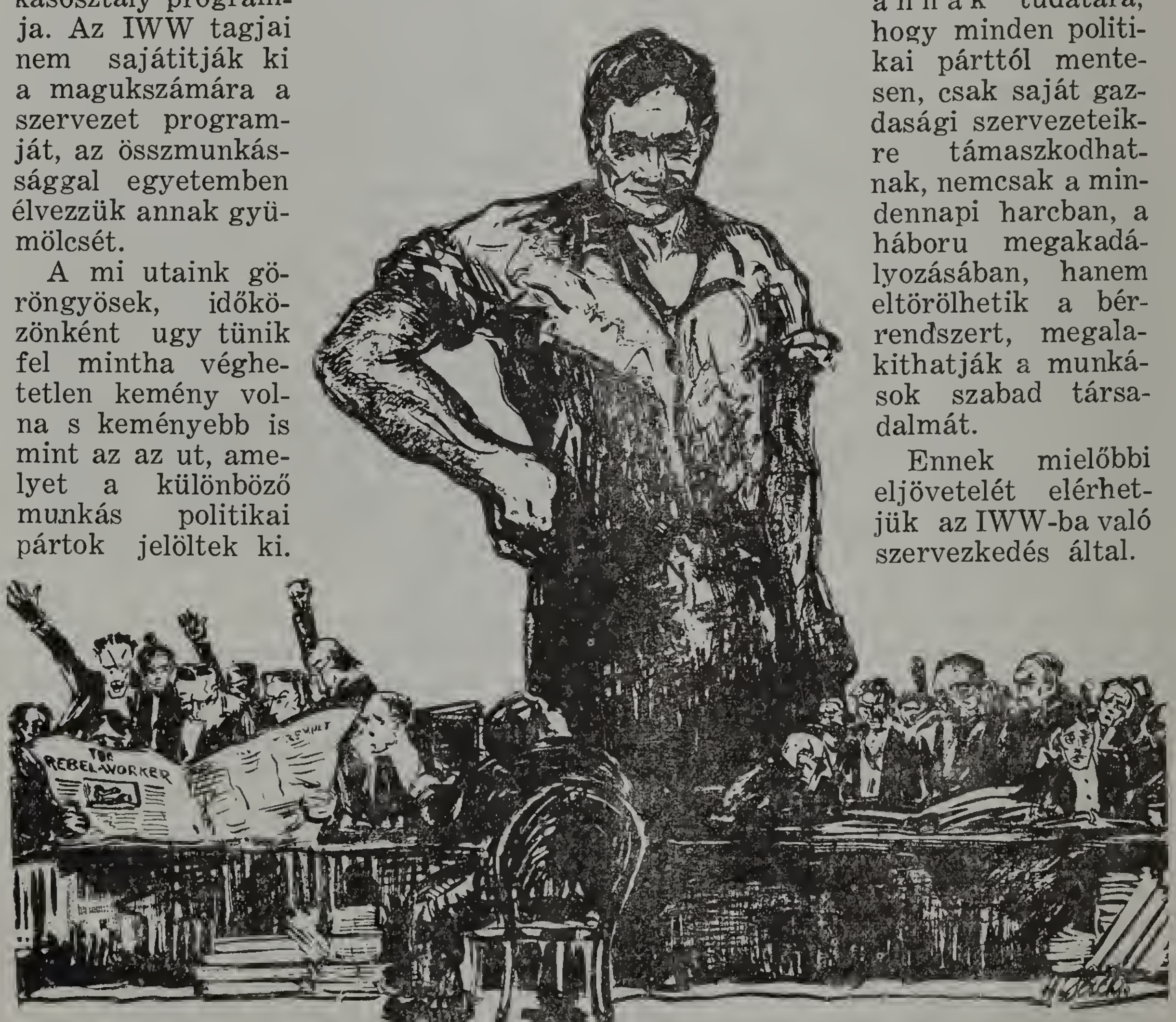
A mi utaink göröngyösek, időközönként ugy tünik fel mintha véghetetlen kemény volna s keményebb is mint az az ut, amelyet a különböző munkás politikai pártok jelöltek ki. De bármily kemény legyen is az, ez az egyetlen ut a munkásosztály kitüzött céljának elérésére.

Mindnagyobb azon munkások száma, akik tudatára ébredtek a politikai pártok tehetetlenségének s folytonosan mindnagyobb számban lépnek osztályszervezeteikbe az IWW-ba.

A vas és fémmunkások után az erdei és fürészmalmi munkások jönnek vissza az IWW-ba. A mult hónapban — szeptember — több mint egyezer lépett be, s ez csak a kezdet. Amint egy iparban emelkedik a tagok száma, más iparok munkásait serkentik a belépésre.

Ugyanezen a folyamaton megy keresztül a többi országok munkássága is. Mindig több és több bérrabszolga jön annak tudatára, hogy minden politikai párttól mentesen, csak saját gazdasági szervezeteikre támaszkodhatnak, nemcsak a mindennapi harcban, a háboru megakadályozásában, hanem eltörölhetik a bérrendszert, megalakithatják a munkások szabad társadalmát.

Ennek mielőbbi eljövetelét elérhetjük az IWW-ba való szervezkedés által.



Tanulás. — Szervezkedés. — Harc. A munkásosztályt mindenek fölé helyezi.

NÉPMOZGALMAK A REFORMÁCIÓ KORSZAKÁBAN

IRTA:

VLASITS MÁRTON

A REFORMÁCIÓ fogalom alatt átalakitást vagy javitást értünk. Jelen irásom azon korszakról fog szólni, amikor a pápaság és a katholikus klérus által rabigában tartott lelkiismereti szabadság első csirái mutatkoztak. Általában a reformációt hitujitásnak is nevezik ha csak arról a koról beszélünk, amikor a hitujitási harc tényleg megkezdődött. De nem az a szándékom, hogy ezen a helyen hitujitásról vagy vallási dogmákról irjak. Nem ide valók ezek. Szándékom az, hogy amennyire tőlem telik megismertessem azokkal akik még nem ismerik a reformáció előtti és korabeli társadalmi és gazdasági viszonyokat. Ha ezt megismerik és megértik az olvasók, ugy meg fogják érteni azt is, hogy miért volt reformáció és miért volt szükség a "hitujitásra."

Ha a történelemben előforduló eseményekről hallunk vagy beszélünk, föltétlenül szükséges annak a kornak a társadalmi és gazdasági viszonyait ismerni. Ezeknek az ismerése nélkül a történelmi események egyszerü elbeszélések vagy mesék. Szórakozásból meg lehet a mesét is hallgatni, vagy az elbeszélést elolvasni. De ha mint öntudatos munkások tanulni és okulni akarunk, a történelmet sohase olvassuk annak a kornak ismerése nélkül, mert az nem tanulás, legfölebb szórakozás.

Amikor a római birodalom a kereszténységet államvallássá nyilvánitotta a római püspöknek nem volt nagyobb hatásköre mint akármelyik püspöknek a római birodalom keretein belül. Csak akkor amikor a római birodalom felosztott a belső gyengesége és kivülről való nyomás folytán kezdtek a római püspökök minél nagyobb jogokat és hatalmat maguknak vindikálni. Róma lévén, dacára a birodalom összeomlásának a szellemi élet központja, ha ugyan szellemi életről az akkori időkben szólni lehet. Az irás és olvasás tudományával csupán a felsőbb papság rendelkezett. Tény az, hogy nagy Károly (Charlemagne) császár nem tudott irni, vagy olvasni. A keresztény egyház egyik föladatának tekintette, hogy mindent amit a görög bölcsészet, szobrászat, a római irodalom, müvészet és épitészet alkotott az akkori korral elfelejtessen. Lehet mondani, hogy a kereszténység megalapitásának első ezer esztendejében az emberiség szellemi haladása sok ezer esztendővel visszafejlődött.

Ilyen körülmények folytán nem csoda ha a papság, amely már ekkor egy hatalmat képzett, a keresztény vallást, amely a józan észen és az emberszereteten alapult, a saját céljainak megfelelően átformálta sőt eltorzitotta. Ez a korszak volt a csodák, a jelenések és a legtökéletesebb babonák korszaka. A katholikus egyház által formált és beiktatott ugynevezett csodatevő "szentek" majdnem mind ebből a korból valók. Méltán nevezi a történelem ezt a kort az emberiség legsötétebb korszakának. Nem lehet azon csodálkozni, hogy a papság hatalma ebben a korban igen megerősödött, ugy befolyásban mint gazdaságilag. Mérhetlen vagyonok ura lett. A klastromok és alapitványok gombamódra szaporodtak. A keresztény vallás megalapitójának a mondása, hogy "könnyebb egy tevének a tüfokán átmenni mint egy gazdagnak üdvözölni" érvénytelenné vált. Mert az egyház gazdag volt, nagyon természetes, hogy egyes alkalmakkor káprázatos pompát fejtett ki. Birtokaikon éppen ugy szipolyozták a népet mint a világi urak. Hatalmuk annyira megnőtt, hogy csak olyan világi uralkodó volt lehetséges aki jó viszonyban volt a felsőbb papsággal vagy a pápával. Ha valamelyik az uralkodók közül mégis ujat mert huzni a pápával ugy ennek az lett a következménye, hogy a pápa az illető uralkodót kiátkozta. Ami annyit jelentett az akkori időben, mint ma a sztrájktörő az osztálytudatos munkások között.

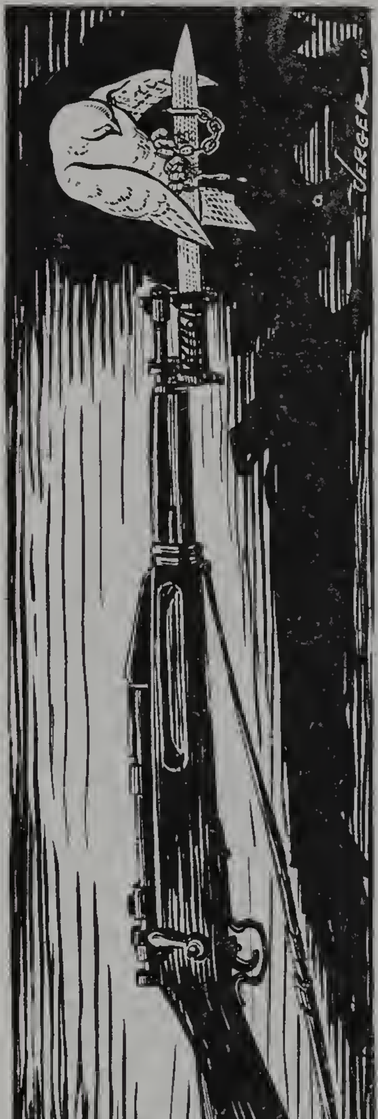
Ezeken az állapotokon évszázadokon át alig történt változás. Az idő kerekei akkor még igen lassan forogtak. A papságnak sikerült az ókorban virágzó görög és római müvészet, irodalom és müvelődés minden emlékét elfelejtetni. Mellette éber figyelemmel őrködött, nehogy valahol egy uj eszme, vagy gondolat fölszinre kerüljön.

Mi tudjuk azt, hogy a szólás és sajtószabadság jelentőségét csak azok értik meg, akik azt gyakorolják. A nem gondolkodó és alacsony szellemi fokon élő embert hidegen hagyja a szólás és sajtószabadság megnyirbálása vagy megvonása. Nem törődik vele. hogy a papság ilyenformán való uralkodása lehetséges, hogy az akkori világi uralkodó osztály nem tudta felfogni annak a jelentőségét, és ha igen, még akkor sem volt bátorsága ellene harcolni. Maga a nép alig vehető tekintetbe, azon oknál fogva, mert állati sorsban élt, szellemi élete nem volt. Ugy az egyházi mint világi urai igyekeztek tudatlanságban tartani. A reformáció gondolata nem is a népből indult ki. Kétségkivül voltak már a reformáció előtt is népmozgalmak vallási jelleggel, de hamar el lettek nyomva, mert az idő nem volt érett, vagyis a világi uralkodó osztály egy rétege sem vállalt velük közösséget, azon oknál fogva, hogy a nemesi osztályban nem élesedtek ki az ellentétek a gazdag és az alsóbb nemesség között. Egy ilyen mozgalom először Csehországban tört ki hatalmas erővel a 15-ik század első felében amelyet a történelem Huszita mozgalomnak és háborunak nevezett el.

A polgári történelem ezt a mozgalmat ugy magyarázza, hogy Husz János, az akkor már virágzó prágai egyetem tanára másképpen magyarázta a keresztény vallás lényegét mint a katholikus papság. Husz János emiatt felelőségre vonatott, majd a konstanzi zsinat elé lett citálva, hogy tanait vonja vissza. Ezt Husz megtagadta, amiért Husz Jánost máglyán elégették. E miatt zavargások törtek ki, amelyek fél Európát lángba boritották.

Az olvasó az előbbiekből azt a tényt olvassa ki, hogy fél Európa lángba borult Husz János elégetése miatt, mert ő például a katholikus egyházban divó vallási szertartást megváltoztatni akarta. De ne igy fogjuk fel a történelmet.

Csehország ahonan ez a mozgalom kiindult akkor már Európának iparilag egyik legelőrehaladottabb országa volt. A gazdasági viszonyok általánosságban olyanok voltak, mint Európa más országaiban, például Olasz, Francia, Angol vagy Németországban. A



A kapitalista rendszerben a békegalamb csak a szuronyok erdejében pihenhet meg.

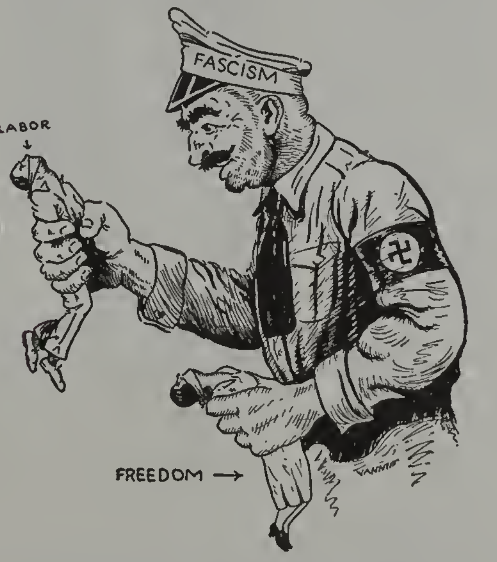
legelőrehaladottab mégis Olaszország volt. Most már azt lehetne kérdezni, hogy miként van az, hogy Olaszország mentes volt a reformációtól vagyis ott nem akartak vallásujitást. Egyszerüen azért, mert Olaszországnak anyagi haszna volt abból, hogy a fejedelmek és az uralkodó osztályok a pápának adóztak. A pénz Olaszországba vándorolt. Olaszország kivételével minden országban voltak zavargások a reformációval kapcsolatban. De térjünk vissza a huszita mozgalomhoz.

Csehország nyugati részén fekvő Kuttenberg város környékén az akkori időkben ezüst bányákat fedeztek fel. A bányák kiaknázására nagy számu munkaerőre volt szükség. A környék jobbágysorsban görnyedő parasztsága munkát talált a jól jövedelmező ezüst bányákban. Ugynevezett "szabad" munkás lett. Kiszabadult a jobbágysorsból. Munkadiját nem természetben, hanem pénzben kapta. Mi sem természetesebb mint az, hogy a surlódás és ellenségeskedés gyakori volt a gazdag bányatulajdonosok és munkások között. Amig a jobbágy, a földmivelő, a cserekereskedésből élt nem kivánt és nem is tudott meggazdagodni, de amikor pénzt kapott megváltozott a dolog. Hozzájárult a surlódásokhoz még az a tény is, hogy a bányatulajdonosok kizárólag németek, mig a munkások csehek és morvák voltak. Azonkivül az uralkodó, német lévén sok német nemest telepitett meg ott, ami kiváltotta a cseh alsóbb nemesség féltékenységét a németekkel szemben. Ekkor lépett fel Husz János aki szintén cseh volt és aki tanaiba beleszőtte a vallási nyelvek és szertartásoknak a latinból a nemzeti nyelvre való átültetését. Igy alakult a gazdasági okokból kiinduló huszita mozgalom, nemzeti és vallási jellegüvé. A parasztból lett ipari munkás a munkaadója, az alsóbb cseh nemesség a német nemesség, és végül az alsóbb papság az egyházfejedelmek az az a felsőbb papság ellen. Egy szóval, osztályharc. A mozgalom katonai vezére Ziska János cseh köznemes, rendkivüli katonai tehetség volt. Munkásokból és parasztokból alakult hadseregével rövid időn belül egész Csehországot elfoglalta, mert a nép tömegesen követte és csatlakozott hozzá. Európa leghatalmasabb uralkodójának a német császárnak sok bajt okozott. Felsőmagyarország szláv és magyar lakossága is tömegesen csatlakozott a huszita hadsereghez. Ezt bizonyitja azon tény, hogy a nagyszombati Balázs szerzetes huszita községeket alakitott. A magyar nemességet és felsőbb papságot rettegés töltötte el. Bizonyitja még az is, hogy a huszita forradalom fölhivásai magyar nyelven is voltak hirdetve, amelyben az elnyomott magyar jobbágyokat a földesuri iga lerázására hivja föl. Érthető volt a magyar és a többi urak félelme.

A huszita mozgalom nem csak Cseh és Magyarországon hóditott tért. Átcsapott Szászországba is. Ott már akkor igen élénk bányaipar volt. A bányamunkások tömegesen csatlakoztak a huszita mozgalomhoz. Akármilyen dynamikus erejü is volt a huszita forradalom, mégis magába hordta már kezdettől fogva a bomlás csiráját. Két irány volt benne képviselve. Az egyik az alsóbb nemesség és papság törekvése amely hajlandó volt megalkudni a császárral és a római pápával. Ezeket Calictinusoknak nevezték mert az akkori pápával Calixt-tal egyezkedtek. A másik a radikális irány volt a Taboriták iránya. Nevöket Tabor várostól vették, ahol megalakitottk az őskeresztény kommunista községet. Addig amig Ziska a császár ellen harcolt a taboriták szabadon gyakorolhatták kommunista tanaikat. De amikor kibékült a császárral a taboriták ellen fordult. De essék egy-két szó a taboritákról és azok tanairól is.

Tábor városban akkor virágzó szövőipar volt. Lakosai szegény szövőmunkások voltak akik eléggé megismerték az uralkodó osztályok zsarnokságát. Mozgalmukba belevonták a környékbeli parasztságot is. A termelés csak szükségletre lett berendezve. Mindenkinek kötelessége volt a munka. A termelt javakat összehordták amelyből mindenki szükséglete ki lett elégitve. Nem létezett az enyém és tied fogalma. Az ur és szolga intézmény megszünt. Elvük volt, hogy senkinek sem kell szolgálni. Nincs bün és bünhődés. Nincs király, tehát nincs alattvaló. Nem lehet senkinek vagyona. Aki embertársaitól elvon valamit ami neki van, halálos bünt követ el, és aként lesz büntetve. Fizetett papjaik nincsenek, valamint a papok és tanitók között nem létezik rangkülönbség. Mindnyájan egyenlő testvérek és nővérek vagyunk. Természetes, hogy nem volt érdekházasság ilyen körülmények folytán. Amikor Ziska megalkudott a császárral, a taboriták ellen fordult, akik tudták, hogy mi vár reájuk. Elsáncolták és halálmegvetéssel védték magukat. Végre Ziska bevette a várost. A vezetőket hordókba szegeztette és ugy égette el. Bár a taboriták őskeresztény kommunista községei mint intézmények meg lettek semmisitve a fölszabaditási eszme még tovább élt a lakosságban. Még ma is vannak a taborita hitközségeknek maradványai. Jelentőségük alig van. Kizárólag vallási dolgokkal foglalkoznak. Az Egyesült Államokban mint **Moravian Brethren** ismeretesek.

A huszita fölkelés a reformációnak ugyszólván az előhirnöke volt. Tudjuk, azt, hogy minden korszakalkotó találmánynak a szükséglet az előmozditója. A primitiv ember a kivánságát vagy akaratát jelekkel vagy beszéddel fejezte ki. Az előrehaladottabb már festés vagy képfaragás utján is akart hatni embertársára. A 15-ik század közepe táján, tehát a huszita háboruk idejében volt a könyvnyomtatás föltalálása. Ami azt jelentette, hogy a gondolat és eszmeterjesztés, lett légyen az akármilyen irányu, igen meg lett könynyitve. Bár az irás és olvasás mesterségét a lakosságnak még kevés hányada birta, az eszme és gondolatterjesztés utja járhatóbb lett mint azelőtt volt. Erre az időre esik ugyszintén a Renaissance a megujhódás korszaka.



Még a panaszát is elfojtják a munkásnak a fascista uralom alatt.

Amint már emlitve volt, a katholikus egyház mint olyan az uralkodásának első századaiban ellensége volt minden fényüzésnek és pompának. Később amikor már nagy vagyonnal rendelkezett föladta az egyszerüséget, bár az épitészet és a müvészet terén csak vallási tárgyakat állitott elő. A 15-ik század közepén a müvészet különösen Olaszországban hatalmas lendületet vett. Most már nemcsak a papság volt az amely a müvészeket foglalkoztatta, hanem az uralkodók és a gazdag nemesség és polgárság. Ugyanekkor a gondolkozó emberek gondolatvilága is kezdett átformálódni. A középosztály a papságban és annak intézményéban akadályt látott a további fejlődéshez. A tudósok és kutatók kezdtek nemcsak elvont dolgokkal, de társadalmi és fejlődési problémákkal foglalkozni. Ez volt a humanista világfelfogás korának a kezdete. A katholikus egyház hatalmi terjeszkedését és tulkapásait kezdték mint helytelent és fejlődésellenest kritizálni. Különösen az ókori görög fölfogás és iskola kezdett fölülkerekedni ugy a tudomány mint a müvészet terén. A csillagászat és mathematika terén Copernicus, a bölcsészetben Rotterdami Erasmus, a müvészetben pedig Rafael Leonardo da Vinci és Michael Angelo voltak ezen előretörtető korszak legjelesebbjei.

Eddig még csak a középosztály egy nagyon kis része vette ki a részét ebből az ideológiai mozgalomból. Az uj müvészetet pártolta a katholikus klérus, mert gyönyörködhetett benne, de ellene volt az uj bölcsészetnek mert féltette tőle hatalmát. Ugyszintén harcolt Copernicus tana ellen is. Az egyház fölfogása és tanitása szerint a föld tányéralaku volt. Copernicus állapitotta meg a napirendszert, és a föld gömb alakját. Tanai csak halála után lettek kiadva.

Mint már emlitve volt, a müvészet különösen Olaszországban virágzott, lévén az a leggazdagabb. Töméntelen kincs vándorolt Olaszországba, hisz egész Európa adófizetője volt a pápának. De, hogy az egyház még gazdagabb legyen és pazarolhasson, a pénzszerzésnek egy igen agyafurt módját eszelték ki. Ez abból állott, hogy a pápa általános bünbocsánatott hirdetett mindenkinek pénzért. Ki mennyi pénzt adott annyi büne lett megbocsájtva. Templomokban, bucsujáróhelyeken és városokon nyilvánosan üzérkedtek a bünbocsánattal. Dél és Közép Németországban Tetzel János szerzetes dolgozott a bünbocsánati üzletben. Hogy minél többet harácsolhasson népszerü verseket is irogatott, melyek közül az egyik ilyen formán hangzott:

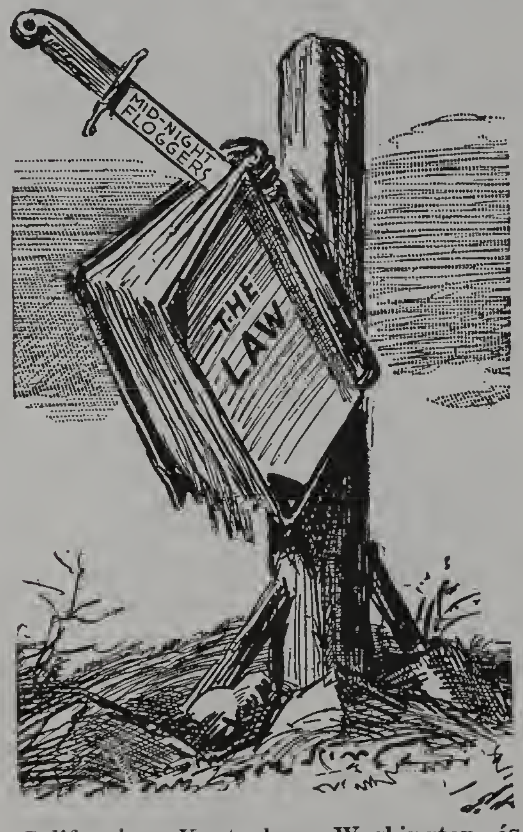
Amikor pénzed a perselyben csendül.
Lelked a pokolból kilendül.

Luther Márton ágostonrendi szerzetes, aki már előzőleg is kritizálta az egyház romlottságát, nyiltan kikelt ezen visszaélés ellen. Több iratban ostorozta a tévtanokat. Az alsóbb nemességhez folyamodott segitségért. Föllépése katholikus pap létére, bátor és határozott volt. Az alsóbb nemesség soraiban követőkre talált. Természetes is, hiszen éppen ez az osztály félt legjobban a papi hatalom tultengésétől. A papi birtokok amelyek az akkori Németország majdnem kétharmadát képezték, komoly veszedelemmel fenyegették a közép nemesség létezését. Másfelől az elnyomott parasztság is adófizetője volt, ugy a világi mint az egyházi uralkodó osztálynak. A városi iparos és kereskedő osztály sem barátkozott a papi uralommal, szintén gazdasági okok folytán. A sok egyházi ünnepek lényegesen csökkentették a mesterlegényeket foglalkoztató mesteremberek profitját. Ehez hozzájárult az is, hogy akkor már különösen Közép és Nyugat Németországban számottevő bányaipar volt. Itt már a bányatulajdonos a bányással állt szemben. A mai modern osztályharcnak már akkor mutatkoztak az előzményei.

Luthert tartja a polgári társadalom a reformáció legnagyobb alakjának. Tény az, hogy ő volt a többi kritikusok között az első aki nyiltan föllépett a bünbocsánat hirdető csalások ellen. Az uralkodó osztálynál, a középnemességnél keresett segitséget és talált is. A dolgozó népre nem számitott. Ő csak a vallási formákban talált hibát. A vallást reformálni akarta, amennyiben ostorozta a visszaélést. Hogy nem volt a nép barátja bebizonyitotta a német parasztforradalomban, amikor nyiltan a nemesség pártjára állt és a jogaikért és kenyerükért harcoló népet gyalázta.

Luther föllépése egyellőre csak vallási vitákban nyilvánult meg. Luther hivei és a régi egyház papjai között az evangélium magyarázata volt a legfontosabb. De amikor a német parasztság vezetői szintén az evengéliumra hivatkoztak és a jobbágyrendszert keresztényellenesnek találták, az uralkodó osztályok megbánták a vallási viták megkezdését. Tény az, hogy már jóval Luther föllépése előtt volt a délnémet parasztságnak egy titkos szövetsége, melynek összejövetelein a parasztok a sorsuk javitásáról tárgyaltak. A vallási viták folytán ezek a szövetségek is a nyilvánosságra léptek. Délnyugaton egy-két nemesi és papi birtokot lefoglaltak. Zászlójukon egy bocskort mint az elnyomatás jelképét festették. Könnyebb megértés kedvéért meg kell jegyeznem, hogy a jobbágynak csak bocskort volt szabad mint lábbelit viselni. Csizma. vagy cipő viselés tiltva volt. Vezérük eleinte Götz lovag volt. de ez hamar cserben hagyta őket. Rothenburg, Weinheim és Helbrom jelentős városokat elfoglalták. A nép ezrével csatlakozott hozzájuk. Vezérük később Geyer Florián nevü nemes lett. Ez mindvégig hü maradt a parasztság ügyéhez, akkor is amikor ugy az óhitü mint az ujhitü papság Lutherrel az élén, szóval az egész uralkodó osztály ellenük fordult. Nagy hadisikereik is voltak mindaddig mig Geyer Florián vezette őket. Németországban is volt Dózsa György. A parasztok mindaddig emberségesen bántak az elfogott nemesekkel, mindaddig mig az egyik követüket nem gyilkolták le. Erre ennek a gyilkosságnak a megtorlásaként Weinberg várába beszoritott nemeseket kardélre hányták. Közvetlen ezután Geyer Floriánt egyik rokona orozva meggyilkolta. Vezérük halála után a hadiszerencse elhagyta a parasztságot. Az egyesült császári és papi hadsereg tulerőssé vált, aminek nem tudtak ellentállni. A nemesség véres bosszut állt rajtok. Ezrével ölték le őket. Rothenburg város falait a saskeselyük lepték el. Bőven lakmároztak a legyilkolt parasztok holttestein.

A német parasztforradalomnak nem volt olyan kimondottan vallási jellege, mint ugyanabban az időben lefolyó foradalmi megmozdulásnak amelyet Münzer Tamás vezetett. Ez a mozgalom Németország már az akkori időben igen kifejlett ipari vidékén a mai Thüringiában játszódott le. Münzer Tamás egykoru volt Lutherrel. Vele egyidőben lépett fel a katholikus egyház visszaélései ellen. Münzer szintén katholikus pap és tudós volt. Közötte és Luther között azonban lényeges különbség volt. Luther csak a vallást akarta átformálni a német nemesség és gazdag polgárság szája-ize szerint, mig Münzer a gazdasági és termelési formákat is megakarta gyökeresen változtatni.



California, Kentucky, Washington és több más államban igy néz ki a törvény.

A régi huszita tanok még élénk emlékezetben voltak Szászország és Thüringia bányászai és takácsai között. Münzer ezt a vidéket választotta müködési teréül. A bányász és takács munkás proletárok képezték a Münzer által vezetett mozgalom magvát. Meg kell emlitenem két hü munkatársát Karlstadt András és Pfeifer Henrik volt katholikus szerzeteseket. Az előbbi komoly tudós és reformátor, az utóbbi jeles népszónok volt. A reformáció megindulása idején Münzer, Zwickau már akkor jelentős iparváros papja volt. Az első dolga volt, hogy a munkások közül választotta a prédikátorokat. A munkásokat nemcsak a vallás ferdeségei, hanem a gazdasági igazságtalanságokról is fölvilágositotta. Munkájának eredménye is volt, mert Zwickauban a zendülések és forradalmi megmozdulások egymást érték. A szász herceg aki Luthernek barátja és védője volt, fegyverrel nyomta el a bányászok és takácsok harcát. Münzernek menekülni kellett. Csehországba ment. Innen azonban mint az uralkodó osztály részére veszélyes egyént kiutasitották. Visszatért ismét Németországba. A Thüringia állami Mühlhausen bányavárosban telepedett le, ahol rövid időn belül megszervezte a város dolgozó népét, valamint a közeli mansfeldi bányászokat. Ezekből jelentős hadsereget szervezett és képeztetett ki. Arra tanitotta a munkásokat, hogy őket, és csak őket illeti meg a munkájok teljes gyümölcse és mert a város a kezében volt aszerint rendezkedett is be. Ő volt az első aki a fülgyónást nem csak kárhoztatta mint Luther, de tényleg el is törölte. Voltak olyan gazdag polgárok is akik csatlakozni akartak a mozgalmához, de ő csak abban az esetben fogadta be őket, ha vagyonukról a köz javára lemondtak, mert szerinte Istennek is Mammonnak (a pénz istenének) nem lehet egyszerre szolgálni. Luther minden befolyását latba vetette, hogy Münzer irásai ne jelenhessenek meg. Egy nyomdászt aki irásait ennek dacára kiadta, védnöke a szász herceg által birsággal és börtönnel sujtotta.

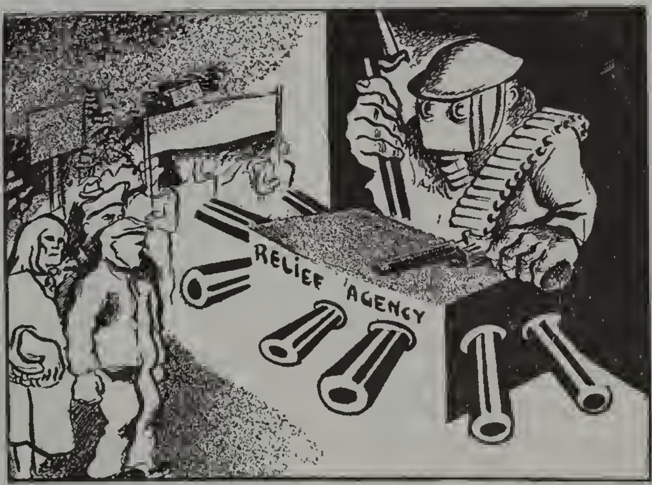
Münzer müködése mindinkább veszélyes volt ugy Luther mint az uralkodó osztály részére. A szász nemesség hatalmas hadsereget gyüjtött ellene. Münzer szintén szervezett egy munkáshadsereget, de itt hiányzott a kellő katonai fölszerelés. A két tábor Frankenhausen város közelében ütközött meg. A csata a munkások vereségével végződött. Münzer barátai és szervezői nevezetesen Karlstadt és Pfeifer elmenekültek. Münzer a vérpadon halt meg. Testét felnégyelték és Frankenhausen város négy sarkára állitották ki. Münzer kétségkivül egyik legnagyobb alakja volt a reformációnak. Szilárd jellemü ember és igaz barátja a dolgozó népnek. Ezt még ellensége és történetirója Melanchton Fülöp is elismeri, Melanchton szintén reformátor, Luthernek jóbarátja és hive volt.

Münzer mozgalmának leverésével a reformáció népies — radikális iránya nem szünt meg. Ötödik Károly német császár fanatikus katholikus lévén tüzzel-vassal pusztitotta az uj eszme követőit. Azon tartományokban ahol a kisebb fejedelmek és a középnemesség elfogadták a hitujitást, nem igen volt hatalma azt tenni, de ahol az egyházi fejedelmek voltak az urak, ott mindent megtett a mozgalom letörésére. Németország nyugati részén a gazdag nemesség ellene volt a reformációnak mert féltékeny volt az előrehaladott városi polgárokra akiknek a reformált vallás előnyöket hozott. Igy Nyugat Németországban csak a városi polgárság és a már akkor nagy számu bérért dolgozó iparos legénység voltak a reformáció hivei. A mai Hollandiában amely akkor a német császársághoz tartozott élénk népmozgalom volt a reformáció mellett. Hollandia Leyden városában Bockhold János szabómunkás hidette a Münzer Tamás tanait. E miatt őt Lydenből kiutasitották. Westfáliában Münster városában telepedett meg. Münster városban igen élénk ipar és kereskedelem virágzott. Bockhold akit röviden Leydeni Jánosnak neveztek Münsterben rövid idő alatt igen népszerü lett, szervezői képessége és ékesszólása folytán. Dacára, hogy a város érseki székhely, és az érsek kezében nemcsak az egyházi hanem a világi hatalom is összpontosult, a polgárság és a munkáság a várost és annak igazgatását átvette. A gazdag polgárság csak akkor bánta meg, hogy Leydeni János müködését a reformáció tele után a nagy vagyonokat egyszeren a közösség javára kisajátitotta.

Az eredmény az lett, hogy a gazdag polgárok hanyat-homlok menekültek a városból. Maga az érsek is egy közeli városban ütötte föl a tanyáját. Leydeni János müäödését a reformáció történetirói nem tárgyalták pártatlanul, sőt rágalmazták. Többek között azzal is, hogy a városban az egy évig tartó ostrom alatt a házasság intézményét megszüntette. Tény az, hogy a házasságot igen könnyü volt felbontani, az az nem alkalmazták az egyház hanem a józan belátás és a természet törvényeit. A város elfoglalása utáni nagy pörben az összes vádlottak tagadták a a nőközösség vádját. A városban egy teljes évig az őskeresztény kommünista rendszerben éltek. Nem volt gazdag sem szegény, mert magántulajdon nem létezett. Mindenkinek dolgozni kellett a közszükségletre. Az ostromló hadsereg ellen hősiesen védekeztek, tudva, hogy mi vár reájuk. Az ostromlók már nem az uj vallás, hanem egy uj gazdasági rendszer hivei ellen viseltek háborut, mutatja ezt az is, hogy a város ostromában a katholikus érsek vezetése alatt az uj vallásra áttért nemesek is résztvettek. Egy évig tartó ostrom után az egyesült hadsereg árulás utján elfoglalta a várost. Az érsek parancsát követve a katonák sem aggnak, sem gyermeknek nem kegyelmeztek. A vezetőket elfogták és válogatott kinzások után végezték ki őket.

A reformáció hatása természetesen egész Európára kiterjedt. Legerősebben Németországot rázkódtatta meg. Onnan indult ki és ott volt a legnagyobb ellenállás. Olaszországban, mint már emlitve lett nem volt reformáció, mert erre gazdaságilag nem volt meg a nyomás. Franciaországban a középosztály karolta föl. Igy volt ez Magyarországon is, ahol a középnemesség és a Habsburgház ellenes főnemesség voltak az uj vallás zászlóvivői. Spanyolországban a reformáció nem tudott gyökeret verni, mert a papi befolyás alatt levő uralkodóház a nemességgel egyetemben minden kigondolható módon irtották az uj vallás követőit. Svájcban ahol már akkor nem volt császári befolyás, a városi polgárság magáévá tette az uj tanokat, még pedig ezek radikálisabb irányát, amelyet Calvin János hirdetett. De a parasztság hü maradt a pápához. Az Európa északi és északnyugati államai teljesen magukévá tették a reformáció eszméjét. Az uj vallás és a régi rendszer közötti harcban szakadt el Hollandia a német császárságtól. A világ kereskedelme és gazdasága a Földközi tengerpartjairól az Atlanti tenger felé terelődött. Az ok egyszerü, és abban található, hogy Amerika fölfedezése folytán az Atlanti tenger lett a világkereskedelem központja. Megkezdődött a fölfedezések kora. Ennek folytán a hübéri, a jobbágy rendszer az előrehaladott államokban nevezetesen Angliában és Hollandiában végnapjait élte. Meg kellett szünnie ott, ahol már akkor mutatkoztak a kapitalisztikus termelés első csirái.

A reformáció korszakát a történelem a lelkiismereti és gondolatszabadság korszakának ismeri el, bár még két évszázadon át folyt a harc a vallásszabadság kivivásáért. Meg kell emliteni azt a tényt is, hogy az uj vallás uralkodó osztálya, amikor már biztosnak érezte magát, éppen ugy igyekezett minden uj irányt megakadályozni mint a régi vallás hatalmasai tették előzőleg. A gondolatszabadság meg volt, de az igazi haladás utja még járatlan volt, mert ennek járhatóvá tételéhez szükséges a gazdasági fölszabadulás. Fölfedezések, találmányok, a tudomány és a technika terén előresegitik az emberiség haladását, de nemtehetik boldoggá az összességet ha azoknak a használatából és élvezéséből a dolgozó nép kivan zárva a gazdasági egyenlőtlenség folytán. A gazdasági egyenlőséget létrehozni a modern munkásmozgalom feladata. A reformáció feltörte a gondolat és lelkiismeret utját, a modern forradalmi munkásmozgalom megfogja változtatni a kapitalisztikus termelési rendszert és megvalósitja az ipari szabadságot, az ipari demokráciát.



A közsegély irodája — megerősitve.

MIRE MEGVÉNÜLÜNK

IRTA:

MOLDOVÁN ANNA

PFÁRADTAN vonszolta magát. Öreg volt. Arcán mély barázdák huzódtak. Ősz haja kócosan hullott a homlokára lyukas kalapja alól, Csizmája, amelyet vastagon lepett be az országut pora, ólomsullyal nehezedett a lábára. Fáradt volt és éhes. A majorban, ahol legutóbb megpihent, sorba járta az ajtókat, de az eredmény nagyon sovány volt. Egykedvü arcokat látott mindenütt. A legtöbb házban ezt a választ kapta:

— Nincs nekünk semmink, nem tudunk adni, mi is éhezünk, még akkor is éheznénk, ha az uraság megkétszerezné a kommenciót.

Egy helyen kapott két főtt krumplit.

— Fogja — mondta az asszony —, mi is ezen élünk hónapok óta.

Mohón kapott utána és megette ugy hajason, azután tovább ment az ispán lakása felé. Nyitva találta a kertajtót. Belépett.

A kertben egy gyerek — talán az ispán fia — játszott egy nagy barna kutyával. Amikor meglátta az öreg koldust, nagyott kiáltott:

— Cézár, fogd meg!

A kutya dühös morgással iramodott neki, alig maradt annyi ideje, hogy a kertből kilépjen és a kaput becsukja maga után.

Keserü gondolatok közt fordult ki az utra. A majort messze maga mögött hagyta és most azt sem tudta, milyen messze van a legközelebbi falu. Erősen tüzött rá a nap, a torka kiszáradt és rettentő szomjuságot érzett, ami elfeledtette vele az éhséget is.

— Mégis csak kár volt elindulnom a majorból, ott kellett volna maradnom éjszakára is — dünnyögte magában. Csüggedten nézett el az ut mentén elterülő buzatábla fölött. Sehol egy ház, de még csak egy csőszkunyhó sem, ahol egy korty vizet remélhetett volna. Megállt.

— Nem birom tovább — suttogta hangtalanul.

Torka ugy égett, mintha parazsat nyelt volna. Nyelve, mint egy darab tapló, aszottan tapadt a szája padlására. Tántorgott. Rémülten gondolt arra, hogyha elesik, nem tud majd fölállni és ott pusztul az ut szélén. Lassan erőt véve magán, tovább ment. Szeme révetegen pihent meg egy dombocskán, amely jobbról elzárta előle a kilátást. Óráknak érezte, amig elérte.

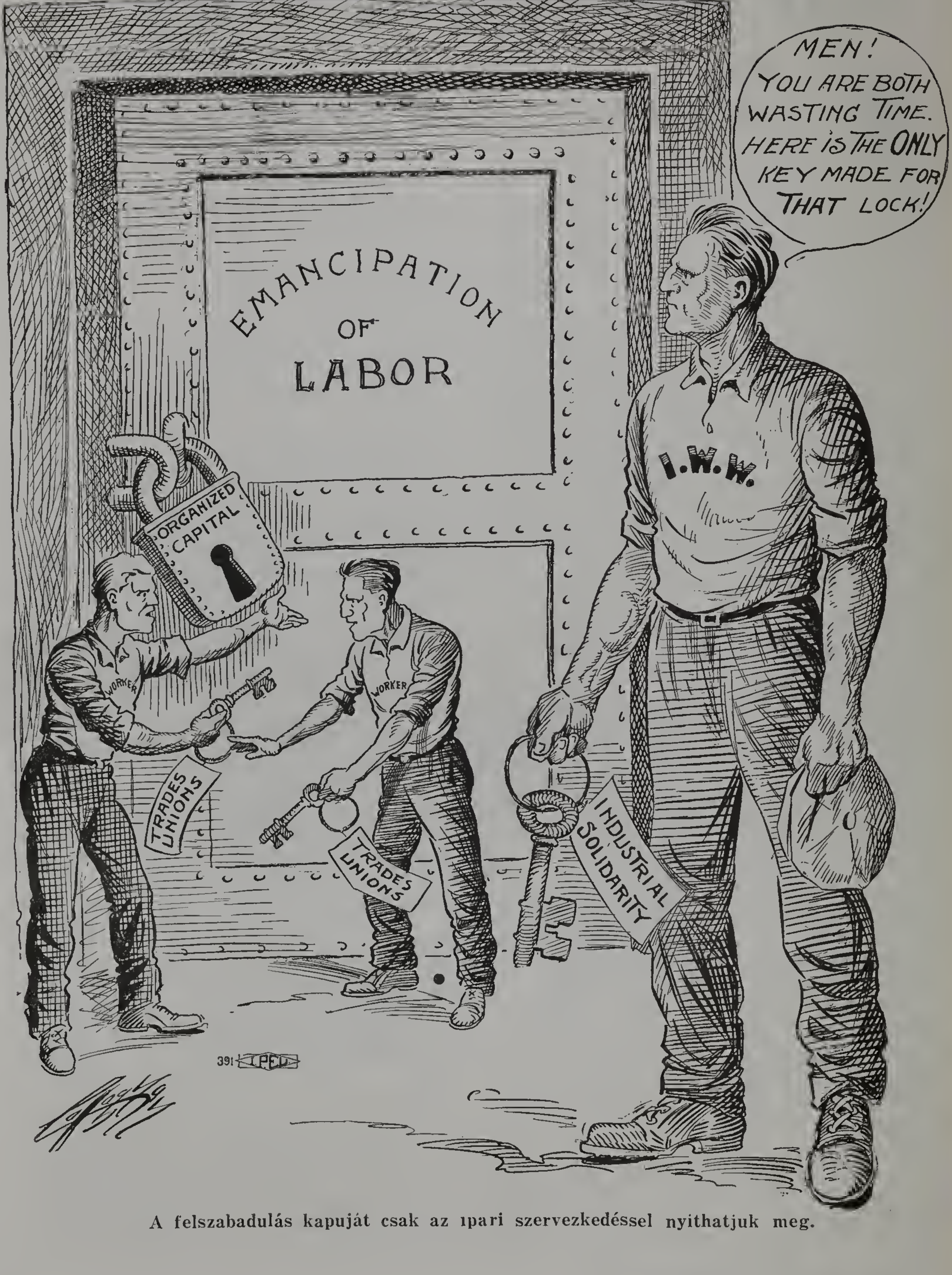
Szomjusága pokoli módon kinozta. Szeme előtt fekete karikák táncoltak, ugy érezte, nem birja tovább. Eszelősen nézett körül. A dombot már maga mögött hagyta és a dombbal együtt elmaradtak a vetések is. Előtte nagy sik legelő terült el. Amikor szeme tétován végignézett. Nem akart hinni a szemének. Az országuttól alig egy kődobásnyira gémeskut ágaskodott az ég felé. Ujjongani szeretett volna, de csak rekedt hangok törtek elő a torkából. Letért az utról és a kut felé indult. Minden erejét össze kellett szednie, hogy a rövidke utat megtegye. Számolta a lépteit.

— Még öt lépés . . . már csak három . . . na végre!

Ott volt a kutnál. Nekidőlt a kut deszkakorlátjának és belenézett.

Lent a mélyben ott csillogott a hüs viz. A kutostor végén ott himbálódzott a vödör. Utánanyult és remegő kezével lassan lenyomta a kutba. A vödör féloldalt dült és szinültig megtelt vizzel. Aszott karja reszketve emelte feljebb-feljebb, már csak néhány arasz és eléri a vödröt, aztán . . . Aztán ihatik.

Sovány nyakán kidagadtak az erek, szeme fátyolosan nézte a vizet. Lélegzete elakadt, kezéből lassan kicsuszott a rud. Megtántorodott. Ősz feje nagy koppanással vágódott a kemény agyaghoz. A vödör hangos csobbanással esett vissza a kutba.


MEN! YOU ARE BOTH WASTING TIME. HERE IS THE ONLY KEY MADE FOR THAT LOCK!
EMANCIPATION OF LABOR
ORGANIZED CAPITAL
WORKER
WORKER
TRADES UNIONS
TRADES UNIONS
I.W.W.
INDUSTRIAL SOLIDARITY

A felszabadulás kapuját csak az ipari szervezkedéssel nyithatjuk meg.

A FORRADALMI MUNKÁSMOZGALOM LASSU ELŐHALADÁSÁNAK OKAI

IRTA:

ZÁRA JÁNOS

HA A FORRADALMI munkásmozgalom lassu előhaladásának okait akarjuk kikutatni, először azzal kell tisztába lennünk, hogy a munkásmozgalom gyüjtő név alatt szereplő különféle szervezetek és politikai pártok közül, mely irányzat és miért forradalmi, viszont a többi miért **nem** forradalmi, bármely hangzatos jelszavakkal és lármával igyekeznek is bizonyitani forradalmi mivoltukat.

A forradalmi munkásmozgalom célja és utja határozott. A cél nem lehet más, mint: a profit; a bérrendszer eltörlése. Az utat melyen haladni kell a mindenkori termelési viszonyok szabják meg. Nem vitás kérdés az, hogy a társadalom hasznos tagjai — a munkás milliók — szenvedésének és nyomorának kutforrása a bérrendszer és ha a munkásosztály fel akar szabadulni a kizsákmányolás alól, el kell törülni azt a rendszert, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a termelő eszközök tulajdonosai — a kapitalisták — profitot csináljanak a termelő eszközök használóin.

Az a megállapitás sem képezi vita tárgyát, hogy a kizsákmányolás a termelés szinterén, az ipartelepeken történik, ahol a bérmunkások foglalkoztatva vannak. Minthogy a kizsákmányolás a termelés szinterén történik, csak természetes, hogy annak megszüntetése is ott kell történjen és a kizsákmányoltak által.

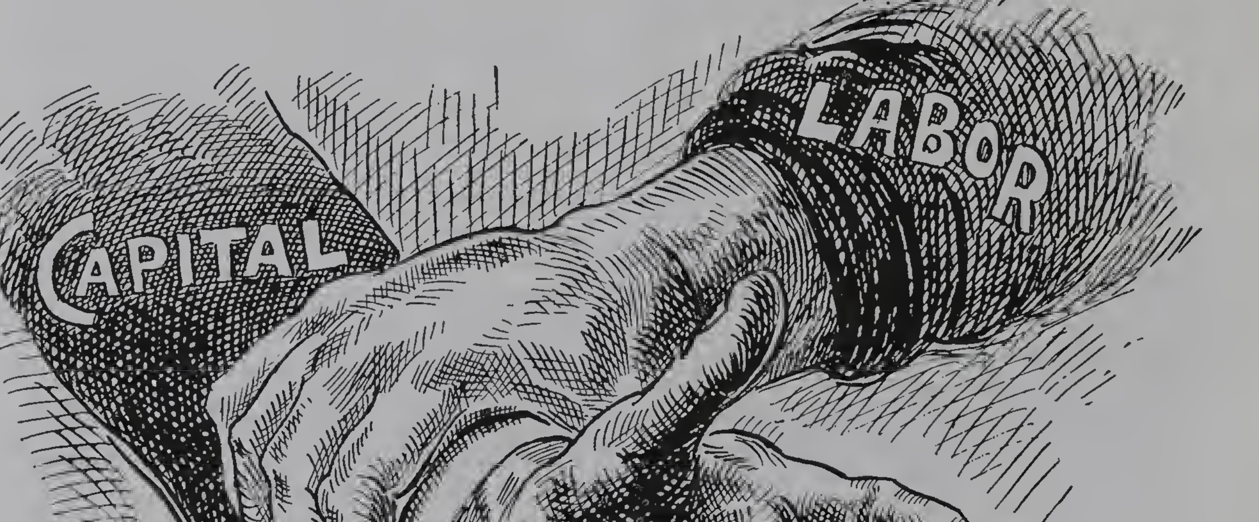
A termelés ma nem szükségletre, hanem profitra történik. A termelő eszközöket a tulajdonosok csak addig tartják üzembe, amig a termelt árun hasznot csinálnak. Hiába nélkülöznek milliók bizonyos szükségleti cikket, ha nincs pénzük megvásárolni, a kapitalisták nem fogják ezen bizonyos szükségleti cikket gyártani. Ennek megváltoztatása csak ugy történhet, hogy a termelőeszközök köztulajdonba mennek át és üzembetartásuk nem attól fog függni, hogy a termelt áru hasznot hoz-e, hanem, hogy a társadalom minden tagjának legyen belőle elegendő.

Hogyan érhetjük el a termelő eszközök köztulajdonba helyezését? Csakis ugy, ha a munkások, akik a termelő eszközöket használják, szervezkednek azok lefoglalására. Ebből természetesen az következik, hogy a szervezkedésnek a termelés szinterén kell történni és nem másra mint a termelő eszközök lefoglalására.

Miután ezeket megállapitottuk, vegyük bonckés alá a jelenben müködő szervezeteket és pártokat és lássuk, hogy melyiknek a programja jár legközelebb a helyes uthoz, mert csak igy leszünk képesek megállapitani, hogy mely irány képviseli a forradalmi munkásmozgalmat. Amerikában élünk és fejtegetéseink a lehetőség határáig az itteni viszonyok és szervezetekre szoritkozik, elkerülendő az esetleges zavart, mely előfordulhatna, ha más országok **más** viszonyait alkalmaznánk bizonyitásra.

A legrégibb és taglétszámban a legnagyobb szervezet Amerikában az American Federation of Labor. Ezen szervezet a munkásosztály felszabadulási harcában, — mint segitő tényező — teljesen számitáson kivül esik, amennyiben nem osztályharc alapján álló; a tőke és munka testvériségét hirdeti és jelszava: Tisztességes napimunkáért, tisztességes napibért." Hive a bérrendszer örök időkig való fentartásának; vezérei — akik magas fizetéseket huzó intelektuelek — a legádázabb ellenségei a forradalmi munkásmozgalomnak. A forradalmi gondolkodásu munkásság ellen elkövetett árulásaik visszanyulnak egészen a szervezet megalakulásáig és végig vezet dicstelen müködésükkel egészen napjainkig. Szervezett formája még ma is — a modern ipari termelés korában — a céh-rendszerben bevált szakmai szervezet és a szervezet élén állók görcsösen ragaszkodnak annak megtartásához. Harcaik az elavult szervezeti forma következtében legtöbb esetben kudarccal végződnek és sikert csak oly esetekben könyvelhetnek el, ha követeléseiket harcnélkül teljesitik a munkáltatók. A vezérek diktátori hatalommal rendelkeznek a tagság felett és a munkáltatókkal folytatott tárgyalásaik rendesen zárt ajtók mögött történik a munkásság kizárásával. Saját önző érdekeik minden időben előbbre valók, mint a tagságé, akiket képviselnek. Ha az osztályharcban egyáltalán számitásba jön, csak mint a felszabadulni óhajtó munkásság ellensége, — a kapitalizmus védbástyája emlithető.

A fenti szervezkedési forma elavultsága az Egyesült Államokban már az elmult század utolsó tizedében nyilvánvalóvá vált. A termelő eszközök tulaj-



Az öntudatos munkás igyekszik munkája gyümölcsének elrablását megakadályozni.

donjoga mindig kevesebb kézbe összpontosul és a szaktudást igénylő kézi termelést az összevont ipari — tömeg termelés váltotta fel. A helybeli munkáltatót — aki a multban a termelést vezette — az ipartelepektől távol élő tőkés — részvényes — váltotta fel és ezzel egyidejüleg a kizsákmányolás is állandóan fokozódott. A munkásság tiltakozásul, az akkori szervezetük horderejéig, munkabeszüntetéssel felelt, mely sztrájkokat a kapitalisták a legkegyetlenebb eszközökkel fojtották vérbe. Ily események kapcsán mutatkozott a szakszervezkedés káros volta, mert a munkásságnak a szakszervezkedési forma szerint csak egy kis töredéke volt szervezve és képtelenek voltak a termelést megállitani. A termelők megélhetése mind nehezebbé vált bár a javakat nagyobb mennyiségben termelték.

Sok vesztes harc után a munkásság gondolkodó elemei kutatni kezdték a sikertelenség okait és azt természetesen a megfelelő szervezet hiányában fedezték fel. Mérlegre tették az iparizált termelési folyamatot és a munkásság szervezetét és az utóbbi nagy hiányt mutatott. Igy alakult ki az Ipari Szervezkedés eszméje. Nem egyes egyének szeszélyeinek szüleménye, hanem az iparizált termelési rendszer égető követelményeként.

Az ipari szervezkedés eszméjének első propagandistái állandóan széleskörü agitációt fejtettek ki és 1905-ben az eszme formát öltött az Industrial Workers of the World megalakulásával. Az IWW-t olyképpen tervezték, hogy a szervezet a munkásság minden követelményének megfeleljen. Osztályharc alapján álló Ipari Szervezet, melynek végcélja a bérrendszer megdöntése. A munkásságot olyképpen tömöriti, amint a termelésben foglalkoztatva vannak. Egy bizonyos ipartelep munkásai nem a használt szerszámok szerint tagolódnak, hanem valamennyien EGY gyári szervezetbe tömörülnek. A gyári szervezetek a városban levő hasonló ipartelepek munkásaival EGY szervezetbe, melyek aztán az egész ország területén levő csoportokkal alkotják az Ipari Szervezetet. A különböző Ipari Szervezetek egymással szoros összeköttetésben alkotják az EGY NAGY SZERVEZETET. Amely munkás tagjává válik valamely ipari szervezetnek, ugyan akkor tagja lett valamennyi ipari szervezetnek. Ha a körülmények ugy kivánják, hogy más iparban kénytelen munkát vállalni, ezt minden akadály nélkül megteheti, ugyan azzal a tagsági könyvvel, minden ráfizetés nélkül, csak az áthelyezés lesz bejegyezve. A szervezet összetétele olyan, hogy ha bármely ipartelep valamely osztályában sztrájk vagy kizárás történik, ez automatikusan érinti a telepen foglalkoztatott összes munkásokat, sőt ha a szükség megkivánja az egész ország területén levő ugyanazon ipar összes munkásait, vagy ha kell az összes iparok munkásait.

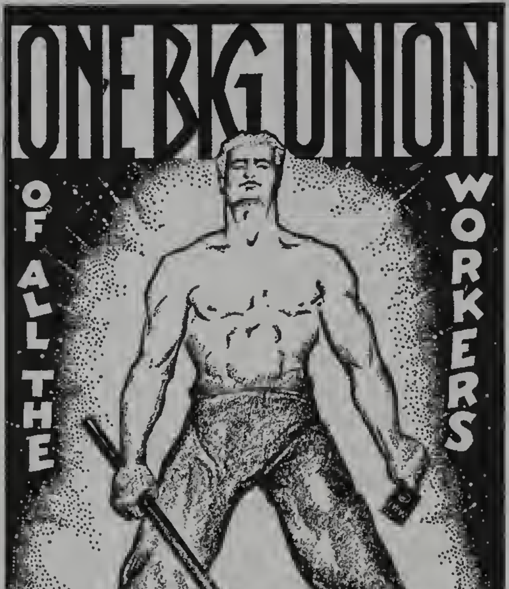
AZ IWW az egyetlen szervezet az egész világon, amely a legésszerübben tömöriti a munkásságot nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcokra, hanem ara is, hogy a termelést és szétosztást fennakadás nélkül intézhessük, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az egyetlen szervezet, amely nemcsak a bérrendszer megdöntését hirdeti, hanem tervezetet nyujt az uj társadalom irányitására. Az IWW által hirdetett szervezkedési formával nem állhat be anarchia a bérrendszer közvetlen elpusztulása után, mert a termelő hadsereg készen fog állni a termelés és szétosztás irányitására és végzésére. Az osztályharcban minden szközt igazoltnak tart,e mlyeket a viszonyok reá kényszeritenek a harcoló munkásságra. A harcot nem a rendszer kinövései — fascizmus, nácizmus és különféle demagógizmus, nem az állam és annak különböző szervei — hanem a kapitalizmus ellen irányitja. A leghatásossabb harci eszköznek az Általános Sztrájkot ismeri el, de nem ugy mint sokan értelmezik, hogy a munkásság kivonul az ipartelepekről, hanem éppen ellenkezőleg, bevonul oda és lefoglalja a termelő eszközöket és ezen lépéssel megteremtik az Ipari Demokráciát.

A szervezetben, a legtökéletesebb demokrácia uralkodik és a döntő szó a tagságé. A tisztviselők csak végrehajtói a tagság akaratának.

A munkásmozgalomban az emlitetteken kivül még egy számottevő irányzat van, melyet meg kell vizsgálnunk, hogy tiszta képet nyerjünk és ezek a politikai "munkás" pártok. Létezésük, a polgári politikai pártok utánzata és azon felfogásból ered, hogy a feltörekvő munkásságnak elsősorban az állam "hatalmat" kell meghóditani. Kimondott céljuk a szocialista — kolektiv társadalmi rendszer megalakitása.

Ennek elérésére a különböző "munkás" pártok — mert van belőlük bőven — irányai között meglehetős eltérés van. Némelyek kizárólag a szavazó urnára támaszkodnak, azt hirdetve, hogy a munkásságnak legfontosabb teendője a szavazás, a jelenlegi törvényhozó testület tagjait helyettesiteni kell szocialista törvényhozókkal és azok majd megszavazzák a szocialista államrendszert.

Egy másik irányzat — a kommunista pártok — bár szintén a bársonyszékek felé kacsingatnak, de mintha ők maguk sem biznának abba, hogy a munkásosztály felszabaditása ily módon elérhető volna, a fegyveres felkelés szószólói. Ezt oly formán értelmezik, hogy a munkásság fegyveres erővel üzze ki a bársonyszékekből a jelenlegi törvényhozókat és helyettük ültesse oda a kommunista komiszárosokat, akik aztán az ugnevezett "proletár" — de valóban a proletárok feletti — diktaturával fogják intézni a társadalom sorsát. A munkásságra csak azért van szükségük, hogy a jelenben kiüzzék a nyeregben ülőket és őket ültessék oda, a jövőben — ha álmuk valóra válik — legyen kinek diktálni.



Mi a kifogásod az Egy Nagy Szervezet ellen?

A politikai "munkás" pártok általában nem munkás elemek irányitása alatt állanak és mivel legnagyobb részük soha termelő hasznos munkát nem végzett, meg sem érthetik a forradalmi munkásmozgalom hivatását. A munkásmozgalombani müködésük a polgári ideológiát tükrözik vissza és vezetésük alatt álló pártok mind reformokért küzdenek és mint ilyenek nem lehetnek forradalmiak, hanem éppen ellenkezőleg a forradalmi munkásmozgalom fejlődésének akadályozói. Igéretiket a nem gondolkodó, hanem mindent hivő munkásság készpénznek veszi és ezáltal tartják vissza a munkásságot a forradalmi utra való téréstől.

A politikai pártok élén álló vezérsereg számitással tartja vissza a munkásságot a helyes ut felismerésétől, hiszen létkérdés részükre a munkásság hiszékenysége és tudatlansága. A jó fizetéseket élvező vezérek soha nem végeztek termelő munkát és részükre az ipari szervezetekben nincsen hely. A társadalomban levő minden hasznos munkás részére megvan a hely az ipari szervezetbe, azonban paraziták ipari szervezete nincsen és igy tagjai sem lehetnek. Az esetben, ha az ipari munkásság felismerné a valóságot, megtanulná, hogy felszabadulásának egyetlen módja az ipari szervezkedés és csatlakozna ahoz, megtörténhetne, hogy a politikusok, akiknek egyedüli érdemük, hogy a munkásság nyakán élősködnek, támasz nélkül maradnának és vagy valamely hasznos foglalkozás után kellene nézniök, vagy elpusztulni. Ebben a magyarázatban találjuk meg a forradalmi munkásmozgalom lassu előhaladásának legfőbb okait.

A fenti fejtegetéseinkben kimutattuk, hogy a társadalom alkotó erői mint vannak széttagolva a különféle gazdasági szervezetek és politikai "munkás" pártokba. Vázoltuk röviden ezen egyedeknek a célját és a cél elérésére alkalmazandó eszközöket. Bár az emlitetteken kivül még nagy számmal vannak helyi és független szervezetek, ligák és egyesületek, melyek szintén akadályozói a forradalmi munkásmozgalom előhaladásának, azonban nagyszámuknál fogva helyünk nem engedi meg, hogy részetesen foglalkozzunk velük. Ezek valamennyiének létezése egyáltalán nem a szükség követelménye, hanem egyes egyének, vagy korátolt csoportok érdekeinek előmozditását szolgálják.

A három fő irányzat közül az első, az American Federation of Labor, idejét multa, a letünt korszak maradványa, amely szeretné a fejlődés kerekét visszafelé forditani ha lehetséges volna. Kimondottan konzervativ és a munkásság, mint ilyent ismeri. Felszabadulást ettől nem vár és tagjai közül akik felismerik az osztályharcot, ott hagyják. A tagság tulnyomó része osztálytudatlan és ezért maradnak tagjai. A fejlődés előbb-utóbb elsöpri teljesen, de amig létezik számottevő akadályát képezi a haladásnak.

A politikai "munkás" pártok már sokkal veszedelmesebb szerepet játszanak a fejlődés akadályozásában. Sajnos, ma még a munkásság soraiban nagyon kevés a gondolkodó elem, de annál több a könnyen hivő. Csak igy lehetséges az, hogy a munkásság elfogadja a politikai "munkás" pártokat, azok igéreteit a munkásosztály felszabaditási harcát illetőleg. A munkásság az a része, akik már megunták a jármot hordani és szeretnének változást látni, örömmel veszi a politikai pártok azon ajánlatát, hogy felszabaditja őket a bérrabszolgaság alól és különösen ha "forradalminak" tüntetik fel előtte azt a bizonyos pártot. De vajjon lehet-e a politikai párt forradalmi?

A politikai pártok élén álló egyének kivétel nélkül arra törekednek, hogy a városi, megyei, állami és szövetségi hivatalokba bejussanak, hogy ezáltal gondatlan élet részesei legyenek. Hivatásuk a törvényhozó testületekben a jelen rendszer — a magántulajdon — védelmére törvényeket alkotni. A "munkás" pártok politikusai is csak ezt tehetik és mást soha megsem kiséreltek, mert amikor odajutnak, célukat elérték és elfelejtik, hogy a munkásság valamit vár tőlük. De ha az akarat meg volna bennük, akkor sem tehetnének mást, mint amit az ország urai diktálnak. A düledező rendszer foltozására itt-ott reformokat hoznak, mely által meghosszabbitják annak életét. A munkanélküli és aggkori biztositás egyike ezen reformoknak, melyért a "munkás" pártok széleskörü agitációt fejtenek ki és ugy tüntetik fel ezt, mint forradalmi követelést. Pedig éppen ellenforradalmi, mert a munkásság nagyrészét bizalommal tölti el a jelen rendszer iránt és ahelyett, hogy harcba szállnának a bérrendszer eltörléséért, kényelmesen várni fogják a munkanélküliséget, vagy aggkort, hogy "élvezhessék" a törvény által biztositott alamizsnát.

Ellenforradalmi minden oly előny, melyet a kapitalista osztály törvényhozó testülete révén ad a munkásságnak, mert azért adja, hogy a lázadás szellemét lekenyerezze — elfojtsa.

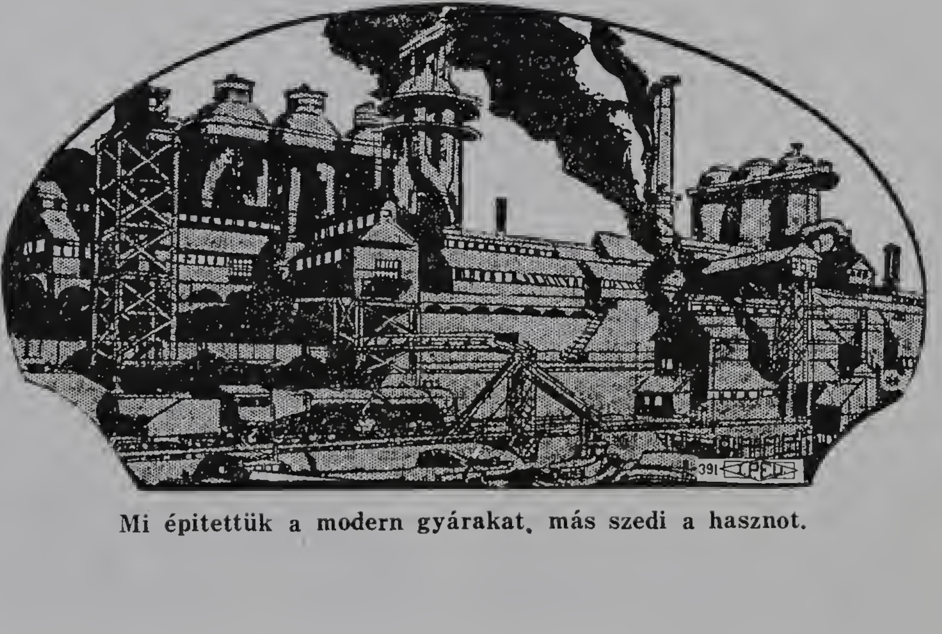
Forradalmiak azon előnyök, melyeket a munkásság szervezeti erejének nyomása alatt kényszerül a kapitalista osztály megadni. A politikai pártok forradalmi előnyöket nem vivhatnak ki, mert ott nincs szervezett erő, csak a vezérek által vezetett nyáj. Erőt, csak a termelés szinterén az Ipari Szervezetekbe tömöritett munkásság produkálhat és a kapitalista osztály csak ily erő előtt hajlik meg, mely hatalmasabb és félelmetesebb az övénél.

A politikai pátok a jelen rendszerben csak az uralkodó osztály érdekeit szolgáltatják és a bérrendszer megdöntésével — a magántulajdon megszünésével — létjogosultságuk megszünik. Ha ez igy van, mi értelme van annak, hogy a munkásság energiáját haszontalan politikai pártok épitésére fecsérelje? Mily teljesitményt végezhet egy politikai párt, amit a munkásság forradalmi Ipari Szrvezetbe tömörülve végre nem hajthatna, hogy arra szükséges a politikai párt épitése?

Az iparok igazgatását a termelő munkásság végezheti legtökéletesebben az Ipari Szervezeteken keresztül. Az ipari munkásság ésszerüen szervezett ereje minden előnyt képes kikényszeriteni, amit egy politikai párt meg tudna tenni, sőt oly előnyöket is, melyeket emez nem, mert kezében tartja a társadalom ütőerét — a javak termelésének módját. Az ipari munkásság szervezeti ereje kormányokat buktathat meg, trónokat dönthet le, félelmetes diktátorokból cirkuszi bohócokhoz hasonló nevetséges páriákat csinálhat anélkül, hogy egy fegyver dördülne el. A forradalmi Ipari Szervezetekbe tömörült munkásság Általános Sztrájkja esetén a képzelt politikai hatalmasságok térdre kényszerülnek a munkásság előtt. Nem üres állitás ez, mert ennek bizonyitására a történelem példákkal szolgál. 1919-ben Seattle városban lezajlott általános sztrájk idején a “Nation” cimü folyóirat tudósitója, ki a helyszinen volt, a következőkép ir: “A sztrájkbizottság előtt az üzletemberek hosszu sora — a polgármesterrel az élükön — jelentkezett, nem fenyegetésekkel, hanem az állapotok megbeszélésére és a bizottság jóváhagyását **kérni** ez, vagy amaz lépésükhöz.

Ma már vitán felül áll azon megállapitás, hogy a munkásosztály felszabadulási harcának legtökéletesebb fegyvere a forradalmi Ipari Szervezet — az IWW. A jelenben létező összes pártok, ligák, egyesületek és gyülekezetek csak akadályozzák a forradalmi munkásmozgalom gyors fejlődését és ha ezek nem volnának, a kapitalista osztály alakitatna ilyeneket. Ki tudná bizonyitani, hogy mind ezen akadályok, nem felülről jövő rendeletre alakultak? Semmi bizonyiték nincs arra, hogy a munkásság akaratából léteznek, mert létezésük semmivel sem viszik előbbre az osztályharcot, de a rombolás, melyet véghez visznek, ezen állitást látszanak igazolni.

A bérrendszer csak addig állhat fenn, amig a munkásság tudatlansága tart. Mennél tovább támogatja a munkásság a haladás ezen kerékkötőit, annál tovább tart szenvedése. Az Ipari demokráciához vezető legrövidebb ut az egyenes ut, melyen a forradalmi Ipari Szervezet halad.



Mi épitettük a modern gyárakat, más szedi a hasznot.

EGY "BOLOND" — IGAZ TÖRTÉNET

IRTA:

VISI ISTVÁN

MR. SCHWARTZ a visszavonult ruhagyáros sok üres órájában, melyhez nem volt hozzászokva, nem tudott mit csinálni, tehát sétálgatott. Egy szép verőfényes szeptemberi napon, éppen a bolondok háza felé vette utját. Miután már ott járt, gondolta tesz egy látogatást közöttük, megvigasztalja őket.

Ahogy szemlélgetve sétált köztük meglátott egy embert, aki a könyvbe mélyedve észre sem vette, amig mások részben ismerték is és hódolattal fogadták leereszkedő köszöntését és egymás között sugdosva magyarázták, hogy milyen nagy és gazdag ember és most viszavonulva az üzleti élettől kényelmes életet él.

Mr. Schartz kiváncsi volt erre az emberre, aki még a bolondok házában is olyan mélyen eltud merülni az olvasásba, igy közelebb ment és barátságos hangon szólt hozzá. — Szép idő van — bocsánat, remélem nem zavarom és már le is ült a padra a bolondnak nyilvánitott olvasó mellé.

Az ember, akit leghelyesebben Kutató Jánosnak lehetne nevezni, mert hát akiket a bolondok házába záratnak, azoknak nem fontos a nevük, helyet csinált illetve egy kicsit odébb huzódott de bizony nem hazudta a gyáros ur nyájas szavait, hogy nem zavarja az olvasásban, hanem kurtán válaszolt, hogy "az idő is szép és a könyv is érdekes" és tovább ovasott.

Schwartz ur, mive a kiváncsiság nagyon bántotta igy bele-bele kukucskált a könyvbe és meglepődve vette észre, hogy sok gazdasági statisztikai adatokkal van a könyv telitve s megnézte az iró nevét és látta, hogy Stuart Chase-nek a "Pazarlás" cimü könyvét olvasgatta a bolond olyan elmélyedve.

Hogy megnyerje ez ember barátságát, dicsérőleg nyilatkozik a könyvről és irójáról, amire már felfigyelt a bolond és lassan összezárja a könyvet és kérdezte.

— Olvasta már, ismeri?

Ez bár kedvező volt a gyáros részére, mivel igy a társalgást megkezdhette amire éppen vágyott, de bizony a kérdés nagyon fogas kérdés volt, mert bizony neki fiatalabb korában sem ideje sem kedve nem volt ilyen száraz számtani adatokkal telitett könyveket olvasni, most meg már türelme sincs hozzá. No meg hát minek, neki ilyesmire nincs szüksége. De a hiuság megadta neki a választ, részben azért, hogy a saját nagyságát bemutassa ennek a szerencsétlen embernek, részben, hogy kimentse magát, okot adjon, hogy miért nem olvasta azt a könyvet. Megmagyarázta, hogy bizony neki nem volt rá ideje, mert egész életében nagyon sokat dolgozott, szaladgált fáradt, hogy öregségére egy kis vagyont szerezhessen, de hát hallott a könyvről és mindenki dicsérte.

Mr. Buvárkodó, egy kicsit meglepődött, hogy a gyáros ur dicsért valamit amit nem is igen ismert, csak hallott róla, de, hogy az ismereteit pótolja elkezdett magyarázni a könyv tartalmáról. Mr. Schwartznak. aki eleinte türelmesen hallgatta. Többek között számadatokkal bizonyitotta, hogy a nemzeti munkaerő fele és az anyag és erőnek háromötöd része hogyan van elpazarolva, és hogy ezt józan ésszel, logikus beasztással, adminisztrációval mind meg lehetne akadályozni . . .

Mr. Schwartz csodálkozva hallgatta ezen intelligens magyarázatot és részben, hogy kiváncsiságát kielégitse részben, hogy a száraz számadatok felsorolását továbbra elzárja, megkérdezte Mr. Buvárkodót: "Hiszen maga nem is elmezavarodott, hát miért csukták be ide a bolondok közzé?"

Azért, — feleli Mr. Buvárkodó, — mert a bolondok, akik a mai termelést és szétosztást irányitják, megvannak szervezve és többen vannak mint mi, akik kritizáltuk őket. Jobb beosztást ajánlottunk, tehát, hogy a további kritikát kikerüljék a bolondok közzé zártak bennünket.

Hiszen ez borzasztó! — kiáltott fel Mr. Schwartz, miért nem tiltakozott ellene? Ez majdnem lehetetlenség, hogy valakit azért a bolondok házába zárjanak.

Eleinte tiltakoztam, — válaszolt Mr. Buvárkodó — de most már belátom, hogy jobb társaságba vagyok, mintha Amerika legnagyobb bankjának az igazgatói között volnék.

Hogyan értsem ezt? — kérdezi a gyáros ur.

Ugy, hogy itten sokan vannak ilyenek, akiket azért zártak be, mert megmerték mondani az igazat, kimutatták a mai rendszer őrültségeit.

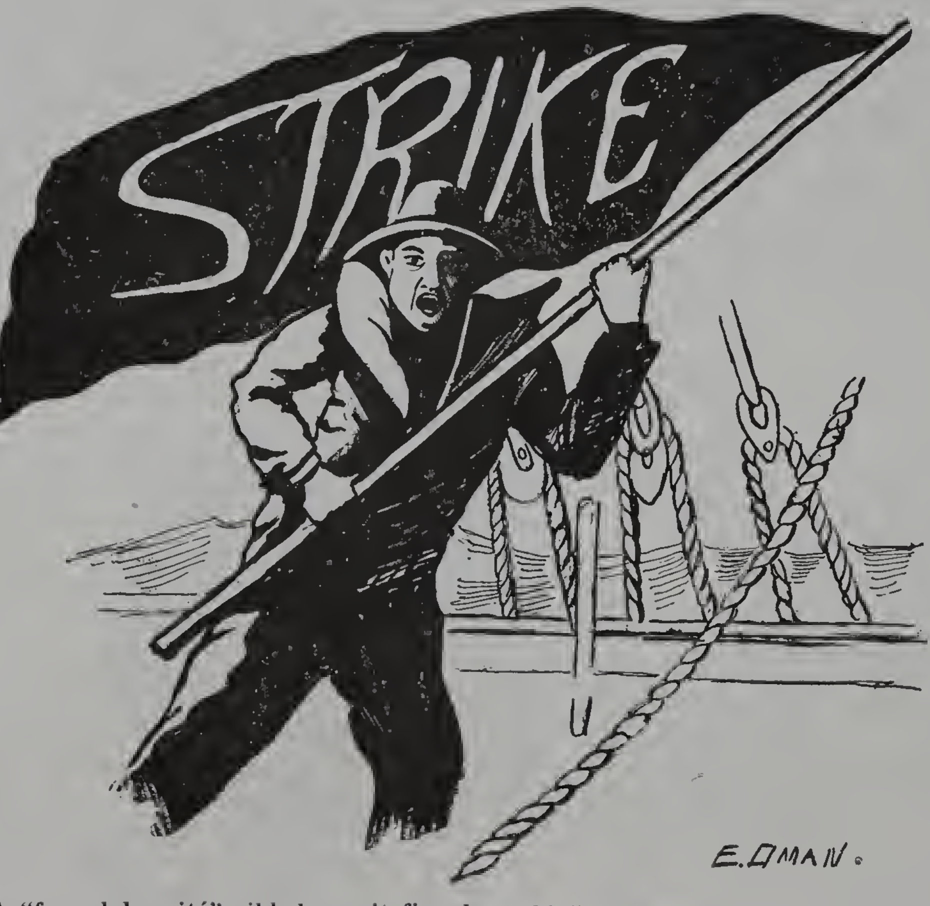
De kérem! ha ez igaz is, de azért vannak itten igazi bolondok is, akikkel nem valami kellemes együtt lenni — vág vissza a gyáros.

Miért nem? mondja csendesen Mr. Buvárkodó, akik itt vannak ha őrültek is, de becsületesek, beismerik, hogy őrültek, de ezen őrült rendszer bolond urai, vezetői ezt nem ismerik be, sőt azokat nyilvánitják őrülteknek, akik számadatokkal, tényekkel tudják bizonyitani a mai rendszer és azok intézőinek az őrültségét.

Mr. Buvárkodó, nekem tetszik a maga beszéde és csakugyan nem tudom megérteni, hogy miért tartják itten, hiszen vannak ujságirók, meg más gazdasági tudósok, akik szintén kritizálják a mai rendszert, de azért nem zárták be őket a bolondok házába, — mondja a gyáros ur.

Nézze, én befolyásos ember vagyok és anyagilag is tudnék áldozatott hozni, hogy innen kiszabaditsam, — folytatja Schwartz — csak mondja meg a körülményeket, legyen bizalmas velem, én szeretnék magán segiteni, mert nem birom elhinni, hogy valakit azért zárjanak a bolondok házába, mert meri kritizálni a mai rendszert, pláne, ha még azt számadatokkal is bizonyitani tudja. Mondja meg mit tegyek az érdekében.

Legjobban teszi ha békét hagy nekem, — mondja Mr. Buvárkodó. Én elég jó helyen vagyok, legalább itten



A "forradalmasitó" cikkek ezreit figyelmen kivül hagyja a kapitalista osztály, de azonnal tudomást vesz arról, ha a munkások a munkabeszüntetés eszközét veszik igénybe helyzetük megjavitására.

békében olvasgathatok, tanulhatok, nem kell a szellemi táplálékot feláldozni a testi táplálék megszerzése érdekében.

De még is, ez szörnyüség, ilyen lángeszü embernek itt lenni a bolondok házában. Én minden követ megfogok mozgatni, hogy innen kiszabaduljon.

Kár volna engem kizavarni innen, hogy ismét a munkanélküliség, nyomoruság kálváriáját járjam. Fekete listában, üldöztetésben, ennél is rosszabb börtönökbe zárjanak, — tiltakozott Mr. Buvárkodó.

De szabad ember lesz és tudásának hasznát veheti, mondta Mr. Schwartz. Ismét gyanakodó szemmel kezdett nézni Mr. Buvárkodóra, mert talán mégis csak bolond, hogy nem akar innen kimenni. Gyanakvóan kérdi. — Mégis milyen alapon zárták be ide, valamilyen okot csak kellett adni, jobbat mint az, hogy a mai rendszert kritizálni merte? Csak legyen velem bizalmas, én segiteni akarok magán.

Ha elmondom, hogy miért zártak be, akkor maga is azt fogja mondani, hogy igazán bolond vagyok — válaszolt lehangoltan Mr. Buvárkodó.

Óh dehogy, már ne gondoljon ilyent rólam, tiltakozott Mr. Schwartz, én látom, hogy maga intelligens, tanult ember . . .

Akkor elmondom, ha már minden áron tudni akarja — azért zártak be, mert megtudtam, hogy hol van egy elhunyt uzsorásnak a pénze és ékszerei elásva, de nem akartam a testvéremmel megosztozkodni rajta, inkább engedem, hogy örökre eltemetve maradjon.

Hát miért nem egyedül vette birtokába, ha tudja, hogy hol van? Kérdi mohó érdeklődéssel Mr. Schwartz

Mert minden lépésemet figyelték, azzal az ürüggyel, hogy bolond vagyok, mig végre ide bezártak, innen nem mehetek ki, mert még itten is erősen figyeltetnek, magyarázta Mr. Buvárkodó.

No látja, tehát ha kiszabaditom innen, akkor már nem kellene nyomorogni, és ha velem igazán bizalmas lenne, megmagyarázná, hogy hol van a vagyon, akkor kevés részesedés mellett én is kiásom magának és annak a segitségével innen kiszabaditom . . .

Ha éppen annyira akar kiszabaditani innen, hát szabaditson ki és akkor közösen kiássuk, — egyezett bele Mr. Buvárkodó.

De nézze kérem, magát vigyázzák és ha szabadon lesz is még jobban fogják vigyázni, de ha megmagyarázza nekem, hogy hol találom, akkor én kiásom, mert hát tudja kérem, hogy a kiszabaitása is pénzbe kerül és abból arra is telne, . . . közbe Mr. Schwartz örömtelt szivvel számitotta, hogy ha még át is ad valamennyit ennek a bolondnak belőle, de bizony az nem tudja mennyi volt és nem muszáj mindről beszámolni, hátha a kiszabaditása sem lesz olyan költséges, mint amennyit azért is beszámithat . . .

Nem bánom, én bele megyek, csak ne, hogy engem okoljon a bajokért, mely esetleg önt is érheti. És halkabban kezdte magyarázni. Rajzban mutatta meg, hogy merre van az emlitett pénz és ékszer elásva.

Mr. Schwartz alig várta, hogy teljesen tiszta képet kaphasson ezen nagyszerü üzleti fogásról. Mikor teljesen megértette a magyarázkódást, meleg barátsággal bucsuzott el Mr. Buvárkodótól, igérte neki, hogy mentől hamarabb ismét szabad lesz, valamint hüséges segitségéről, barátságáról igyekezett őt biztositani.

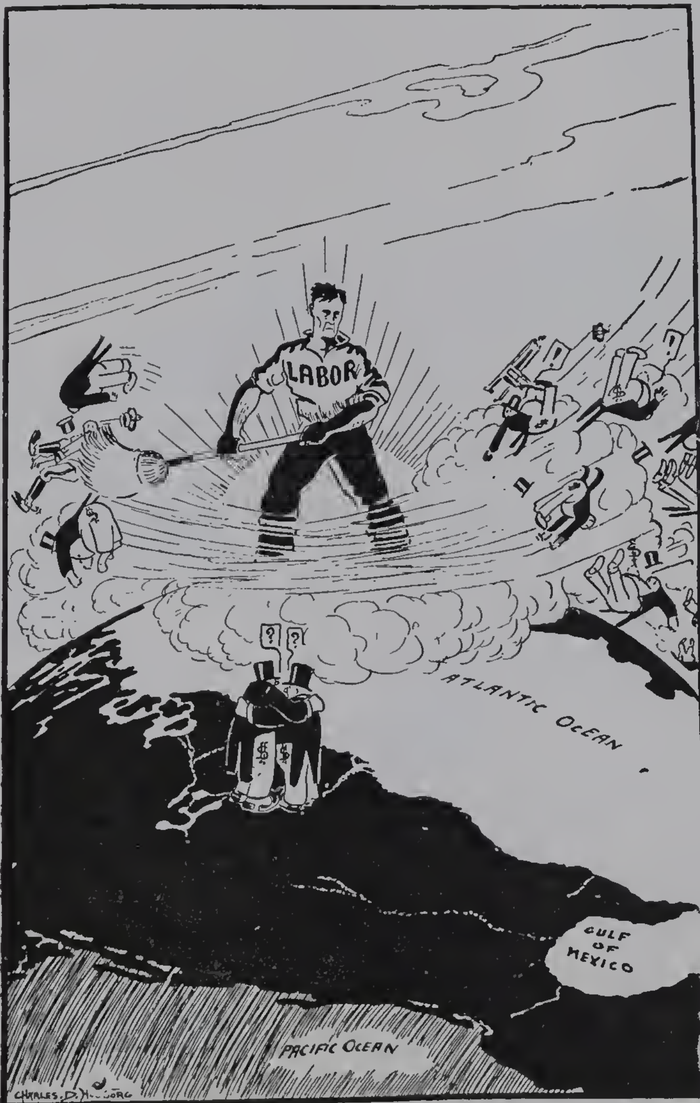
Amint hazaért, azonnal kocsiba ült és kihajtott a megmagyarázott helyre, hogy még a napfénynél szemlét tarthasson bár tudta, hogy csak éjjel kezdhet az ásatáshoz, melyet bizony neki személyesen kell majd végezni, mert hát erre nem fogadhat fel munkásokat, ezt másnak nem szabad megtudnia.

Még vissza ment a faluba, mely közel volt és telefonált családjának, hogy nem megyen haza majd csak későn és ne aggódjanak miatta, akik bizony nem igen aggódtak volna a figyelmeztetés nélkül sem.

Este tizenegy órára ott volt és a kocsit jó messze hagyta ne hogy még az is gyanut keltsen a szükséges szerszámmal elgyalogolt a jól megismert helyre és lázassan fogott a munkához.

Ásott szorgalmasan, már hat lábbnyira leásott és még mindég nem talált semmit, csak köveket, melynek a megkoppanása már-már örömmel töltötte el, és bánta, hogy miért nem kérdezte meg, hogy körülbelül, milyen mélyen lehetett elásva, vagy talán az a bolond sem tudta, gondolta magában.

Még egy pár lábbnyira leásott, de aztán kezdett ujból számolni, hátha mégis valamit eltévesztett, nem jól számolt, akkor ugy emlékezett, hogy Mr. Buvárkodó délkeletet mondott attól a bizonyos nagy fától és ő talán nem éppen délkeletnek ment, tehát szükséges, hogy még oldalt ásson. Nagy igyekezetébe nem is vette észre az idő gyors haladását még vagy tizlábbnyira ásott oldalvást, mikor látta, hogy kezd hajnalodni és még mindég nem találta meg a pénzt.



Csak az ipari szervezet erejével végezhetjük el azt a közmondásos "nagytakaritást," mely megszabaditja az emberiséget a heréktől, a ingyenélőktől.

Ujból számitott de mégis csak itt kellene neki lenni, hátha mégis bolond az az ember én belőlem is bolondot üzött és nagy mérgesen vette fel az ásót, lapátot ment vissza a kocsijához, mert már ugy sem áshatott volna tovább, meglátták volna.

Holtfáradtan ért haza, még ilyen erősen soha nem dolgozott életében, minden izma, csontja, testrésze fájt, és minden evés és magyarázkódás nélkül feküdt le, de alig tudott elaludni, azon gondolkozott, hogy fogja összeszidni azt a bolondot, aki őtet igy bolondá tette, de mégis elszunyókált percekre, és akkor is csak az ásásról álmodozott, kereste a pénzt, az aranyat.

Mire az ujabb látogatási óra ideje megérkezett, már az elsők között volt a bolondok házába és kereste Mr. Buvárkodót, akit ismét a könyvbe elmerülve talált meg. Mérgesen támadt rá. Maga igazán bolond . . . hiszen ottan nem volt semmi elásva . . . kiáltott még messziről, minden köszönés nélkül . . .

Én vagyok bolond? — kérdi Mr. Buvárkodó.

Nincsen ottan semmi, csak felültetett.

Honnan tudja, hogy ottan nincsen semmi? — kérdi nyugodt hangon Mr. Buvárkodó.

Hát felástam vagy 250 köbláb földet és nem találtam semmit, mondja Mr. Schwartz mérgesen.

Ha-ha-ha, — nevetett Mr. Buvárkodó és még a könnyei is kicsordultak nevetésében . . . és maga én rám mondja, hogy bolond vagyok . . . Haha-ha. Én csak mondtam, hogy ottan pénz van elásva, de maga kapzsiságában még azt el is hitte és órák hoszszat ásott hiába és mégis engem tartanak bolondnak.

Én vagyok bolond . . . mert megláttam, hogy maguk egész életükben egymást tiporták, marták, kizsákmányolták, hogy nagyobb, nagyobb, nagyobb vagyonra tegyenek szert, és még az sem volt elég, még most remélt, hogy ujabb könnyü pénzszerzeményhez jut, mert hát a bolondnak ugy sem kellett volna elszámolni . . .

De én egész becsületesen vettem fel a dolgot. Ne tételezzen fel ilyesmit rólam, vágott közbe Mr. Schwartz.

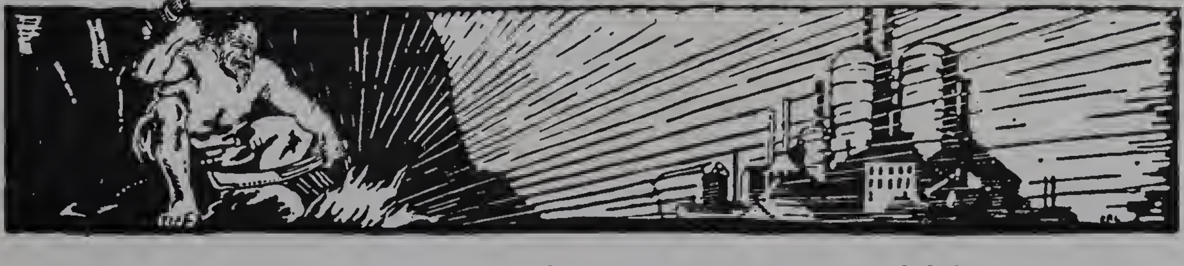
Én nem tételezek fel magukról semmit, mert én tudom minden számitásukat, lelkivilágukat. Miért kimélt volna meg engem, mikor évtizedekig, gyermekeket kizsákmányolt, egy pár dollárért dolgoztatta őket szakmányba, még zsenge korukba tönkretette őket, sokakat elnyomoritot. Mégis én vagyok a bolond . . . Nem elégedett meg azzal a vagyonnal melyet össze harácsolt mások kizsákmányolásán, hanem bolondnak hitt emberek jóhiszemüségét is kiakarta használni.

De . . . akart közbevágni ismét Schwartz. Mr. Buvárkodó teljesen tüzbe jött és már nem engedte, hogy évekig visszafojtott vádjait, támadásait most megszakitsák . . .

A kormány statisztikája szerint is a nemzeti vagyon 70 százalékát elpazarolják, egymást millió számra gyilkolják, telt raktárak mellett éhen halnak ezrével. Eladják fiatalságukat, életerejüket éhbérért, a jó élelmet megsemmisitik, hamisakat gyártanak, hogy több hasznot hajtsanak. De én vagyok a bolond . . . Ezt mondja ön, aki éjjel-nappal robotoltatott, ideje sem volt, hogy az igaz életett megismerje, nem csak másokat hanem önön magát is kizsákmányolta, mindég az üzlet után szaladgált és azon töprengett, aggódott, hogyan tudna olcsóbban kapni munkásokat, és másoktól az üzletet ellopni.

Én vagyok bolond . . ., az meglehet . . ., azért zártak ide, de nemis akarok az olyan okosok között élni mint maga és társai, még látni sem akarok olyan okosokat . . . No mit bámul rám, legjobb ha megyen innen, menjen vissza okos barátaihoz, csalják, lopják, gyilkolják egymást . . . Ne szóljon . . . nem vagyok kiváncsi bölcs mondásaira, akadályozta meg Mr. Buvárkodó a meglepődött gyárost a védekezésébe . . . Menjen, menjen, mert az ápolókat hivom és erőszakkal viszik el innen, — és tuszkolta is a kapu felé a visszavonult gyárost.

Mr. Schwartz, még soha nem hallott ilyen beszédet, de védekezni sem tudott másképpen, csak azt morogta magában, "bolond ez, bolond" és szégyenkezve ballagott a kapu felé.



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A M

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A központi iroda az east pittsburghi Magyar Házban, 222 Cable Ave. harmadik emeleten van.

B Sz

MAGYARORSZÁGI BESZÁMOLÓ 1935-BŐL

IRTA:

F. S. JÓZSEF

PKEZDJÜK TALÁN ott, hogy az 1935. év semmi javulást nem hozott a magyarországi gazdasági viszonyok terén. — Sőt.

Gömbös éra, amely immár 3-ik esztendeje (hiven Gömbös germán származásához) irtja, pusztitja a magyar népet, igyekszik tökéletes munkát végezni. A nép még mindég ott tart ahol Caraffa és Kollonich idején a szabadság dolgában. Ma mintha iránytüje lenne a Gömbös érának Kollonich érsek mondása: "A magyarokat előbb koldussá, azután németté teszem." E hirhedt mondás, amelyet Caraffa és az eperjesi hóhér annak idején aktivan is végzett, első részben már megvalósult. A 8 milliónyi magyarból 3 millió az ő megállapitásuk szerint is koldus sorsra jutott. Szomoru az a sorsüldözött és jobb sorsra érdemes magyar népre. Ma már elkoptak azok a frázisok, amelyekkel több mint egy évtizeden keresztül leplezték munkájukat. Ma már nincs senki e kis országban aki látva az értékek harácsolását, a nyomor okakénti magyarázatot, elfogadná Trianont, mint hosszu időn keresztül ezt elhitték. Igaz, hogy már az egyébként gazdasági téreni analfabéta kormányférfiak sem hivatkoznak reá. Az utóbbi éveket a kapitalizmus centralizációja és ezzel parallel a nép fokozottabb kizsákmányolása jellemzi. Ma soha nem látott hatalmakká nőttek ki természetesen kormánysegitséggel a trösztök, kartellek. Minden termelési ágban csöndes társként látjuk a Gömbös érát is. Láthatjuk ezt adózás, de láthatjuk ezt "kincstári haszonrészesedés" alakjában is. Világos tehát igy az is, bár a népet ezzel széditik miért nem mer és bir a kormány föllépni a trösztök és kartellek hatalmával szemben.

Az állami gazdálkodás is élénken mutatja azt, hogy az állam az adóprés gyilkos és kegyetlen alkalmazásával dolgozik, szivja, szivattyuzza a gazdasági élet vérkeringését, de a kiszivattyuzott érték csekély százalékát forditja az ország, a nép javára. Ilyen adóztatás mellett ami itt van nagyokat lehetne alkotni az ország és nép javára . . . és nem történik semmi.

Az az mégis történik: Gömbös felfogásával és főleg származásánál fogva kacérkodik a barna és fekete fascizmussal. Ugy látszik Európában amint 1909 óta ugy ma is egy cél van Magyarország "hivatalos" világa előtt. Az ország szekerét a germán hatalomhoz kötni. Mit számit nekik az, hogy a nagy háboru vértengerében ez a szekér kátyuba jutott és apró részeire hullott szét. Mit számit nekik, hogy ma kizárólag e miatt csonka ez a szerencsétlen ország. Semmit. Ugy hazardiroznak az ország érdekével mint a főnöke pénzével alkalmazottjai, aki lóversenyre viszi azt ki, rendeltetési helye helyett. Szomoru de való. A lakájszellemü sajtó, mely itt találahtó tussol, ken, ferdit mindent. Egy része ezt teszi a szubvencióért mit Gömböséktől élvez a központi pénztárból. A másik része (alig van ugyan) teszi félelemből. A lapok fölött a ma is érvényben levő "háboru esetére szóló sajtótörvény" tenyerel reá. Igy fejük fölött állandóan Demokles kardjaként lóg a betiltás, megszüntetés és kolportázs jog megvonásának veszélye, amelyekkel a kormány sakkba tartja tehát őket. Arról talán kár beszélni, hogy a magyar ember nem azt olvashat amit akar, hanem amit Gömbösék megengednek neki. Igy fordulnak elő a külföldi sajtótermékektől az emberek eltiltása, azok elkobzása és a postai szállittási jog megvonása tőlük. Gömbösék folytatják tehát elődjük Bethlen stb.-ek munkáját a nép sötétben tartását.

Ha Budapestet nézzük, lépten nyomon beleütközünk kiadó üzlethelyiséget, lakást hirdető plakátokba. A családok, ismerősök összébbhuzódnak, a lakbérek horibbilis volta miatt. Elképzelhető milyen viszonyok között élnek emberek, ha átnézzük a részleges statisztikát:

1179 szobát találtak 9 lakóval.
618 ” ” ” 10 ”
767 ” ” ” 11 ”
207 ” ” ” 12 lakóval.

Találtak azután olyan szobákat is ahol 15—16-an “laknak.” Ezt a számot azomban kimutatni nem merték. Azt gondolnánk a népességnek ilyetén való összezsufolódása szaporitja is azt. Éppen ellenkezője történik. A nyomoruság miatt fogy az egyébként még mindég vezető fővárosi lakosság, (a vidék nem különben.) 1935 január 1-től, 1935 junius 30-ig 8133 halálozás és 7995 születés történt, mig 1934 január 1-től, 1934 junius 30-ig 7525 halálozás és 8151 születés történt. 1935. évben tehát növekedés 608, csökenés 156. Végeredményben a főváros lakossága 764 fő veszteséget szenvedett, tehát többet mint 100-at havonta. Ebben nagy része van az éhezés és hajléktalanság mellett a testet ölő kizsákmányolásnak is. Ugy gondoljuk szerencsések közé tartoznak akik dolgozhatnak. Ne beszéljünk a 24 filléres “szak” munkások órabéreiről, most (1 liter tej 32 fillér és egy villamosjegy 24 fillér.) Nézzük csak a munkaidő mértéket:

	Heti munka órák:
Könyvkötő munkásoknál	48
Bőröndös ” ”	56
Kőmives ” ”	60
Asztalos ”..(7 nap óta)	48
addig 60—100	
Szobafestő ” ”	50
Szabó ” ”	60
Pék ” ”	72
Szállodai és éttermi..”	72
Borbély ” ”	78
Vas és fém, gép ”	72
Nyomdai ” ”	36
Kádár ” ”	48
Ács ” ”	70
Fuvarozó ” ”	72— 96
Szállitó ” ”	48— 72
Magántisztviselők és kereskedelmi alkalm.	
Füszerkereskedelmi	80
Élelmiszer ” ”	84—108
Áruházi eladók ”	52
Irodai tisztv. (Ker.-ben)	57
Irodai tisztv. (Bankoknál)	48

Ezekben a számokban van a munkanélküliségnek az oka is. A kormány becikkelyezte a genfi Munkaügyi Hivatal 48 órás munkaidőre javasló ajánlatát. A törvénytárba megvan thát, csak a gyakorlati életben nincs.

A gyáripar racionalizál ez a mai kifejezése a trösztösitésnek. E kis statisztika itt beigazolja a már megemlitett csöndestársi viszonyt is, miért is kell, hogy érdekeljen bennünket.

*** A gyáripari termelés értékéből:**

	A tőke szolgálatára fennmaradt összeg: Millió	Mit állami adók és más állami terhek összeg: Pengőben
1925-ben	489	45.5
1926-ban	587	50.4
1927-ben	753	75.4
1928-ban	805	71.9
1929-ben	817	83.1
1930-ban	757	74.8
1931-ben	633	70.0
1932-ben	564	85.7
1933-ban	532	104.0

Megdöbbentő, hogy az állam “résesedése” 1925-ben amig csak 9.5%-lék volt. 1933-ban pedig már 17.7%ra rugott.

A kézi ugy nevezett szakmai termelésnek gépipari termeléssé való átalakulását is szemléltetően láthatjuk:

	* Erőgépek lóereje:	*Teljesitett munka napok:
1925-ben	931.800	54.323.000
1926-ban	952.900	55.679.000
1927-ben	1.028.400	66.159.000
1928-ban	1.076.400	68.542.000
1929-ben	1.152.800	68.343.000
1930-ban	1.237.700	60.259.000
1931-ben	1.309.900	53.625.000
1932-ben	1.305.300	46.956.000
1933-ban	1.357.000	48.884.000

1927-től 1933-ig a magyar gyáripar termelőképessége 20.1 százalékkal nőtt, átlagossan tehát évi 3.3 százalékkal a kapacitás kiterjedése. Amig 1925-ben egy lóerő hasznositásához 58 munkanapra volt szükség, addig ezt 1933-ban már lerendukálták 37 munkanapra. Ez pedig 36.2 százalékos racionalizálásnak felel meg.

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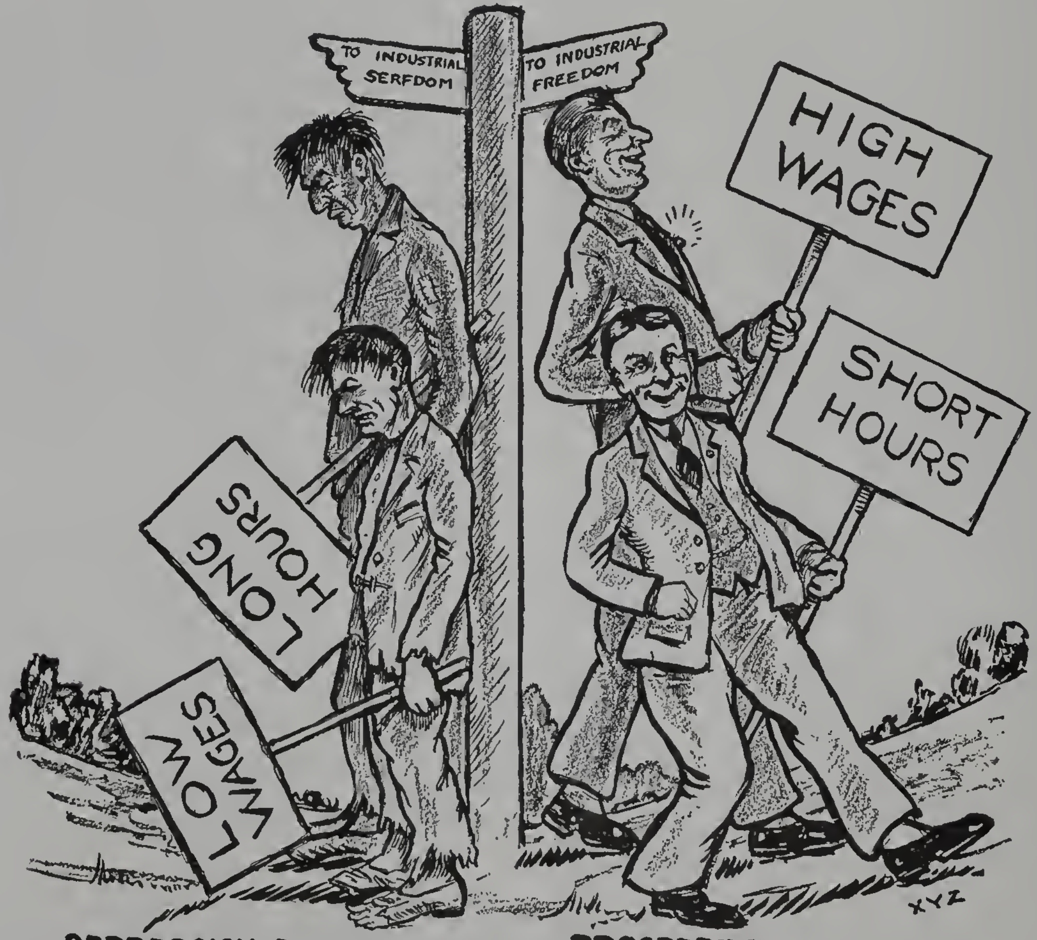
* Dr. Varga István “adalékok a magyar gyáripar helyzetének konjunkturális alakulásához” cimü könyvének statisztikai adataiból.

Ha ezt az eredményünket összevetjük a termelés értékének a tőkeszolgálatra jutó részével (profit.) ami 9 év alatt 489 millióról 532 millióra növekedett, akkor láthatjuk világosan egyhészt a szakmai termelés kihalási folyamatát, másrészt a kizsákmányolás növekedésének egész nagyságát. Nem csodálni való tehát az, hogy egyrészt a munkanélküliség a gépesités fejlődésével évről-évre növekszik. A szakmai munkásság ezzel arányba szorul ki a termelésből. Ma még nem "akarják" ezt tudomásul venni ugyan a "szak" munkások, ami azomban a tényeken nem változtat semmit.

Budapesten 1935-ben ha csak a szakszervezeti tagavatási ünnepélyeket (ála Céh módszer) és zászlószenteléseket nem nézzük, leszámitva a dupla választási cirkuszt, komolyabb munkás esemény mindössze négy volt. Az első részleges sztrájk a textiliparban tört ki — 90 százalékban elbukott. A második az ujpesti "asztalos" sztrájk volt. E sztrájkban nem csak a munkások, de a kisiparosok is harcoltak kooperative. Eredmény a 48 órás munkahét és minimális órabérek megállapitása (erre szóló miniszteri rendelet a napokban jelent meg ezernyi kibuvó lehetőséggel spékelve.) A harmadik a cipész sztrájk volt, amely csak egyes mühelyekre terjedt ki és csendben kimult. Végül a legvehemesebb volt az ugyancsak e hét folyamán (augusztus 19-én,) csufosan elbukott "Általános Épitőmunkás Sztrájk." Mondanunk sem kell, hogy ezeket a sztrájkokat amig az első kettőtt a szakszervezeti vezérkar irányitotta, addig a másik kettőbe a KMP is aktivan vett részt a vezetésben. Az épitőmunkás sztrájk igényli a fölboncolást tüzetesebben. Egyrészt azért, mert a legnagyobb tömeget mozgatta meg, másodszor pedig azért mert ilyen csufossan még nem bukott el Magyarországon egy ilyen nagy sztrájk. Kezdjük ott, hogy ez az "Általános Sztrájk" csak amolyan fából vaskarika volt. Résztvettek benne ugyan: A szociáldemokraták, kommunisták, keresztény szocialisták, IWW-isták, NEP-isták és a hitlerista fölfogásu munkások, tehát olyan tömegmegmozdulás volt ami Magyarországon még soha, azomban a sztrájk vezetését a Szocialdemokraták és a KMP kaparintották kézhez együttessen. Minden erőlködés hiábavalónak bizonyult és megtört a vezérkar ellentállásán, amely azt célozta, hogy valóban Általános Sztrájk legyen belőle. Már a sztrájk kiindulása is rávallott a két balkezes vezetésre. Ugyanis nem terjedt ki például a festők, mázolók, kőfaragók, burkolók, parkettázók, kályhások, cserépfedők, épületbádogosok és vizvezetékszerelők és mindezek segédmunkásaira stb. Ezek dolgoztak zavartalanul az épületen, leadtak a sztrájkolók részére pár fillért, és letörték a sztrájkot. A sztrájkolók gyülésein szólásszabadsága volt minden felfogású csoport emberének, még a hitleristáknak is. De az IWW-istákat ettől elütötték. Igy képtelenség volt a sztrájkot tehát Általánossá fejleszteni és beigazolódott, hogy az IWW-isták álláspontja volt a helyes, mely a tömeg között rámutatott már az első napokban, ha nem terjesztik ki a sztrájkot ugy bukása biztos. Ez egyéni agitációra a vezérkar röpiratban igyekezett ellennyomást gyakorolni, melyben fölhivta a sztrájkolókat, hogy csakis az ő utasitásait kövessék és tartsák be, mert ellenkező esetben elveszitik a harcot. Hát betartották és mégis elvesztették. Sőt pontosabban éppen ezért veszitették el. (Körülbelöl 6 évvel ezelőtt az IWW vezetése mellett győzelemre vitték a sztrájkjukat és 1 p.-ős órabért vivtak ki. A kommunista párt és szakszervezeti furások nem áltak ellent, hagyták az egységüket fölmorzsolni és még körülbelül 40—50 százalékos bérveszteséggel dolgoznak, ezt köszönhetik a kommunista párt és szakszervezeti vezérkarnak az épitőmunkások.)

Az ország egész lakóssága szimpatizált a sztrájkkal, (nagy szó ez itt) és sietett a sztrájkolók segitségére. A hivatalos világ a kapitalisták mellé állott, mint rendszerint itt szokás. Ezt mindenkor megtették, de talán sohasem ilyen nyiltan és szemérmetlenül. Nem csak a rendőrség, csendőrség és kormánylapok dolgoztak a sztrájkolók ellen, (egyik mtársunk kezéről két ujját vágta le a rendőrkard,) de maga a közigazgatás egész apparátusa. Vidéken HIVATALOSAN toborozták a sztrájktörőket, sőt nem csak toborozták, de kényszeritették is a munkanélküli épitőmunkásokat az ingyen moslék megvonásának terhe mellett, hogy Pestre jőjjenek dolgozni. A községeknek, amelyeknek egész Magyarországon az Anya és Csecsemővédelemre csak 300.000 pengőjük jut; most jutott arra, hogy a barom módjára fölhajszolt sztrájktörők utiköltségeit is fedezzék a köz-pénzéből. Az épületeket rendőrök őrizték, kerékpáros és motoros rendőrhadsereg cirkált, ezen kivül a környékükön, hogy megakadályozzák a sztrájkolókat abban, hogy megközelitsék az épületeket. A picketelőket elfogták, (ma is sokan vannak bent) és durván bántalmazták, mert odamertek menni. A MÉMOSZ aho a sztrjktanya volt rendőrségi és detektivek megszállása alatt az egész környékkel együtt. A vasmunkások sztrájkba akartak lépni, szakszervezetük leszerelte, árulás a vezérek részéről siettette a sztrájk elbukását. Körülbelül 15—20 ezer pengő folyt be a MÉMOSZ pénztárába és hangok hallaszanak, hogy 8 de 5 biztosan ezresekben elsikkadt a vezérkar kezein. Annyi tény, hogy nyilvános elszámolást a sztrájk befejezése után a gyüjtött hatalmas összegről nem adtak. (A gyüjtési kimutatásban az az 5 gyüjtőiv összege sem szerepel amit mi adtunk be a vezérkarnak.) Ugy hir-



DEPRESSION TWINS
A hosszu munkaidő, alacsony fizetés a nyomoruságba vezet.

PROSPERITY TWINS
A rövid munkaidő, magas fizetés jólétet jelent.

lik nem is adnak. Egy az bizonyos a MÉMOSZ vezérkara szanálta magát is meg a mémosz-nak ingadozó pilléreit, ennyire volt jó a sztrájk. Egy kis virágot tüzök ide az olvasó elé, hogy lássák milyen "PÁRTATLAN" is itt a közigazgatás. (Szerényebbet választottam.

(Pestszentlőrinci Hirlap 1935 augusztus 10-iki számának 3-ik oldala.)

A munkanélküli lőrinci épitőmunkások figyelmébe!

Pestszentlőrinc község előljárósága.

27710/1935 szám.

FELHIVÁS!

A budapesti épitőmesterek, kőmüvesmesterek és Épitési Vállalatok Szövetsége azzal a kérelemmel fordult előljáróságunkhoz, hogy a budapesti épitőmunkások sztrájkjára tekintettel hivjuk fel a pestszentlőrinci munkanélküli épitőmunkásokat, hogy az emlitett szöveség munkaközvetitő intézete (Budapest VIII., Német utca 22.) korlátlan számban felveszi a jelentkezőket. Órabér 24 fillértől.

A munkanélküliek figyelmét a magunk részéről is felhivjuk erre!

Pestszentlőrinc 1935 augusztus 8.

Az előljáróság.

Elég ékesen beszél ugyebár ez a hivatalos hatósági irat. Vajjon a "pártatlan" közigazgatás ugyanilyen készséggel publikálta volna a munkás szervezet fölhivását is, hogy "sztrájk van a nagyobb kenyérért épitőmunkások Pestre ne jöjjenek." Alig hisszük. (Én egyáltalán nem hiszem: a szedő.)

Ha már a közigazgatásnál tartunk térjünk reá, hogy ezt a "pártatlan" közigazgatást vajjon kik tartják el. A kapitalisták? Óh dehogy. Azokat szolgálják. Azok parancsait teljesitik, de a néppel tartatják ki magukat. Hát ez csak logikus nemde?

A magyar adózási rendszer, mely Európa legantiszocialisabb adórendszere a községek (közigazgatás) kiadásainak fedezésére az állami elég magas adón kivül N. N. pótadót szednek. (Mi az, hogy szednek? irgalmatlanul bevasalják, ha a paraszt bele is pusztul: a szedő.) Ez a pótadó az állami adónak Magyarország 3348 községébe 40—150 százalékig nyomja a lakósságot. Községekben 5.803.229 ember él Magyarországon. Ezek egészségügyét 957 (nagy szám ugye?) községi és körorvos szolgálná, ha birná. Egy-egy orvosra kereken 6000 ember egészsége fölötti őrködés jut. Ugyanekkor a közigazgatást 3628 jegyző, 21.169 községi tisztviselő, — 24.797 firkász intézi. A bürokrácia tehát amint látható polip karjaival szoritja magához a népet. Csanádmegyében van egy kis falu Gyála. — Térképen is alig fedezhető fel. Na ez a kis falu alaposan nyöghet. Lelkenként 94 pengő évi pótadó jut minden lakósra beleértve az ujszülötteket is. (Magyarok szaporodjatok.) Hévizszentandrás sem panaszkodhatik, Keszthely mellett mert ott viszont "csak" 55 pengő a fejenkénti porció. Van aztán az országban 13 olyan boldog falu is, ahol 4 pengő a porció és 1 darab Vágáshuta ahol 1 pengőt tesz ez ki évenként. Félreértés ne legyen évenként értendő.

A 3348 község között azért összesen van 11, ameyiknek a kiadásait fedezik a bevételei. A többi 3337-nek 25 millió pengővel több a kiadása és ennek a hiánynak fedezésére kell a pótadó. A kiadásaik igy oszlanak meg:

A "Pártatlan" közigazgatás tisztikarának eltartása elmegy *	57.7%
Tanügyi és Testnevelés (Leventézés) szükségletekre	13.1%
Közlekedési, (a jegyző ha kocsizik) köz és állategésségügyre	7.--%
Közmüvelődés és egyházakra	3.5%
Szegény ügy és Népjólétre	3.1%
Tüzrendészetre	4.--%
Adókezelésre *	1.6%
	100%

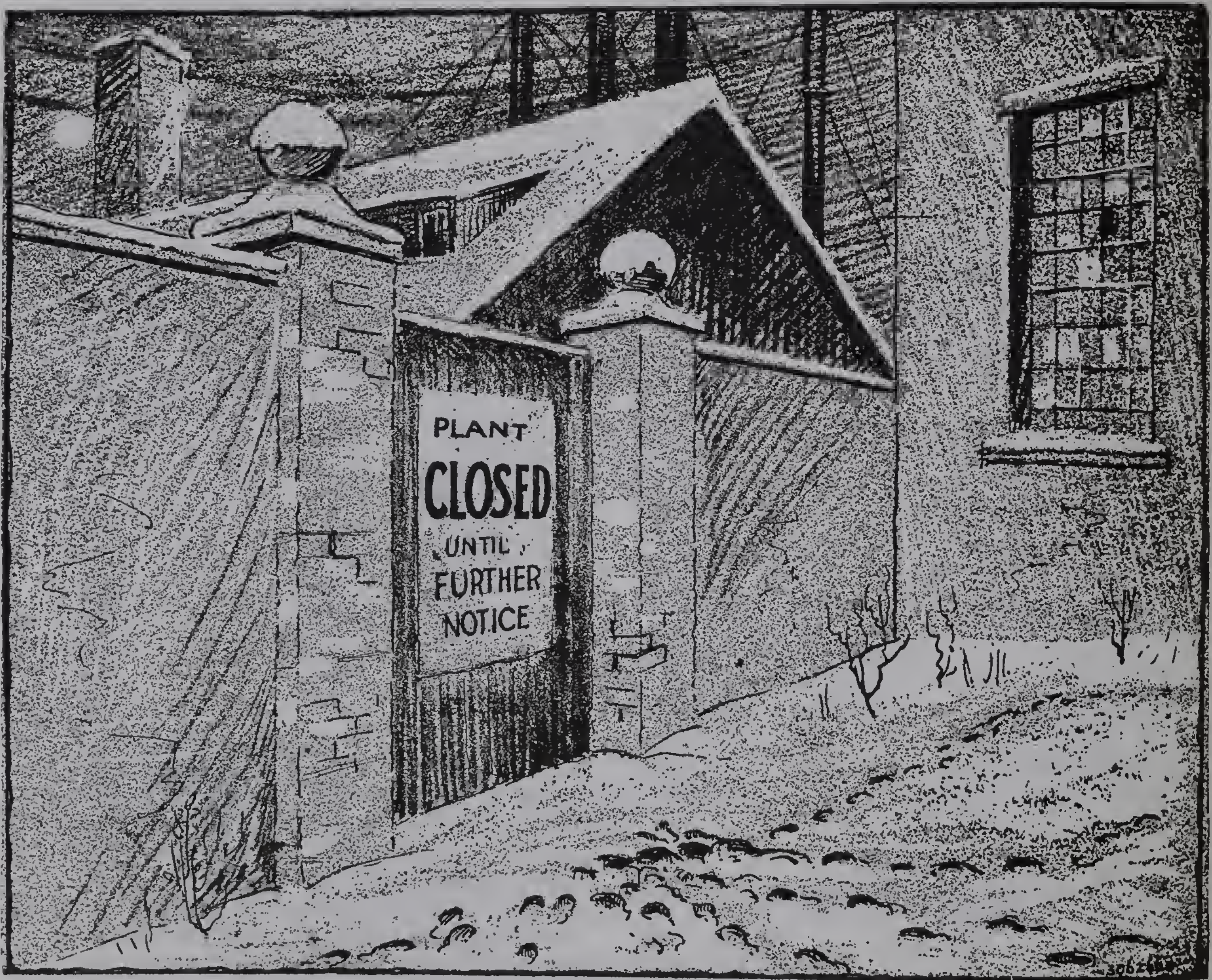
Az embernek a haja az égnek áll ha végignézzük kik tartoznak a községi akalmazottak soraiba. Mennyi here! Jegyzők, segédjegyzők, számtisztek, kataszteri nyilvántartók, irodatisztek, végrehajtók, kezelők, iktatók, kiadók, adóellenőrök, adótisztek, pénztári ellenőrök, rendőrbiztosok, rendőrvezetők, (nem hivatásos spiclik?) és rendszeresitett dijnokok. Lehetnek ezeken kivül, bár nem mindenütt tartják őket, minek csak fölösleges luxus nemde? Községi orvosok, állatorvosok és mérnökök is a községek szolgálatában. Most azután ha összegszerüségre bontjuk fel a községek pótadóit, hogy mennyit és mire forditanak megtudjuk, hogy a 3348 község összesen és együttvéve.

	Pengőt.
Járványkórházakra fordit egy év alatt	100.000
Fertőtlenitőszerekre	200.000
Anya és csecsemővédelemre	300.000
Hazafias és társadalmi egyesületekre	500.000
Felekezeti iskolák tanitóinak fizetésére	2.200.000

A községek szükséglete évi 74.2 millió pengő volt 1934-ben.

Azt hiszem az itt ismertetett 5 tételhez szükségtelen magyarázatot füzni. A számok beszélnek önmagukért. Jellemző csupán az, hogy amig a községek lakósai nyögik a felekezeti iskolák terheit, addig a felekezeteké a felügyeleti és rendelkezési jog, bár egy fillért ahoz nem adnak.

Ennyi volna az elmult 1935 évről a beszámolóm. Hiszem azt, hogy nem végeztem hiába való munkát . . .



A munkások szervezkedésén mulik, hogy a gyárak kapui megnyiljanak.

RÖVID BESZÁMOLÓ AZ IDEI NYÁRRÓL

IRTA:

VERES PÉTER

P AZ UJSÁGOKBAN képek: fürdőruhás hölgyek apró gyerekeiket uszni tanitják. Hosszu tudósitások arról, hogy a hőhullám megállitja az életet és aki teheti, menekül a vizbe és a fák alá.

Más: Hirek és beszámolók arról, hogy Indiában, Kinában, Japánban 8—10—12 éves gyermekek dolgoznak a gyárakban napi 10—12 órát.

Más: Folyóiratban, ujságokban, könyvekben és parlamentekben arról folyik a vita, hogy melyik jobb, a kisüzem-e, vagy a nagyüzem. Az érvek és a szempontok sokfélék. Köztük ott van az is, hogy a kisbirtok több munkaalkalmat ad a családtagoknak, mint a nagybirtok. De jellemző, hogy ugy a kisbirtok prófétái, mint a nagybirtok iródeákjai elfelejtették érvül, illetve ellenérvül fölhasználni, hogy elég baj az, hogy a kisbirtokon dolgozó 8—10 éves gyerekek nem köszönik ezt meg a szüleiknek s anak a rendnek, amely a szüleiket arra kényszeriti, hogy felnőtt munkás helyett a saját apró gyerekeiket kinozzák a nem nekik való munkával.

De lássuk a tényeket.

* * *

Az idei buzatermés jobbacskán mutatkozott. A nagy hőség azonban hirtelen “leérlelte.” A miniszter ezért felfüggesztette a vasárnapi munkaszünetet, ami azt jelenti, hogy nem ugy volt, mint eddig, hogy törvénytelenül arattak vasárnap, hanem most — törvényesen. S nemcsak maguknak, mint ősidők óta, hogy az arató, akinek magának is volt egy-két hold buzája, azt vasárnap vágta le, hogy az uraságnál meg ne rövidüljön, — hanem “szabályosan” a gazdáknak is, már aki ezt akarta. Éppen csak, hogy tisztát váltottak, az asszonyok kimosták a szükséges rongyokat és mentek vissza a munkába. Igy az aratás ideje — ez már évek óta igy van, de az idén a csucspontra lépett — összeszorult pár hétre s egyuttal már folyik a cséplés is. Még aratnak, de már a másik végét csépeltók. Ezen a pár héten aztán ugy összeszorult a munka, hogy a szegény földmunkás majd belefulladt. Sietnie kell, hogy sokat markoljon.

Kétségbeejtő ellentmondás!

Az egész világon, még Magyaországon is az iparban állandó folyamat a munkarövidités és szinte már törvény a hétvégi pihenő, a vikend és ugyanakkor a magyar Alföldön meghosszabbodik a munkaidő és meggyorsul a munkatempó egészen a kibirhatatlanságig.

* * *

Egy asszony meghalt hőgutában az uradalomban és mindenfelé sokan megbetegedtek, részint a hőségtől, részint a nehéz munkától és a rossz táplálkozásból eredő gyengeségtől.

“Sietni kell, mert ülhetünk a jövő nyárig otthon” — ez a jelszó.

* * *

De nemcsak erről akartam beszélni, ez csak bevezetés az igazi mondanivalóhoz.

Az uradalmak különböző ipari növényeket is termesztenek, amióta a buza “nem járja ki magát.” Eleinte aratókat szerződtettek rá, de most jobbnak látták napszámosgyerekekkel elvégeztetni, — mivelhogy teli van a falu munkanélkülivel. Mármost, amire a buza megérett, a borsót is nyüni kellett. Én nem tudom, próbáltak-e rá felnőtt munkást szerezni, de lehet, hogyha próbáltak volna is, csak rendes arató napszámért kaptak volna, Ehelyett hát kihirdették a faluban, hogy apró gyerekeket, 8—10—12 éveseket vesznek föl munkára, napi 50 fillérért. Emellé még kapnak 30 deka kenyeret és egy félliter tejet ebédre. Este, reggel pedig szekérrel hozzák-viszik őket.

Meg kell adni, az uradalom “humánus" volt, mert ezen a tájon sohasem adtak a napszám mellé még enni is. s sohasem adtak szekeret a 8—10 kilométerre gyalogoló gyerekek és emberek alá, akik az egész tavaszon már kijártak kapálni és gyomlálni. Nem is ez az egészben a megdöbbentő és nem is az, hogy a hatóságok ezt a gyermekmunkát elnézték, hanem az, hogy olyan nagy volt a tolongás, hogy a beküldött szekerek sohasem győzték fölvenni a jelentkezőket. A gyerekek maguk is igyekeztek, hogy pénzt keressenek, szerintük, kartonruhácskára, fejkendőre és kiskötényre, anyjuk szerint sóra, paprikára, krumplira,mivelhogy az apák aratni vannak és pénzt nem látnak, mert buzából részesednek, de majd csak a végén.

Kilencéves kislányom estéről estére sirt az anyján, hogy de kora hajnalban keltse föl, mert ő megy napszámra. El is mentek a 11 éves fiuval talán három vagy négy hajnalon, de egyszer sem tudtak bejutni, annyian voltak. Pedig már hajnali félháromkor föl kellett kelniök s szaladniok a kastély udvarára, a nagy lapos falu messzi utcáiból, ahonnan aztán kivitték őket 8—10 kilométerre. Este féltizkor jöttek haza. Számitsák ki a japán dömpingen felháborodók, hány óra ez? Mellékesen 34—36 fokos melegben borsót cibáltak, ami nem is olyan tulnyomóan könnyü munka, mert némelyiknek erős a gyökere tizéves gyerekek kezéhez.

Az egészben az a szomoru, hogy hamar vége lett, keveset tudtak keresni és azt is csak kevesen. És az még szomorubb, hogy ezt kell sajnálniok. Hogy anyák és gyerekek olyannyira törik magukat az után a pár fillér után. S ez ugyanakkor, amikor a 30 órás munkahétről beszélnek s a gyermekmunkát törvény tiltja az egész világon, sőt éppen azokban a napokban, amikor a genfi Nemzetközi Munkaügyi Hivatal a gyermekmunka eltiltásáról tárgyalt. És ugyanakkor, amikor még a már pihenni készülő reformparlamentben a leghangosabban szónokoltak a magyar jövőről. De mit várhatnak attól a magyar nemzedéktől, amelyik 10 éves korában borsót nyüni jár napi 18 órai, ha nem is munkával — ami kibirhatatlan —, de strapával, ami majdnem ugyanaz.

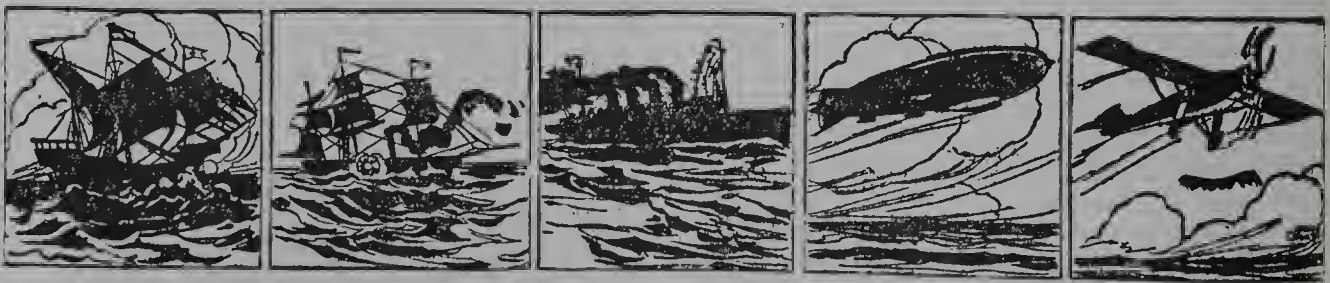
* * *

Mi ebből a tanulság?

Az, hogy nem henceghet már a kisbirtok védője, hogy itt a gyerekek is kapnak munkát, mert a nagybirtok ezen a téren is tulhaladja, ha komolyan akarja. S miért ne akarná, ha lehet? A tőke nem szentimentális.

A másik pedig az, hogy az agrárkapitalizmus, ime, nem adja fel a versenyt. Ha gépekkel nem birja, akkor — gyermekmunkával próbálja meg, hogy elérje az egyedüli célt, a rentabilitást, a hasznot.

Nemzetvédelem? Szociálpolitika? — Akinek fáj a foga, tartsa rajta a nyelvét.



A közlekedés fejlődése erősiti a nemzetköziség szükségességét.

A MUNKÁSOSZTÁLY FELSZABADULÁSÁNAK AKADÁLYAI

IRTA:

SCHÖPF SÁNDOR

P MINDAZON munkások, akik csak egy kevéssé is tisztában vannak, a munkásosztály harcával, tudják: a munkásosztály felszabadulásának kérdése, nem egy ország, egy kontinens, hanem az egész föld kerekségén élő billiós dolgozó tömegeié.

A munkásosztály felszabadulásának akadályai

Minden gondolkozni tudó munkás előtt elvitathatatlan tény az, eltekintve az apró, mint faji, nemzetiségi vonástól, a világ mind a négy sarkában, csupán csak kétféle emberfajt ismerünk. Az egyik fél a dolgozók, a termelők serege, a másik fél pedig az, a melyik eltulajdonitja a termelt javaket. Másszóval az óriási tömegek folyton csak termelnek, s a hasonlithatatlanul kisebb csoport pedig csak élvezi a termelt javakat bárhol is termelték azokat a föld kerekségén és csak anynyit juttatnak a termelőknek, hogy fizikai létüket egyik napról a másikra tudják táplálni. Ez a nagy ellentét sok felkelés és forradalmat idézett fel — mégis képtelen volt a dolgozók osztályát felszabaditani, a kizsákmányolás alól. Az okok, melyek akadályai a munkásosztály felszabadulási lehetőségének, általános az egész világon.

Elsősorban a régi tradició, a hagyományhoz való ragaszkodás, a szabadulni nem tudó és egyben könnyen befolyásolható gondolkozásmódja a munkás tömegeknek, okozta azt, hogy a termelőeszközök gyors fejlődésével nem tudott lépést tartani az osztályharc terén. A különféle vallási nézetek, amelyek anyáról gyermekre szált, melyről Gorkij mondja: "Az egyházak az anyák emlőire vannak épitve," és a munkásság még felnőtt korában sem tudja levetni, sőt irtózik mindentől ami uj és ésszerübb a saját részére. A másik a patriotizmus, a hazafiság, melyet már az ovodába belénk nevelnek és az a nagy tömegeknél még az iskola elhagyása után is megmarad, dacára a szemünk előtt lejátszodó események ellenére is, melyek naponta igazolják, hogy a tőkések mit sem törődnek az országhatárokkal, más országokba, világrészekbe kötnek mindenféle üzleti ügyet, ruhát, élelmet sőt fegyvereket szállitanak messze tul az ország határokon.

E két hagyományos tanitások méltó fegyvertársa a **sajtó**, amelyet a tőkésosztály irányit a saját érdeke szerint. S a hagyományoktól átitatott munkásagyak elhiszik a tőkés ujságok, folyóiratok és könyvek hazugul beállitott cikkeit és irodalmait, azt hiszik, mivel ezek a sajtó termékek, nyilvánosan és nyomtatásban látnak napvilágot, tehát igazaknak is kell lenniök.

Pedig itt a tévedés, a tőkés sajtó jól tudja, hogy a munkásosztály nagy többsége még nem tudott a hagyománytól megszabadulni, nem tud szabad, tiszta és egészséges véleményt alkotni, befolyásolható gondolkozásmódja befogadja, a rosszindulatu és romboló hatásu hazugságokat.

Munkástömegek hosszu évtizedek alatt igy tanultak meg **hinni** bizonyiték nélkül, sőt sajnos hiszik még ma is, hogy a termelőeszközök tulajdonosainak teljes joguk van a munkásosztály kizsákmányolásához, megrablásához, a melyet elősegit a tőkés osztály érdekében alkotott törvények is. Ezek együttesen és egész biztosan beleviszik a hiszékenyek tömegeit az egész világon, a negyedik csapdába a **"politikai akcióba."** Minden politikai akció a sajtón keresztül közeliti meg a tömegeket, irtózatos pénzek, a legjobban fizetett ujságirók, a legravaszabb politikusok kiállnak a nyilvánosság elé, szóban és irásban ajánlják a munkásosztálynak, hogy helyzetének javitására, sőt felszabaditásának érdekében, lépjen az urnához és adja le szavazatát a bizonyos jelöltre, s ha az bejön, meg lessz oldva a várva-várt munkáskérdés. Azonban a történelmi tények ennek épp az ellenkezőjét igazolják. Ott van a munkáspolitikus kormány MacDonald, Mussolini, a néhai Ebert és Stalin.

Nincs külömbség köztük, legyen az fekete, vörös, tulipiros vagy kupikék. Egyben valamennyi közös és ez a **"Diktatura."** Minden diktatura elnyomatáson alapszik, bárhol legyen is az a világon . . .

Igen ám, ha mindez igy van és nem jól, hát mit kell tenni arra, hogy jó legyen és a munkás osztály felszabadulhasson végre?

Csak egy munkásszervezet van, mely elméletben épp ugy, mint gyakorlatban igazi munkás szervezet. Harminc esztendő óta tanitja a munkásosztályt a saját lábán való járására, a saját fejével való gondolkozásra. Szervezi a bérmunkásokat, szinre, fajra, nemre való tekintet nélkül egy közös nagy ipari unioba. Ez a "Világ Ipari Munkásainak Szervezete."

Célja: a termelés eszközeinek a dolgozók által való lefoglalása, hogy a földmivelés, halászat, bányászat, épitészet, ruha, butor és a közszolgálati ipar mind együttvéve azok kezébe legyen, akik azokban dolgoznak, s az ezekkel termelt javak senki másé nem lehetnek, csak kizárólag a dolgozóké.

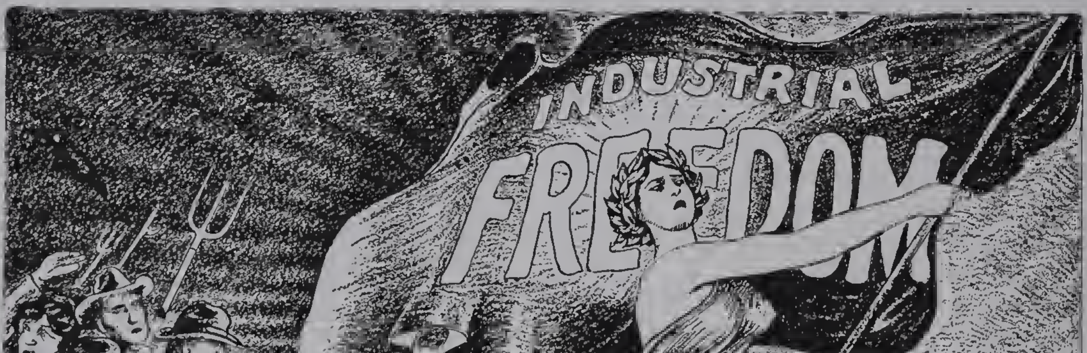
Ez nem vallási, nem hazafias és nem politikai — hanem ipari szervezet.

Fegyelmezett ipari csoportok végzik a **termelést** és a **szétosztás** müveletét is, nem bizzák azt másokra és eltörlik a minden nyomor, szenvedés, könny és vér okozóját a **bérrendszert.**

Ezzel egyidejüleg megváltoztatják az egész emberi társadalmat.

E szervezet ajtaja nyitva van minden bérmunkás számára, hogy együttes, válvetett munkával elháritsunk minden akadályt a munkásosztály felszabadulásának utjából, mert nem Messiások, nem Megváltók sem politikusok nem fogják ezt helyettünk elvégezni.

Az igazi szabadság, emberszeretet, világbékesség és boldogság megteremtése, a munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, itt ezen a földön.



Kövesd az ipari szabadság zászlaját.

"SEGITS MAGADON!"

IRTA:

SOMLÓ LIPÓT

PAZ EMBER gyermeke védekezni kényszerül — a bölcsőtől mindhalálig — a természet mostohasága, az időjárás veszedelmei és a társadalom bajaival szemben.

Erre az önvédelemre kényszerült az évezredek primitiv barlang-lakója és önvédelemre kényszerül a modern idők civilizált apartment-lakója is. A primitiv, "barbár" — társadalomban primitiv eszközökkel és szokás-módokkal védte magát az ember-fia, a civilizált világ komplikált, "civilizált" eszközökkel, kisérleti tudományokkal és fejlett társadalmi rendszerrel védelmezi lakóit.

A ma embere jobb védelmi eszközökkel könnyebben megbirkózik a természettel, az életfentartással és az élete megőrzésével járó veszedelmekkel. **A fejlett társadalom védő intézményeket épitett a keretében élő ember számára.** A védelmi eszközök fejlettsége, a védelmi intézmények eredményessége: fokmérője ma minden civilizált ország kulturájának.

Az ujabb századok fizikai ember-csodái: a gépek, rendkivül megkönnyitették az emberi szükségleti cikkek tömeges előteremtését és a velük járó munkafolyamatok elvégzését. A vegyészet tüneményes leletei és az orvostudomány tapasztalatai, vizsgálódásai, hosszabbitják az emberi léthatárt és sorra legyürik az ember ősellenségeinek: a bacillusoknak kórokat és járványokat okozó támadásait. De mégis és mégis: millió és millió embertársunk válik a korai halál áldozatává ma is.

Millió és millió munkástársunk válik évente munkaképtelenné, beteggé és rokantá. A kórházaink, a szegény emberek kórházai mindig zsufoltak. Minden tudományunk és mindenféle fejlett intézményünk dacára is: pusztitanak még a betegségek, az időelőtti elhalálozások és a modern gyáriparral és technikával versenytfutó szakmai betegségek, csonkulások, sérülések, balesetek.

A fejlett szociális törvényekkel rendelkező országok munkást-védő eszközöket követelnek meg a rohanó gépek mellé. Részben azért, hogy az üzemi baleseti károkat csökkentsék és részben azért is, hogy a gépeket kezelő munkásokat kevesebb rizikóval hajszolhassák a többtermelésre. Minden fejlettebb ipari államnak vannak ma már ugynevezett szociális törvényei, szociális intézményei, amelyeknek céljuk és rendeltetésük, hogy a modern ipari termelés munkását valahogy védjék és kárpótolják az életét és egészségét állandóan fenyegető speedelt gépek és ártó vegyi behatásokkal szemben.

Az állami beavatkozások védelmi intézményeket hoznak létre mindenütt, hogy a profitért lihegő kapitalista társadalmat balancirozzák. Különösen az erős munkás szervezetekkel rendelkező államok alkottak többféle "munkásbiztositó" intézményeket és törvényeket, mert szükségük volt rájok. Ezekben az államokban: az állam, a munkáltatók és munkások pénzéből tartják a munkásbiztositó pénztárakat; kórházakat, szanatóriumokat, stb. Ezekből az alapokból nyujtanak betegsegélyeket, baleseti járulékokat; ilyen alapon szervezték legtöbb helyt az aggkori és a rokkant biztositásokat is.

Ilyen mintára tekintve, alkotta meg Mr. Roosevelt kormányzata vérszegény aggkori és munkanélküli törvényeit. Ezek a törvények itt is segitenek enyhiteni a kapitalista termelés és jövedelem eloszlásból származó állandó nagy bajokon. De csak enyhitenek.

A munkásmilliók állandó életbizonytalansága: a munkanélküliség réme, a kizsákmányolás átka, a gépek és a nélkülözések ezer veszedelme, — védelmi szervezetek és intézmények épitésére serkentik a védelmet igénylő munkás kezeket. E végből tömörülnek a munkásság milliói, a különböző munkás szervezetekbe és **evégből teremtettek maguknak betegsegélyző szervezeteket is.**

A betegsegélyző intézményekre nálunk fokozottabban van szükség, mivel itt nincsennek államilag szervezett és támogatott betegsegélyző intézmények. Amerika munkásai önerejükből, önvédelmükre szervezték meg a betegsegélyző, balesetbiztositó és temetkezési járulékot nyujtó intézményeiket. Ezekre még akkor is nagy szüksége volna, ha az állami intézményekkel enyhitenék nyomorát.

A kapitalista rendszer szükségszerü intézményei. Kellenek a betegségek és balesetek keserü napjaiban, hogy egzisztálhassunk és kellenek, amikor — a rendszer jóvoltából — családunkról kell gondoskodni a legsötétebb napjainkban.

A munkás betegsegélyzők a munkásság önvédelmi szervezetei. "Hiszen vannak kapitalista vállalatok, amelyekben biztosithatja magát a munkás" — mondják sokan. De vannak company unik is! Mégsem ajánljuk a munkástársainknak, hogy a bószaink uniónjában igyekezzenek sorsukon, osztályhelyzetükön javitani; hanem azt tanácsoljuk, hogy a saját — maguk — alkotta, osztályharcos szervezetekbe tömörüljenek napibérük és munkaviszonyaik javitására és a holnap társadalmának a kivivására.

A munkásosztály a maga-alkotta, demokratikus szervezetekben és intézményekben megtanulja társadalmi életének rendszeres kormányzását; az összetartásból, szolidaritásból fakadó erejéből és hasznából táplálja önbizalmát, tudását, amelynek segitségével képessé lesz sorsának formálására. **Már a jelen társadalmában kifejleszti önmagában azokat a képességeket, amelyek alkalmassá teszik a jövő társadamának a megalapozására és a demokratikus önkormányzatra.**

Minden tényleges munkásszervezet egyik iskolája és láncszeme a holnap társadalmi szervezetének. Éppen ezért válnak rendkivül fontosakká a munkásság osztály szervezetei; még a betegsegélyzői is.

A "testvéri alapon" szervezett munkás betegsegélyzők nem roppantak össze a gazdasági válság mélypontján sem. Sőt jobban kiállták csapásait, mint a profitcsinálásra épült kapitalista biztositó vállalatoknak nagyrésze. A demokratikus ellenőrzéssel igazgatott munkás-intézmények haszna és tőke-fölöslege az intézményük tagságának sietett segitségére; nem igy a kapitalista részvényesek biztositó intézményei, amelyeknek profitjai a gazdag részvényeseik és igazgatóik zsebeibe vándoroltak, — a biztositottak róvására.

A munkás betegsegélyzők nem oldják meg a kapitalizmus problémáit; nem is vállalkoztak erre. De megoldják az önvédelemre szükséges napi életnek egy és más kérdését. Annyira, amennyire a mai rendszeren belül lehetséges az önmaguk-alkotta szegényes és korlátolt eszközökkel. Olyanok, amilyenekké a mai rendszer és a benne tömörülők ereje és tehetsége teszi őket. De szükségszerüek. Ezért ismételjük ujra és ujra:

"Munkástárs, segits magadon!......"

TISZÁNTULI RAJZOK

IRTA:

VASAS ALBERT

P HAJDUBÖSZÖRMÉNY, 1935 október. Őszi táj, őszi szinek. A határ üres és kopár. A nyári aszály nyomait csak az mutatja, hogy a tanyákon csak a sárguló levelü fák, a vedlett házak, a meszeletlen falak látszanak, de a “lóger,” a takarmánykert majdnem üres. A csutkakupok már bekerültek a tarlóról, de nem állanak sürü sorokban, mint máskor, a szalmakazlak kicsik s azok is többnyire tavalyiak, a töreket már régóta eszi a ló, mert nem állanak nagy, kerek lucernaboglyák és hosszu kazal verestökök a tanyák mellett. A górékon is átlátni, nincsenek tele tengerivel. Ha volt is jó tengeritermés az országban, de itt nem volt. A kései vetésüek itt-ott még künn vannak, de már nem lesz belőlük tengeri, legföljebb takarmány, annak is gyönge, mert megcsipte a dér. Elvette az izét és a szinét.

A szántást-vetést már többnyire elvégezték, ki is keltek a buzák, de a szárazság miatt megint ritkásak és soványak. A határban már alig vannak, itt-ott tavaszi alá szánt egy-egy iga, vagy takarmányépát szedeget néhány asszony és gyerek. Nemsokára befejeződik minden munka, pedig de soká lesz még tavasz. Beülhetnek a parasztok a sutba és zsoltáros öregasszonyok elénekelhetik a hüvös őszi estéken, hogy “Tüz mellé házba szorulunk, Uram, im hozzád fordulunk,” az emberek pedig ujra kezdhetik a reménykedést a jövő termésig, hogy hátha majd jobban sikerül, amikor pedig majd nyilván megint kiderül, hogy az sem ér semmit. Ha terem, az se, ha nem terem, még annyit se.

* * *

A város igazi város. Nemcsak azért, mert előkelő, komoly városháza van, nemcsak azért mert előtte rendőr igazitja a rendet, nem is csupán azért, mert parkjai vannak (amelyek, igaz, nem valami gondozottak, de miért lennének gondozottak, ha a lakosok házai vakolatlanok és meszeletlenek?) közepükön szoborral, hanem főleg azért, mert rengeteg üzlet, mühely s utcaszámra terjedő polgári, parasztnyelven “gazda-” és “uri” házai vannak.

Ezekről a házakról aztán beszélni lehet. Nem sok helység lehet a Tiszántulon, ahol ilyen észszerütlen, sem a tájhoz, sem az idájáráshoz, és főleg a rossz épitőanyaghoz, a gyenge vályoghoz és rossz, porlós téglához nem illő épitkezés volna. Középkori német városok csucsos, oromzatos, mohospatinás kőházainak az eltorzitott utánzatai ezek a házak s bizonyára valamikor idehozott s ittmaradt német épitőmestereknek a munkája nyomán terjedtek el. Most persze sorjában meszeletlenek és omladozó vakolatuak, mert rossz vályog és tégla nem állja a vakolatot s mivel nincsen ereszetük, az eső hamar leveri. A rendbehozás, az őszi betakaritás persze sokba kerülne, nem olyan egyszerü, mint az igazi parasztházaknál, ahol a vályogfalat betapasztják és bemeszelik fehérre. Kitelik az asszony erejéből. Erre pénz kellene, de kinek van ma pénze? Csak kenyérre és sóra legyen.

Vannak azért gondozott házak is. Ezek biztosan fixfizetéses embereké, akiknek még mindig van pénzük. A szegénynegyed házai ugyanerre a mintára épültek, csak nagyon keskenyek, szinte szembántóan szükek, de a téglaoromzat ezeken is, többrészén megvan. Másutt lapos és alacsony a proletárkunyhó, itt meg szük.

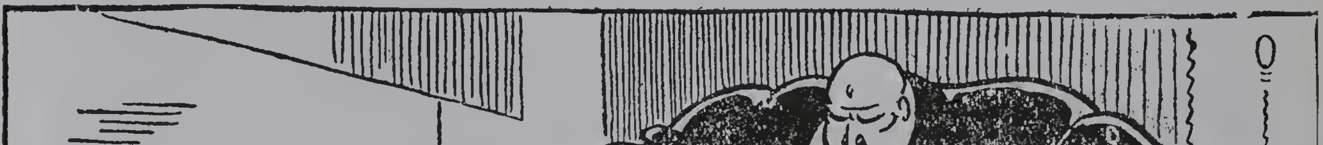
Egyébként Hajduböszörmény pontosan jellemzi az egész Magyarországot: félbenmaradt ipar, félbenmaradt, elaprózódott, szinte atomizált kiskereskedelem, önmagába roskadó mezőgazdaság és minden irányban nagymértékü eladósodottság, amelybe éppen az ilyen polgárosodni kezdő, kapitalizálódó, üzleti szellemmel telitett, de szük lehetőségek közé szoritott népek estek legjobban bele, mert hiszen ezek azok, akik a polgári boldogulás utján fölfelé akartak menni. Kispolgárból burzsoá, törpebirtokosból kisgazda: — most az egészbe "beleszeladt a madzag."

* * *

A birtokeloszlás pedig majdnem kifogástalan s éppen ezért érdekes, jellemző és elgondolkoztató Hajduböszörmény sorsa. Harmincezerkörüli lakosára majdnem 60.000 hold föld van, többnyire jó fekete televény és barna homok. Kevés legelő és szikes rétes földje van, de azok is termők. Nagybirtok egyáltalán nincs, néhány százholdon fölüli kisgazda mindössze, a többi törpe- és kisbirtokos. Persze ezek nem mind maguk munkálják a földjüket. Mert az egyik része a parasztoknak csak tulajdonosa a földnek (ezek az Imrédy pipázó parasztjai,) a másik rész pedig munkálója, bérlője. Éppen ezért a földek rosszul vannak kihasználva, mert a bérlet drága, a bérlő szegény, nincs jószága, nincs trágyája, nincs pénze. Ma pedig a föld már nemigen birja el, hogy a munkálóján kivül még másokat is eltartson.

A fentiekből következik, hogy nincs igazi földmunkásság. Csak szegény emberek vannak. De ezek aztán csakugyan szegények. Még az igazi földmunkásoknál is szegényebbek. Kisbirtokosvidéken ritkán van napszám rendszeresen, csak nagyon esős időben, tehát a szegény embereknek mindenféle módot meg kell próbálniok, hogy megélhessenek. Van szőlő is és kevés erdő, de a szőlőt maguk munkálják a tulajdonosok, az erdő meg olyan, mint minden alföldi erdő, néha egy kis gallyazás, tüzrevaló kerül belőle, de pénz nem.

De nincs rendes aratás és cséplés sem. Párnapi aratás, párheti cséplés, ennyi az egész nyári munka. A munkamódszerük, mint általában a nem beidegzett földmunkásoké, hajszás és rendetlen. A korai polgárosodás követ-



Ha kérsz, csak morzsákat kapsz. Servezkedj, hogy minden a tied legyen amit termelsz.

keztében tulságos sok cséplőgép van s ezek most "ölik egymást." Éjjel-nappal erőltetik a munkát s még eddig azt semmiféle hatóság nem akadályozta meg. A szomszéd falubeli ipari földmunkások tréfásan azt mondják, hogy a böszörményiek "kettőből vacsoráznak," vagyis munkaközben esznek mégse keresnek. Kubikosok kevesen vannak, cukorrépamunkára messze nagybirtokra járnak, mert itt, bár ez kitünő föld erre a célra, nem nagyon termelnek. A szegények egyrésze ezenkivül krumpli-, káposzta-, gyümölcs és főzelékkereskedéssel foglalkozik. Ők közvetitik a nyiri homok- és szigföld között a terményeket. Sokan vannak dinnyések is. Egy-egy öreg és rossz lovon és rozoga szekéren folyik ez a krajcáros kereskedelem, de ebből bizony senki sem vesz emeletes házat, sem tanyaföldet.

Általában a böszörményieket ugy jellemzik, hogy "élelmes emberek," ami alatt az errevalók sok mindent értenek. Egyébként, hogy ki ne felejtsük, tényleg a Bocskai "szabadságszerető" és "vitéz" hajduinak az ivadékai, de ez a megjelölés ma már nem sokat mond. Mert melyik paraszt nem szabadságszerető és vitéz, ha erre rákerül a sor? Az is közismert dolog, hogy ezek a hajduk bizony eredetileg Kelet-Nyugat marhahajtói voltak (innen ered a nevük: hajtó — hajdu) s csak a török világ kényszeritette őket arra, hogy ha élni akarnak, szabadságszeretők és vitézek legyenek.

* * *

Ipar, kereskedelem, amint emlitettem, szokatlanul nagy. Fél vármegyére elég volna. Pedig környék nincs, legföljebb a tanyán.

Gyára is van. Egy harisnyagyár. Munkáslétszáma 200 körül váltakozik. Csupa leány. Persze szervezetlenek. A munkaidő reggel 7-től este 6-ig. Munkabérről és munkaviszonyokról mit is beszéljünk hát ezek után, ha még a pesti gyárakban is "ázsiai állapotok" vannak.

Ezek a leányok, szegények, nemcsak ezért a haldokló magyar élet áldozatai. Egy ilyen vidéki városban, ahol nincs ipari munkásság, nincs kialakult munkásosztályszellem és osztályöntudat, okvetlen el kell sorvadniok. Ott hervadnak el a szövőszék mellett. Ki vigye férjhez őket? A gazdalegényeknek nem kellenek, azok a leány mellett szeretnek a földön és a lovakon is végignézni. A kisiparos- és kiskereskedőifjuság, ha egyáltalán nősülhet, kispolgári helyzetének és gondolkodásának megfelelő "benősülés"-ről ábrándozik. Egy mühelybe, egy boltba, vagy legalább egy cégtáblába. A napszámos- és szolgalegényekhez vannak napszámos- és cselédleányok, a gyári leányokhoz tehát gyári munkásfiatalok kellenének. Ugy mégis, ha két proletárveréb összebujhatna, összetenném, amijük van, a harmadiknak, negyediknek is juttathatnának egy kis életmeleget. Igy bizony jórészük elhervad a szövőszék mellett. Amihez nem is kell olyan sok, mert kevés köztük a testes, trabális, igazi parasztleány, jórészük vékony proletárleány. Ugy néznek ki, mint a szegény negyedek házai, keskenyek, de kivülről mutatósak. Szépek, üdék, tiszták. Csak itt-ott egy-egy hervadozó arcon látszik a puder nyoma s némelyiknek a mozgásán, a járásán, a testtartásán a kölcsönkért "Délibáb" és "Szinházi Élet." A nagy többség még egészséges, de az ut az előbbiek utja. Faji szociológusoknak ajánlhatók ezek a körülmények a földeritésre. Vizsgálják meg a kapitalizmus hatását a fajta egészségére és népesedési viszonyaira. Ez többet ér, mint az egykéről való siránkozás.

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Szellemi élet? — Néhai Kálmán király megmondta: "boszorkányokról pedig, mivel nincsenek, ne is essék szó." Épugy mint a többi vidéki városban, itt sincs semmi. Ha csak a helyi lapot ide nem számitjuk. Itt-ott egy-egy elszigetelt, magányos intellektuel les keresztül a határokon. Párizs, Moszkva vagy mind a kettő felé, de ezt nem tudja senki. Végzi a dolgát és éli a maga vakond-életét.

Politika? — Az sincs. Ellenben van politizálás. Igazi malomalatti. Pártok vannak, amelyek semmi egyebet nem csinálnak, mint egymás ellen intrikálnak. Ugyanezt csinálják a tagok egymás közt. Nincs politikai közvélemény. Nincs osztálytudat. A legigazibb kisgazdáknak van valamelyes, de az passziv, tagadó, politikaellenes. Akik a nemzeti egység és a független kisgazdapárt nevében politizálnak, azok jórészt nem igazi kisgazdák, illetve nem igazi parasztok. hanem a parasztok ügyvédjei (kispolgárra, kisparasztra jellemző a sok "ügyvédkezés," van itt egy félvármegyére való) és afféle városi félparasztok. Jellemző, hogy mennyire nincs tájékozott politikai közvélemény, hogy ebben a tulnyomóan református, tehát "pogány" városban 1920-ban egy fajvédő kereszténypárti kapott mandátumot, nem pedig kisgazdapárti.Igaz, hogy Bethlennel szemben. Mondják is tréfásan, hogy a böszörményiek az okai a nyilt választójognak, amiért a titkossal megbuktatták Bethlent. Ezért lettek "éretlenek" rá.

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Ezek után már világos, hogy miért nincs munkásmozgalom. Egyes elszigetelt szocialisták, öreg harcosok és fiatal munkások végzik itt-ott szerény eszközökkel az osztály öntudatositását. Sem egyesület, sem más eszköz nem áll rendelkezésükre, Igy aztán időnként ha föllobban is a mozgalom, de a politikai levegő lecsöndesedése után elhal megint. Az azonban bizonyos, hogyha nincs is mozgalom, de a világnézet, a szocializmus tudatos vállalói rohamosan szaporodnak. S a kellő időben ott lesznek az ország többi munkásával. Ha nem is mind, de éppen elegen ahhoz, hogy irányt szabjanak a spontán kitörő népmozgalomnak.

Gyermekkorom virágai

Irta: SEBESTYÉN DÉNES.

Te Lajcsi pajtás, te mészáros inas!
És te Lacikám, te csiriz keverő!
Óh Fercsikém! te asztalos tanonc.
Ti minden inasok:
Ma mesterek vagytok!
Ugyan, ugyan . . .
Ma müveltek-e nagyot . . . ?
Összeszedlek beneteket, csokorba kötve.
Kik ez átkozott jövőről merengtünk
A pápai iparos körbe.
Most nálatok merengve: röpisztlek titeket
E konokul kihalt idegenségbe
Hogy is volt az fiuk . . . ?
Marx, Bebel és Engels . . .
Jött Füstös
És mondotta Muli:
Muli bátyánk szegény . . .
De elvitt Devecser
Proletár hőshöz méltón
Magához vett Marx, Bebel és Engels.

VAN-E KOMMUNIZMUS VAGY KAPITALIZMUS OROSZORSZÁGBAN?

IRTA:

KÖHLER SÁNDOR

A VILÁG osztálytudatos munkássága között még ma sincsen teljesen tisztázva, hogy tulajdonképpen mi van Oroszországban a kommunizmus, a mukásosztály reménye valósult-e meg. Cikkekben vázolják azt a jólétet, boldogságot, amelyben az orosz munkásság részesedik. Fényképes folyóiratokban, vetitett és mozgószinház vásznain, mutatják be azt a bámulatos haladást, az iparok terén, amelyet még eddig soha egyetlen ország sem volt képes elérni. Ezekután könnyen hihető és jogosan feltételezhető, hogy ama bámulatos gyors fejlődés a munkásosztály szabadságát, jólétét mozditja elő.

Vizsgáljuk meg mi az igazság. Eme közlemény nem frázisokon, képzelődéseken, hanem hivatalos oroszországi jelentések, Oroszországban nyomtatott, a kormány által kiadott lapok, folyóiratok és megbizható forradalmárok szavahihető jelentéseinek alapján iródott. Melyek azok az utak, amelyen az orosz forradalom halad, amely oly fenségesen kezdte meg utját az 1917. évben, hogy a világ elnyomott osztálya ujjongot, lázadt s annak követésére minden áldozatot meghozott. És milyen az a társadalmi élet, amely ma az orosz nép között megvalósul?

A társadalom fejlődésében nem tényező az, hogy miben hisznek egyes munkás vezérek vagy pártok, Az osztályharcok története nem egyesek akaratán vagy kivánságán zajlik le, hanem az adott körülmények szabják azt meg.

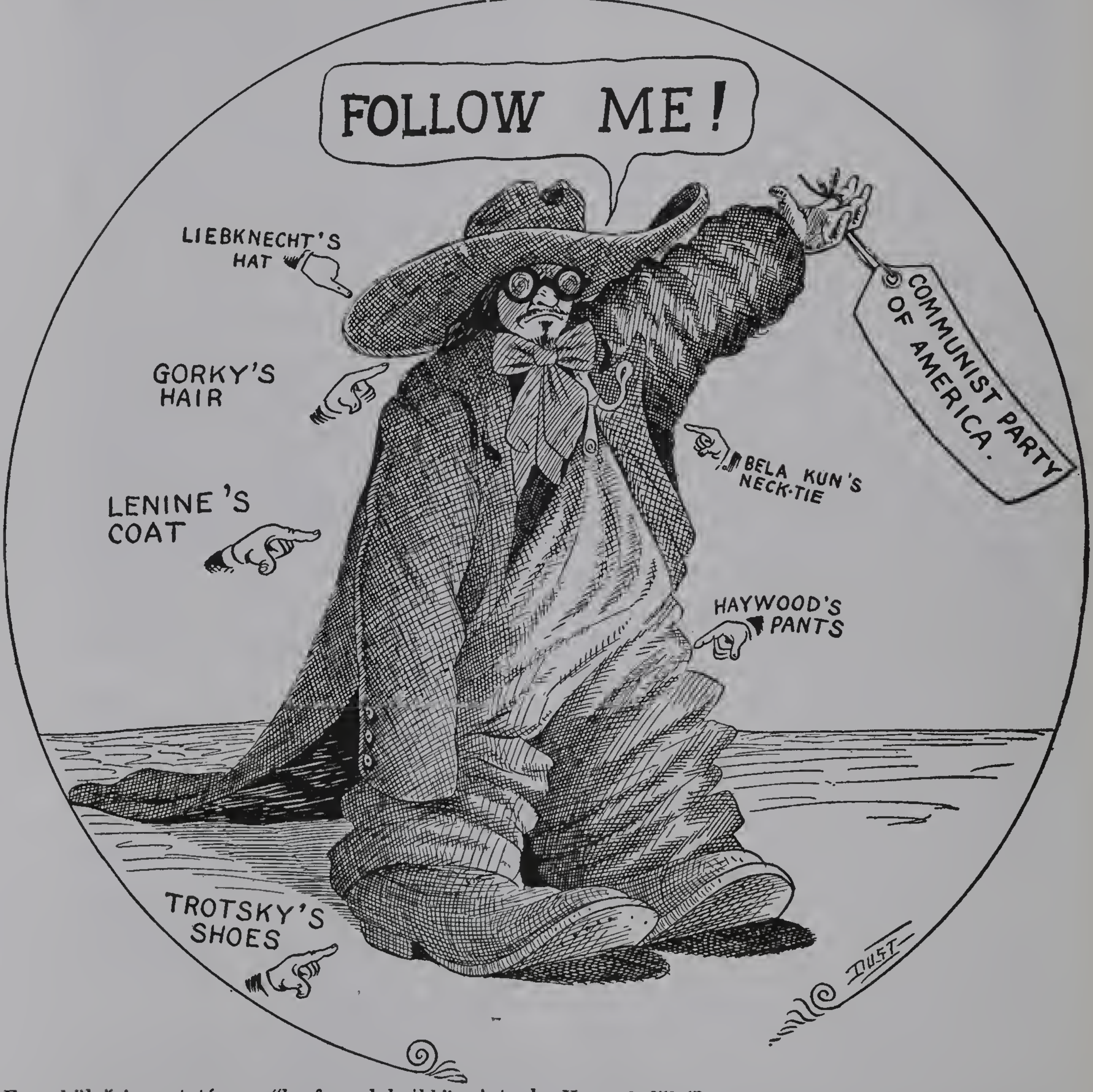
Ha megkérdeztük volna a francia forradalom hőseit, Robespiéereét, Maratot vagy a nyaktiló körül táncoló népet, amikor az arisztokrácia fejei hullottak ők is, azt mondották volna, hogy épitik a szabadság, egyenlőség, testvériség társadalmát. És mivé fejlődött a hatalmas francia forradalom? Először megszülte azt a hatalmas hadsereget, amelynek vezére Napoleon lett, majd kifejlődött a bankárok, az ipari mágnások hatalmas láncolata. Ez többékevésbbé az orosz társadalmi forradalom sorsa is, azzá teszi a vak vezérek, a diktátorok esztelen taktikája.

Az 1917-es társadalmi forradalom, tagadhatatlan tény, hogy eltörölte az akkori arisztokráciát, megszüntette a kezdődő kapitalizmust. A szó szorosértelmében Oroszországban nincsen kapitalista osztály, nincsenek ipari mágnások, akik a magántulajdon szent nevében irányitják a termelést, nincs burzsoa osztály, nincsenek bankárok, akik hatalmas pénzösszegekkel rendelkeznek és irányitják a társadalom hullámzásait, nincsenek magántulajdonban sem nagy, sem kisüzletek, nincsenek egyének, akik részvények, kötvények, kölcsönök kamatjaiból élnek. Nincsenek kis és nagy földbirtokosok, nincsenek háziurak, akik a lakbérből élnének parazita életet, nincsenek arany, ezüst, réz, vas, szén és más bányák vagy olaj források magántulajdonban.

Oroszországban a törvény szigora tiltja annak létezését vagy keletkezését. Senkisem vehet vagy épittethet bérpalotákat, házakat, — kivéve kis lakóházakat saját használatra — szóval a természet kincsei és a termelt javak nem hajtanak hasznot egyes egyének számára. És ez az egyetlen bizonyitéka annak, hogy Oroszországban megszünt létezni a kapitalizmus, abban az értelemben, amelyben mi amerikai bérrabszolgák ösmerjük a kapitalista osztályt.

De ez még mindig nem jelenti azt, hogy Oroszországban megszüntek az osztályok. Még mindig vannak gazdag emberek, akiknek még mindig van bőven pénzük, ékszereik, vagy más pénzre beváltható áruik. A pénzel rendelkezők nem fektethetik azt semmiféle üzembe, nem használhatják azt az életszükségleteik bevásárlására, nem élhetnek fejedelmi módon. Oroszország népe a pénzt csak a fogyasztásra használja.

Felvetődik a kérdés, hogyan bonyolitják le a termelést s a kereskedelmet. Vegyük először a kereskedelmet külországokkal, Amerikával. Szoviet Uniónak minden számottevő ipara központositva van. A szövőipari osztály, a bányászati osztály, szállitás és közlekedési osztálya, az élelem, ruházat árusitók osztálya, az acél, az olaj termelés stb. stb. osztályai, amelyek valamennyije az állam tulajdonát képezik. Minden egyes ipari osztály saját maga szerzi be a feldolgozandó nyers anyag szükségletet. Vegyük például


FOLLOW ME!
LIEBKNECHT'S HAT
GORKY'S HAIR
LENINE'S COAT
COMMUNIST PARTY OF AMERICA.
BELA KUN'S NECK-TIE
HAYWOOD'S PANTS
TROTSKY'S SHOES
DUST

Ez a külső ismertetése a "legforradalmibb" pártnak. Hogy belülről, hogy néz ki? erről Abesszinia népe többet tudna mondani.

a szövő ipari osztályt. Vegyük, hogy ennek az osztálynak szüksége van egy millió tonna gyapotra, de a termés csak fél millió volt, akkor a szövő ipari komiszár a külkereskedelem komiszárjához fordul engedélyért, hogy egy félmillió gyapotat importálhasson. Az engedélyt elküldik 261 Fifth Ave. New York, City USA, ahol "Amtorg" név alatt Oroszország kereskedelmi irodája van. — "Amtorg" rendelett szó, ami annyit jelent, hogy "Am" — Amerika "torg" pedig kereskedelem. — Ennek az irodának aztán a kötelessége, hogy a szükséges gyapotat itt ebben az országban beszerezze. Amig ez történik addig a külkereskedelem komiszárja arany rubelben továbbitja a gyapotért járó összeget az Amtorg vagy valamely bank cimére.

Ugyanez az iroda végzi tegyük fel a szövő ipari osztálynak van egy millió rőf vászna eladó, annak értékelését ugyan ugy intézik. Ez az iroda fenállása óta több mint háromezer külömböző üzletet bonyolitott le 650 millió dollár értékben. Tehát Oroszország termelésének, kereskedelmének minden ágát maga az állam bonyolitja le. Ezzel aztán igazolva van, hogy tényleg megszünt az orosz kapitalista osztály.

Most aztán kötelességünk megvizsgálni, hogy van-e kommunizmus Oroszországban?

Ennek a megértéséhez szükséges, hogy tisztába legyünk aazzal, hogy mi a kommunizmus! A kommunizmus kérlelhetetlen szabályai kimondják a magántulajdon és vele együtt a kapitalista osztály eltörlését. Ez megtörtént Oroszországban. De ez még nem kommunizmus **A kommunizmus a magántulajdon eltörlése által a termelés és szétosztás eszközeit nem az államra ruházza át, hanem a társadalomra, amelyben a termelés nem az állam javára, hanem a társadalom szükségletére történik. Ez a tiszta kommunizmus, amelynek alapja nem a kommunista pártban, hanem az ipari demokráciában gyökerezik meg.** Az, hogy a termelés és szétosztás eszközeit az állam ellenőrzi vagy kezeli, még nem jelent kommunizmust, hanem kizárólagosan állam kapitalizmust. Ennek alátámasztására az olvasó figyelmébe ajáljuk Oroszország termelési viszonyait. A kommunista társadalmi rendszerben nincsenek osztályok, amelyekben elnyomók és elnyomottak élnek. A termelés társadalmasitása az összesség javára folyik, amely által a termelők nem nyomorban, szenvedésben, nélkülözésben és önfeláldozásban tengődnek, és az emberiség legelemibb jogai a — "burzsoa demokrácia" — szólás, gyülekezés és sajtó szabadság biztositva van. Ez Oroszországban a legnagyobb mértékben elvan nyomva. 1924 óta az orosz bérrabszolgáknak az iparok igazgatásában egy parányi szavuk sincsen.

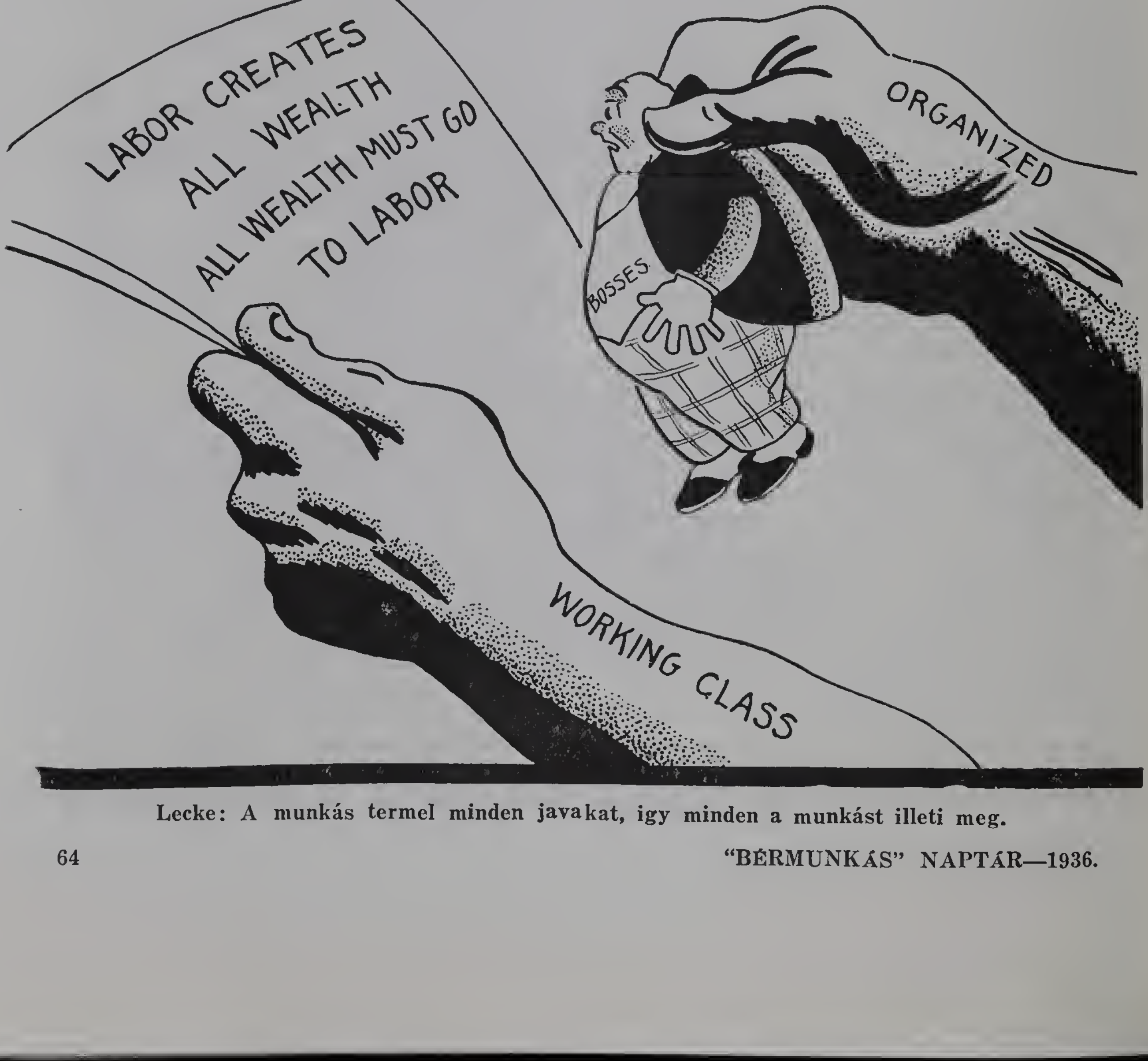
A kommunizmus az emberiség legmagasabb kulturájának lépcsője, amelyen elér abba a társadalmi rendszerbe, amelyben szabadság, egyenlőség, testvériség uralkodik. De szabadság, egyenlőség, testvériség, szolidaritás nyoma sincsen az orosz kommunista párt uralma alatt élő tömegekben, még csak nem is törekszik arra a kormány, a párt, hogy azt megtestesitse.

Azt mondják a kommunista párt hatástvadászó szónokai, irói, hogy Oroszországban kommunizmus van, hogy a munkásosztály mesebeli paradicsomban él, palotákban lakik, megszünt a szenvedés, a nyomor, a nélkülözés. Egyenlőség, testvériség, szabadság van. Mások, akik igazságosabbak Oroszország és a munkásosztállyal szemben azt mondják, hogy a kommunizmus, a szülés, a megvalósulás stádiumában van. Nézzük meg mennyiben felel ez meg a valóságnak.

Nem beszélünk tovább egyenlőségről, szabadságról, mert az csak haszontalan időfecsérlés. Minden osztálytudatos munkás tudatában van annak, hogy oroszország népe a kommunista párt komiszárjai kénye-kedvének van kiszolgáltatva, amely párt teljes egészében Stalin diktátorsága alatt áll. Tekintsünk el még a burzsoa demokrácia által biztositott "jogoktól" a politikai szabadságoktól és vizsgáljuk meg Oroszország népének gazdasági és társadalmi helyzetét, amelyet a kommunista eszméket hirdető komiszárok és diktátorok teremtettek, amelynek révén kivánják a kommunista társadalmat létrehozni.

Mi az orosz munkásság helyzete a társadalmi és gazdasági átalakulásban? Az oroszországi nincstelen proletár éppen ugy bocsájtja áruba munkaerejét az állam rendelkezésére, mint bármely más kapitalista állam bérrabszolgái. Az orosz munkás darabszám munkán kénytelen dolgozni. Bevan vezetve a prémium és a bónusz rendszer, amely rendszer ellen az egész világ — nemcsak az osztálytudatos, hanem a reakciós szervezetek is — elkeseredett harcot vivnak. Versenyeket rendeznek, ki tud gyorsabban termelni és a nyertesek kitüntetésben, magasabb bérben részesülnek a gyöngébbek kenyérre, halra is gyöngén keresnek. A munkásoknak a munkatelep igazgatásában, az uralkodó viszonyok megváltoztatásában vagy a termelés mennyiségében semmi szavuk nincsen, éppen ugy mint a kapitalista államok munkásainak nincs, azzal a külömbséggel, hogy a magán kapitalista üzemben jogainak kivivása érdekében — magasabb bér, becsületesebb bánásmód — harcolhat, sztrájkba léphet, de az állam kapitalizmus fegyveres hatalma ellen teljesen tehetetlen. Az orosz munkás nem választhatja meg a várost vagy a munkatelepet, ahová a komiszárok helyezik ott kell munkát vállalnia.

Az orosz munkásság helyzete nemcsak politikailag, hanem gazdaságilag is guzsba van kötve. Semmi jele kommunizmusnak, társadalmi forradalomnak. Sokan azt mondhatják, hogy ez fegyelem, hogy ez átmeneti szükséglet és megfog változni a helyzet. Azok akik figyelemmel kisérik az elmult években az oroszországi eseményeket tudatában vannak annak, hogy az ellenkezője felel meg a valóságnak. A diktátorok keresztre feszitették az orosz bérrabszolgák politikai és gazda-



Lecke: A munkás termel minden javakat, igy minden a munkást illeti meg.

sági szabadságát és minnél tovább áll fenn ez a diktatura, annál sulyosabb lesz az orosz munkás helyzete.

Az orosz munkás megélhetési viszonyai szinte hihetetlenek, keresete rémségletek árai hihetetlen magasak. A ségletek áraihi hetetlen magasak. A petroleum, amelyre minden orosz munkás családnak szüksége van főzés vagy világitásra, literje 65—70 kopek — egy kopek egy századrésze a rubelnek az orosz szoviet olajtermelési osztályának jelentése szerint a petroleum literjének előállitása az ország bármely részébe való szállitása 2 kopekbe kerül, hová megy hát a 63 kopek? felemészti az ugynevezett "Nalog Soborota" (fogyasztási adó.) Az állam a földmivesnek 2 rubelt fizet egy "Poud" 16 kiló krumpliért és ugyanazon a napon elárusitja azt Leningrad, Moszkva vagy más városok munkásainak kilóját 2 rubelért a többi 15 kiló krumpli vagyis az abban foglalt 30 rubel mint fogyasztási adó szerepel.

Ugyancsak az állam a földmivesnek 65 kopekot fizet egy poud rozslisztért, amelynek eladását 30 rubelben szabja meg. Itt megint csak a fogyasztási adó szerepel. Egy félkiló só 1 rubel és 20 kopek. Cukor fontja 1 rubel és 40 kopek. Ugyanazt a cukrot, amelyet Oroszország cukortermelő vidékén Kievben, termelnek, Perzsiában 10 kopekért árusitanak és még azt sem adta el haszon nélkül az orosz kormány.

1935 évben egy ujabb fogyasztási adó jövedelmét vezette be a kormány az által, hogy eltörölte a kenyér mennyiségére szóló engedélyt. Grinkó oroszpénzügyi komiszár 1935 február 9-én, a moszkvai "Izvestia" nevü folyóiratban tett jelentése alapján a kormány eme intézkedése évente 24 billió rubelt jövedelmez az állam kasszának. Az alkoholra kivetett fogyasztási adó hat billió rubel. 2 billió 200 millió rubelt jövedelmi adóból vesznek be. Ezen adó minden munkásra kötelező, tekintet nélkül, hogy mi a keresete.

Ha egy munkás naponta csak 2 rubelt keres, köteles a kormánynak adó fejében havonta 7 rubelt fizetni. Hogy miért van ez a rettenetes adózás, azt könnyen megérthetjük ha figyelembe vesszük, hogy a szoviet kormány a "munkások kormánya" a világ minden állama között a legnagyobb költségvetést rendelte el az 1935—36-ik esztendőre, kerek száz billió rubelt. A szoviet kormány az elmult hét (7) esztendőben 40 billió rubelt költött az iparok fejlesztésére. Ez a 40 billió rubel, arany rubel volt az 1926-os évekből, amelynek vásárló képessége 35—40-szerte nagyobb volt mint az 1935-ös rubelé. A kormány 1934-ik év május havában kiadott jelentése szerint az ország arany készlete 747 millió rubel, amelyet évente uj arany bányászása folytán százmillió rubellel képes emelni.

Tehát, hogy az állam behozhassa a száz billió költségvetést, többféle eszközökhöz kellett folyamodnia. Az első, amint látjuk a munkások leigásásai. Minden eszközt felhasználnak arra, hogy a munkást ösztökéljék az emberölő gyors munkára, annak fejében a lehető legalacsonyabb bért kapják. A megélhetés szükségleteire hihetetlen magas fogyasztási adót vetnek ki, hogy minnél kevesebbett vásárolhasson, hogy minél több árut tudjon a kormány más államnak aranyaiért piacra vetni, s végül kereseti adót nyomnak a nyakába és ezt nevezik a "munkások hazájának, a munkások kormányának."

Az ötéves terv megkezdésekor a komiszárok elhatározták, hogy minden esztendőben 250 millióval több papir rubelt hoznak forgalomba, de ez a terv csütörtököt mondott, mert már az első esztendőben 670 millió papir rubelt volt kénytelen forgalomba hozni, amire csak száz millió arany rubelt volt képes termelni. A második évben már 1 billió 621 millió papir rubelt hoztak forgalomba az arany készlet megint csak száz millióval szaporodott. Beállott az infláció. Nyolc esztendővel ezelőtt, amikor megkezdték az első ötéves tervet a szoviet "Chervonietz" — tiz rubelos papir pénz — öt amerikai dollárt ért, ma 1935 év szeptemberében egy amerikai dollárért 50 rubelt lehet vásárolni, pedig 1927 óta az amerikai dollár értéke is esett 45 százalékkal.

A kommunisták, meg a szocialisták

is az egész világon a fogyasztási adó, a munkások jövedelmének megadóztatása ellen a legelkeseredettebb harcot vivják és a saját kormányuk a "proletár haza" minden elképzelhető módon zsákmányolja ki az elnyomott orosz bérrabszolgát, és ezt nevezik kommunizmusnak, proletár diktaturának.

Távol áll tőlem a szándék, hogy feltételezzem azt a szoviet komiszárokról vagy Stalin teljhatalmu diktátorságáról, hogy rossz szándékkal vannak a proletáriátusnak a kommunizmusba való vezetése terén. Nem. Jóakarattal vannak irányába, de az a jóakarat nem elegendő ahoz, hogy a kitüzött célt el is érjék.

Bennünket IWW-istákat nem az a kérdés foglalkoztat, hogy mit tüztek ki célul, mi az akaratuk, hanem az, hogy mely irányba haladnak, s melyek azok az eszközök, amellyel a kitüzött célt elérni kivánják. A szoviet kormány, a "proletár diktatura-' cselekvései, meghatározott eszközei és utai, nem a kommunizmus irányába halad, hanem az állam kapitalizmus legkegyetlenebb formáját árulja el.

Ennek az elérésére az orosz kommunista párt komiszárjai, teljhatalma diktátora, Stalin az orosz forradalmárok azon részét, akik rövidebb és biztosabb eszközökkel és utakon kivánták elérni a munkásosztály felszabaditásának társadalmát, sokakat örökre elhallgattattak, s ma több mint százezren, Oroszország internáló barakjaiban vannak a vörös katonák szuronyainak hegye beléjük folytja a szót.

Demokrácia eszközei melyet a diktatura is jónak talál.

Tagadhatatlan, hogy Oroszország ipari városaiban, telepein vannak, mindenre kész elszánt önfeláldozó harcosok, de ezek óriási kissebbségben vannak a falvakból berendelt földmives munkásokkal szemben, akiket iparizálni kiván a kormány. Ezeknek fogalmuk sincsen a kommunista eszméket illetőleg és az a bánásmód s a munkaviszonyok nem kommunistákká, hanem a kommunizmus legádázabb ellenségévé teszi őket. Mindenütt szigoru katonai fegyelem uralkodik s a munkásoknak csak engedelmeskedni szabad.

Az orosz paraszt annál is inkább elégedetlen mert az állam rettenetes alacsony árban vásárolja össze termékeiket, amelyet kényszeritve vannak átszolgáltatni. A parasztok siratják vissza az 1921-es rendszert, amelyet Lenin iktatott be, melyben a parasztok szabadon termelhettek.

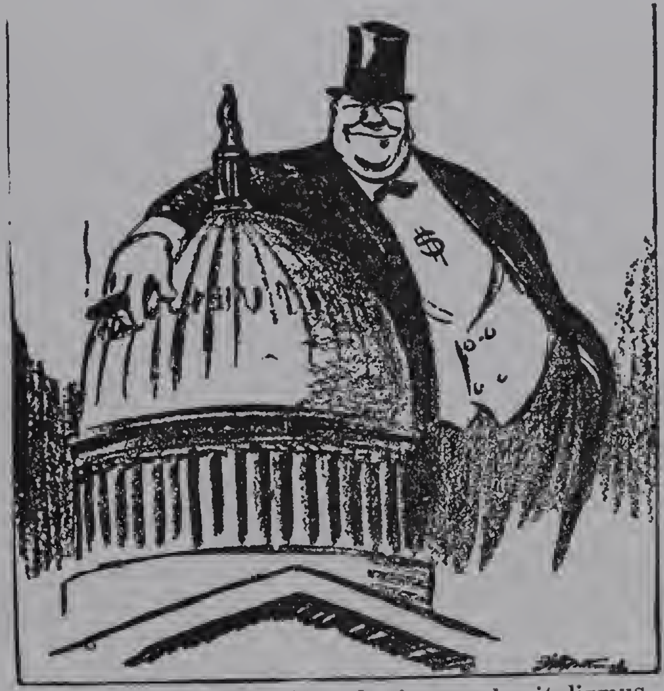
* * *

Bemutattuk csak dióhéjban a munkások és parasztok sorsát a "proletár hazában" abban a hazában, amelyben nincsennek osztályok. Még egyett be kell, hogy mutassunk és ez az intelektuelek, az állami, politikai és ipari osztályok hivatalnokainak, vezetőinek helyzete a kommunizmus alatt. Stalin uralkodásának utóbbi éveiben egy teljesen uj osztály alakul ki, amely osztálynak tagjai a fentnevezett hivatalnokok, komiszárok, iparok vezetői, munkavezetők stb. stb. Ennek az uj munkás arisztokrata alakulatnak megvan engedve, hogy saját házaikban lakhatnak, gyermekeik számára külön iskolát tartanak fenn, ahol bőséges ellátásban figyelmes, orvosi kezelésben részesülnek, minden kényelem meg van eme uj alakulat számára. Ebbe nem tartozhatnak be a párt tagjai, akik csak közkatonaként szerepelnek. Azok az egyének, akik még a párthoz sem tartoznak, naponta két hétórás munkaidőt kell a gyárban tölteniök és nem jut nekik több mint, hogy családjaikkal egyszobás lakásban a legnagyobb nyomorban huzódnak meg.

Igy fest a "proletár haza" osztálynélküli társadalma. Felvetődik a kérdés, hogyha nincsen kapitalizmus, nincsen kommunizmus Oroszországban hát akkor mi van? A válasz világos, érthető. Oroszországban az állam kapitalizmus fejlődöt ki, amelynek élén áll egy csapat — führerek, igazgatók, parancsnokok, diktátorok és még magasabb állásu komiszárok, a kommunista párt vezetői, akiknek élén áll Stalin a minden oroszok teljhatalmu diktátora.

Ezek képezik a kollektiv kapitalizmust, ők uralkodnak az állam felett, ők rendelkeznek a termés és termelés felett, ők uralkodnak az orosz nép felett a legnagyobb abszolutizmussal, és ennek fejében kiváltságokat élveznek. Oroszországban nem a kommunizmus, hanem a szoviet aristokrácia fejlődött ki, amely teljhatalommal uralkodik a munkásosztály felett. Az orosz kommunista párt vezérei, Stalinnal az élén nem a kommunizmus utján haladnak s eme tévedésükre sürün mutat rá a világ forradalmi munkássága, amelyért aztán a kommunista pártok vezérei, szónokai, irói, érvek helyett ellen forradalmároknak, szociálfascistáknak árulóknak bélyegzik azokat. A komiszárok, a diktátorok helytelen s a munkásosztály társadalmi forradalmára káros eszközökön és utakon haladnak. Oroszország gyors tempóban való távolodása a kommunizmustól világosan mutatja az utat a világ forradalmi munkásságának a számára s szomoru tanulság a politikai pártok s azok vezéreinek a társadalmi kérdések feletti vergődése.

A világ munkásságának nem állam kapitalizmusra vagy állam szocializmusra van szüksége, hanem Ipari Demokráciára, amelynek utját a napnál világosabban jelöli meg az IWW Egy Nagy Szervezkedési formája. Ez a szervezkedési forma az, amely céljául tüzte ki a mai társadalmi rendszer megdöntését a bérrendszer eltörlését a termelés és szétosztás eszközeinek átvételét a világ munkásosztálya számára. Ehez szükséges a tanitás, szervezés, felszabadulás.



A törvényhozó testület feletti ur a kapitalizmus.

Dráma a tárnánál

Néha-néha egy mélabus
Dallam, jut az eszembe,
Arra szőttem-e versemet,
Ez — de szomoru zene;
A tőke áldozatai,
Adták meg e dal árját,
Az itt meg irt szenvedések
Jelentik ezt a drámát.

Robaj! — tüz! egy szénbányában,
Melyben százak dolgoztak,
A kiket megüszkösödött
Hustömegként felvontak,
A felszinen sorba rakták,
A megsült tetemeket,
Szivet marcangolóbb látvány,
Szodoma sem lehetett.

Hirtelenné lett özvegyek,
Árváikkal kórusban,
Az őrjöngő zokogásuk,
Gyászuk, leirhatatlan.
Nagy távolból volt hallható
A szivettépő sirám,
Sok el is ájult lgoettan,
Fájdalmukat nem birván.

Elmult a tömeg temetés,
De a gyász állandósult,
Mely az özvegyek és árvák
Sokasságára borult.
Lakhelyükből is kiüzték,
Mert ugy szólt a rendelet,
Lakást itt csak azok kapnak,
Kik termelik a szenet.”

Vándorbotot ragadtak hát,
Az elárvult családok,
Más tájakra mentek szerte —
Maradtak az uj sirok;
Mely hantok alatt nyugosznak
A volt édes jó apák,
Kikben kenyér hozóikat
Vesziték el az árvák.

De ifjak is porladnak ott,
Volt szerelmes legények;
Kik után lány szemekből
Sok könny gyöngyök gördülnek,
Mert ez is egy tartozéka
Az ilyen nagy drámának,
Mely tetőzi fájdalmukat,
Sok szerető anyáknak.

Ti! kik téli fagytól védve,
Jól fütöt otthonokban;
Gondoljatok tisztelettel,
A tüzelő kik által van? —
De ez nem mind.” mert azoknak,
Ennél több az érdemük,
Tartozunk, hogy életüket
A szörnyektől megvédjük.”

Fel a bányászok ügyéért!
Szálljunk sikra emberül
Minden bánya vész ment legyen.”
Bár mennyi pénzbe kerül.
Kiáltsuk ki . . . ! minden bánya!
A bányászoké legyen . . .
Az azokban szörnyet haltak,
Testvéreik jogcimen!”

Mars a bányák tulajdonból —
Ti százszoros gyilkosok!
A kik márvány palotákban
Áljogokon trónoltok.”
Ki üzzünk a világból is —
Ha önként nem kotródtok,
Lesz gondunk, hogy ördög hátán,
A pokolba nyargaljatok — . . .

PÁVAY LŐRINC.

A TISZA KÁLMÁN TÉR,

AMELYBEN A MAGYAR FŐVÁROS EGÉSZ TÜKRÉT MEGLÁTJA AZ IDEGEN.

P VANNAK talán szebb és elegánsabb terek, de érdekesebb életü tér nincs Budapesten, mint a Tisza Kálmán tér. Nincs még egy olyan tér, amelynek élete annyira változatos és amellett annyira rendszeres legyen. Nincs a napnak olyan órája, amelyben szüneteljen itt az élet és nincs az életnek olyan funkciója, amely ne bonyolódott volna már le a születéstől a halálig, a szerelemtől a gyilkosságik, a játéktól a verekedésig ezen a téren.

Mintha csak parcellázva lenne, külön helyük van itt az öregeknek, külön a gyermekeknek. Külön a szerelmeseknek és külön a játékosoknak, külön a vidékieknek, külön szegényháziaknak, külön az anyáknak és külön a cédáknak, külön az andalgóknak és külön a hangoskodóknak. Csak véletlen, ha ezek összekeverednek és abból mingyárt baj is van: hangos veszekedés, vagy szurkálás vagy egyéb rendellenesség.

REGGEL.

Minden órának, minden napszaknak megvan itt a maga élete. Reggel hét és nyolc óra körül a tér átlós utjai bonyolitanak le nagy forgalmat. A Rákóczi ut és a Népszinház utca irányába siető emberekkel telnek meg az utak, viszont a padok ilyenkor a legüresebbek és a legcsendesebbek. Néhányan ugyan még alszanak a padokon, jobbára kezdő hajléktalanok, akik az éjszaka sötétjében még nem mernek a padon elaludni, mert félnek a rendőrtől és csak hajnalban nyomja el őket a fáradtság. Nyolc órára azonban ezek is eltünnek. Ki tudja, hová. És félkilenckor már kint vannak az első gyerekek és az első kutyák. A gyermekek a játszótérre mennek, a kutyák azonban csak a tér széléig merészkednek jól nevelt állatok ők, tudják, mivel tartoznak gazdájuk és a szobatisztaság követelményeinek. Vannak idősebb kutyák, amelyek közben körül-körültekintenek, mintha el is gondolkoznának és szinte ugy tünik föl, mintha rosszaló véleményük lenne azokról, akik még a mai világban és a mai modern lakásokban is kutyák helyett gyermeket nevelnek és lehozzák játszani a térre.

DÉLELŐTT.

A délelőtti órákban szabályszerü elosztásban már ott ülnek a munkanélküliek a padokon. A Rákóczi ut felöli részen inkább vidékies külsejü emberek pihenik itt a munkátlanság gyötrelmeit, elszórtan közöttük néhány a környező házakból hüsülni és olvasni idetelepedett ember ül. A népszinház-utcai oldalon a menház öreg lakóin kivül a reménytelen emberek ülnek ilyenkor. Azok, akik hosszu munkanélküliségük során már lerongyolódtak és akik már nem várnak semmi jót az élettől. A játszótér nagy négyszögének padjain a gyermekek kisérői ülnek és olvasnak, fiatalemberek sakkoznak, vagy malmoznak, vagy egyéb szerencsejátékot játszanak és néhány öreg ember görnyedik a kisleányok meztelenségében. A Városi Szinház környékén nagyobbacska gyerekek játszanak saját találmányu labdajátékot, amely a futball egyes részjátékának felel meg. A még nagyobbak pedig a vonalas, vagy közismert néven "snur" nevü játéknak hódolnak nagy buzgalommal és még nagyobb izgalommal. Vannak azonban olyanok is, akik egyszerüen kődobálással szórakoznak. Mondjuk egy fa törzsét kell eltalálni, vagy a Városi Szinház falán egy bizonyos pontot. Ha járókelőt találnak el, az nem érvényes.

DÉL.

Délben már telve vannak az összes padok. Itt látszik, hogy Budapesten hányan és hányan nem ebédelnek. A nem-ebédelésnek is különböző fokai vannak. Az öt deka töpörtyüsöket nem számitjuk be, sem azokat, akik a fogukat szivják. Az igazi nem-ebédelés az akasztófahumorral kezdődik. Azzal, hogy a padon megtárgyalják, hogyan kell a rizses csirkét tökéletesen elkésziteni, vagy azzal, hogy mi a különbség az alföldi és a tengerész-rostélyos között és azzal végződik, hogy valamelyik megszólal:

— Hagyjátok abba, már undorodom az evéstől!

A következő fok, amikor a térdükre könyökölnek és nézik a kavicsokat és még tovább tartanak azok, akik a padra hajtják a fejüket és ebéd helyett — alszanak.

DÉLUTÁN.

Délután ismét a gyermekeké a tér, azoké, akik délelőtt iskolába járnak és azoké a kisebbeké, akikkel délelőtt nem jöhetett le az édesanyjuk, mert főzni kellett.

Délután több a nő, a "háztartásbeli," akik délelőtt nem érnek rá és a késő délutáni órákban megjelennek az öregek, a nyugalmazott vasutas, a kiöregedett kereskedő, a tönkrement korcsmáros, a nyugalomba vonult ószeres és az öreg hordár, akit gyermekei már nem hagynak dolgozni. Az öregeknek megvan a maguk törzspadja, éppen ugy, mint a kávéházi törzsasztal. Két-három padot foglalnak el, pipáznak, beszélgetnek és tréfálkoznak. A térnek ez a legvidámabb sarka. Itt lehet hallani a legjobb Móricka-viccet és a legsikamlósabb tréfákat. Itt lehet látni a legszebben kiszivott tajtékpipát és itt lehet a legjobb orvosi tanácsokat kapni.

Sötétedéskor fölszedelőzködnek. Mindegyik igyekszik minél egyenesebben járni, mindegyik igyekszik eltitkolni a másik elől reumáját és hasogatásait. Mindegyik büszke arra, hogy makkegészséges és ha hetvenéves, legalább is nyolcvannak mondja magát.

ESTE.

Este a környező házakból a házmesterek asztalt hoznak ki a tér szélére, körülülik és máriást vagy snapszlit játszanak. Kijönnek a környékbeli mühelyek és boltok munkásai, a meleg estéken a környező házakból egész családok jönnek le a térre csakugy háziasan, a mama slafrokkban, a papa ingujjban, a kisasszony lányuk harisnya nélkül, házicipőben és kissé boglyasan. A fiuk az elhagyatottabb részek felé sétálnak és riogatják a türelmetlen szerelmeseket, akik már korán összeölelkeztek, vagy akiknek különben is sietni kell, mert kapuzárás előtt otthon kell lenniök.

ÉJSZAKA.

Tiz óra után megváltozik a tér képe. Az éjszaka emberei beszélgetnek a padokon, ki tudja, miről tárgyalnak. Megjelennek a hajléktalanok és "puha" padot keresnek, részegek dülöngélnek és felriasztják az alvó madarakat, szerelmesek sóhajtoznak vagy hangtalanul ülnek a padon, egy-egy elkésett ember siet végig az uton és aggódva tekintget jobbra-balra, aztán egy kiáltás, valaki fut:

— Fogják meg! Fogják meg!

Mindenki a hang irányába szalad, összecsoportosulnak, néhány óvatos ember elmegy a térről, izgalom, csak a szerelmes párok szorongatják továbbra is egymást, mintha rajtuk kivül nem volna élet a világon.

— Rendőr! Rendőr!

Ujra kiáltás, futkosás. Valaki káromkodik:

— Az egész téren nincs egy rendőr!

Aztán ujra csend lesz, rendőr nélkül is.

És mire a nap fölkel, nincs más a téren, mint néhány üres pad, egy csomó padonalvó és — a madarak énekelnek.

MÄRY ÉS MARIS

IRTA:

VÁRNAI DÁNIEL

NEM ERŐLTETTEM, nem csináltam ezt a történetet. Ugy mondom el, ahogy láttam. Nem szenzáció. De hiszen egy cserebogár életrezzenése vagy sebes röpte a koratavaszi alkonyatban is megvillant néha valamit . . . Valamicskét abból az óriási óceánból, amit ugy is szoktunk mondani: emberek élete.

* * *

Hogy honnan is jött a cserebogár, vagyis a Maris? Nem nagyon kérdeztük, csak jött, aztán itt volt . . . Lehetett ugy tizenhat-tizennyolcéves, de nem látszott többnek tizennégynél. Ezt mingyárt észrevettem rajta, hogy délben benyitottam az előszobába s ott láttam a Marist, amint nagy belefelejtkezéssel szánkázott a parketten. Szőke vot, mint az idei kenderkötél, az arcán nagy foltokban piroslott valamelyik távoli vidéknek az egészsége a szeme meg kéken és vidáman nevetett, mint napsütésben a mennybolt a fejünk fölött. És milyen akkurátus volt mingyárt! Nem volt félénk egy cseppet sem, sunyinak meg éppenséggel nem látszott. Megnézett egy kicsit, aztán, ahogy csálére forditotta fejét, csendesen rámvicsoritotta a fogát, hogy ki vagyok én és mit akarok? Amikor illedelmesen bemutatkoztam, hogy én vagyok az "ur," aki itt lakom ebben a különszobában, ni, gyorsan rámondta, hogy ő meg a Maris, az uj háztatási alkalmazott.

— Én vagyok az uj cseléd, kérem — igy mondta. — Ugy hivnak engem, kérem, hogy Maris.

Egy kicsit megcsendesedett.

— . . . De odahaza a második apám ugy szokta mondani, hogy Mariskám. Vagyis Karabinski Mariska vagyok én teljes nevemen...

Hát igy indult a cserebogár röpte, azaz hogy a Maris szereplése egy egyszerü lakás falai között. Tiszta volt ő, kontyos és gömbölyü — és szapora beszédü, de nem nyelves, minden titkának s motoszkáló, csepp gondolatainak gyors kikottyantója. Igy tudtuk meg elég hamar, hogy azt a szép piros egészséget, ami az arcán viritott, nem valami messzi vidékről hozta, hanem innen csak a városból, valamelyik távoli, külső utcából. ott élte a második apjánál, vagyis a mostohájánál az árvák igazi életét; ez azonban csak materiális értelemben értendő, mert hát ami a lelkieket illeti, azon a soron a "második" elég csendes bánásmódban részeltette. Ahogy Maris többször is leirta, kis sovány ember volt ez a második, rettentően beretválatlan arcu, nagy szőrökkel és kevés egészséggel, sok küszködéssel és kevés kedéllyel, — de az sokáig nem jutott eszébe, hogy Marist kiinditsa a nagyvilágba.

Minek az?

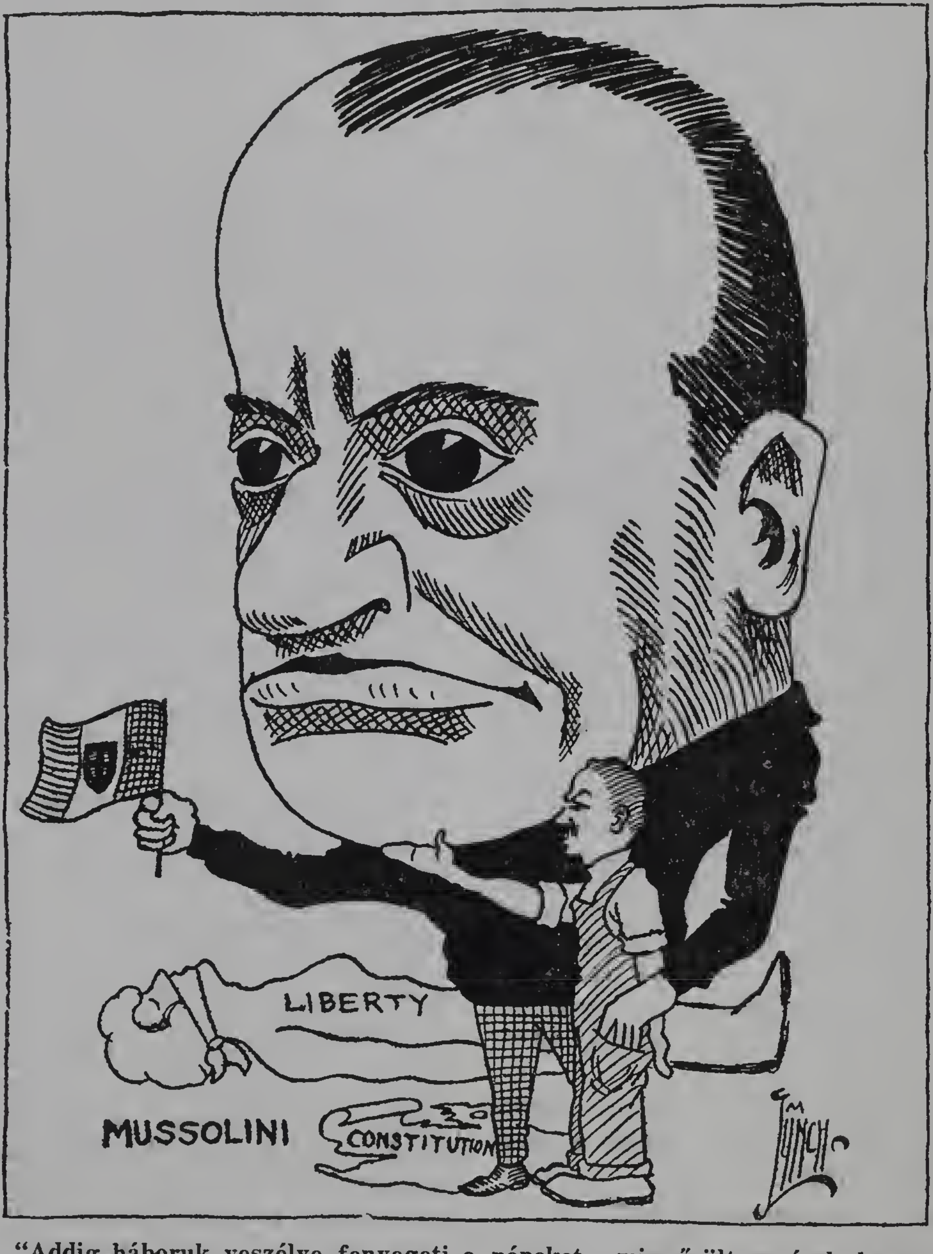
Megéltek, eltengtek-lengtek valahogy . . . már ahogy az irodalom mellékösvényein lehet. Tudniillik, a kis ember ujságot árult a köruti sarkon, meg könyveket imit-amott és heti revüket is. Vékonyka érben, de csak csurrant-cseppent a megélhetés — hát Maris otthon is el lehetett valahogy.

A változás nagyon hirtelen jött.

Egy este csak azt mondja a kis ember, hogy Mariska fiam, te meg elmégy szolgálni, mert én szépséghiba lettem. (Igazán mondom, kérem, itt nagyon elmosolyodtunk Marisunkon, mert ahogy ott állt előttünk haptákban és csillogott a szeme, olyan komolyan s olyan őszinte bánattal modta, hogy a mostohája "szépséghiba" lett . . .) S hogy szépséghiba lett, kezd az üzlet rosszul menni, most már igazán keveset hoz a hirlapirodalom, egy ember se tud belőle megélni, nemhogy kettő. Tudniillik rendőrségi emberek állapitották meg, hogy az ujságárusitás a köruti sarkon, a nagy ivlámpa alatt — szépséghiba; az ujságárus a halom ujságjával városszépészeti szempontból nem kivánatos tényálladék, körülbelül olyan, mint szemölcs egy sima ábrázaton és mingyárt le is kozmetikálták onnan, sietve rendet is csináltak . . . A "szépséghibát" eltávolitották a sarokról és beljebb tették vagy tiz méterrel, beljebb, de olyan helyre, ahol ugyan már nem volt szépséghiba, azonban, kisebb lévén a forgalom, üzlet sem volt már a hirlapüzlet. Igy mondta aztán egy este a kis keszeg ember, hogy baj van, fiam, Mariskám, neked szolgálni kell menned, de igyekezz ám, mennél hamarább.

Igyekezett is Maris.

Hamar meglett az első állás. És persze, nem mondható, hogy egyszeribe megtetszett neki az uj élet. Dehogy is tetszett . . . Leginkább akkor tetszett nagyon nehezen, amikor kora reggelenként ott állott tiz darab egész cipő előtt, s mindegyiket gyorspasztával tiszta fényesbe kellett tennie. Olyankor a



"Addig háboruk veszélye fenyegeti a népeket. amig őrült vezérek kormányozzák."

csipőjére tette a két kezét, megállt egy percig a sáros gléda előtt és csak egy hosszu, mély sóhajtás után fogott bele ebbe a kéményseprő-munkába. Dehát . . . a dolognak ez a könnyebbik, hogy ugy mondjam, az anyagi része.

A nehezebbje, az más!!

Mert a nehezebbje, az már az az ugynevezett lelki rész. És azért ez a nehezebbje, mert nem nagyon akarják észrevenni, hogy az efféle cserebogárnál ilyen rész is van. Éppen ugy, mint másnál. S annál jobban van annál erősebben és érzékenyebben van, mennél inkább nem akarják tudomásul venni . . .

Maris csak élte a maga egyszerü életét egy darabig. A nyugalom és a nyugtalanság, a derü és a lehangoltság hullámvonalain mendegélt, mint minden más ember és egyszerre csak el kezdte nyeldesni a létezés keserübb cseppjeit, mint nem minden más ember.

Ó, hiszen annyi baj van a világon!

És ebben az otthonban a háztartás urnője körül felhőzött ez a sok baj leginkább.

Ez az urnő, az a bizonyos Märy, ha szabad azt mondani s ha szabad, akkor is csak sugva mondom, amolyan festői romhalmaz volt már — legalább is az idegeiben nagyon is az volt. S mélységes sóhajtásai, amelyek minduntalan egy hanyatló jólét nyugalmát és korlátlan szabószámláit siratták, néha olyan szaporasággal gyültek össze, hogy sivító szélvész, tipró, vad förgeteg lett belőlük.

Ilyenkor szorult aztán a cserebogár Maris.

Hiszen ő volt az egyedüli célpont, amit hölgyünk villámai ellenállás nélkül csapdoshattak. A javából mindig ő kapott. Ilyenkor nem volt jó semmi. Baj volt, ha a kenyér friss volt; baj volt, ha nem volt friss. Baj volt, ha jött; baj volt, ha ment. Ha szorgoskodott: baj volt. Ha riadtan megtorpant: baj volt. Ha esett az eső: Maris kapott. Ha sütött a nap: akkor is.

Kezdett elfeketülni a cserebogár vidám kedélye. Maris erősen elkomorult. Vagyis hát minek huzzam-toldjam ezt az egész ügyecskét, hiszen olyan egyszerü, olyan mindennapi . . . csak rátérek már végre, hogy Marisba egy este ugy beleesett a halálvágy, mint bárányba a métely.

Éppen egy perccel azután történt ez, hogy az urnő őfelsége megmondta neki:

— Maris, ide hallgass! Reggel nyolc óra tizenöt perckor befütesz a fürdőszobába. Fürdésre fütesz, nemcsak mosdásra. Érted, Maris? Amikor már jó meleg lesz, a kádat félig telebocsátod vizzel. Harmincöt fok Celsius legyen, egy fokkal se több. Harmincöt Celsius, huszonöt Reaumur . . . Akkor aztán felköltesz, de nem hamarább, egy perccel sem.

Märyke illatosan és szigoruan elviharzott és kékszemü Maris ott maradt a beleesett sötét gondolattal. Nem, ezt ő nem birja tovább . . . A fene essen abba a Celsiába, de abba a Remirába is, mit tudja ő, hogy hol vannak azok, meg kifélék azok . . . nem lesz abból a fürőből semmi, nem bizony, mert ő hajnalban nekimegy a gázrezsónak és akkor vége lesz itt mindennek . . . Akkor majd pucolhat más, szaladhat, hallgathat, nyelhet más . . . Hogy mit szól majd a kis szőrös emberke, a szépséghiba? Hát majd szól, amit akar s különben sem fog szólni semmit, mert csak sir majd, ha sir . . .

Apró bárányfelhők gyülekeztek Maris lelkében s reggel felé ez már sötét borulattá vastagodott.

Órákig viaskodott. Hol megingott, hol kiegyenesedett, zugott a feje és sipitott a torkán a szusz és vert elül a szive, mintha egy nagy bunkóval csinálta volna . . . S a végén szörnyen megijedt a cserebogár . . . Hát hogyne! Mert mi lesz itt, micsoda dörgés, micsoda villámlás — ha félkilencre nem kész a fürdőszoba . . . ?

* * *

Mehalni nem mert, de élni: ahhoz volt kurázsija. Ahhoz tehát kétség sem fér, hogy nagyobb volt embernek, magasabban álló és valódibb volt mindennek, mint az a nevezetes Märy. Én legalább igy látom!

A Munkás Betegsegélyző Szövetség Betegsegély Táblázata

Az alanti táblázat mutatja, hogy a heti 7 dolláros segélynél miképp kell kiszámitani a betegivek segély összegét.

Egész segély.				Fél segély.			
1	napra	1.17	dollár	1	napra	0.58	dollár
2	napra	2.33	dollár	2	napra	1.17	dollár
3	napra	3.50	dollár	3	napra	1.75	dollár
4	napra	4.67	dollár	4	napra	2.33	dollár
5	napra	5.83	dollár	5	napra	2.92	dollár
6	napra	7.00	dollár	6	napra	3.50	dollár
7	napra	8.17	dollár	7	napra	4.08	dollár
8	napra	9.33	dollár	8	napra	4.67	dollár
9	napra	10.50	dollár	9	napra	5.25	dollár
10	napra	11.67	dollár	10	napra	5.83	dollár
11	napra	12.83	dollár	11	napra	6.42	dollár
12	napra	14.00	dollár	12	napra	7.00	dollár
13	napra	15.17	dollár	13	napra	7.58	dollár
14	napra	16.33	dollár	14	napra	8.17	dollár
15	napra	17.50	dollár	15	napra	8.75	dollár
16	napra	18.67	dollár	16	napra	9.33	dollár
17	napra	19.83	dollár	17	napra	9.92	dollár
18	napra	21.00	dollár	18	napra	10.50	dollár
19	napra	22.17	dollár	19	napra	11.08	dollár
20	napra	23.33	dollár	20	napra	11.67	dollár
21	napra	24.50	dollár	21	napra	12.25	dollár
22	napra	25.67	dollár	22	napra	12.83	dollár
23	napra	26.83	dollár	23	napra	13.42	dollár
24	napra	28.00	dollár	24	napra	14.00	dollár
25	napra	29.17	dollár	25	napra	14.58	dollár
26	napra	30.33	dollár	26	napra	15.17	dollár
27	napra	31.50	dollár	27	napra	15.75	dollár

Heti segélynél annyi napot kell számitani, ahány munkanap van egy héten. Egy teljes hóra annyi napot kell számitani, ahány munkanap van egy hóban. Leghosszabb hóban 27 munkanap van, ennélfogva egy betegivre csak ennyit fizethetünk. A betegiveket az osztály titkáron kivül az osztály elnöknek, avagy helyettesének is, (bámely tag is lehet,) alá kell irni, hitelesités végett. Ezt a központi ellenőrzés követeli.

KECSKEMÉT TÖRTÉNETE— ADOMÁKBAN

PA KECSKEMÉTI muzeum vezetője, Szabó Kálmán. "A hirös város anekdotakincse" cimmel összegyüjtötte és az Első kecskeméti hirlapkiadó és nyomda rt. könyvben kiadta a Kecskemét multjára vonatkozó adomákat. Az anekdótakincs legnagyobb része találó s ötletes kiegészitése annak a képnek, amelyet a történelmi monográfiák vázolnak a nagy alföldi városról. Néhány müvelődéstörténeti szempontból jellemző anekdotont mutatóba itt közlünk.

A VARJAK NÉPSZÁMLÁLÁSA.

Csilléry jogakadémiai igazgató, mielőtt Kecskemétre került, Pest megye egyik községében volt jegyző az abszolut korszak vége felé. Mint beszélte, egy alkalommal a megyefőnöktől azon utasitás érkezett, miszerint a községben lévő varjak megszámlálandók. Többször sürgették a választ, mire megmérgesedett és azt kérdezte levélben, hogy a varjuszámolás adatait felekezetek szerint csoportositva kell-e felterjeszteni, mert a községben kétféle varjak vannak, pápista varjak és kálomista varjak.

Felülről nem sürgették többet.

FÖLDMÉRÉS.

Századokkal ezelőtt a puszták felmérése, a telelők, tanyaföldek kiosztása ugy történt, hogy egy kocsit odaállitottak a felmérendő föld megjelölt határpontjára, a kocsi mindkét első kerekére jelzőket (szalmacsóvát vagy kötelet) kötöttek. A kocsit ugy állitották, hogy a jelzők a kiindulási ponton álljanak. Két ember ült a kocsiderékban, az egyik a bal-, a másik a jobboldali kerék fordulásait számolta s minden 10, vagy 100 fordulatot feljegyzett. Igy egyuttal ellenőrizték is egymást. Még a tizennyolcadik század közepén is kocsifordulással mérték a földeket. Nagyritkán megtörtént persze, hogy a "mérnökök" odaszóltak a kocsisnak:

— Hajts, Pista, mert a nemzetes urét mérjük.

Mire a Pista a lovak közé vágott, s bizony meglehet, hogy nem egészen potosan tudták számolni a gyors fordulatokat.

A TISZTELETES UR ÉS AZ ESŐ

Luteránus nagytiszteletü urunkkal történt, hogy egy hosszu, kánikulai nyár közepén, amikor bizony már hetek óta nem esett az eső, a hivatalban a káplánja azzal a kérdéssel fordult hozzá:

— Nem volna-e jó már esőért imádkoznunk?

A nagytiszteletü ur kinézet az ablakon, s látva, hogy a nap százágra süt, felhőcskének még nyoma sincs az égen, igy válaszolt:

— Fiam, még nem blamáljuk magunkat!

KECSKEMÉT ÉS A NÉMET ORIENTÁCIÓ.

A törököktől és a törököt kiüző némettől egyaránt sokat szenvedett Kecskemét. Lehet, hogy a "felszabaditók" még rosszabbak voltak. Legalább is erre mutat az, hogy amikor Hornyik János, városunk történetirója megkérdezte a Biró Mihály kecskeméti birtokos polgárt a régi időkről, az igy felelt:

— Nagyatyámtól hallottam, hogy a török alatt boldog volt Kecskemét, de a német egyik csöcsét sem hagyta fejetlenül a tehénnek.

KECSKEMÉT ÉS AZ OLASZ ORIENTÁCIÓ.

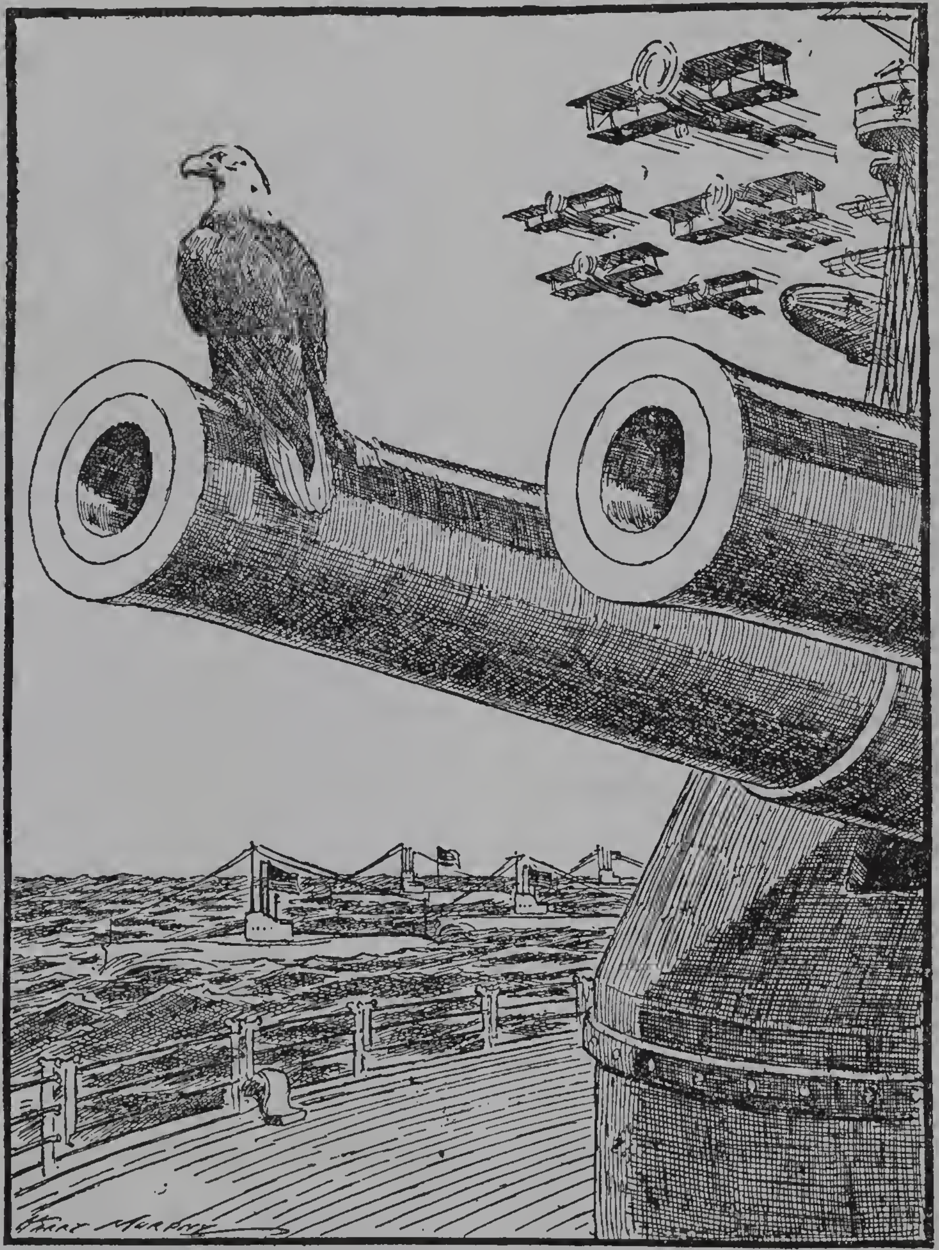
Berlini lapok egy esettel kapcsolatban sokat élcelődtek Kecskemét hatósága felett. Az állitólagos eset az lett volna, hogy egy olasz szinházvállalkozó arra kérte a kecskeméti tanácsot, engedje meg, hogy a városban néhány olasz nyelvü előadást tarthasson. Az egykori tanács állitólag azzal az indokolással utasitotta el a kérelmet, hogy a város lakossága a szigoru tél folyamán ugyis eleget szenvedett.

MÜÉLVEZET.

A Katona szinházban a 900-as évek elején történt. Ünnepélyes előadás volt, a "Bánk bán" operát adták s a főszerepekben kiváló budapesti müvészek remekeltek.

Amikor a pesti müvésznő a nagyáriát énekelte s a közönség legnagyobb része — az ünnepélyes pillanatnak megfelelően — halotti csendben élvezte az előadást, az egyik páholyból egy hölgy félhangosan átszólt a másikba (ám e pillanatban éppen elhallgatott a zene és ének s igy az egész nézőtér hallotta:)

— Oszt mennyi ecetöt tösző bele?



A dögkeselyüket emberi testtel tápláló technika ismét bőségesen arat.

MUNKÁSPOLITIKA.

A “Bozó harangja” kifejezés eredetét képező igaz história még manapság is forog a nép ajkán.

A tizennyolcadik század első felében volt a városnak egy erélyes főbírája: Bozó István. Nevét leginkább a “Bozó harangjá”-nak hire tartotta fönn. Amidőn ugyanis a napi bért keveslő kaszások nyári hajnalon munkára menni nem akartak, napdéli harangszóig a piacot “kaszáltatta” velük. Vagyis a piac puszta homokja fölött kellett nekik kaszálni a semmit, a levegőt, mintha künn a buzatáblán aratnának. A “munka” végét jelentő déli harangszó volt a “fizetség,” innen a “Bozó harangja.”

AKÁRCSAK MA.

Gubacsi Pál öreg bugaci juhász felkerült egyszer Pestre és bejutott a képviselőházba is. A folyosó márványfala mentén az oszlopdiszek tetején szobrok jelzik a magyar ipari és mezőgazdasági foglalkozási ágakat. Van ott cserzővarga, kovács, szürszabó, magvető, arató stb. Nézegeti Gubacsi Pál juhász az aranyos cifrázatokat, márványfalakat s végre megakad a szeme a szobrokon is. Szemmellátható nagy érdeklődéssel gusztálja sorra, de végül elkedvetlenedve legyint:

— Haj, haj! Mindenféle szent van itt, csak juhász nincs!

MIKOR LESZ MÁS VILÁG?

Dömötör István gazda istállóját tapasztani egy cigányt fogadott. Hosszu alkudozások után megegyezett vele.

Pár év mulva ugyanazt a cigányt fogadta meg ugyanahhoz az istállóhoz s mikor megkérdezte, hogy mit kér, a cigány azt mondta:

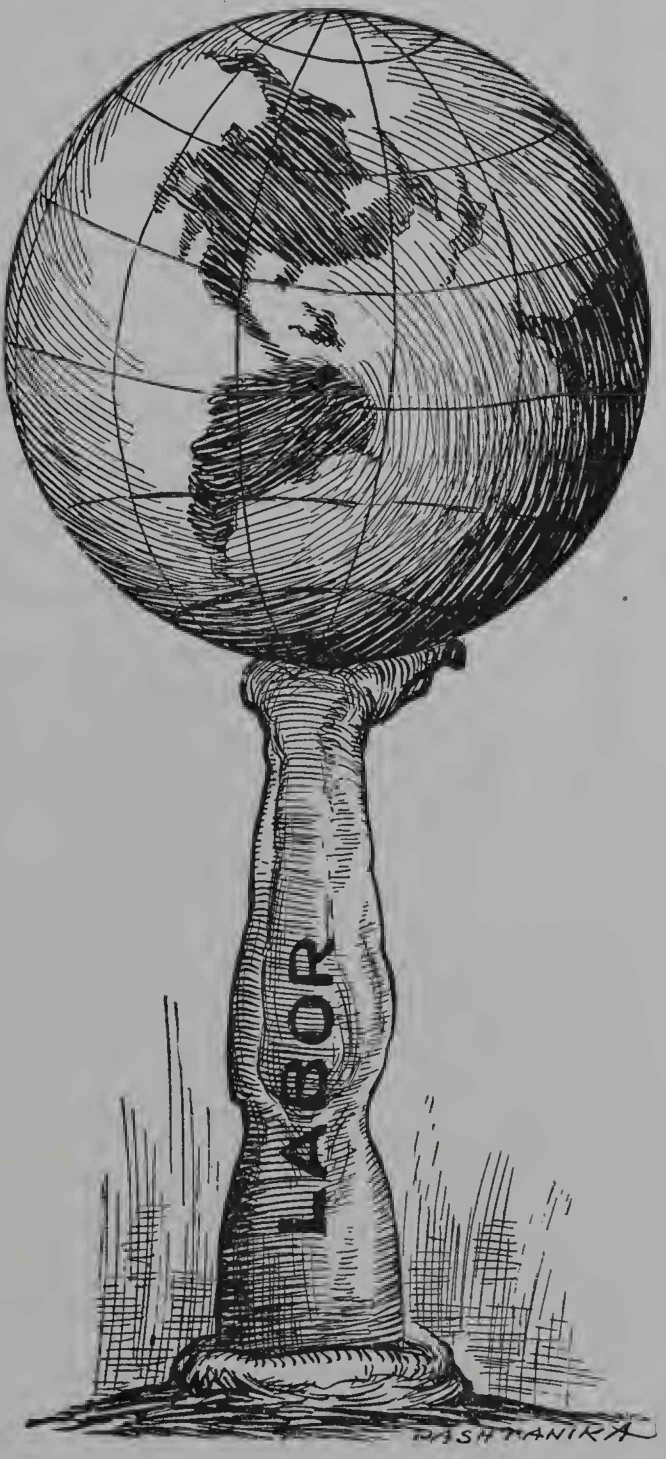
— Hát csák ánnyit, mint máskor, kenyergem álásan.

Dömötör uram alkudozni próbált, de a cigány nem akart engedni.

— Ejnye, fiam — magyarázta neki Dömötör —, azóta olcsóbb a gabona, a bor, más világ van már.

Azt felelte ám erre a cigány:

Ákkor les más világ, há á némzétés ur fogja tápástáni ázs in istállómat.



Az emberiség napi szükségletét, jólétét a munkás kéz teremti elő, nélküle nem volna élet.

A PROLETÁR KÖLTŐ

Irta: BÁNADY SÁNDOR.

Ha én szólok:
szavaimban a proletárok elfojtott krátera zug,
ha én beszélek:
a rabszolgák elcsuklott forrogó hangja bug,
ha én irok:
a megalázottak zokogó keservei öltenek tettest,
ha én zokogok:
a koldusok millióinak pokoli fájdalma jajjong,
ha én vágyódom:
millió ember lelkét ölelem magammal
a megdicsőült Holnap arany-testére,
ha én kiáltok:
a szenvedők égető sebei háborognak,
ha én gyujtok:
a dolgozók kizsákmányolt hadát kovácsolom acél-tömbbé,
ha én lázitok:
a megköpködöttek szent Vágyait forrasztom Lázadássá,
ha én lángolok:
a proletáriátus herkulesi Ereje lobbant bennem lángra,
mert én vagyok a látnok,
én vagyok az eltaposott sziveknek Istene,
én vagyok a munkásosztály lázadó szive s lelke,
én vagyok minden korban a fölmagasztosult Forradalmár!
Az én borus hangomban egy zokogó világ
siró fájdalma viharzik,
az én kacajomban egy uj-Nép jó kedve tomból,
az én karjaimban a rabszolgák izma feszül,
mert bennem összpontosul minden Érzés! . . . . . .
Szavakba fonom a proletáriátus
fájdalmának könnyes-szálait,
hogy kancsukává szövődjenek a szavak szallagjai,
mert akkor szent, akkor dicső a költészet is,
ha a valóság, a világ, az Igazság
viharzik benne müvészi akkordokban . . . . .

Az én anyanyelvem a minden fájdalmak szókincse,
az én anyanyelvem a dolgozó milliók bánata és keserve,
az én anyanyelvem a világ forrongó szózata,
az én anyanyelvem a proletáranyák
igába taszitott és járomba fult beszéde,
az én anyanyelvem a legfájdalmasabb,
a legszomorubb, de a legharcosabb, a legszentebb,
a legforradalmibb emberi hangok egysége,
mert az Uj-Világ szózatai harsognak benne!!!

SZINTÉN KENYÉR...

IRTA:

SEBES ÁRPÁD

PÁTKY SÁNDOR nem volt destruktiv iró. Konstruktiv se. Már ami a politikai szempontokat illeti. Egyszerüen iró volt. Nézte és meglátta az élet szépségeit, de nem tért ki az élet árnyoldalainak szemlélése elől sem. És ha már meglátta, meg is mutatta azokat. Sőt itt-ott, szinte nem is tudatosan, nem keresve és kiélezve, de a mélyebben rejtőző okokra is ráhibázott.

Iró volt, egyszerüen volt az, jóhiszemü és igyekezett irásaiban is embernek megmaradni. Mindezek azonban nem olyan dolgok, amelyek egy mai iró karrierjének utját simává kövezik.

Talán ezért is, talán azért is, mert több lehetőségre és levegőre vágyott a kenyérhajsza hosszu évekkel ezelőtt kikésztette Németországba.

Nem. Német iró sohasem lett. Megmaradt egyszerüen csak irónak. Abban az időben ez még elegendő volt arra, hogy megadja kenyerét a sors önkéntes számüzöttjének. Az 1925-ös évek Németországának kulturcentrumai, virágzó napilapjai és müvészi folyóiratai ellátták őt is, megadták néki is, mint annyi ezernek, munkája ellenértékét. Igy volt ez mindaddig, mig a politikai átalakulás folytán a napilapok, folyóiratok egyrésze át nem vedlett irodalmi mezbe burkolt politikai és faji orgánummá, másrésze pedig, amely ezt az utat nem óhajtotta megtenni, önként vagy nem önként, be nem szüntette müködését.

Nem, Pátkyt nem vitték internálótáborba, sőt ki sem utasitották. Igazolta, hogyha nem is árja, de legalább turáni leszármazott s igy joga volt maradék pénzét kint elkölthetni. Miután pedig elköltötte, hát istenem! Mert a kenyérkereseti és életlehetősége azért éppugy megszünt, mintha a hivatalosan alacsonyrendünek bélyegzett fajból származott volna. A totális állam ugyais irodalmi szempontból is önellátásra törekedett és rendezkedett be. Éhenhalni azonban Pátky nem óhajtott idegenben. Hazasietett tehát.

Legelőször egy nagy, ugynevezett konstruktiv lap szerkesztőségébe kopogtatott be.

— Né, mondta a főszerkesztő titkárnője, aki egyuttal a lap munkatársa is volt — mert mondani sem kell, hogy az iró a párnázott ajtó mögé nem jutott be —, Ön is hazajött?

— Én is — mondta kényszeredetten Pátky, elértve a megjegyzést.

— Sajnálatos — forgatta az kezében kéziratát —, de nem tehetünk semmit. Egyenesen el vagyunk árasztva irásokkal. Szigoru utasitásom, hogy egyelőre semmit se vegyek át. Épp ezért nem engedhetem be az öreghez se. Tudja, olyan vajszive van, senkit se képes elutasitani, ezért hát rám bizta ezt a dolgot.

— Kár — mondta Pátky és habozott, elmondja-e, milyen nagy szüksége lenne arra a pár pengőre honoráriumra is, amit a novella közlése jelentene számára.

Félszegen állt ott, ugyhogy a titkárnő végül is megsajnálta.

— Na, hagyja itt azért — mondta. — Elbeszélés? — pillantott bele és elhuzta az orrát. — Halomban álltak ott a kéziratok. — Ezek csak a visszautasitott novellák. Másfél évre el vagyunk látva. De azért kivételesen hagyja csak itt. Majd meglátjuk. Ha jó, tekintettel a tekintendőkre, majd megnyomjuk egy kissé a dolgot.

Pátky arra gondolt, hogy nem is olyan régen odakint látatlanba és előre fizették már ki irásait. Most mégis örült. Mit tegyen? Tudta, hogy itthon elölről kell kezdenie mindent.

Ez novemberben történt. Decemberben bátorkodott megérdeklődni a novella sorsát.

Az irás jó, nyugtatta meg a titkárnő, ő pártolóan továbbterjesztette. De végeredményében, sajnos, mégsem ő dönt.

Két villamos ide, kettő vissza, mondta magában a lépcsőn lefelémenet az iró, de aztán legyintett: rezsiköltség.

Januárban márcsak telefonálni mert. Különben is ez olcsóbb. A titkárnőnek azonban éppen a főszerkesztő ur diktált, nem jöhetett a készülékhez.

Februárban szerencséje volt, beszélhetett vele.

— Mit szól hozzá, csicseregte a telefónba, elfogadták! Persze egy kicsit én is segitettem. Kérem, ne köszönje, nem azért mondtam. Hogyne, tudom, szüksége van a pénzre, nemsokára jön is.

Mégis csak kedves ez a nő, tette le Pátky a kagylót és elküldte neki dedikálva eddig megjelent munkáit. Portóköltség 64 fillér.

Márciusban nem jött. A novella se, a titkárnő se a telefónhoz. Köszöni a könyveket, bocsánatot kér, üzente a szerkesztőségi altiszttel, de nem tud kijönni, sokan vannak nála. Egyébként az irás már a nyomdában van.

Persze, bosszankodott az iró. Tulsokat zavarom. Megutáltam magam. Egyébb dolga is van, mentegette a nőt, hogy ne bántsa annyira a megszégyenités.

Áprilisban azonban, amikor nagyon szorongatta a cipész, kapóra jött, hogy sikerült egy barátja révén a nyomdaigazgatóhoz összeköttetést találni.

— Hogyne, kérlek, igérte ez meg barátjának, utánanézek és az éjjeli szerkesztőt megkérem, hogy minél előbb közölje.

Májusban ismét és feltétlenül megigérte, hogy juniusban lejön. Dehát annyi van készen, kiszedve, hogy — be kellett látnia — nem könnyü a dolog. Ez nem is volt igazság hiján.

Lejött! Juliusban lejött. A legjobbkor. (Ugyan, irónak mikor nem a legjobbkor jön a pénz!) A szobabérhez hiányzott egy pár pengő, amit már sehonnan se tudott volna összeszedni, pedig háziasszonya már a köszöntését is alig fogadja. Berobogott a kiadóba a pénzért.

— Sajnos, hütötték le örömét, az az ur, aki az utalványokat kezeli, szabadságra ment. Az aláirt utalványok között nincs. De, sugta egy jóakaratu alkalmazott, menjen föl a főszerkesztő urhoz, már történt az évek folyamán olyan eset is, hogy az öreg soron kivül utalt.

Hát persze. Hiszen ugyis föl kell mennie, hogy a titkárnőnek, már csak a jövő reményében is, ismételten megköszönje szives pártfogását. Meg is köszönte. De hogy az öreghez?! Mit gondol? Ilyen dolgokkal csak nem foglalkozik a főszerkesztő ur. Különben is nagy politikai megbeszélések folynak bent. A neves kormányférfi van nála. De a kiadóban el kell, hogy intézzék. Mondja, hogy én üzentem.

A nyomdaigazgatót nem találta ott. Másnap bent találta — mindössze két órát előszobázott — s miután hálájáát kifejezte, protekciójára a kiadóhivatali igazgató kedvesen, de határozottan fölvilágositotta, hogy a kiutalások "kivétel nélkül" a hó tizedike és huszadika közt intéztetnek el. Azonban, hogy ne kelljen fáradnia, igéretet tett, hogy az első lesz, akinek postán elküldeti a pénzt.

Legalább a villamospénzt megtakaritom, vigasztalta magát keserüen az iró.

Tizenhetedikén meg is kapta a tizenhat pengőjét.

Elgondolkozott. Három hónapig élt benne a téma és foglalkozott vele. Egy délután megirta. Később néhányszor elővette és javitgatta, majd amikor kifogástalannak találta, legépelte. A gépelést átnézte. Elköltött négy villamost á 24 fillér, az 96 fillér, 3 telefónra 60 fillért, a portóköltség 64 fillér volt. A papirt, géppapirt, ceruzát nem számitja, bár az sincs ingyen. Eltöltött a szerkesztőségben egynéhányszor féldélutánt — viszont tudja, hány vonala van az előszobai tapétának alulról fölfelé és haránt —, a kiadóban egynehányszor féldélelőttöt, az idegeiből meguzsonnázott és megtizóraizott közben pár métert, kapott végül 16 pengőt. Ha ebből levonja, amit elköltött, akkor keresett, keresett . . .

Mit is keresett?

Kenyeret. Mert állitólag ez is kenyér.

A TEA TERMESZTÉSE ÉS GYÁRTÁSA

PSOK-SOK MILLIÓ ember iszik naponta teát, főkép a hideg téli hónapokban izlik az aranysárga ital, mert . . . melegit. De csak a fehér embert melegiti, a szinesbőrüek, a barna benszülöttek a sárga kinaiak és japánok leginkább a legforróbb trópusi napokon élvezik a teát, mert . . . hüsiti őket. Az ezernyi ellentét a fehér- és szinesbőrü emberek között még a tea élvezetében is megnyilatkozik. Az egyiket melegiti, a másikat hüsiti.

A sok millió teát ivó ember közül aránylag csak igen kevés tudja, hogy "mi fán terem" a tea. Egy rövidke cikk keretében nem lehet megirni a teatermesztés és a teagyártás ezernyi csinyját-binyját. Erről már egész könyvtárakat irtak össze és még most is szorgalmasan irnak. Az utolsó szót még nem mondták ki a teáról, bár a kinaiak már több ezer év óta termesztenek teát.

HOL TEREM A TEA?

A termesztés és gyártás nemcsak világrészek, de még vidékek szerint is változó. Oroszországban például préselt teakockákat árulnak, a kinaiak csak zöld és viráglevelekkel illatositott teát isznak. A beduinok vajat és sót kevernek a durva, nagylevelü teáikba. Az európaiak csak a fekete ceyloni és jávai teát isszák, leginkább többfajtát összekeverve. De akárhányféle módon termelik és gyártják a teát, a lényeges vonások változatlanok, akár kézzel készül a tea, egyszerü kinai üzemben, akár milliós tőkével rendelkező európai teagyárban készül az illatos tea.

A teacserje vagy teabokor, mint köztudomásu, csak a trópusi vidékeken terem. De nem az alacsony, mocsaras tengerpartokon, hanem csak a magasabb hegyeken. Minél magasabb hegyen terem a tea, annál jobb, illatosabb és drágább. Kétezer méter magas hegyeken terem a legfinomabb tea. Itt néha még fagypont alá is száll a hőmérséklet: ez persze már sok a jóból; ilyenkor elfagynak a levelek és egy-két hónapig nem lehet a teát leszedni, meg kell várni, amig uj hajtások nőnek a cserjén, mert csak a friss hajtások hazsálhatók. Egy-egy ág végén kibujó friss zöld levélkékből csak a legkisebb három levelet szedik le. Ebből a három levélkéből is csak a középső kicsiny még fejletlen levélke adja a legfinomabb ezüstszinü teát. Az ugynevezett kuliteához persze a negyedik, ötödik és hatodik teljesen kifejlett tealevelet is felhasználják, ebből készül az olcsó, de kesernyés tea, amely már nem is kerül az európai piacra.

A leveleket asszonyok és leányok szüretelik. Egy-egy asszony naponta sok-sok százezernyi levelet szed le. A leszedett leveleket a gyárba viszik, ahol régi kipróbált és gyakran féltve őrzött előirások szerint készitik elő a fogyasztásra.

A TEAGYÁR.

A gyártási folyamat nagyjában a következő: A friss zöld leveleket tüllre vagy finomabb dróthálókra teregetik szét, amelyre meleg levegőt fujnak a szétteregetett tealevelek közé. Itt két-három óra hosszat marad a tealevél, ez alatt az idő alatt a levelek elfonnyadnak. A friss, ropogós, törékeny levelek fonnyadni kezdenek, élénk zöld szinük megsötétedik, a levelek puhák, hajlékonyak lesznek, ha összehajtja az ember, akkor nem törnek meg, hanem összecsavarhatók, mintha puha papirosból lennének. Ezeket a félig fonnyadt leveleket egyenként összsze kell sodorni, mint a cigarettapapirost. Ezt a müveletet egyszerü kis üzemekben kézzel végzik, modern gyárakban sodrógépek vannak, amelyek bizonyos nyomás mellett összesodorják a leveleket.

A sodrás után már barna szine lesz a levélnek és a nyomás folytán a levél nedvének egy része kipréselődik. Ezután következik a gyártás legkényesebb része, a levelek "fermentálása," élesztése vagy érése. A sodrógépekből kikerült teát lapos ládákba teszik és nedves levegővel telitett sötét kamrákba helyezik, itten — gyártási módszerek szerint — 20—30, vagy 50 percig marad a tea, ez alatt az idő alatt a tealevelekben igen bonyolult kémiai folyamatok mennek végbe. Ekkor kapja a tea az izét, zamatját, illatát. A kamrák hőmérséklete, a levegő páratartalma, a fermentálás ideje mind igen fontos körülmény, amitől a tea minősége függ. A fermentálás után a tea szine sötétbarna, olyan, mint a kifőzött teáé. Ezután következik a száritás, az 50—60 fokos hatalmas száritókemencében, ahol a tea végnélküli szalagon ötször-hatszor megy keresztül. Ha a száritókemencéből kikerült a tea, akkor a szine már fekete és a gyártási folyamat befejeződött.

AZ OSZTÁLYOZÁS.

Ezután már csak az osztályozás és a csomagolás van hátra. A tea osztályozása, minőség szerint való szétválasztása még nem is olyan régen csupán kézzel történt. Ujabban gépek végzik ennek a munkának jelentős részét, a kézimunkát azonban még a legmodernebb üzemekben sem sikerült teljesen kiszoritani. A teát a gépek ugyanis átszitálják, a különböző nyilásu sziták elválasztják egymástól a finomabb és durvább leveleket, de a levelek szára, amely fogyasztásra alkalmatlan még, átcsuszik a szitán. Ezt csak kézzel lehet kiválasztani és a gyakorlott asszonyok keze alatt boszorkányos gyorsasággal folyik ez a munka. Szitálás helyett süritett levegővel is osztályozzák a teát; a különböző nagyságu tealeveleket egyszerüen szétfujják, de ez a módszer nem tudja nélkülözni a kézzel való utószortirozást. Aki egy marék teát jól megnéz, az látni fogja, hogy sok különféle alaku levél van egy ilyen marék teában. Ez azonban nem a szortirozás hibája, mert a gyárból csak egyforma áru kerül ki. A különféle fajta teákat az importőr, vagy a nagykereskedő keveri össze aszerint, amint ezt a fogyasztóközönség izlése és pénztárcája kivánja.

TEAKóSTOLóK.

A teát faládákba csomagolják, amelyeket belül vékony ólomlemezekkel bélelnek, hogy megvédjék a teát a nedves és sós tengeri levegőtől. Ha a tea nedves lesz, megdohosodik, vagy legjobb esetben elveszti a zamatját és illatát. Régebben, amikor még nem tudták a tealádákat megvédeni a tengeri levegő behatásától, Indián keresztül karavánok szállitották Európába a teát. Ez volt a hires karaván-tea, amely mindig jóval drágább volt, mint a tengeren szállitott áru. Ma már nincsen karaván-tea. Az európai piac főhelye London, de Amsterdamba és Hamburgban is van teatőzsde. Itt a teát minősége, szine, szaga és ize szerint vásárolják. Igen magasfizetésü teaszakértők állapitják meg egy-egy láda tea minőségét. A szakértők munkája valóságos müvészet és sok tekintetben hasonló a borkóstoláshoz.

Amig a trópusi hegyekről a tea eljut a fogyasztó szamovárjába vagy teáskannájába, sok-sok kézen megy keresztül és sok-sok százezer embernek ad kenyeret. A tea napjainkban az élvezeti cikkek sorából már a közszükségleti cikkek sorába jutott. A kávé és cukor mellett a tea egyik legjelentősebb világkereskdelmi cikk lett.

◆ ◆

A VILÁGEGYETEM A PLANETÁRIUMBAN

P “ÉPITS EGY olyan szinházat, amelyben a csillagászat titokzatossága eltünik, de ugyanakkor feltárul maga a teljes tündöklő égbolt. A csillagok ugy tündököljenek, mint az igazi égboltozaton. Tedd lehetővé, hogy az időben előre és vissza mozoghassunk, s hogy ily módon bemutathasd az eget, amilyen volt és amilyen lesz. Az előadó olyan könnyedséggel mozgassa a csillagokat és bolygókat, mintha egyetlen gép irányitásával kontrolálhatná valamennyit. A csillagászat olyan érdekes legyen, mint egy izgalmas játék...”

Ezeket a gondolatokat tolmácsolta néhány évvel ezelőtt Prof Max Wolf, a heidelbergi egyetem tanára, Dr. Oskar von Millernek, a müncheni Deutsches Museum igazgatójának. Ezek a gondolatok — a csillagászat dramatizálását és leegyszerüsitése — im formát öltöttek. Ma már 22 városban találunk Planetariumokat. Ezek közül négy ebben az országban van: Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia és New Yorkban.

Oktatási és müvelődési szempontból a Planetárium szerepét nem lehet tulbecsülni. Mindannyian tanulunk valamicskét a csillagokról az iskolában, de ezt épp oly hamar el is felejtjük.

Az iskolázatlan ember, aki a szabad ég alatt él, többnyire többet tud az égboltozatról, mint az elfoglalt városi ember, aki még az eget is ritkán láthatja. Az acél és cement várakból kitekintő ember, akinek szeme előtt megcsillannak a csillagok és feltünik a sápadt hold, nem is tudná elmondani, hogy valójában mit látott. Még kevésbé tudná megmagyarázni, hogy a csillagok hogyan és miért mozognak, vagy hogy az évszakok hogyan változnak.

Ilyen és eféle kérdések egész sorozatára válaszol a Planetárium. A szemlélő itt egy szinházban találja magát, ahol igazi “csillagok” lépnek fel. Amikor az ember belép a tető-boltozat egészen fehér. A szinház közepén található az óriási projektor aminek olyan formája van, mint valami mesebeli sulyzónak. Az előadó elfoglalja helyét a pódiumon és a fény lassanként kialszik, épp ugy, mint a szinházban, amikor felhuzzák a függönyt. Amikor végre körömsötétség lesz, az előadó bekapcsolja az áramot és a csodák-csodája im, egyszerre előtünik. Az üres fehér boltozat helyét most a valóságosnak tünő csillagos égbolt foglalja el. S mindez egyetlen gombnyomásra! Most látjuk az ismert tejutat ezer és ezernyi csillaggal. Még a képzett csillagászokat is megragadja a csudálatos kép, aminek drámai hatása a beavatatlan számára szinte leirhatatlan. Az előadó egy hosszu fénykézzel most a Vénusra mutat és megmagyarázza a csillag egyszerü mozgását. Az évszakok változásával változik a mü-égboltozat is.

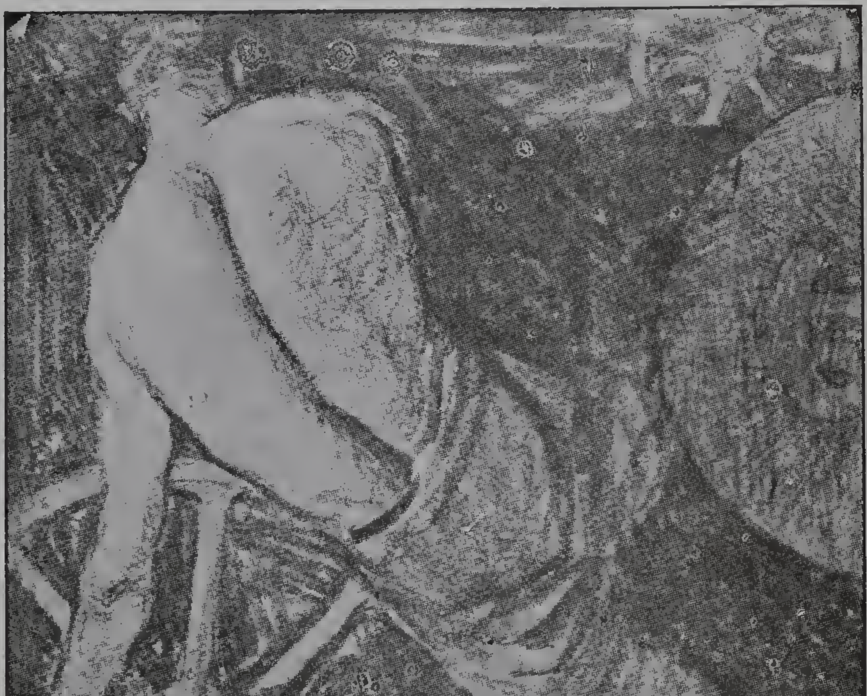
Érdekes dolog, hogy mig a puszta szem egy tiszta csillagos égboltozaton csak körülbeüll 3000 csillagot tud megszámolni, akár az egyenlitőtől északra, akár a délre eső égbolton, addig a Planetáriumban nem kevesebb, mint 9000 csillagot tudnak a mü-égre projektálni. Éveket lehet igy percekbe tömöriteni és hónapokat másodpercekbe. Ez a csodálatos titka a nagyszerü müszernek.

A hatalmas vetitő készülék segitségével annyiféle csillagászati problémát lehet megmagyarázni, hogy szokásos egy évre kiterjedő csillagászati kurzust levezetni. Hosszu órákra és figyelmes vizsgálatra van szükség, hogy a végtelenül komplikált müszer mozgását és a velejáró magyarázatokat pontosan követhessük.

Az első Planetáriumot ebben az országban Chicagoban épitették. Ez a Planetárium egy félszigeten foglal helyet, amely mélyen benyulik a Michigan tóba. A hires Lake Shore Driven mértföldes távolságokból fel lehet ismerni kupoláját.

A példát rövidesen követték Philadelphia és Los Angeles. A philadelphiai a Franklin Instituteban foglal helyet. Csak néhány nap előtt nyilt meg a new yorki Planetárium (Hayden) a Museum of Natural History tőszomszédságában. A new yorki Planetárium épitését két adomány tette lehetővé. Az egyiket, 150.000 dollárt Charles Hayden adta a vetitőgépre, a hiányzó 650.000 dollárt pedig a szövetségi kormány kölcsönözte.

Még egyszeri látogatás is értékes felvilágositást és élvezetet nyujt a szemlélőnek. Nem érdektelen dolog például látni, amint a hold keresztül halad a csillagos égboltozaton fogyatkozva és ismét kibontakozva. Ha az ember legalább egyszer havonta felkeresi a Planetáriumot — amikor is a csillagok helyzete változik — a csillagászat alapvető problémáit megismeri. A copenhágai Prof Stromgren találóan jegyezte meg: "... sosem volt részünk szórakozásban, amely ennyire instruktiv ... és sosem szólt annyi emberhez ... A Planetárium egymagában egyesiti az iskolát, a szinházat és a mozit ..."



Szervezkedj! Harcolj! Hogy az élet hajóját a Te részedre is "csendes vizekre kormányozhasd.

VAN MÉG ÁLLÁS!

IRTA:

G. HERMAN IVÁN

PMOS PEDIG Önön a sor, uram — halottam a nevemet. És betámolyogtam a megnyilott ajtőn. A méltóságos, mindenható vezérigazgató ur magas szine elé.

— Foglaljon helyet, mérnök ur, de miért olyan sápadt, talán rosszul van? Kár. Igazán sajnálom, mérnök ur, de Ön olyan, mint az alvajáró. Ugylátom, nem felel meg a várakozásomnak. Pedig őszintén megvallom, nagy, nagyon nagy céljaim voltak Önnel. Az Ön munkájával, az Ön tehetségével kacsolatban. Ismerem egynéhány elgondolását. Egy-két kitünő tervét a szaklapokból.

— Nem felelek meg? — kérdem a hatalmas urat. — Én? Nem felelnék meg Önnek? . . . Önöknek?

De hiszen akkor ugy is mindegy! — gondolom.

— Na, hallja kérem . . . igazgató ur . . . Én? Én, a multimilliomos new yorki sörgyárosnak, Trommersnek a veje? Én? . . . Hogy éppen én nem felelnék meg önnek? . . .

És legyintettem egyet a kezemmel.

— Hogyan? Hogyan mondja a mérnök ur? A new yorki Tommersnek a veje? A nagy sörgyárosnak? Akivel összeköttetésben is vagyunk? Ó, pardon . . . bocsánat . . . mille pardon, uram . . . Ha ez igy van, akkor . . . nos . . . akkor természetesen egészen más véleményen vagyok. Ez teljesen más világitásba helyezi az ön általam mindig igen nagyra becsült személyét. És az ügy uj megfontolást kiván . . . Részemről . . . Majd mérlegeljük . . . Mérlegelem. És értesitéssel leszek. A viszontlátásra, kedves fiam, pardon, igen tisztelt mérnök uram.

* * *

Este. Kilenc óra. A háziasszonyom kopog.

A szomszéd telefónjához hivatták a mérnök urat.

Köszönöm. Azonnal jövök.

— Halló? Ki beszél?

— Halló? Mérnök ur? Van szerencsém. Alázatos tisztelettel. A titkár. Igen, a méltóságos vezérigazgató ur magántitkára. Igenis kérem alázatosan A méltóságos vezérigazgató ur legszemélyesebb megbizásából bátorkodom. Bocsánat, hogy ilyen későn. Ennyire szokatlan időben. De a dolog nekünk égetően sürgős. Nem tür haladékot. Igen. Holnapra várjuk az igen tisztelt mérnök ur szives látogatását. Igen, már reggel. Ha nem tulterhes, már egynegyed tizre. Hogyne. Pontosan rendben lesz minden. A szerződést éppen most bátorkodom a gépbe diktálni. Két igazgató urunk még ma éjjel ellenjegyzi. Holnap már csak a mérnök urnak kell aláirnia. Ó. Igen. Azt hiszem. Remélem, meg lesz elégedve, mérnök ur, a feltételeinkkel.

— All right — mondtam a kagylóba —, ott leszek.

— Alázatos tiszteletem, mérnök ur. A viszontlátásra. — Szólt még a hang.

Visszaakasztottam a hallgatót a villára. És lerohantam az utcára. Végig az Andrássy uton. Azután a Körúton. A Keleti előtt megálltam egy másodpercre.

— Megérkeztem — kiálltottam be a nagycsarnok ajtaján. Azután visszafutottam a Dunapartra. Átloholtam a Lánchidon. Felnyargaltam a budai hegyekbe.

Éjfélután egy telefonfülkére bukkantam. Feltárcsáztam egy számot.

— Ki az? És mit akar? . . . Igy éjnek idején?

— Semmit. jó uram. Semmit. Csak azt akarom mondani, hogy állásom van, állásom van, uram és . . .

— Szemtelen őrült . . . — volt a dühös válasz. Lecsapták a kagylót.

Azt sem tudom, hogyan kerültem vissza a hónaposszobámba.

* * *

Másnap reggel. Elémtolták a kész szerződést. Aláirtam.

— Csak annyit áruljon el — kértem a titkárt, amikor magunkra maradtunk — hogyan tudtak New Yorkból ilyen gyorsan választ kapni?

A titkár fontoskodva és sokatsejtően szája elé tette az egyik ujját.

— Amig engem lát, ne féljen semmit uram, kedves kis mérnököm. Csak a fizetésének a husz százalékát hozza be nekem. Minden elsején. De pontos legyen ám! Addig nem érheti semmi baj sem nálunk. — És jóakaratuan megveregette a vállamat.

— Alázatos tiszteletem, kedves mérnök uram — szólt a nyitott ajtóban és mélyen hajlongott előttem.

* * *

LÉGGÖMB

Négyévesforma kislány lép be egy nagy áruház forgóajtaján. Karbunkulusnál is ragyogóbb, fekete kiváncsi szeme röpködve lopakodik a rengeteg soh'se látott kincsen. Tarkabarka selymek, szövetek, ruhák, halványszines fehérnemüek, kalapok, köpenyegek, gusztusos ennivaló gulákban, mazsola, mandula, dióbél, krémes sütemények, ó, micsoda fölfoghatatlan együttese a kiapadhatatlan gyönyörüségnek!

Betetőzésül elérkeznek anyjával a játékterembe. Itt már szinte repülne a kislány. Szeretne odabujni minden egyes babához, fehérselymes bocihoz, sárga- és vörösszinü mackóhoz, a főzőedényhez és bababutorokhoz, hogy mindegyik fülébe sugja azt az édes és fájdalmas titkot, hogy mennyire szereti . . .

És vakmerő akarattal már rángatja is ki apró kezecskéjét anyja szoritó tenyeréből: Hopplá! Anyja tenyerének izmai azonban megfeszülnek, összébb szorul az anyai hurok a kis kéz fölött: Nem szabad! Maradj veszteg! S a tilalomfa keserüsége, közvetlen közelből megsimogatni ezeregyéjszakai tündérmesének valamennyi álmát-vágyát: nehéz, forró könnycseppeket facsar ki az elborult gyermekszemekből.

A viharfellegeket sebtében elkergeti a napsugár. Egy kedves, mosolygósszemü elárusitónő kezében száz és száz léggömb ficánkol. A szivárvány minden szinében. Vörös, zöld, kék, lila, sárga, fehér, valamennyi árnyalata! A kislány olyan rimánkodó szemmel néz anyjára, annyi boldog vágyakozást, megkivánó áhitozást sürit bele még könnyes szemének csillagaiba, hogy anyja nehéz sóhajjal kapirgállja elő kopott bugyellárisának rejtekéből a kevés filléreket, ötször is megszámolja egymásután, mig végül is nem tud ellenállni és kiszurkolja a tiz fillért.

A kislány mohó örömmel nyul a léggömbcsomó után. Első csalódása, amikor kiderül, hogy abból a léggömberdőből csak egyetlenegy darabocska az övé, mégpedig a kisebb fajtából való. Mert a nagyobboknak 20 fillér az ára. A legkeserübb választás: Melyiket szeresse? . . .

Amikor igy egycsomóban olyan gyönyörüszépek, de egyenkint olyan nehéz a választás: legyen a sárga, a zöld, a piros, a fehér vagy a halványlila? . . . Végül is a vörösre esik választása. Hiába, a vörös szin tüzeli föl legjobban a fantáziát.

Kilépnek a kapun. A kislány örömrepesve feszíti meg karját, hogy a büszke léggömbmadár minél dasosabban, minél magasabban szálljon fölfelé a kék azur kifürkészhetelen régióiba, amikor egyszerre csak . . . ó, irtózat! . . . egy kis lazulás a parányi ujjak között és a léggömb kiszabadul a szoritásból és tempós akaratossággal kezd fölfelé szállni, el a végtelenségbe . . .

A gyermek az első riadtságban nem tudja, mi történt, még nem eszmél a fölfoghatatlanra, tágranyilt kerek, nagy gyermekszemével csak bámul az ég felé . . . azután hirtelen, mint durva fejszecsapás, rázuhan a valóság: A léggömb elrepült, örökre elrepült . . .

A körülállók hiába akarják csitítgatni, vigasztalni: rug és kapálódzik és szörnyü nagy bánatát jelzi, amint könnyeitől szóhozjutva, végre kirobban belőle a mondhatatlan fájdalom:

— Jaj, az én első léggömböm . . .

Bors.

AMIT MINDEN MUNKÁS TANULJON JÓL MEG

AMERIKA POLITIKAI PÁRTJAINAK ÉS GAZDASÁGI SZERVEZETEINEK ÁLLÁSPANTJA ÉS TÁRSADALMI KÖVETELÉSEI.

IRTA:

A. K.

P DIÓHÉJBAN közöljük az Egyesült Államok polgári és "munkás" pártjainak valamint gazdasági szervezeteinek célját. Szolgáljon eme rövid ösmertetés utmutatóul azoknak, akik a mai társadalmi rendszer elleni küzdelemben önzetlenül munkálkodnak.

REPUBLIKÁNUS PÁRT: — A kapitalizmus kérdésében annak fentartását védelmezi. A **nagy ipari vállalatok** magántulajdonának hive minden állami beavatkozás nélkül. A **kisüzletemberek** vagyis a középosztály részére szabad verseny. **Szállitás, közlekedés,** villany, gáz kérdéseben, a magán tulajdon hive. Földmivelés kérdésében a magas árak fentartása. **Munkásügyekben** a társaságok által felállitott szervezkedési formának hive. **Demokrácia** ügyében semleges. **Pénz** és **pénzintézetek** ügyében, arany valuta, s magán tuladon hive. Az **adó** és **költségvetés** kérdésében a fogyasztási adó és meghatározott kiadás. A **társadalmi helyzet** és biztositás ügyében, az egyéni fentartás, megélhetés hive. A **külügyekben** a vámtarifa és gazdasági fenhatóság. **Taktikája** a konzervativ vagyis a maradi ellemekhez való folyamodása, ezen platform 1934-ben 13 millió szavazatot kapot.

DEMOKRATA PÁRT: — A **kapitalizmus** fentartását védelmezi. A **nagy tőke** magántulajdon hive állami ellenőrzés mellett. **A kis üzletesek** harmonikus együttmüködése a nagy kapitalizmussal. Szállitás, közlekedés, villany, gáz, magán tulajdon, az állam szabályozása mellett. Mezőgazdaság kérdésben, szabályozott termelés és könnyü kamat melletti kölcsön. **Munkáskérdésben** az American Federation of Labor támogatása. **Pénz és pénzintézetek.** A dollár meghatározása, a bankok állami ellenőrzése. Az **adó és költségvetés** ügyében. Évi öt billió dollár kölcsön, állami épitkezésre. **Társadalmi** ügyben. Társadalmi biztositás öregek és szegények számára. **Külügyekben** a nemzeti gazdászat növelése. **Taktikája** a liberális, reformista és középosztály felkarolása. Ezen platform 1934-ben 15 millió szavazatot kapott.

FATHER COUGHLIN HIVEI: — **Kapitalizmus** kérdésben a reformálásnak hive. **A nagy tőke** részleges köztulajdonba tevése. **A középosztály** védelmezése. **Szállitás-közlekedés,** villany gáz. Városi és állami kezelése. **Mezőgazdasági** ügyben az alacsony kamat melletti kölcsön és a termelés értékének biztositása. **Munkás ügyben.** A munkás védelmezése a hatalmas tőke kizsákmányolása ellen. **Demokrácia** és **polgári jogban.** Hive a vallás szabad gyakorlásának. **Pénz** és **pénzintézetek** ügyében. Uj pénzek határtalan forgalomba hozatala, állami ellenőrzés mellett. **Adó** és **költségvetés** 18 billió dollár nyomtatása az állami kötvények vissza vásárlására. A **Társadalmi biztositás** terén a kormány legfőbb törekvése a szegények támogatása. **Külügyekben.** Semmiféle közösség idegen államokkal. **Taktikája** a középosztály felkarolása. 1935-ben 8 és fél millió egyént vallanak követőul.

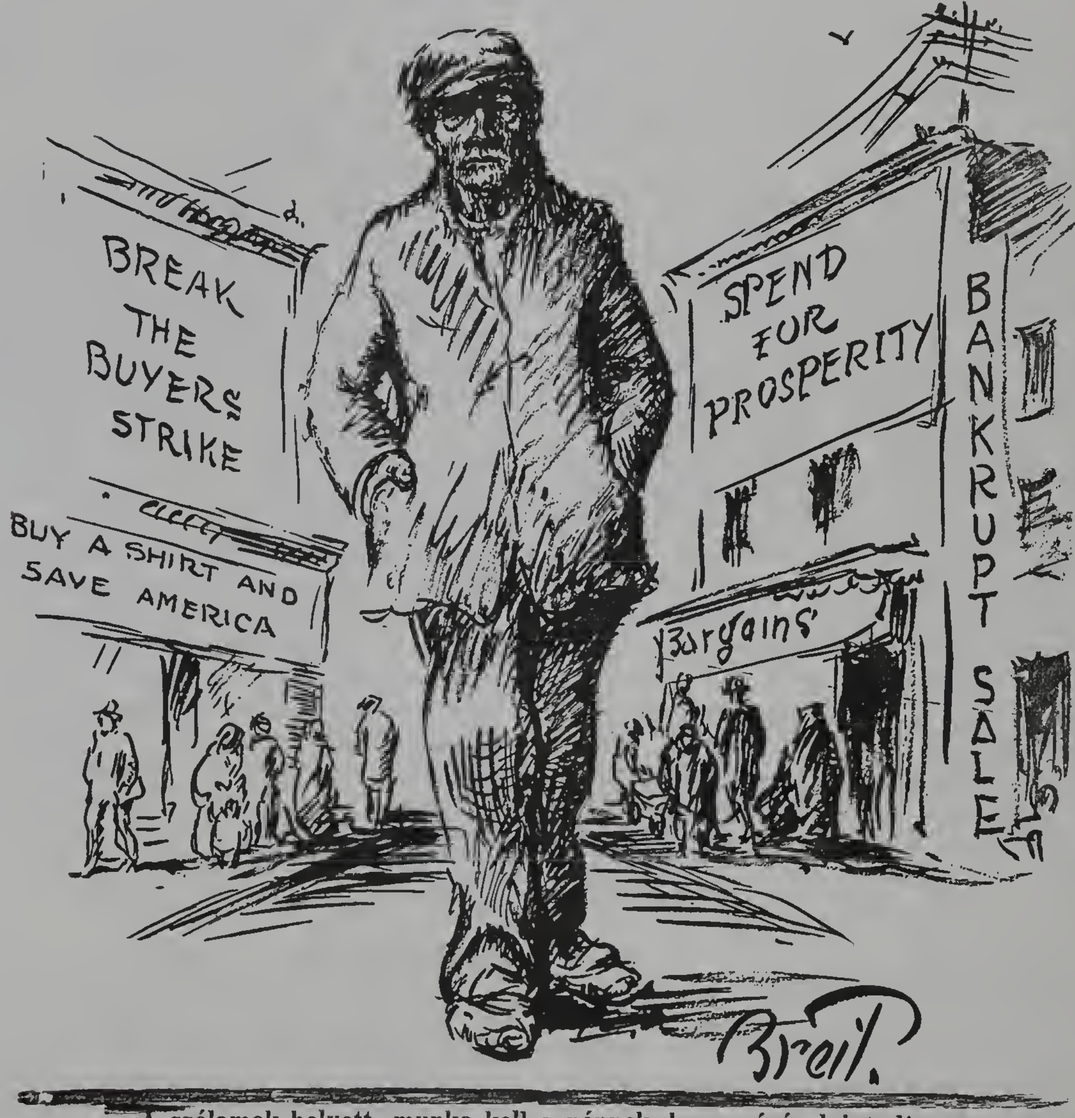
A SZOCIALISTA MUNKÁS PÁRT.

Az Egyesült Államok legöregebb pártja, amely a termelő eszközök társadalmasitását tüzte ki céljául, 1874-ben alakult s a Szociál Demokrata

Munkás Párt nevet vette fel. Három évvel később nevet cserélt, amelyet mind a mai napig fentart. 1892 óta minden elnökválasztásban részt vesz s szavazóiak száma 13 ezertől 36 ezerig terjedt. A Szocialista Munkás Párt az ipari szervezkedés hive és az ipari szervezetek kiépitése által kivánja a társadalmat irányitani. Azon esetben ha a Szocialista Munkás párt jelöltjei jutnának többségre megszüntetnék a parlamentet, feloszlana mint politkai párt és minden hatalmat a munkások ipari szervezeteire ruházna át. Az uj társadalom további intézését az általános ipari szervezeti tanács utján kivánja intézni.

A SZOCIALISTA PÁRT.

Alakult 1901-ben megalakulásakor Morris Hillquit a szocialista munkás párt nagy részét kiszakitotta és Debs mellé csatlakozva uj elméletek alapján kivánták az amerikai munkásosztályt szervezni a társadalmi forradalomra. A Szocialista Párt a második Internacionáléval tart fen kapcsolatot. A párt hatalmas fejlődésnek indult egészen a világháboru kitöréséig, taglétszáma meghaladta a 150 ezret. A párt háboru ellenes állásfoglalása sok belviszályt idézett elő. 1919-ben a balszárny elszakadt, akik a kommunista mozgalmat inditották meg. A folytonos belső sulródás a pártot teljesen a megsem-



A szólamok helyett, munka kell a népnek, hogy vásárolni tudjon.

misités utjára vitte ugyannyira, hogy 1924-ben képtelen volt elnök jelöltet állitani és La Follettét mondotta ki jelöltjéül, aki a Progresszív Party név alatt szaladt. A Szocialista Párt a gazdasági szervezetek közzül az AFofL vagyis a szakszervezkedés és a belülről való furás hive. Törekvésük elfoglalni a szakszervezetek hivatalait, a tagságot pedig a párt tagjává, szavazójává megnyerni. Hatalomra jutásához az alapvető iparokat kivánja államositani.

1934-ben tartott országos kongresszusukon kimondották, hogy azon esetben ha a kapitalista rendszer teljesen letörik a szocialisták foglalják el a hatalmat tekintet nélkül arra, hogy többségben vannak-e vagy sem. Háboru vagy fascista diktatura esetén az Általános Sztrájkot kiálltják ki. A párt taglétszáma 1934-ben 25 ezer körül volt.

A KOMMUNISTA PÁRT.

Az orosz Bolsheviki Párt 1917 októberi sikeres forradalma és a harmadik Internacionálé 1919 tavaszán való megalakulása a világ szocialista pártjainak balszárnyát szakadásra késztette, akik a kommunista pártokat alakitották meg. Amerikában két párt alakult. A Kommunista Párt és a Kommunista Munkás Párt akik mint titkos szervezetek müködtek, 1921-ben a Munkás Párt nevet vette fel és mint nyilt szervezet kezdte meg müködését, amely később aztán a mai Kommunista Pártá alakult és a harmadik Internacionálénak lett az amerikai szerve. A Kommunista Párt választások, reformokért való harcok, mint a munkanélküli biztositás, a kisbirtokosok támogatása, sztrájkok, lázadások, utján véli a hatalmat elérni. Az amerikai Kommunista Párt 1934 április 2—8 tartotta 8-ik kongresszusát amelynek kiáltványában ez áll:

"Az uj állam hatalma a munkások forradalmi demokráciája, amely egyszersmind a könyörtelen diktatura a kapitalista osztály és annak intézményei ellen. A kommunisták meggyőződése, hogy kizárólagosan a diktaturán keresztül épülhet csak fel a szocialista társadalom. A kommunisták hatalomra jutásukkor lefoglalják a nagy pénzintézeteket, a gyárakat, a vasutakat, a bányákat és a nagy földbirtokosok földeit. Minden magántulajdon jog érvénytelenné válik a termelés eszközére. Tartozások és kölcsönök eltörlendők, földet a földnélküli parasztoknak, a déli négereknek önálló jogot. A kommunista párt alapelvében különbözik a szocialista párttól, amely megengedi, hogy kebelében különböző vélemények érvényesülhessenek, a kommunista párt kizárja mindazokat kebeléből, akik nem vetik magukat alá a párt szabályainak.

A kommunista párt minden munkás mozgalmat, amely nem követi esztelen taktikáját s vezéreinek parancsát, a legmesszebbmenő denunciálásban részesiti és "szociál fascista" "ellenforradalmár," "árulć"-nak tartja. A kommunista párt forradalmiságának tetőfokán hive volt az ipari szervezkedés formájának. Ennek bizonyitékául megszervezték a TUUL-t. Ma az AFofL átformálásának hive. A kommunista párt taglétszáma 1929-ben 15 ezer körül volt, 1931-ben leesett 8 ezerre. 1934-ben magaslatának tetőfokára szökött fel 22 ezerre Wm. Z. Foster, mint elnökjelölt 1924-ben 33 ezer, 1928-ban 49 ezer, 1932-ben 103 ezer szavazatot kapott.

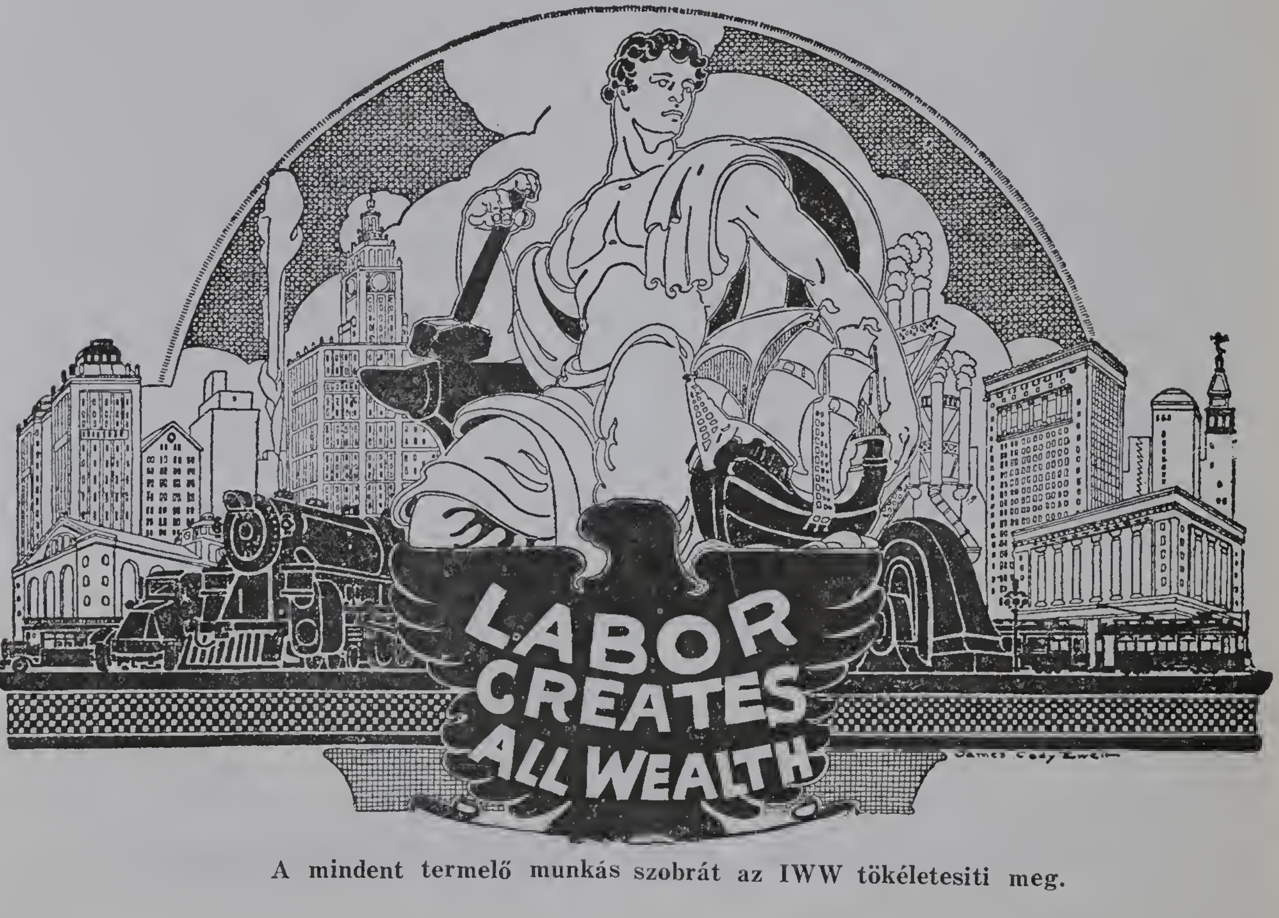
A Lovestone vezetése alatt álló kommunista párt, amely 1929-ben alakult, amikor az anyapártból kizárták őket — kizáratásuk oka a párt taktikájának folytonos kritizálása volt. — Lovestone kommunista pártja nem politikai párt, nem állit fel jelölteket választások alkalmával, a fősulyt a tagok forradalmi nevelésére forditja. A szocialista párt balszárnyától csak anynyiban különbözik, hogy amig a Lovestone-isták arra törekszenek, hogy a harmadik Intenrnacionálét reformálják a balszárnyu szocialisták ugyanazon törekszenek a második Internacionáléval elérni.

Trotzky — eszmélyét hirdető kommunista párt, amelyet szintén 1929-ben zártak ki az anyapártból, kizáratásuk oka a párt taktikájának kritizálása. Azt állitják, hogy az orosz kommunista párt javithatalanul bürokrata, a harmadik Internacionálé intézkedéseit figyelmn kivül hagyják s gy negyedik Internacionálé alakitását tüzték ki. Feltétlenül hivei a világ forradalomnak, erősen elitélik az orosz kommunista pártot, a harmadik Internacionálét, amiért nemzeti alapokra fektették a kommunizmust.

Workers Party 1933-ban alakult A. J. Muste vezetése alatt. Teljesen egyezik a Lovestone és Trotzky pártok elveivel, taktikai eltérés közöttük szintén lényegtelen. Az Egyesült Államok területén egy uj mukáspárt alakitását szorgalmazzák, elitélik a második és harmadik Internacionálét reakciós taktikájuk miatt. A gazdasági szervezetek terén a szakszervezetek hive. A háboru ellen tömeg akciót sztrájkot, szabotázst és szervezést ajánl, ha ez nem vezetne sikerre ugy a harcot, az imperialista háborut folytató kapitalista kormány ellen kell irányitani, hive a parlamentárizmusnak.

AZ AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Szakmák szerinti szervezkedés hive, szolgáljon például a szállitás és közlekedési munkások szervezkedési formája. A mozdonyvezetők, fütők, kalauzok, váltóőrök, toronyőrök, távíró és telegráfok, a vasuti pályatest épen tartó munkások, a személy és teherszállitó munkások külön-külön szervezése, a vasuti javitó mühelyek munkásainak szervezése, kovácsok, kazán kovácsok, lakatosok, szerelők, vasesztergályosok, szerszám lakatosok, ácsok, bőröndösök, festők, üvegezők, villany szerelők, ablak mosók, tisztogatók stb. stb. külön-külön szakmai szervezetekbe tartoznak. Ezen szakmai mun-



A mindent termelő munkás szobrát az IWW tökéletesiti meg.

kások valamennyi, külön időközökben lejáratu szerződéseket köt, melynek következménye képpen ha az egyik szakma munkásai sztrájkolnak, a másik szakma munkásai scabelnek. Teszik ezt a szakmai munkások szerződéseinek szent nevében.

A szakszervezetek tagságának minden joga a busásan fizetett tisztviselők kezében van. Nekik van joguk bérharcokat elrendelni vagy lefujni sokszor a tagság tudta és beleegyezése nélkül, mely intézkedéseket vakon kell követni, ellenesetbe azon szakma szervezet, amely a tisztviselők rendeleteinek ellenszegül szigoru büntetés alá kerül.

A tisztviselők számára a szakszervezeti forma egy jól jövedelmező üzlet. A nagy beiratási és tagsági dij, valamint a külön kivetések magas jövedelmet biztositanak a tisztviselők számára, akikek nagy része városi vagy állami hivatalokat is tölt be. Részt vesznek munkásbékéltető bizottságokban, vezéri szerepet töltenek be politikai pártokban és a legtöbbett igérőnek adják el a munkások harcait és szavazatait. Ha valamely szakmában a tagság a tisztviselőség határozatának ellenére cselekszik, megszervezik a munkások szószólóinak orvtámadását, vissza vonják a Chartert és ujjászervezik a szakmát. A beálló tagoknak uj kártyát adnak és elfoglaltatják velük a lázongó, sztrájkoló munkások helyeit. Ennek bizonyitására számtalan példa áll előttünk az AFofL történetében.

Az AFofL fentartja és tagjaiba neveli azon tévhitet, hogy "tisztességes napi fizetés — tisztességes napi munka fejében," hive a mai társadalmi rendszernek. Ellensége minden oly megmozdulásnak, amely a munkásosztály szabadságára törekszik, amely eltörli a nyomort és szenvedést.

Szervezkedési formája, szervezeteinek összetétele, a munkásosztály széjel tagozására van alkotva. Melegágya a fascizmusnak s ennél fogva világosan érthető, hogy a "New Deal" kormány minden hitét az AFofL szervezkedési formájába veti, ezért törvény paragrafusok védelme alá veszi a munkáltatókkal szemben. Az AFofL szervezkedési formája az, amely meggátolja a munkásosztály törekvését egy jobb egy szebb társadalmi rendszerért. Ennélfogva időpazarlás, mindama kisérlet, amely a szakszervezeti forma reformálására vagy forradalmasitására törekszik.

Az AFofL összetételénél fogva a mai fejlett gazdasági rendszerben, nem megfelelő a munkásosztály gazdasági harcainak eredményes irányitására. A szocialista és kommunista pártok tagsága évek hosszu során át a belülről való 'furás" eszközeivel kivánják forradalmasitani eme maradi, ósdi szervezkedési formát, minden eredmény nélkül.

AZ EGY NAGY SZERVEZET AZ IWW.

Ipari szervezkedési formájánál fogva egy és ugyanazon ipar munkásai egy ipari szervezetben és valamennyi Ipari szervezet munkásai Egy Nagy Szervezetben tömörülnek. tekintet nélkül milyen a szinük, vallásuk, nemzetiségük. Nem köt semmiféle szerződéseket a kizsákmányoló osztállyal, amely által lehetővé teszi az összesség együttes harcát, a kizsákmányoló osztály ellen. Meggyőződése, hogy "a munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll."

A szervezet hatalma a tagság kezében van. Sztrájkok vagy kizárások esetén minden intézkedést a tagság együttesen végez, amely teljesen kizárja a hütlen tisztviselők létezését vagy érvényesülését. A szervezet tagságának nevelése, az osztály öntudatra, egyik legfőbb feladata. Kimondja, hogy "E két osztály — munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály — között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert."

Az Egy Nagy Szervezet tagsága tudatában van annak, hogy a szervezet tisztviselői csak végrehajtó közegei a tagság akaratának. Ezen tisztviselők csak meghatározott ideig lehetnek alkalmazásban és fizetéseik az iparokban foglalkoztatott munkásokénál nem lehet magasabb.

Az Ipari szervezkedési forma egy hatalmas fegyver a munkásosztály számára, magasabb bér, rövidebb munkaidő, jobb munkaviszonyok kivivására. Az Egy Nagy Szervezet, amelyben az összes ipari szervezetek departmentenként egyesülnek, társadalmi kérdések érdekében folyó harcok kivivására, az elvinyilatkozat megállapitja: "Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni öszpontosulása a szakszervezeteket képtelenné teszik arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotokat ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyan azon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharc esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak."

Az Egy Nagy Szervezet ipari csoportjai törekszenek arra, hogy a szervezet minden egyes tagja képezze magát a társadalmi kérdések minden ágában, hogy bérharcok, társadalmi kérdések itélésében tisztán, az osztályharcot felölelő formában cselekedjen. Tudatában kell, hogy legyen a mai társadalmi rendszer kegyetlen formájának, amelyek megváltoztatására megállapitja, hogy: "E szomoru állapotokat, megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden az egy iparban — vagy ha kell valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát bármikor ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti. E maradi jelszó helyett: "Tiszteséges napi bért, tiszteséges napi munkáért," ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk zászlónkra: "Le a Bérrendszerrel."

Az Egy Nagy Szervezet összetétele, harci eszközei és taktikája a munkásosztály szolidaritását váltja ki közvetlen cselekvése által. A világ bérrabszolgáinak együttes cselekvése megszünteti a kapitalizmust vele együtt a fascizmust, nacizmust, háborut, nyomort, szenvedést.

Ennélfogva az Egy Nagy Szervezet tagsága nem fecsérli idejét szekták elleni harcra, hanem kizárólagosan annak előidézőjét, szülőanyját a kapitalizmust támadja.

"A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert, a termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül."

Ezzel a meghatározással és céllal szervezi az IWW a bérért dolgozókat egy jobb rendszer felépitésére.

VIDÉKI FOTOGRAFIÁK

I. A TEKINTETES UR SZINEVÁLTOZÁSA.

PA PARLAMENTI többség legénységi állományának a toborzásakor önként jelentkezett mandátumvállalásra, hivatkozván politikai érdemeire: még nem deresedik a feje, egyévi különitményi szolgálata is van, jogi tanulmányai közben a kilengőkhöz tartozott, nevéhez a politika terén szüzi ismeretlenség füződik, a reformeszmékért él-hal, de ha nem kap mandátumot, éhenhal, mert már évek óta állástalan diplomás.

Több volt az eszkimó, mint a fóka: Béla öcsémnek még csak jelöltség sem jutott. Ha már Pestre fuvaroztatta magát, ha már megvan a költség, a fáradság: szerencsét próbál a legitimistáknál, ahol elpanaszolta, hogy ő Habsburghiányban szenved, adjanak neki mandátumot, hogy Ottót trónra ültethesse.

— Sajnos, magunk is mandátumhiányban szenvedünk. Tessék tán legközelebb . . .

Mikor a kisgazdák kirugtak a hámból, a helybeli Piac téren, mérgében tapsolt Eckhardtéknak és az általános, titkost éltette.

— Bélus, belőled még szocialista lesz — mondták a barátai.

Bélus elkeseredetten sóhajtott egyet:

— Hát tudjátok, ha nem nézném a familiámat . . .

Az ám, a familiát nézni kellett, mert az uri familia volt, ha mingyárt hitelben is, de olyan uri, amelyről a parasztikus jellemzés igy mondja:

— Kicsit esznek, de szépen járnak.

Hozzá még Bélát is ez az uri familia tartotta.

Nem lehetett hát szégyent hozni erre a derék családra azzal, hogy Béla elkeseredésében nagyot üt az asztalra, egyett káromkodik és fölcsap szocialistának. Világért sem.

És mit szólna ilyesmihez az apósa, már mint a leendő apósa, Kátai Szücs uram akinek egyetlen lányát pár száz holddal meg 6 ökörrel már régebben eljegyezte. Bélus és az após meg Zsuzsika csak azt várják, hogy a tekintetes urnak csak akkora állást adjon a vármegye vagy a város, amiből magát el tudja tartani, ha az asszonyt nem is.

Az állás késett, az apósék türelmetlenkedni kezdtek:

— Hát mi lesz már? A lány nem választópublikum: nem lehet azt folyton igéretekkel tartani.

Szent igaz, hát csináljanak valamit, no! Politizálásból nem mindenki élhet meg.

A vármegyénél éppen most kergették nyugdijba az öreg Szalay bácsit, hogy friss erőt ültessenek helyébe. Próba, szerencse! Meg kell pályázni ezt az állást is. Nem sokat ér, de mégis valami. Kátai Szücsék már nem várnak. Zsuzsika is nagyon türelmetlen. A főispán ur kezében van az uj pár sorsa.

Jövendő boldogságuk érdekében kopogtatott valaki az alispán urnál:

— Ha volnál szives, méltóságos uram, Bélus érdekében szólni a főispán urnak.

— Szivesen, de tudod, hogy ez a Bélus szélsőséges ellenzék: a kisgazdáknál exponálta magát. Legalább lépjen ki a pártjukból. Az uj főispánt én nem ugrathatom olyasmibe, amiért fönt orrot kaphat.

— Igazad van, méltóságos uram. Még ma intézkedünk.

A másnapi kormánypárti sajtó publikálta a Béla nyilatkozatát, hogy a kisgazdapártból kilépett.

Harmadnap a kisgazdapárt elnöke nyilatkozott az ellenzéki sajtóban:

— Tőlünk lépett volna ki a tekintetes ur? Lehetetlen, hiszen a mi portánkra be se tette a lábát, csak az ablak alatt éljenezett, tapsolt.

Az alispán urnak mutatták ezt is, azt is.

— Lásd, méltóságos uram, tagja sem volt a kisgazdáknak.

— Elhiszem, de tag-e nálunk, a Nep-nél? Erről mutasson pecsétes irást.

Bélus rohant az élharcos Neptitkárhoz.

— Kérlek, tag vagyok én nálatok? Igazán nem is tudom . . .

— Én tudom: nem vagy.

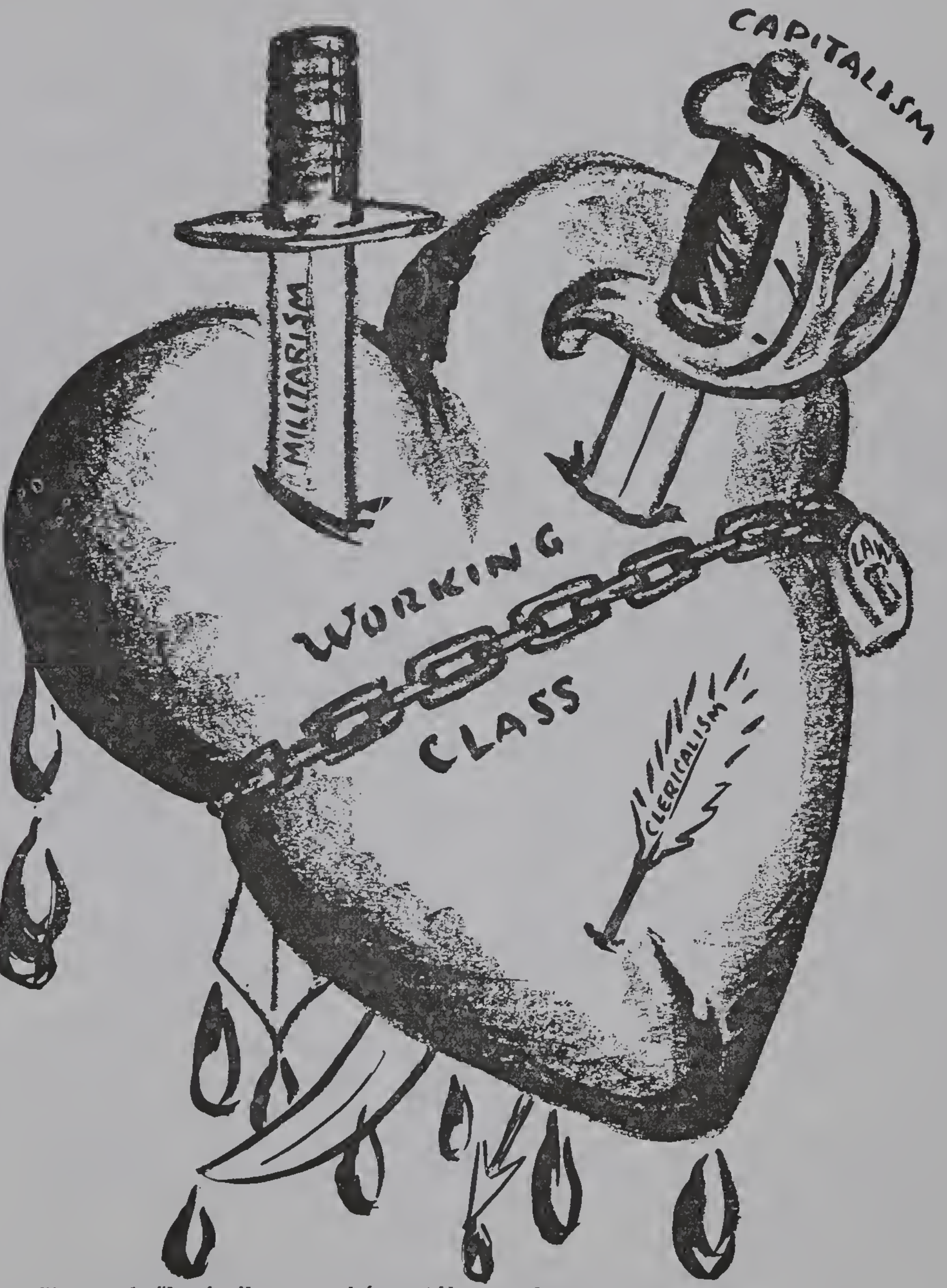
— Akkor légy szives, könyvelj be.

— Sajnálom, de központi utasitásra félévig nem vehetünk föl uj tagokat.

A kinevezés a kutba esett a házassággal és a hat ökörrel együtt. Béla mérgében nyilvános helyeken igy nyilatkozik:

— Tudjátok, miért szünetel félévig a Nepnél az uj tag felvétele? Azért, mert észrevették, hogy pártjukban sok az éretlen ember, aki azt sem tudja, hogy miért lépett ebbe a pártba?

Mától kezdve feltünően olvassa nyilvános helyen a nyilaskeresztes sajtót . . .



Ezer sebtől vérzik a munkásosztály, amely mindenkiért harcba száll, csak önmagáért és osztálytársaiért nem teszen semmit.

EGYSZERÜ RUHA VÁSÁR

IRTA:

HAMVES SÁNDOR

PMIUTÁN a pénzt hosszas takarékoskodás után összehozták, ugy határoztak, reggel megveszik a ruhát, hogy mind a ketten pontosan nyolcra beérjenek a hivatalba.

S most itt a reggel . . . Belépnek egy üzletbe. Elől az asszony, utána a férfi. Aktatáskáikat görcsösen szorongatják a hónuk alatt. A kereskedő és a két segéd köszönnek. Az asszony rendelkezik, vékony hangja betölti a boltot:

— Azt a sötétszürke ruhát kérem, ami a kirakatban van! — Halkan hozzáteszi: — Az uramnak! — Oldalról végigpillant rajta: milyen kopott! Csak most látja igazán, itt, a sok uj holmi között. Valami a torkát szorongatja . . . krákog . . .

Szembenáll a nagy tükörrel s látja önmagát . . . ő is kopott, neki is kellene ruha . . .

— Tessék parancsolni! — hallja s már ott a sötétszürke ruha.

Megkezdődik a próbálgatás. Ennek az öltönynek a kabátja nem jó, a másiknak a mellénye szük, a harmadiknál a nadrág valahogy nem jól fekszik . . . Végtére is a férfi tisztviselő valamit adnia kell magára . . . Hanem a negyedik öltöny kifogástalan. Jó. Nem éppen mintha "rászabták" volna, de jó. A szine is szép, szolid, nem feltünő.

A kereskedő ekkor int az egyik segédnek s az kiakaszt a rekeszből egy félig kész ruhát.

— Vagy talán ezt, nagyságos asszonyom? A szine ugyanaz, de a szövet minősége jobb. És pontosan testhez fog állni — beszél a kereskedő.

Az asszony tiltakozik, a férfi azonban megrántja a vállát:

— Na, lássuk! — És fölpróbálja a félig kész ruhát . . . Mindketten meglepődnek: igazán, ez olyan, mintha a férfira öntöttek volna. Már semmit sem kell igazitani rajta. És milyen jó a szövet?! Gyürögetik ezt is, azt is: ez kiugrik, az gyürött marad. Egész lázba jönnek, el vannak ragadtatva, a férfi felpróbálja a nadrágot is s az irodára gondol: ha ebben a ruhában mehetne be?!

A kereskedő és a segédek beszélnek: — Legalább öt évre való ruha! S az árkülönbség csekély, majdnem semmi — tiz pengő!

A férfi az asszonya tekint s az asszony visszanéz: — Nem!

— De szivem, inkább valahonnan bespóroljuk . . . értsd meg, hiszen spórolunk vele! Hol lesz már az a másik, amikor ez még mindig ruha lesz? — sugja titokban a férfi.

Az asszony szeme csillog, ő is szeretné ezt a ruhát az urának, de mit tegyen, csak annyi pénze van, amennyi a másik öltönyre kell. Titokban sugja vissza az urának: — 36 pengő van nálam!

A férfi leveti a félig kész öltönyt, belebujik a másik uj ruhába s mintha dacoskodna, mondja: — Ez mingyárt rajtam marad!

Az asszony bólint, az egyik segéd becsomagolja a régi öltönyt, a kereskedő a kasszához lép, kihuzza a fiókot. Az asszony fizet, a márványra teszi a 36 pengőt és elfordul.

— A kereskedő azonban utánaszól: — Bocsánat, ez kevés! Még négy pengőt kérek . . . A ruha negyven pengő! — Hozzáfüzi: — Nálam szabott árak vannak.

Az asszony elpirul: — Hogy-hogy negyven? Hétfőn még harminchat volt!

A férfi is emlékszik. Hogyne emlékezne! De a kereskedő sem tagadja:

— Feljebb mentek az árak a textilben is. — S mintha védekezne: — Nem én drágitottam, bizományárum van . . . és mindennek feljebb megy az ára . . . beszél. A harminchat pengő szerényen hever a márványon . . .

A férfi arca tüzben ég . . . az asszony kicsomagolja a régi ruhát . . . a segédek arrább huzódnak s az egyik azt lesi, hogy mikor kapja kézbe az uj öltönyt. A kereskedő már sejti, hogy a vevőknek nincs több pénzük . . . á, itt már nem lesz üzlet!..-. de azért még kisérletezik:

— Ugyan, nagyságos asszonyom, hát négy pengő miatt itt hagyják?

— Itt — mondja kurtán az asszony és várja, hogy a kereskedő szóljon: — De tessék elvinni, legközelebb behozzák a négy pengőt!

A férfi is várja, a kereskedő azonban nem mondja ezt, mélyen hallgat: hisz oly megbizhatatlan külsejük van!

És vége a vásárnak . . . bár vehetnének olcsóbb ruhát is, de az nem kell . . . és mindketten, a férfi is és az asszony is elhagyják az üzletet. Köszönés nélkül távoznak, az üzletben sem köszönnek el tőlük . . . lassan lépkednek a járdán, pedig már nyolcfelé jár az idő. A sarkon elbucsuznak egymástól . . . az asszony szemében könny csillog. A férfi ekkor fölkapja a fejét:

— Ne sirj! Azért a vacak ruháért nem érdemes sirni! Majd veszünk jobbat! Neked is, a gyereknek is . . . hidd el, egyszer majd alaposan beruházkodunk!

◆

FÖLSZÁLLOTT A PÁVA

Irta: ADY ENDRE.

"Fölszállott a páva a vármegye-házára,
Sok szegény legénynek szabadulására."

Kényes, büszke pávák, Nap-szédítő tollak,
Hirrel hirdessétek: másképpen lesz holnap.

Másképpen lesz holnap, másképen lesz végre,
Uj harcok, uj szemek kacagnak az égre.

Uj szelek nyőgetik az ős magyar fákat,
Várjuk már, várjuk az uj magyar csodákat.

Vagy bolondok vagyunk s elveszünk egy szálig,
Vagy ez a mi hitünk valósággá válik.

Uj lángok, uj hitek, uj kohók, uj szentek.
Vagy vagytok vagy ismét semmi ködbe mentek.

Vagy láng csap az ódon, vad megyeházára,
Vagy itt ül a lelkünk tovább leigázva.

Vagy lesz uj értelmük a magyar igékeknek,
Vagy marad régiben a bus, magyar élet.

"Fölszállott a páva a vármegye-házára,
Sok szegény legénynek szabadulására."

A SZÁMOK TANITANAK

EGY KIS SZEMLÉLŐDÉS A NÉPESSÉG, ÉLETKOR ÉS EGÉSZSÉGI VISZONYOKRÓL AZ EGYESÜLT ÁLLAMOKBAN ÉS MÁS ORSZÁGOKBAN.

PAZT HISSZÜK nem lesz unalmas a Bérmunkás Naptár olvasóinak egy keveset a népességi viszonyokról is egyet-mást tudni. Ezen a téren sajnos, munkáskörökben nincs nagy érdeklődés. Nem tartjuk helyénvalónak ezt, mert foglalkozván a munkásmozgalommal, tájékoznunk kell magunkat a népességi viszonyokról is, mert ezek egymással szoros összeköttetésben vannak. A térszüke nem engedi meg, hogy ezzel az igen fontos dologgal oly részletesen foglalkozzunk, mint ezt a nagyobb statisztikai munkák teszik. Csak nagyobb körvonalban óhajtjuk olvasó munkástársainkat tájékozni.

Az Egyesült Államok népessége 1934 julius elsején 126.425.000 ember volt. 1920-ban a lakosság 105.710.620 volt, tehát 15 év alatt közel 21 milióval szaporodott.. A lakosság szaporodása államokra fölosztva legerősebb volt Californiában ahol 67 százalék volt a szaporodás. Utána következik Florida 51 százalékkal, Michigan 32 százalék, Texas 24 százalék, New York 21 százalék és végül Illinois 17 százalékkal. Minden állam lakossága szaporodott bár nem olyan nagy mértékben mint az előbb emlitetteké. Csupán egy állam lakossága fogyott és ez Montana állam, amelynek népessége 2 százalékkal csökkent. Az Egyesült Államokban 93 olyan város van amelyek lakossága meghaladja a 100.000-et. Ezek között 5 város meghaladja az egy milliót is. Ezek a városok New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Detroit és Los Angeles. 900.000-től 500.000 ezer lakossal biró városok Ceveland, St. Louis, Baltimore, Boston, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Milwaukee és Buffalo, összesen nyolc város. Továbbá még nyolcvan város 500 ezer lakostól 100 ezerig. Az államok között a 100 ezer lakost számláló város legtöbb van Massachusetts államban még pedig kilenc. Utána következik Ohio állam 8 várossal, New York állam 7 várossal, New Jersey 6 várossal, Pennsylvania, California, Texas és Indiana 5 város, Tennessee 4 város, Michigan, Connecticut, Minnesota, Washington és Florida három várossal. Illinois, Missouri, Oklahoma, Virginia 2 várossal. Alabama, Colorado, Delaware, Georgia, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Nebraska, Oregon, Utah, Rhode Island és Wisconsin 1 várossal. Arizona, Arkansas, Idaho, Maine, Mississippi, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Carolina, South Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Vermont, West Wirginia és Wyoming államokban nincs olyan város amelynek lakossága eléri a 100.000-et.

Az öt világrészben 31 olyan város van, amelynek népessége meghaladja az egy milliót. Ezek közül öt van az Egyesült Államokban, 3 van Angliában, 2 van a Soviet Unioban, 2 Németországban, 2 Indiában, 5 Kinában, 2 Japánban, 1 Franciaországban, 1 Magyarországon, 1 Olaszországban, 1 Spanyolországban, 1 Ausztriában, 1 Ausztráliában, 1 Lengyelországban, 1 Braziliában, 1 Argentinában, 1 Egyiptomban.

Az erős ipari és kereskedelmi fejlődés következtében a lakosság zöme a városokba költözött, vagy sokszor pusztaságokból vagy kicsiny falvakból, nagy ipari és kereskedelmi központok alakultak ki. Az Egyesült Államok 48 legnagyobb városa, melyek közül New York hét millió lakossal a legnagyobb és Scranton, Pa. 143 ezer lakossal a legkissebb. Ezek az utolsó hatvan évben óriási módon szaporodtak. Hosszadalmas lenne mind a negyvennyolc város népességi statisztikáját itt közölni. Csak a tiz leggyorsabb fejlődésü várost emlitem itt meg. Ezek között Seattle, Washington államban a leggyorsabban fejlődött, mert 1870-ben 1107 lakossa 365.583-ra szaporodott vagyis 330-szor lett népesebb mint ezelett 60 évvel volt. Utána következik Los Angeles amelynek 216-szor annyi lakossa van most, mint 60 évvel ezelőtt. Birmingham, Ala. 84-szer, Denver, Colo. 64-szer, Portland, Ore. 36-szor, Minneapolis, Minn. 35-ször, Houston, Texas 31-szer, Dallas, Tex. 25-ször, Detroit, Mich. 20-szor és San Antonio, Tex. 19-szeresen növekedtek népességi tekintetben. A föld népességét kettő ezer millióra becsülik. A földrészek között a legnépesebb Ázsia 950 millió emberrel, utána következik Európa 550 millióval, Észak és Délamerika 230 millióval, Afrika 150 millióval és végül Ausztrália 7 millióval. A föld népessége évente 30 millióval szaporodik ugy 66 év alatt éppen megkétszereződik.

Az állam neve:	A lakosság száma.	Hanyadik helyen áll területileg?	Hanyadik helyen áll népesség dolgában.
New York	13.059.000	29	1
Pennsylvania	9.826.00	32	2
Illinois	7.876.000	23	3
Ohio	6.836.000	35	4
California	6.158.000	2	5
Texas	6.073.000	1	6
Michigan	5.093.000	22	7
Massachussets	4.313.000	44	8
New Jersey	4.231.000	45	9
Missouri	3.678.000	18	10
Indiana	3.304.000	37	11
North Carolina	3.301.000	27	12
Wisconsin	3.005.000	25	13
Georgia	2.911.000	20	14
Alabama	2.710.000	28	15
Tenesse	2.676.000	34	16
Kentucky	2.657.000	36	17
Minnesota	2.594.000	11	18
Iowa	2.485.000	24	19
Oklahoma	2.475.000	17	20
Virginia	2.446.000	33	21
Louisiana	2.166.000	30	22
Mississippi	2.047.000	31	23
Kansas	1.900.000	13	24
Arkansas	1.876.000	26	25
West Virginia	1.786.000	40	26
South Carolina	1.750.000	39	27
Maryland	1.671.000	41	28
Connecticut	1.655.000	46	29
Washington	1.599.000	19	30
Florida	1.575.000	21	31
Nebraska	1.395.000	15	32
Colorado	1.056.000	7	33
Oregon	983.000	9	34
Maine	804.000	38	35
South Dakota	705.000	14	36
Rhode Island	702.000	48	37
North Dakota	688.000	16	38
Montana	537.000	3	39
Utah	520.000	10	40
Dist. of Columbia	497.000	49	41
New Hampshire	470.000	43	42
Arizona	457.000	5	43
Idaho	448.000	12	44
New Mexico	437.000	4	45
Vermont	361.000	42	46
Delaware	242.000	47	47
Wyoming	231.000	8	48
Nevada	94.000	6	49

A nagy kéz törvénye

Irta: ADY ENDRE.

Látjátok, feleim, ti busak,
Vigadók, harcosak, levertek?
Egy tréfás kéz felirta az égre:
"Ember pajtások, erre gyertek."

Bolond nagy kéz, iromba betük:
Tiz öltő szeme belefáradt.
S mire az irást jól kibetüzik,
Már el is futott néhány század.

S mi táncolunk a nagy Kéz alatt,
S mennyi jóság hal meg kevélyen,
Véres fejjel és mennyi ős-szépség.
Mert betüket látunk az égen.

S a Kéz, a nagy, tréfás kéz, figyel.
Van még itt lenn hivő Pietró?
Mert betüket látunk az égen,
Ő letörli s uj betüket ró.

Születési és halálozási arányok az Egyesült Államok 28 legnagyobb városában. Az alábbi táblázatból látható, hogy a születési arány legmagasabb Washingtonban, Bostonban, Pittsburghban, Newarkon és Houstonban. A halálozási arány pedig szintén Washingtonban, Bostonban és Cincinnatiban. Az egy éven aluli gyermekhalandóság a legnagyobb arányu Columbusban, Buffaloban, Louisvilleben és Jersey City-ben. A halva született gyermekek arány száma legnagyobb Baltimoreban, St. Louisban, New Yorkban és Washingtonban. Az egy éven aluli gyermekhalálozások arányszáma a fölsorolt városokban tizezrenként 527, a halvaszületett gyermekek arányszáma pedig szintén tizezerenként 403.

A város neve:	Születési arány 1000 lakos után számitva.	Halálozási arány 1000 lakos után számitva.	Gyermek halandóság 1000 születés után.	Halva született gyermekek 1000 születés után.
New York	14	10	50	52
Chicago	13	10	48	30
Phila, Pa.	15	12	50	41
Detroit	15	8	51	37
Los Angales	13	12	55	25
Cleveland	15	10	44	35
St. Louis	15	13	46	57
Baltimore	16	13	61	64
Boston	21	14	59	30
Pittsburgh	17	11	54	38
San Francisco	10	12	39	26
Milwaukee	14	8	45	22
Buffalo	16	11	68	41
Washington	20	16	65	46
Minneapolis	15	10	48	30
Cincinnati	15	14	57	33
Newark	17	11	45	39
Kansas City	13	12	53	30
Seattle	12	11	38	22
Rochester	15	11	51	28
Louisville	16	13	68	38
Jersey City	14	12	68	38
Portland	12	11	38	27
Houston	17	12	62	40
Columbus	15	13	69	42
Oakland	13	10	38	32
Denver	16	13	58	29
Toledo	14	12	57	35

Főbb halálozási okok, azok növekedései vagy csökkenései 1912. évtől 1932-ig. Alapul 100.000 (egyszázezer) lakos veendő. A számitások az Egyesült Államokra vonatkoznak.

Év:	Tüdővész.	Influenza.	Rákbetegség.	Cukorbaj.	Agylágyulás.	Szivbaj.	Más tüdőbajok.
1912	1250	103	771	150	775	1599	163
1932	564	308	1210	219	794	2091	45

Év:	Malária.	Tifusz.	Vörheny.	Szamár hurut.	Csecsemőkori hasmenés.	Tüdőhurut.	Vesebaj.
1912	30	210	89	113	704	193	1032
1932	21	37	21	45	120	36	872

Év:	Autóbaleset.	Vakbélgyulladás	Diphtéria.	Balesetek.	Öngyilkosság.	Gyilkosság.	Máj bajok.
1912	29	116	182	795	160	66	135
1932	219	142	45	496	174	92	72

Az előbb fölsorolt 28 amerikai legnagyobb városban a halálozások a következő okokból voltak.

A számitásoknál százezer lakost kell alapul venni. Kivéve a csecsmőkori betegségeknél ahol egyezer veendő alapul. A számok átlagosak.

Influenza.	Tüdővész.	Rákbetegség.	Cukorbaj.	Szélhüdés.	Vérbetegség és más szervi baj.	Vesebaj.	Végelgyengülés.	Tüdőgyuladás.	Légcsőszervi betegségek.	Csecsemőkori betegségek.	Öngyilkosság.	Gyilkosság.	Autószerencsétlenség.	Más balesetek.
104	561	1268	265	524	2932	783	4239	879	124	308	198	97	215	421

Életkor dolgában az Egyesült Államok államai közül Wisconsin vezet. Ott tudniillik minden 54-ik ember eléri a 75 éves életkort. Utána következik California, ahol minden 59-ik ember éri meg azt az időt. Legutolsó helyen áll Louisiana, ahol csak minden 92-ik éri el a 75 évet.

A különböző országok népessége közül ausztráliai népek érik el legmagasabb életkort. Ennek a megmagyarázására álljon itt a következő táblázat. Vegyük ugy, hogy minden országban száz ezer ember születik. A táblázatból látjuk aztán, hogy minden százezer egy év életkort elért ember közül hányan élnek egy éves, 20 éves, 40 éves, 50 éves és 60 éves korukban.

Ország:	Egy éves férfi.	Egy éves nő.	20 éves férfi	20 éves nő.	40 éves férfi.	40 éves nő.	50 éves férfi.	50 éves nő.	60 éves férfi.	60 éves nő.
Ausztrália ..	90490	92047	84493	86459	75887	78001	68221	71945	56782	63247
Dánia	87933	90229	82207	84180	74773	76341	68284	70990	57639	62958
Németorsz.	79766	82952	70645	73564	62598	65283	55340	59812	43807	50780
India	71002	71540	43833	44828	27136	28139	18658	19714	11229	12165
Olaszorsz.	83229	84789	68579	68891	59669	59215	53779	54097	44902	46638
Norvégia	91855	93321	82817	84459	70408	73449	64366	67660	55862	60034
Anglia	85566	88257	76113	78756	67668	71308	59903	64742	47564	54157
Egy. Áll.	87262	89449	77957	80581	66996	70383	58963	63539	47701	53102

Látható tehát, hogy az átlagos legmagasabb életkort az ausztráliai és a dániai ember, a legalacsonyabbat az indiai ember éri el, mert 100.000 közül csak 12 ezer marad életben a 60 éves korban.

És most még egy kis tájékozás ami a magyar nyelvü munkásságot érdekelni fogja. Arról van szó, hogy melyik amerikai nagy városban van a legtöbb magyar. Ha itt a felelet South Bend, Ind. lesz, ugy kérem ne nevessenek, mert tényleg, akarom mondani aránylag a legtöbb magyar van South Bendben a lakossághoz mérten. Ezen állításom igazolására álljon itt a következő táblázat:

Város neve:	Lakosainak száma.	A magyarok száma.	Milyen hányadát képezik a magyarok?
New York	6.930.446	59.883	115
Chicago	3.376.438	15.337	220
Philadelphia	1.950.961	7.102	274
Detroit	1.568.662	11.162	140
Los Angeles..........	1.238.048	3.055	405
Cleveland	900.429	19.073	47
Milwaukee	578.249	3.789	152
Bridgeport	146.716	3.983	36
South Bend	104.193	3.049	34

Amerika farmlakossága 1934 végén 32.779.000 egyént ölelt fel. Az ország történetében nem fordult elő, hogy a farmlakosság ilyen hatalmas létszámmal dicsekedjen. Nem kevesebb mint 270.000 egyénnel jeleztek többet, mint egy év előtt. Ez a szaporulat nem anynyira a farmokra való telepités mozgalmának sikerét jelzi, mint inkább azt, hogy a születési létszám sokkalta magasabb volt a halotti létszámnál.

Egyébként az év folyamán sokkal többen hagyták el a farmokat, mint ahányan elfoglalták. Számitások szerint, tavaly 783.000 egyén költözött ki a farmokra a városokból és falvakból. ugyanakkor viszont 994.000 egyén költözött be a farmról a faluba és a városba.

Ezek szerint tehát 211.000 lélekkel fogyott a farmerek száma, viszont 481.000 volt a születési szaporulat s igy a mérleg ismét helyrebillen.

A Bureau of Agrecultural Economics még hozzáfüzi, hogy amig 1934-ben a farm lakosság létszáma az előbbeni évhez viszonyitva sulyosabb változást nem szenvedett, feltünőbb külömbségek észlelhetők, akkor, ha a nagyobb és fontosabb földarjzi csoportok adatait hasonlitjuk össze.

NÉHÁNY ADAT AZ AUTOMOBIL IPARRÓL

Az automobilok tömegtermelése az Egyesült Államokban az 1900 évben kezdődött. Az első négy évben főleg személyszállitási célra termeltek. Az ipari célra termelt automobilokról az első négy évben nincs kimutatás. Alább látjuk az automobil termelés fejlődését 5 éves időközökben. Ugyszintén kimutatjuk a termelt áruk átlagos vételárát.

Év:	A termelt kocsik száma személyszállítási célokra.	A termelt kocsik összértéke.	Az egyes kocsi átlagos ára.	Az ipari célra termelt kocsik száma.	Az ipari célra termelt kocsik száma értéke.	Az egyes kocsi átlagos ára.
1904	22.419	23.682.492	1063	411	946.947	2304
1909	127.731	159.918.506	1252	1500	2.550.000	1633
1914	543.679	413.859.379	761	23.375	45.098.464	1777
1919	1.657.652	1.461.785.925	880	275.943	423.326.621	1534
1924	3.303.646	2.040.706.519	619	434.140	326.706.496	752
1929	4.794.898	2.981.141.842	622	826.817	595.504.039	722
1933	1.627.768	795.304.780	488	358.440	192.131.509	536

Nem lesz talán érdektelen egy-két szót az összes országok és államok autótermeléséről mondani. Adataink 1926-tól 1933-ig szólnak, tizenhat különféle országban. Rövidség kedvéért csak az 1926, 1929, 1931 és 1933 éveket vesszük, de itt is mutatkozik az emelkedés vagy a csökkenés a különböző években.

Ország:	1926	1929	1931	1933
Egyesült Államok	4.300.934	5.358.420	2.389.738	1.927.256
Ausztria	5.290	9.100	4.200	1.575
Belgium	6.000	7.000	3.200	1.400
Canada	204.727	263.295	82.621	65.924
Csehoszlovákia	7.000	14.740	16.980	10.000
Dánország	200	150	180	140
Anglia	198.699	233.925	223.219	280.526
Franciaország	193.315	248.000	196.860	191.929
Németország	37.169	80.500	65.456	105.832
Magyarország	388	632	237	143
Olaszország	54.760	54.100	31.480	42.000
Japán	....	215	531	1.808
Lengyelország	....	450	200	780
Spanyolország	1.050	450	250	49.743
Svédország	410	1.758	2.447	375
Svájc	1.046	3.000	1.040	480
Összesen:	5.010.988	5.621.715	3.042.096	2.682.886

Ha már tudjuk, hogy hány erővel hajtott jármü készült az Egyesült Államokban, ugy érdekes azt is tudni, hogy az ország egyes államaiban és vidékein milyen arányban vannak a lakosság számához mérten használatban. Az alábbi kimutatásból kitünik, hogy az iparilag előrehaladottabb vagy mezőgazdasági tekintetben fejlettebb államokban az automobil használók száma aránylag nagyobb mint a különösen mezőgazdaságilag elmaradt államokban észlelhető. Tekintetbe kell venni továbbá az egyes vidékek földrajzi és a helységeknek egymás közötti távolsági viszonyait is.

Az automobiltulajdonosok és használók arányszáma a legmagasabb California és Nevada államokban és District of Columbiában az az Washington városában. Ezeken a helyeken átlag minden harmadik személynek van automobilja. A második helyen állnak: Colorado, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Mexico, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Washington, Wyoming és South Dakota államok, ahol minden negyediknek van automobilja. Minden ötödiknek van a következő államokban: Arizona, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Illinois, Maryland, Massachussetts, Michigan, Missouri, Montana, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Texas, Utah, Vermont és Wisconsin. Minden hatodiknak van: New York és Pennsylvania államokban. Minden hetedik lakos Virginia és West Virginia államokban autotulajdonos és minden nyolcadik Tennessee államban. Minden kilencedik lakos Georgia, Kentucky és Lousiana államokban rendelkezik erővel hajtott jármüvel. Minden tizedik lakos North Carolina és Arkansas államokban autotulajdonos és minden tizenegyedik South Carolina államban. Mississippiben már csak minden tizenkettedik lakosnak jut egy autó és végül Alabama állam következik amelyik az ABC sorrendben az első, de automobil tulajdonjogban az utolsó helyen áll, mert ott csak minden tizenharmadik lakosnak van esetleg egy öreg Lissy-je, vagy egy Limousine-je.

Nézzük most már az automobilhajtásnak és birtoklásnak az árnyoldalát is. Beszéljünk az autószerencsétlenségekről. Számaink az 1933. évből valók.

A baleset oka:	A balesetek száma.	Hányan haltak bele.	Hányan sérültek meg.
Gyorshajtás	125.930	5.640	143.930
A nem helyes oldalon való hajtás	61.270	2.270	71.220
A jelzés elleni hajtás	118.400	2.320	143.650
A haladó kocsik közzé hajtás	18.760	340	22.270
Elhaladás az álló villanyos kocsi mellett	3.100	110	3.630
Kanyarodás vagy dombra való hajtás	5.420	140	5.530
A nem helyes uttesten való hajtás	7.880	210	9.430
A jelzés elmulasztás	35.760	380	44.480
A kocsit a hajtó nem tudta ellenőrizni	3.740	210	3.960
Az utról való lesiklás	58.900	3.260	53.240
Vigyázatlan hajtás (ittas állapotban)	31.670	1.250	30.090
Különféle okok	21.670	800	25.670
Összesen:	492.500	17.200	558.100

Ezekből a számokból látható, hogy az 1933. évben egy millió hatszáz hetvennyolc (1.678.000) személy volt a autóbalesetek áldozata. De ezek közvetlenül a hajtók, vagy a kocsiban ülőkre vonatkoznak. A gyalogjárók, vagy a közelben tartózkodók is kivették a részüket.

Ugyancsak 1933. évben 257.710 ember volt autóbaleset áldozata. Ezek közül 13.440 halott és 262.270 sebesült vagy megsérült. Summa-summárum 1.619.220. Egy millió hatszáz tizenkilenc ezer és kétszázhusz ember az áldozat.

Az automobil statisztikán meg kell még emliteni, hogy az amerikai farmokon és mezőgazdasági üzemekben közel 6 millió erővel hajtott jármü volt. Ezek közül 4.134.675 személyszállitási és 900.385 üzemi tracktor és teherszállitási célokra lett alkalmazva.

(Folyt. a 127-ik oldalon.)

KAPITALISTA JÓTÉTEMÉNY.

Gyáros: Mama, gratulálhatól nekem, ma jót cselekedtem egyik munkásommal.

Feleség: Az nagyon szép, örvendek egyszer már ezt is hallani, mond el, hogy mi volt az?

Gyáros: Az egyik munkásom béremelést kért, azon jogcimen, hogy megakar nősülni, melyet csak magasabb bér mellett tehetne meg.

Feleség: Nos megadtad neki?

Gyáros: Dehogy adtam, nem akartam, hogy öngyilkosságot kövessen el.

SZÉP AJÁNLAT.

Vándor munkás. Asszonyom, legyen szives valami ennivalót adni.

Asszonyság: Mindjárt hivom a férjemet.

Vándor munkás: Köszönöm, abból nem kérek, nem vagyok kanibál.

BÜNTETÉS.

Fiu: Uram a kedves leánya megigérte, hogy feleségem lesz.

Apa: No és mostan hozzám jön szimpátiáért. Megérdemli a büntetést, miért járt a nyakunkra hetenkint öt este is.

AZ ÉRDEKLŐDÉS.

Péter: Miért minden nő azt mondja, hogy nincs nekik mit felvenni?

Pál: Azzal akarják a férfiak érdeklődését megnyerni.

KÖVETKEZTETÉS.

AFofL-ista: Ha több nagy ember volna, kevesebb sztrájk lenne.

IWW-ista: És több árulás.

AKINEK VAN.

Ifju ur: Jó állásu ruhád van barátom. Nem adnád meg a szabód cimét?

Ficsur: Megadom, ha igéred, hogy az én cimemet nem adod meg a szabómnak.

SPÓROLÁS.

Az ember: Mama, meglehet, hogy nem tudok hazajönni vacsorára.

Feleség: De hogyan tudjam azt biztosan?

Az ember: Majd felhivlak telefonon, de ne válaszolj, akkor visszakapom a nickelt.

ROSSZ VISZONYOK KÖZT.

Te hallottad a hirt, hogy Mariska férjhez megyen?

Nem. Ki az a szerencsés ember?

Az apja.

SOK, AMI SOK.

Hallottam, feladod a szobádad, sokat kértek érte?

De még mennyit, hetenkint háromszor is.

VIGYÁZAT.

Azt mondják, a csók legveszedelmesebb reggelfele.

Meglehet, de akinek esze van nem marad reggelig.

NEM MINDENKI BOLOND.

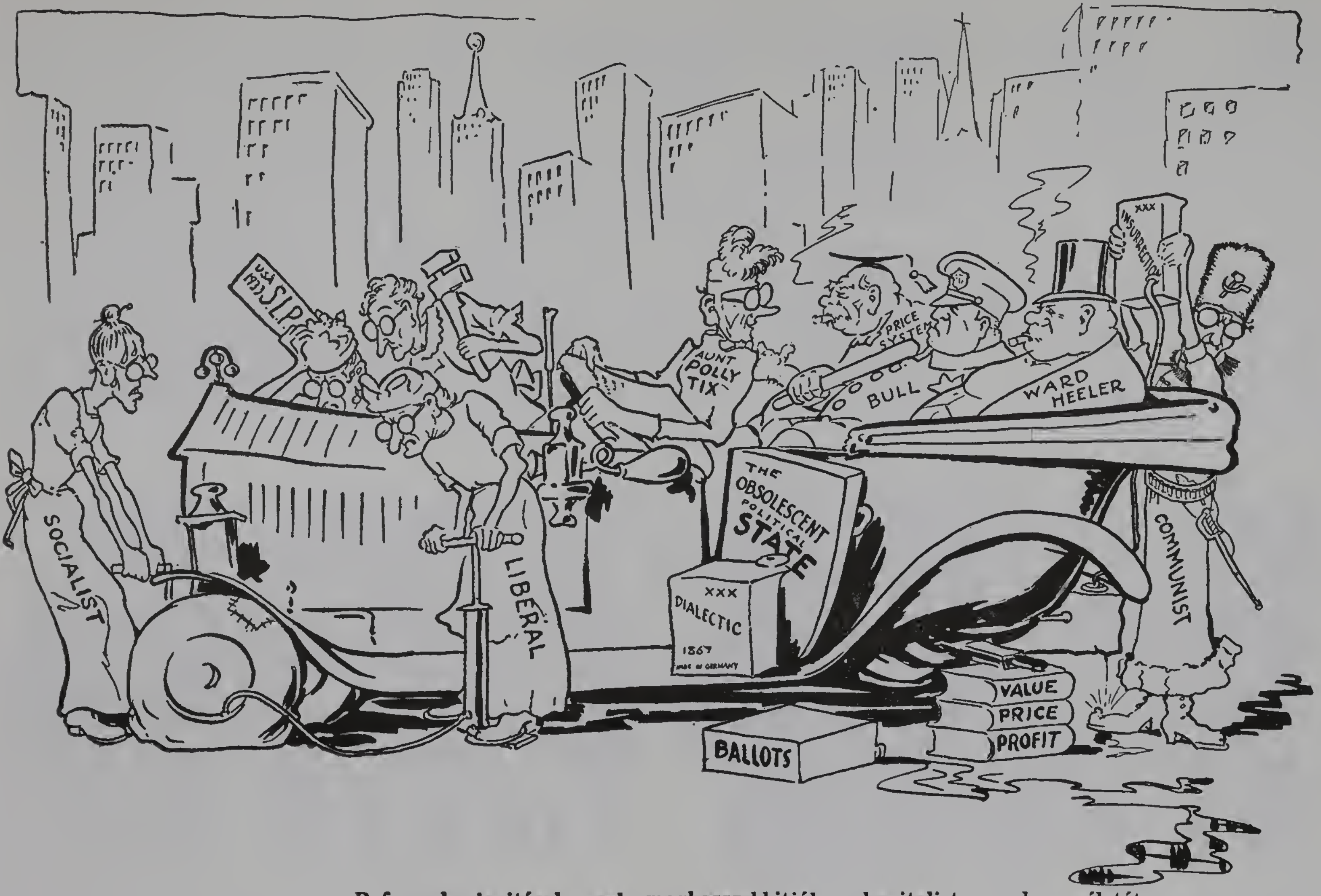
Feleség: Ugylátszik minden ember bolond.

Férj: Nem, vannak nőtlenek is.

A GŐGÖS.

Az én őseim a Mayfloweron jöttek át Amerikába.

Szerencséjük, manapság nagyon megválogatják a bevándorlókat.


USA
S.L.P.
SOCIALIST
LIBERAL
AUNT POLLY TIX
PRICE SYSTEM
BULL
WARD HEELER
XXX INSURRECTION
COMMUNIST
THE OBSOLESCENT POLITICAL STATE
XXX DIALECTIC 1867 MADE IN GERMANY
BALLOTS
VALUE
PRICE
PROFIT

Reformok, javitások csak meghosszabbitják a kapitalista rendszer életét.

MAGYAR FÜGGELÉK AZ IWW ALAPSZABÁLYHOZ

AZ INDUSTRIAL Workers of the World az ipari unonizmust képviselő s tanitó munkásszervezet, amely a munkásokat ipari foglalkozásuk szerint szervezi abból a célból, hogy a termelési eszközöket kisajátitsa, a bérrendszert megszüntesse, miáltal egyenlő jogokat teremt a társadalom minden egyes tagja részére.

Ezt a célt csak ugy érheti el a munkásosztály, ha EGY szervezetben tömörül. Az IWW minden nyelvü és minden szinü bérmunkást az Egy Nagy Szervezetbe tömöriti. Ezért szükségtelennek tartja a külön nyelvi vagy faji csoportokat, mert ahogy az iparban együtt dolgozik minden nemzetiségü, vagy szinü munkás, ugy a munkán történő kizsákmányolás ellen is együtt kell a harcot fölvenni és megküzdeni.

Ehhez a tanitáshoz egyik legalkalmasabb eszköz a sajtó. És mivel minden bérmunkás az anyanyelvén jobban megérti az IWW tanitását, az IWW különböző nyelvü lapjaiban hirdeti az Egy Nagy Szervezet szükségességét.

Az IWW magyar sajtója, bár szorosan az Egyetemes Központ ellenőrzése alatt áll, annak terjesztése és fenntartása a magyar bérmunkások kötelessége.

Ebből a célból agitációs bizottságokat létesitenek, ahol a magyar lap fejlesztését szolgáló ügyeket beszélik meg.

Az agitáció sikeresebb kifejtése céljából legalább egyszer évente értekezleteket tartanak és ha szükségét látják, országos értekezletre jönnek össze. Ugy a kerületek, valamint az országos értekezletek határozatait a magyarajku agitációt végző IWW tagok hagyják jóvá vagy vetik el.

A magyar lap ügyeinek intézésére az agitációs csoportok egy szerkesztőt, egy titkár-pénztárnokot s egy hét tagból álló bizottságot választanak egy évi időtartamára, mely bizottságnak föladata őrködni, hogy a lap IWW szellemben iródjék, hogy a lap körüli munkák elintézést nyerjenek, hogy a lap s igy az ipari unionizmus eszméjének terjesztése a magyar munkások között a legszélesebb körben történjék. E célból odatörekszik, hogy a magyar lap állandó tanitómunkája mellett szervezők is fölkeressék a magyarlakta területeket.

A magyar lap bevételeiről és kiadásairól, valamint a nevelést elősegitő céljairól havonta jelentést készit a lapbizottság és azt az agitációs bizottságok titkárainak, a delegátusoknak s a Bérmunkás lapkezelőinek megküldi.

AZ IWW EGYETEMES KÖZPONTJA
2422 N. Halsted Street.
Chicago, Ill.

AZ IWW MAGYARAJKU KÖZPONTI SZERVEZŐ ÉS LAPBIZOTTSÁGA
P. O. Box 3912 Station S. S.
Cleveland, O.

A BÉRMUNKÁS SZERKESZTŐSÉGE ÉS KIADÓHIVATALA
8622 Buckeye Rd.
Cleveland, O.

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JACKSON HEIGHTS, N. Y.: M. Vlasits, 3247—86 St.
BROOKLYN, N. Y.: M. Stefankó, 149 Sterling St.
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BEDFORD, O.: A. Székely, 11607 Crofton Rd.

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TOLEDO, O.: A. Gergely, 2341 Caledonia Ave.

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SO. BEND, IND.: Frank Szüch, 123½ Studebaker St. — A. Nagyhalasi, 322 N. O'Brein St.

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ELGIN, ILL.: M. Buza, 646 McBridge Street.

HARVEL, ILL.: J. Bulik 15112 Marshfield Ave.

ZIEGLER, ILL.: J. Vanno, 320 Orchard St.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.: E. Sass, 620 10th St.

LOS ANGELES, CAL.: G. Bakos, 1255 E. 73rd St.

STOCKTON, CAL.: Albert Frank, 35 Commerce St.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.: J. Herold, 202 Osborne St.

SO. NORWALK, CONN.: S. Yeddy P. O. Box 434.

RICHMOND, VA.: A. Hulber, 1715 E. Main St.

UTAZÓ LAPKEZELŐK.: Geo. Stana, Illinois állam és környéke. — J. Nyers, Ohio, Penn. és W. Virginia. — P. Kisstóth, Kelet Pa. és New Jersey államokban.

JUNIORS WOBBLIES' UNION
5510 Maryland Ave.
Chicago, Ill.

"YOUNG RECRUIT" official organ of IWW.

RHETORIKAI ISMERETEK

A RHETORIKA FOGALMA

PA RHETORIKAI tanfolyamok csaknem oly régi keltüek, mint maga az emberi civilizáció. Maga a "rhetorika" szó görög eredetü. A régi görögöknél "rhetor," később pedig "orator" névvel illették azt, aki nyilvánosság előtt beszélt. Ilyen beszédekre alkalmat adtak az istentiszteletek, a politikai gyülekezetek és a törvénykezések: Az ó-görögöknél minden polgár a saját védőügyvéde lehetett a törvényszéki tárgyalásoknál. A közönséges polgár azonban a védelmet nem tudta ugy ellátni, mint akinek ez hivatásszerü foglalkozása volt. A védekező beszédeket tehát ilyen professzionális védőkkel készitették, akik mindjárt be is tanitották az illetőket arra, hogy a beszédeket hatásosan tudják elmondani. Ez adott alkalmat a rhetorika, vagy szónoklatok kifejlesztésére.

TANULNI ÉS TANITANI!

Egyedül az IWW-nak célja és törekvése, hogy tagjai önmaguk, minden külső beavatkozás nélkül vivják meg harcaikat a munkásosztály minden ellenségével.

Ez a törekvés csak ugy lehet eredményes, ha nemcsak ismerjük a munkáltató osztály és a munkásosztály között levő ellentéteket, de azokat másokkal is megtudjuk értetni.

Ezt a célt szolgálja Naptárunk rehtorikai része, amelyet a "Forradalmárok könyve" alapján közlünk itt le, annál is inkább, mert a könyv már alig található a piacon.

Rhetorika, vagy szónoklattan tehát a nyelv használatának tudománya abból a célból, hogy a hallgatókra bizonyos kivánt hatást gyekoroljunk. Vannak azonban olyanok, akik a rhetorikát a beszéd müvészetének is mondják. Mint tudjuk, tudomány és müvészet között lényeges különbség az, hogy amig a tudományt minden normális agyu ember elsajátithatja kellő szorgalommal, addig a müvészetek elsajátitásához bizonyos születetett képesség kell. Igy például a mathematikai tudományokat mindenki megtanulhatja, ha kellő időt szán rá. Itt legfeljebb aról lehet szó, hogy az egyik ember felfogó képesége gyorsabb mint a másiké, azonban szorgalommal a felfogó képesség hiányát pótolni lehet. A müvészetek azonban a születetett képesség nélkül nem sajátithatók el. Akinek nincs zenei érzéke, abból soha sem lesz jó zenész, bármennyit tanul is.

Ha a rhetorikát ebből a szempontból vizsgáljuk, akkor azt látjuk, hogy a rhetorika tudomány is, meg müvészet is. Ez azt jelenti, hogy soha nem lesz jó szónok abból, akinek nincs meg a szónokláshoz megkivánt képessége.

A fenti okoskodás nem fedi a valóságot, nem pedig azért, mert egy háboru kitörése és az általános sztrájk mint az egyetlen ellenszere a munkások fontos gyülekezetein folytonosan a munkásmozgalom előrelátó kisebbsége által, azonban a szociáldemokraták hadvezéreinek állandóan sikerült elütni a napirendről. Engedjük meg egy percre, hogy ez a védekezés érvényes, jogos volt az 1914-ben történtekre. És most a kérdés felvetődik, hogy hogyan állunk 1935-ben?

Másrészről azonban hiába vannak meg a természetadta feltételek, ha az illető tudatlan. Tudomány és születetett képeség együttesen alkotják a jó szónokot.

A jó szónoknak tehát első sorban bizonyos foku általános müveltséggel kell birnia. Csak az a szónok érheti el a kivánt hatást, **aki értelemben, tudás-**

ban fölötte áll hallgató közönségének. Éppen azért szónoklattant csak a középiskolák magasabb osztályaiban vagy az egyetemeken tanitják, amikor a tanulók az általános müveltségnek már bizonyos fokát elérték. A munkások részére rendezett rhetorikai tanfolyamoknak tekintettel kell lenni arra, hogy a munkások legtöbbjének nem volt alkalma ezen ismeretek elsajátitására. Azért nem elegendő a rhetorikai szabályok egyszerü felsorolása és betanulása, hanem igyekezni kell arra, hogy a tanulók elsajátitsák legalább az általános müveltséghez tartozó legelemibb ismereteket. Azért a munkások részére rendezett ily tanfolyamoknak a beszéd mechanikai és technikai készitésének tanitásán kivül magában kell foglalnia a beszéd anyagának ismertetését és az általános ismeretek gyarapitását is.

AZ ELŐADÁS.

A hang.

A beszéd a gondolatközlésnek az a neme, amelyet akkor használ az ember, ha közvetlen közelében levő embertársaival akarja magát megértetni. A gondolatközlésnek azonban a beszéd nem az egyetlen módja. Az ember a sok százezer éven át tartó fejlődés alatt arra a fokra jutott, hogy már nemcsak a legegyszerübb érzelmeket tudja kifejezni, — amire az állatok is képesek, — hanem müveltségének megfelelőleg szövevényes gondolatokat is. Azonban annyi bizonyos, hogy valaha az ember is csak a gondolatközlés legelemibb módjait, a testmozdulatokat alkalmazta érzelmeinek és gondolatainak kifejezésére.

A testmozdulatokkal való gondolatkifejezés nem veszett el teljesen az idők folyamata alatt. Ma is számos gondolatot ki tudunk testmozdulattal fejezni. Ilyen testmozdulatok például a bólintás, fejrázás, az arcjáték, (mosolygás, megvetés kifejezése, stb.,) legyintés kézzel, toppantás a lábbal, stb. A szövevényes gondolatok kifejezésére azonban az ember a beszédet, később az irást fejlesztette ki. A modern ember gondolatait a beszéd vagy irás utján közli embertársaival. A kettő közül az irás az ujabbkori és ezt akkor alkalmazzuk, ha a távollevőkhöz szólunk.

Van a gondolatközlésnek még egy másik neme is, — a müvészetek. Ez azonban korlátolt, noha egyes gondolatot vagy érzelmet sokkal jobban ki lehet igy fejezni, mint a beszéddel, vagy irással. A fájdalom vagy öröm, vigság érzelmeit a zenével jobban kilehet fejezni, mint szavakkal. Igy egész általánosságban azt mondhatjuk, hogy a gondolatközlés történhetik **testmozdulatokkal, a beszéd vagy irás utján és végre a müvészetek által.**

A beszéd anyaga **a hang,** amely lényegében valamely anyagnak bizonyos formáju rezgése. Azonban az ember csak akkor vesz róla tudomást, ha a rezgés valamely anyag, pl. a levegő közvetitése révén a hallószervhez, — a fülhöz jut. A fül dobhártyája átveszi a rezgéseket és a halló csontokon keresztül továbbitja a fül belső részében végződő idegszálakra. A beszédhez tehát szükséges egy hangadó és egy hangfelfogó készülék.

Az ember hangadó szervei a **hangszalagok,** amelyek a gégefőben vannak elhelyezve. Ezekmegnyujtható, illetőleg a nyelv elhelyezésével a rezgéseket módositani tudjuk s ezzel átveszi a torok és a szájüreg levegője. A száj formálásával, megröviditheto izompálcikák, amelyeket a mellkasból kiszoritott levegővel rezgésbe hozunk. — A hangpálcikák rezgéseit a hangoknak egész sorát, — ugynevezett **skáláját** tudjuk létrehozni. A hangok ily módon való formálását **artikuláció**-nak mondjuk. **A hangok tudatos artikulációjára csak az ember képes,** miért is azt mondják, hogy csak az ember fejezi ki gondolatait artikulált hangokkal.

A hangok artikulációjára szolgáló szervek egyének szerint különbözők. Ennek tulajdonitható be, **hogy a hang minden emberre jellemző.** Valószinü, hogy nincs két teljesen egyforma beszédü ember a világon. A hang annyira jellemző az egyénre, hogy magáról a hangról felismerjük azokat, akiknek hangját megszoktuk, noha szemünk-kel nem is látjuk az illetőket. Ugy a hangadó, mint a hangfelfogó szerveket bizonyos gyakorlatokkal tökéletesiteni lehet. A hibás artikulációt kellő gyakorlattal meg lehet javitani, azért igen fontos, hogy akiknek kiejtése nem tiszta, annak megjavitására nagy gondot forditsanak.

A hangok kombinációja révén **szavakat** alkotunk. A szavak egyes fogalmaknak a megegyezés révén létrejött jelei. Valószinü, hogy egyes szavaknál, amikor azok forgalomba kerültek, a szó és a fogalom között valami rokonság lehetett. Például ez a szó: "pattog," kifejezi magát a cselekvést, amit jelent. Később azonban, amidőn az emberi müveltség már magasabb fokot ért el, ujabb és ujabb szavak kerültek forgalomba, ekkor aztán már a fogalom és az azt jelentő szó között megszünt a rokonság. A hosszas gyakorlat azonban képessé tette az embert arra, hogy midőn az általa ismert szót hallja, akkor a szó fogalmának képe megjelenik az agyában. Például midőn ezt a szót hallom: "könyv" képzeletemben azonnal valami könyvet látok.

A szavak kombinációja adja a **beszédet.** A beszédnek legismertebb faja a közönséges beszéd, vagy társalgás, amit az életben lépten-nyomon használunk. Mi az alábbiakban a beszédnek nem ezzel a fajával akarunk foglalkozni, hanem az olyan beszédekkel, amelyeket nyilvános hallgatóság előtt mondanak el és valamilyen közérdekü dolgot tartalmaznak. Az ilyen beszédet **szónoklat-nak** vagy **szép-beszéd-**nek mondják.

Minden beszéd (szónoklat, oráció, mübeszéd) lényegében két részből áll. **A tartalomból** és az **előadásból.** Ez utóbbi alatt azt értjük, hogy miként mondja el a szónok a mondanivalóját. Egyes szónokokról gyakran halljuk azt a birálatot, hogy érdekes dolgokról beszélt, de nem tudta hatásosan elmondani. Máskor a szónok "jól beszél," noha semmi értékes dolgot nem mond. Ennek megfelelőleg a rhetorikai tanfolyamoknak külön kell foglalkozni az előadás szabályainak ismertetésével és aztán külön a beszéd szellemi részével.

Olvasási gyakorlatok.

A beszédek hatásos előadásának begyakorlására az olvasási gyakorlatok szolgálnak. Ez alatt verseknek, beszédeknek vagy valamilyen más szépprózának a hangos olvasását értjük. A rhetorikai tanfolyamok első pár hónapja alatt a tanulónak olvasási gyakorlatokat kell folytatni. De igen nagy hasznát veszi az ilyen gyakorlatoknak az is, aki otthon végzi azokat. Az ilyen olvasás azonkivül, hogy a helyes kiejtésre és a hatásos előadásra tanit bennünket, uj ismeretek szerzésére is képesit, hozzászoktat bennünket a szép szavak és kifejezések használatához, továbbá uj és idegen szavakkal gyarapitja szótárunkat. (Valamely egyén szótárát, vagy szókincsét az általa ismert szavak összessége alkotja.)

Az olvasási gyakorlatnak tehát kettős célja van. 1. **A helyes hangsulyozás begyakorlása.** 2. **Uj ismeretek szerzése.** Az olvasás természetesen lehet hang nélküli is, ugynevezett "magában való olvasás," amely azonban legfeljebb csak az uj ismeretek szerzésére szolgálhat. Mi itt olvasás alatt mindig a hangos olvasást értjük. Az olvasónak mindig abban a tudatban kell lenni, hogy nagy hallgató közönségnek olvas. **Olvassunk sokat és olvassunk mindég hangosan.** Azonban mindig figyelmesen olvassunk, mert különben csak elpazaroljuk az időnket.

Az olvasási gyakorlatra vonatkozólag általában a következő szabályokat tartsuk szem előtt:

1. Mindig ugy olvassunk, mintha közönség hallgatná.

2. Olvasás előtt meg kell nézni a könyvet (papirt,) hogy rendben van-e. Az olvasást nagyon megzavarja az, ha az olvasónak keresni kell a következő lapot és ezért meg kell szakitania az olvasást. Sőt megtörténhetik az is, hogy nem a megfelelő oldalon folytatja a szöveget.

3. Olvasásnál a könyvet (papirt) balkézben kell tartani és a jobbal lapozzunk. A gyakorlatlan olvasó gyakran cserélgeti a kezét s eltéveszti az

olvasást. Máskor idegesen babrál ujjaival és összegyüri a lapokat.

4. A szem egy-két szóval előbb járjon a szájnál. Forditani kell a könyvben, mielőtt a lap utolsó szavát kiejtenénk. Igy el lehet kerülni, hogy a lap végén megtörjük az olvasást.

5. A hangos olvasásnál ügyelni kell az artikulációra, amit a száj megfelelő nyitásával és zárásával lehet elérni. Aki a száját nem nyitja ki teljesen, az **"elharapja"** a szavak végeit.

6. Sem tul sebesen, sem tul lassan nem szabad olvasni. A tul sebes olvasást a hallgató nem képes követni; ha tul lassu az olvasás, akkor a hallgató figyelmét nem köti le és a gondolatai elkalandoznak.

7. Ügyelni kell a hangsulyra. A helytelenül alakalmazott hangsuly a mondat értelmét megváltoztatja. Mindig a mondat legfontosabb részét kell erősebben kiemelni.

.8 Vigyázni kell a lélegzetvételre. A leghelyesebb az, ha gyakrabban veszünk lélegzetet. A ritka lélegzetvételnél egyszerre sok levegőre van szükségünk és az ilyen lélegzés rendesen zajjal jár.

9. Olvasás közben nyugodtan, természetesen kell állni. Nem szabad izegni, mozogni, de azért merev se legyen az olvasó, hanem természetes. Nem szabad gesztikulálni azzal a kézzel, amelyben a könyvet (papirt) tartjuk, mert eltévesztjük, hogy hol tartunk.

A hangsuly.

Minden mondatban vagy szócsoportban egyes szavak, szóképek fontosabbak a többinél. Ezeket a beszédben vagy olvasásban ki kell emelnünk. A kiemelés a hangsulyozás segitségével történik. A hangsuly változásával képesek vagyunk a mondat értelmét is megváltoztatni. Nézzük például ezt a mondatot: "Liebknecht mondotta, hogy a tudomány hatalom." Hangsulyozzuk először a mondat első, majd a második, a harmadik és végre a negyedik szavát és figyeljük meg, hogy a hangsulyozás mennyire megváltoztatja értelmét.

1. **Liebknecht** mondotta, hogy a tudomány hatalom. Ha igy hangsulyozom a mondatot, akkor ezzel azt mondom, hogy **Liebknecht** mondotta ezt az állitást a tudományról és nem Marx, Bebel vagy valaki más.

2. Liebknecht **modotta,** hogy a tudomány hatalom. Ez a mondat igy hangsulyozva azt jelenti, hogy Liebknecht **mondotta** és nem irta, vagy gondolta, stb. ezt az állitást.

3. Liebknecht mondotta, hogy a **tudomány** hatalom. Vagyis a **tudomány** a hatalom és nem más, nem a hadsereg, stb.

4. Liebknecht mondotta, hogy a tudomány **hatalom.** Most azt állitjuk, hogy a tudomány **hatalom** és nem élvezet vagy jog valamire, stb.

Ime igy váltakozik meg a mondat értelme a hangsuly áthelyezésével, dacára annak, hogy a mondaton egyáltalában semmi változást nem ejtettünk. Ezért olyan fontos az, hogy a hangsulyt arra a szóra fektessük, amelyikre kell, különben mást mondunk, mint a szerző mondani akart. Igy az olvasás tárgyát gondos tanulmányozás alá kell venni. Ki kell keresni a hangsulyozandó szavakat és azokat aláhuzva gyakorolhatjuk a hangsulyozást. Erre természetesen csak addig van szükség, amig a tanuló kellő gyakorlatot szerez a hangsulyozásban, azután már a figyelmes átolvasás után egyszerre képes helyesen hangsulyozni. Vegyük például Farkas A. "Husvéti pásztorlevél" cimü versének alábbi sorait és emeljük ki a hangsulyozandó szavakat:

Irjak husvéti pásztorlevelet?
Elmondjam benne, hogy **ne higyjetek,**
De tudjatok, testvéreim, emberek!

Sebesség.

Már itt meg kell jegyeznünk, hogy a legtöbbje azon szabályoknak, amelyeket az olvasásra adunk, érvényes a szavalásra és a szónoki beszéd elmondásánál is. Mondottuk, hogy az olvasás vagy a beszéd ne legyen tul sebes, de ne legyen lassu sem. Az előbbi esetben a hallgató nem tudja követni az eléje tárt gondolatot, az utóbbiban pedig időt adunk neki arra, hogy gondolatai elkalandozzanak. Sebesség tekintetében általában megkülönböztetünk **gyors, mérsékelt** és **lassu** olvasást.

Az olvasás általában **mérsékelt.** Ez az alaphangja minden olvasásnak. A szöveg kivánalmainak megfelelőleg azután egyes helyeken átmegyünk gyors, illetőleg lassu olvasásba. Emelkedik az olvasás sebessége, amidőn könnyebben megérthető gondolathoz jutunk, vagy ha élénk szinekkel festünk valamely drámai jelenetet, stb. A nagyobb sebesség az élénkség kifejezésére szolgál. Lassitjuk az olvasást, amikor nehezebben érthető gondolatokat tartalmazó részhez jutunk. Lassan olvassuk a szomoru, a megható részeket is. Általános szabályt természetesen az olvasás sebességére nem lehet adni, mert azt minden egyes alkalommal maga a szöveg szabja meg.

A már idézett "Husvéti pásztorlevél" cimü versben például mérsékelten kell olvasni az első 8 sort. Sebesebb olvasást kiván ez a rész: "Nézd, lomb zöldül, rög mozdul, rügy kihajt" . . . Lassan olvasandó: "Irjak husvéti pásztorlevelet? Elmondjam bene, hogy ne higyjetek, de tudjatok, testvéreim, emberek! . . ."

Szünet.

Az olvasás sebességét szünettel szabályozzuk. A szünetek helyes alkalmazásának rendkivül fontos szerepe van az olvasás vagy a beszéd hatásossága tételében. Szünetre általában véve szükségünk van:

1. **Lélegzetvételre.**
2. **Mondattani okokból.**
3. **Hatás kedvéért.**

Miután az embernek levegőre van szüksége, olvasás vagy beszéd közben kénytelen egy pillanatra szünetet tartani, hogy lélegzetet vegyen. Ez a legrövidebb szünet. Azonban ez a szünet is elég hosszu arra, hogy ha szorosan egymáshoz tartozó szavak között vesszük, akkor megzavarjuk vele az olvasást. Szokjunk hozzá, hogy inkább gyakrabban és kis lélegzetet vegyünk, mint ritkán, ne mély lélegzetet, mert az esetleg szuszogást eredményez. Hibás például az ilyen szünet:

Nagy / köhögésbe fulladt / a beszéd és azt / követte hosszu / hallgatás.

Helyesen:

Nagy köhögésbe / fulladt a beszéd / és azt követte / hosszu hallgatás.

Valamivel hosszabb szünetet tartunk ott, ahol mondattani okokból kell megállnunk. Itt rendesen vesszőt, pontot vagy valamilyen más irásjelet találunk a szövegben. Pl.:

A titkár, // karcsu, // izmos papi ember. //

A vén főpásztor rábólint. // Gyerünk. //

Leghosszabb szünetet tartunk akkor, amidőn valamely nagyon fontos dolgot mondottunk, vagy valamely drámai jelenet hatását várjuk. Hosszu a szünet akkor is, ha nehezen megérthető gondolatot közöltünk a hallgatókkal. A hosszu szünettel időt kell arra adni, hogy a hallgatók megértsék a gondolatot. A drámai jelenet leirásánál az elképzelésre kell a hosszu szünet. Szóval itt várni kell a hatás kifejlődésére.

Példázza, / aki most röpit bennünket, //

Az a zubbonyos ember, /// ez a gép. ///

Ez a jövő, /// ez a feltámadás! ///

Hangfestés.

Az értelem és az érzések kifejezésére a beszédben vagy olvasásban a **hangfestés**-t (modulació) használjuk. A hangfestés abból áll, hogy az előadó a hangját felemeli, megnyomja, gyorsitja, lassitja, szóval változtat hangján a kivánalmak szerint. Ha az előadásban nincs hangfestés, akkor azt mondjuk róla, hogy **egyhangu** (monoton.) Az ilyen előadás unalmas és kárbaveszett.

A hangfestés ugy jön létre, hogy az egymásután következő szavakat, esetleg szótagokat különböző hangnemben mondjuk ki. A hangfestésnek ezt az elemi részét **hangtörés**-nek (inflekció) mondjuk, Ez lehet sokféle. Lehet **emelkedő, eső, hirtelen törő,** stb.

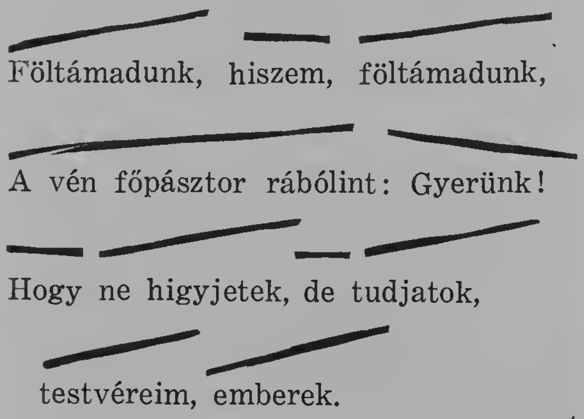
Emekedő pl. az infláció ebben a

sorban: Feltámadunk, hiszem, feltámadunk.

Eső: A vén főpásztor rábólint: Gyerünk!

Hirtelen törő . . . hogy ne higyjetek, de tudjatok, testvéreim, emberek!

Valamely szöveget a helyes olvasás szempontjából ugy analizáljuk, hogy előbb megjelöljük a szüneteket a fentjelzett módon, vonalkákkal, azután a szöveg felett huzott emelkedő vagy eső vonalakkal jelezzük a hangfestést; ilyenformán:



Föltámadunk, hiszem, föltámadunk,

A vén főpásztor rábólint: Gyerünk!

Hogy ne higyjetek, de tudjatok,

testvéreim, emberek.

Ajánlatos, hogy a tanulók minél több ilyen analizálást végezzenek és az igy kijelölt szöveget többször olvassák el a szünetek és hangfestés begyekorlására.

A hangfestésre sem lehet határozott szabályokat adni, mert nemcsak a szövegtől, hanem az előadó képességétől is függ. Itt lép előtérbe az előadó müvészi érzéke. Ugyanazon költeményt például különböző módon is lehet szavalni. A különbséget a szavalónak az egyénisége szolgáltatja. Némely darabot, illetőleg szerepet a különböző színészek különböző módon játszanak meg és mindezek dacára mindegyik lehet tökéletes. Ugyanezt látjuk a zenészeknél is. Ugyanazt a darabot különböző módon játszák és mindegyiknek a játéka jellemző magára a játékosra. Igy van ez a beszédben vagy az olvasásban alkalmazott hangfestéssel is. A hangfestésre általában csak azt jegyezhetjük meg, hogy annál tökéletesebb, minél inkább képes kidomboritani a szövegben kifejezett érzelmeket vagy gondolatokat.

A szavalás.

A szavalás alatt általában költeményeknek betanulás után való elmondását értjük. Külömbözik annyiban az olvasástól, hogy itt a kiválasztott dolgot betanuljuk és igy szabadon adhatjuk elő. Ebben hasonlit a szónoklathoz is. Azonban mig a szónok (rendesen) a saját maga szerkesztette beszédet mondja el, addig a szavaló a mások által irt költeményt (esetleg széppprózát) adja elő, kivévén azon esetet, amikor a szerző maga szavalja a szerzeményét. A szavalásnál figyelembe ajánlott szabályok tehát többé-kevésbbé érvényesek ugy az olvasásnál, mint a szónoklásnál. Szavalásnál általában a következő dolgokra figyeljünk:

1. **Megválasztás.** Szavalásra olyan költeményt válasszunk, amely a) érdekli a közönségünket; b) és amelynek hangszinezésével meg tudunk küzdeni. A megválasztásra nagy gondot kell forditani, mert még a legjobban elszavalt költeménnyel sem érhetünk el sikert olyan közönség előtt, amelyet a költemény nem érdekel. Például az osztályharc alapján álló munkásszervezetek tagjai előtt a hazafias, soviniszta költeményekkel még a legjobb szavaló sem érhet el lelkesedést, sőt ellenkezőleg, haragot idézhet fel maga ellen.

2. **Átérzés, megértés.** Ahoz, hogy valaki hatásosan szavaljon el valami költeményt, első sorban is az szükséges, hogy az illető maga megértse a költeményt és átérezze az abban lefektetett érzelmeket. Nem kell külön magyaráznunk, hogy ha a szavaló nemérti a költeményben kifejezett gondolatokat, másokkal még kevésbbé tudja azt megértetni. Ugyanez áll az érzelmekre is. Csak azon érzelmeket tudjuk kifejezésre juttatni, amelyeket mi magunk is érzünk. A szavalóknak tehát nemcsak meg kell tanulni a verset, de **meg is kell értenie** és az abban kifejezett érzelmeket **át kell éreznie.**

3. **Illuzió.** A szavalat akkor jó, ha a szavaló képes a hallgatók figyelmét magával ragadni. A hallgatók elfelejtik, hogy csak szavalnak előttük, ugy hiszik, hogy ott vannak a költemény szin-

terén, az események előttük játszódnak le. Látják maguk előtt a költeményben szereplő egyéneket, a leirt tájakat; tanui az eseményeknek. Szóval aféle csalódásban, illuzióban élnek a szavalat hatása alatt. Ilyenkor azt mondjuk, hogy a szavalónak sikerült a költemény **légkörének** a megalkotása (atmoszféra kreálás,) ami a szavaló egyik legfontosabb feladata.

4. **Jellemfestés.** A szavalónak arra kell törekednie, hogy necsak a költeményben leirt eseményeket, de a szereplő személyek jellemeit is megismertesse velünk, hogy azokat magunk elé tudjuk képzelni. Ezt nevezik jellemfestésnek. Az iró maga megalkotja szereplőinek jellemét, de azt a szavalónak kell kidomboritani. Ugyanez áll természetesen az eseményekre és a leirásokra is. Csak ebben az esetben képes a szavaló kifejezésre juttatni a költeményben elhelyezett alapgondolatot.

5. **Alaphang.** Ha a költemény alapgondolatát megtalálja a szavaló, akkor ennek megfelelő alaphangot kell alkalmaznia a költemény elszavalásánál. Ilyen alaphang lehet **közlő, érzelmes, hősi (forradalmi,) gunyos, kétkedő, naiv,** stb.

6. **Erő.** A jellemfestés és az események kidomboritása, a kivánt atmoszféra megteremtése még mindig nem elegendő, ha a szavalatnak bizonyos **erőt** nem kölcsönzünk. Ez a szavalásnak és a szónoklatnak is, hogy ugy mondjuk, a lelke. A szavalásnál vagy olvasásnál alkalmazandó erőre sincs általános mérték, amennyiben ez is függ ugy a szavalat tárgyától, mint a szavaló egyéniségétől.

7. **Gesztusok.** A szavaló ne alkalmazzon tul sok gesztust. A gesztikulálásra különben az az egyetlen szabály, hogy **természetes** legyen. Az erőltetett szinészkedés rossz hatást kelt.

8. **Lámpaláz.** Lámpaláznak nevezik a szavaló vagy szónok azon zavarát, amely elfogja akkor, midőn a közönség elé lép. Ettől azonban kevés gyakorlattal mindenki megszabadulhat. A gyakorlott szavaló nemcsak a lámpaláztól mentes, hanem élesen figyeli a közönséget és uralkodik fölötte. Szemével vagy hangjának az irányitásával figyelemre kényszerit mindenkit.

9. **Siker.** A szavalónak, vagy szónoknak célja mindig a **siker.** Ennek kell tehát mindent alávetni. Sikert azonban csak ugy arathat, ha ugy a tartalom, mint az előadás a tökély bizonyos fokát éri el. Nem lehet sikert aratni értéktelen költemény elszavalásával és még a legjobb költeményt is hatástalanul szavalja el a kezdetleges szavaló. A szavalónak arra kell törekednie, hogy hallgatói vele érezzenek, vele gondolkozzanak. A hallgatók aggódjanak a hős sorsáért, a szavalóval együtt kövessék a szerencsés vagy szerencsétlen bonyodalmakat, vele fontolgassák az érveket és együtt vonják le a következtetést. A siker nem a véletlen müve, **hanem az alapos készülés, a tanulás és a tudás eredménye.**

10. **Kritika.** Ajánlatos, hogy a rhetorikai tanfolyamokon a tanulók minél többet szavaljanak. Az ilyen szavalatokat aztán a tanulók birálják felül. Az ilyen birálatok célja egyrészről a szavalás szabályainak begyakorlását könnyebbiti meg, másrészről hozzászoktatja a tanulókat a rövid önálló beszédek elkészitéséhez.

Valamely szavalat vagy olvasás elbirálásánál első sorban is azt kell néznünk, hogy a szavaló a költeményt képes volt-e megértetni velünk. A költeményben leirt érzelmeket átérezte-e, jobban mondva átéreztette-e a hallgatókkal. Eltalálta-e az alaphangot, milyen volt az általános fellépése. Csak az ilyen általános birálat után térünk át a részletek, mint például az egyes helyeken alkalmazott hangfestés, a sebesség, a szünetek, artikuláció, a gesztusok, stb. birálatára. A birálat azonban nemcsak abból áll, hogy a hibákra rámutatunk, de az **érdemet** is el kell ismerni, ahol annak helye van. A kritikának nemcsak **romboló,** de **épitőnek** is kell lennie. A kritikánál az irányadó mindig az legyen, hogy lehet jobbat, tökéletesebbet produkálni a bemutatottnál.

A SZERKESZTÉS ELEMEI.

A szerkesztés általános szabályai.

Midőn beszédet szerkesztünk, vagy valamilyen irásos müvet készitünk (például hirlapi cikket) első sorban is a nyelvtani szabályok betartására kell ügyelnünk. A munkások részére rendezett rhetorikai tanfolyamoknak a nyelvtani szabályok ismertetésére, különösen pedig a helyesirás elemeinek tanitására is ki kell terjeszkedni, mert a munkásoknak nem volt alkalmuk ezeket az elemi iskolákban elsajátitani. Az ily szabályok felsorolásának azonban itt nem sok értelme lenne, miután azokat a gyakorlati alkalmazás utján lehet legjobban tanitani. A tanfolyamok vezetőinek tehát erre is ki kell terjeszkedni. A tanulók készitsenek házi feladatokat és a vezető azokon jelölje meg a hibákat. Itt tehát mellőzzük a nyelvtani szabályokat. Azonban a szerkesztésre vonatkozólag adhatunk több olyan általános szabályt, amelyek többé-kevésbbé függetlenek a nyelvtantól. Ezek a következők:

1. Irásos dolgozatok készitésénél ügyelni kell a kézirásra, hogy az tiszta és olvasható legyen. Az elhányt irás rossz benyomást kelt.

2. Lapok részére küldött kéziratoknál csak a papir egyik oldalára kell irni, a másik oldal üresen marad. Fontos azonban, hogy mielőtt kiadnánk kezünkből a kéziratot, **mindig nézzük át.** Az átnézésnél számos hibát kijavithatunk, amelyet az irás alatt nem vettünk észre.

3. Ügyelni kell a mondatokra és a bekezdésekre. Irjunk rövid és értelmes mondatokat. A kezdő iró belezavarodik a hosszu mondatokba. Minden gondolatcsoport külön szakaszt képez és azért ilyenkor uj bekezdést kell alkalmazni. Ugyancsak vigyázni kell a pontozásra és a nagybetük használatára is.

4. Magyar fogalmazványban lehetőleg mindent magyarul irjunk, a magyar neveket is magyarosan. Irjuk tehát Kovács Pétert és ne Péter Kovácsot. Idegen nevekben azonban megmaradhat a forditott sorrend, pl. Karl Marx. Általában kerüljük az idegen szavakat és az idegen kifejezéseket, mint például az "egy" határozatlan indokolatlan használata. Ilyen az u. n. passziv forma is, pl.: "Meg lett mondva neki." Ezt helyesen igy kell mondani: Megmondották neki.

5. Kerüljük a tájszavakat és tájkiejtés szerinti irást. Mindig a müvelt ember által használt köznyelvet kell követnünk. Kerüljük a prózai müvekben a rimeket is, mert azok az ilyen irásokban kellemetlenül hatnak.

6. Ügyelni kell arra, hogy a fogalmazvány ne legyen **zavaros.** Vigyázni kell, hogy ne maradjon el a mondatnak egy-egy része, ami aztán értelmetlenséget okozna.

7. Legyen a fogalmazvány **szabatos.** Ez alatt azt értjük, hogy ne legyenek benne fölösleges dolgok. Ne használjunk benne több szót, mint kellene. Ha tulsok szót használunk, akkor az ilyen irás **pongyola** vagy **vizenyős,** lesz. De nem szabad kevesebb szót sem használni, mint amennyire szükségünk van, mert ezzel ártunk az értelemnek. Lehet az irásmü **tömör,** de ne legyen szükszavu.

8. Minden irodalmi müben **egységnek** kell lenni. Egység van a müben akkor, ha csak egy tárgyról szól és nem kalandozik el. A mü azon részét, amely nem tartozik szorosan a tárgyhoz **kitérések** vagy **epizódnak** mondjuk. Az epizódnak csak akkor van helye, ha a tárgy valamilyen megvilágitásra szolgál.

9. Legyen a müben **haladás,** vagyis fokozatosan haladjon a kitüzött probléma megoldása felé. Ne mondja előbb azt, amit utóbb kellene mondani, vagy forditva.

10. Kerüljük az **ellentéteket.** Ellentét akkor van a müben, ha utóbb megcáfoljuk, amit előbb mondottunk.

11. Legyen a mü **teljes,** vagyis oldja meg teljesen azt a problémát, aminek megoldására készitették, ne hagyjon ürt maga után.

Midőn valamit közölni akarunk embertársainkkal akár az irás, akár az élőszó vagy a müvészetek által, először is meg kell gondolnunk, hogy mit akarunk kifejezésre juttatni, vagyis kigondoljuk a közlés tárgyát, az alapeszméjét. Más szóval ezt ugy mondjuk, hogy megválasztjuk tárgyunkat. Midőn a tárgyat megválasztottuk, akkor összeszedjük a tárgyra vonatkozó ismereteinket. Ezen ismereteket aztán elrendezzük és csak akkor foghatunk hozzá a kidolgozáshoz.

A szerkesztés tehát lényegében három részből áll: **1. kigondolás, 2. anyaggyüjtés és elrendezés, 3. kidolgozás.**

Kigondolás.

A **kigondolás** vagy **feltalálás** a mü keletkezésének első mozzanata. Az iró vagy szónok fejében megszületik a mü eszméje. Ez az eszme költi fel mindazon ismereteket, amelyeket aztán közölni kiván a közönségével. A jó szónok csak akkor beszél, a jó iró csak akkor ir, ha van valami mondanivalója, ha van valami eszméje, amit közölni akar embertársaival és amiről feltételezi, hogy közérdekü. Nem kell tehát irni vagy beszélni csak azért, hogy szerepeljünk, ha nincs semmi mondani valónk.

A kigondolás függ az iró vagy szónok érzékenységétől. A látott és hallott vagy olvasott dolgok az emberre hatással vannak és uj gondolatokat váltanak ki belőle. Ez azonban mindig függ az egyéntől. Azért mondjuk, hogy az egyik ember **feltaláló**, vagy **invenció** képessége nagyobb, mint a másiké.

Az emberre hatással vannak ugy a **térbeli**, mint az **időbeli** dolgok. Ezeknek némelyike az értelemre, másika a képzeletre vagy az érzelmekre hat. A kigondolásnál tehát az **értelem, képzelet** és az **érzelem** szolgáltatják azt a forrást, ahonnan merithetünk.

Az **értelem** a külső világ eseményeinek a felfogója, számontartója. Az értelem alkotja meg az ismeretek rendszerét, amely mint tárház áll rendelkezésünkre a mü elkészitésénél. A **képzelet** leginkább akkor szolgál a kigondolás forrásául, ha a mü célja a szórakoztatás. A regényirodalom és a költészet a képzelet forrásából merit legtöbbet. Az **érzelmek,** mint például a lelkesedés, a szeretet, gyülölet, hála, stb. szintén gyakran szolgálnak a kigondolás forrásául.

De bármi is szolgáljon forrásul a mü alapeszméjének kigondolásánál, mindig figyelembe kell vennünk a következőket:

1. A megválasztott tárgy érdekelje a közönségünket, vagyis a kigondolásnál számitásba kell venni azt a közönséget is, amelyhez szólni kivánunk.

2. Magunk is kedveljük a megválasztott tárgyat. Nem elég az, hogy csak a közönséget érdekelje, hanem az irót vagy a szónokot is, különben képtelen azzal ugy foglalkozni, hogy a közönséget kielégitse.

3. Kellő ismeretünk legyen a tárgyról. Ez azt jelenti, hogy ne vállalkozzunk olyan tárgy ismertetésére, amelyet mi magunk sem ismerünk eléggé.

4. Olyan legyen a tárgy, hogy a rendelkezésünkre álló időben vagy helyen ki lehessen meriteni. Nevetséges dolog volna például félórás előadásban, vagy két hasábos cikkben az emberiség történetét ismertetni. Vigyázni kell arra is, hogy a tárgyunkat élesen körvonalozni lehessen. Igy például ez a tárgy "A civilizáció" nagyon tágkörü. Meg kell mondani, hogy milyen szempontból kivánunk az ilyen tárggyal foglalkozni. Pl.: "A civilizáció hatása a termelésre." Ez már szükebb körü.

5. Legyen a tárgy ujszerü és ne elcsépelt, amit már mindenki ismer és mindenki megunt.

Anyaggyüjtés és elrendezés.

Didőn a tárgyat megválasztottuk, akkor összeszedjük a tárgyra vonatkozó ismereteket, vagyis **anyagot gyüjtünk.** Az anyaggyüjtés történhetik **kivülről,** vagy **önmagától.**

a) Kivülről való anyaggyüjtésnek nevezzük az olvasást, a szakkönyvek tanulását, előadások hallgatását, vitatkozást, stb. Szóval azon eseteket, amidőn másoktól nyerjük az ismereteket.

b) Önmagunkból nyerjük az ismereteket a megfigyelés, gondolkodás és a következtetés révén.

A kivülről való anyaggyüjtésnél első sorban is a tárgy szakirodalmához kell fordulnunk. Ma már alig tudunk olyan tárgyat kigondolni, amelynek ne volna meg a maga terjedelmes irodalma. Az egy tárgyra vonatkozó könyvek, füzetek és cikkek összességét a tárgy **bibliografiá**-ja névvel jelöljük. Igy pl. az IWW-ról irt könyvek és füzetek adják az IWW bibliografiáját. Brissenden a "The IWW" cimü müvében több mint 400 könyvet és füzetet sorol fel az IWW bibliografiájában. A nagyobb enciklopédiák (lexikonok) minden fontosabb tárgy után felsorolják a tárgy bibliografiájának jelentősebb müveit. Éppen ez teszi az enciklopédiákat értékessé.

Ha már összegyüjtöttük az anyagot, akkor annak elrendezéséhez (dispozició) fogunk. Az összeszedett anyagból ki kell választanunk azt, amire szükségünk van és az igy kiválogatott anyagot megfelelő sorrendbe kell raknunk. Ebben a munkában az **itélet** és **izlés** vezetnek bennünket. Az itélőképességünknek kell eldönteni, hogy az összegyüjtött anyagban mi a fontos, mi a lényegtelen. Azonban, hogy valami jó, helyes, illő, vagy nem illő, stb. afölött az izlés dönt.

A tulajdonképeni elrendezés abból áll, hogy az anyagot a mü három főrészébe osztjuk be. Ezek a részek a **bevezetés, tárgyalás** és **befejezés.** A kész müben a feltalálás mint a mü **alapeszméje** jelentkezik. Az elrendezést a **szerkezetben** látjuk és a kidolgozás eredménye az **előadás.**

Kidolgozás.

A kidolgozás (kompozició) az előadás nemének a megválasztása, a stilus megszabása, stb. A kidolgozás módja az, ami az olvasó vagy a hallgató előtt érthetővé teszi a müvet. A kidolgozás első feltétele az, hogy a szorosan egymáshoz tartozó dolgokat egymás mellett soroljuk fel. Ezzel a münek bizonyos **tagoltságot** adunk.

Minden irásos müben vagy szónoklatban megkülönböztetünk **bevezetést, tárgyalást** és **befejezést.**

a) Bevezetés.

A bevezetés, mint maga a név is mutatja, a münek a legelső része, (Szépirodalmi müveknél kivételt képezhet.) A bevezetés tájékoztatja a közönséget, hogy a müben miről is lesz szó, megadja a mü alapeszméjét. A jó bevezetés felkölti az olvasó (vagy hallgató) érdeklődését és biztositja azt a tárgyalás részére. A szónoknak különösen nagy gondot kell forditani a bevezetésre, mert a hallgatcság rokonszenvét már ezzel biztositania kell, hogy a későbbi mondanivalóját érdeklődéssel hallgassák.

A bevezetés legyen rövid, érdekes, figyelmet keltő. Ne legyen benne semmi fölösleges, de azért ne legyen tulságos rövid sem. Ne legyen mesterkélt, hanem természetes. A jó bevezetés simán, alig észrevehető módon megy át a tárgyalásba. A bevezetés a következő részekből állhat:

1. **Megszólitás.** Ez mindössze pár szóbcl áll, amelyben a szónok a közönség iránti tiszteletének ad kifejezést. Ezt azonban igen sok esetben el is hagyják.

2. **A tárgy időszerüségének ismertetése.** Elmondja, hogy mi késztette a szónokot (irót) arra, hogy a szóbanforgó tárggyal éppen most foglalkozzon.

3. A tárgy rövid **definiciója,** szabatos magyarázata.

4. Ismerteti pár szóban a **tárgy történetét.**

5. Megadja a **mü célját.** Megmondja, hogy mi a célja a beszédnek, vagy az irásos münek (értekezéseknek.) Ennek megfelelőleg korlátozza a tárgyat, vagyis körvonalazza a mü kereteit. Megmondja, hogy a szóbanforgó kérdéssel milyen szempontból kiván foglalkozni.

6. **Átmenetet nyujt** a második részhez, a tárgyaláshoz.

b) Tárgyalás.

A mü tulajdonképpen azért készül, hogy elmondhassuk azon dolgokat, amit ez a rész tartalmaz, igy tehát a tárgyalás a mü legfontosabb része.

A tárgyalás a beszéd középső része, amelyben előadjuk a tárgyra vonatkozó összes fontosabb ismereteinket.

Ezeket azonban bizonyos rendszerbe kell foglalnunk. A tárgyalás tehát a tárgy rendszeres és részletes ismertetését tartalmazza. Ennek a résznek a megszerkesztése adja a legnagyobb gondot. Tartalmazhatja általában a következő dolgokat:

1. A tárgyra vonatkozó **általános ismereteket,** szóval azon dolgokat, amelyeket a közönség is ismer már.

2. A tárgyra vonatkozó **uj adatok.** Ezek azon uj adatok, amelyekkel a szónok (vagy iró) járul hozzá a tárgy ismeretkörének tágitásához.

3. A különösen fontos dolgok felsorakoztatása. Felsorolása mindazon érveknek, amelyek az előbbi pontokban megtett állitásokat bizonyitják. Az értekezésekben és a szónoklatban ezen részt tekinthetjük a legfontosabbnak.

4. **Az ellenérvek** ismertetése és azok lerombolása. Az ellenezők véleményének ismertetése és azoknak megnyugtatása, illetőleg megnyerése.

5. **A szaktekintélyek,** autoritások megszólaltatása.

6. **Példák** és **párhuzamok** felsorolása.

7. **Átmenet a befejezéshez.**

Ez a sorrend természetesen változik a mü természete és az előadó vagy iró egyénisége szerint. Nem is találjuk meg mindenütt az itt felsorolt pontokat, de a kezdő szónok vagy iró helyesen teszi, ha jó ideig betartja azokat. Azonban akár figyelembe vesszük ezen pontokat akár nem, minden esetben arra kell ügyelnünk, hogy a tárgyalás **rendszeres legyen.** Ne ugorjunk át egyik gondolatról a másikra, mig az előbbit teljesen be nem fejeztük. Ügyeljünk arra, hogy a legfontosabb gondolatnak adjunk legtöbb teret. A tárgyalás meritse ki teljesen a tárgyat, nehogy mikor már befejeztük ezt a részt, akkor álljunk elő azzal, hogy ezt vagy azt kifelejtettük. Ne keverjünk a tárgyalásba olyan dolgokat, amelyek nem tartoznak a tárgyhoz, vagyis ne kalandozzunk el csak azért, hogy a tárgyalást nyujtsuk. És végül vezessen a tárgyalás természetesen a befejezéséhez.

c) Befejezés.

A befejezés munkánk eredményét törekszik biztositani. Éppen azért erre is igen nagy gondot kell forditani. Általában a következő részeket tartalmazza:

1. **összefoglalja** röviden a legfontosabb érveket.

2. Kimondja a **következtetést** (konkluzió.) Megmondja, hogy valójában mit is akartunk ezzel a müvel.

3. Az értelemre vagy az érzelmekre apellálva **befejezi a müvet.** Miután megmondottuk, hogy mit akarunk, mi a célunk, a közönséget a cselekvésre szólitjuk annak érdekében, ha a tárgyunk ilyen természetü.

A bevezetésnek, tárgyalásnak és a befejezésnek egymáshoz arányosnak kell lenniök. Ezt az arányt természetesen pontosan megadni nem lehet, mert az a tárgy természetétől függ. Azonban szokásban van, hogy ugy a bevezetés, mint a befejezés körülbelül egy hatoda vagy egy nyolcada legyen az egész münek. Eszerint az egy órás beszédben elgendő a 7—8 perces bevezetés és az ugyanilyen, vagy még rövidebb befejezés. A befejezés lehetőleg legyen rövid. Nagyobb müveknél a bevezetés és a befejezés egészen különálló részeket is alkothatnak, az értekezésnél és a beszédeknél azonban csak egy-két szakaszt foglalnak le.

ÁLTALÁNOS SZABÁLYOK.

A beszédről általában.

Az eddigiekben részletesen ismertettük mindazon szabályokat, amelyek a kezdő szónokot elősegitik. Nyomatékosan hangsulyozni kivánjuk, **hogy az itt elsorolt szabályok a szónok segitségére és nem korlátozására valók.** Mondottuk, hogy a szónoklat a müvészetek körébe is számitható. Már pedig közismert tény, hogy a müvészetek nem ismernek szabályokat. Ez azonban korántsem jelenti azt, hogy aki a szabályokat nem ismeri, már kész müvész, vagyis a mi esetünkben kiváló szónok csak azért, mert a szónoklat szabályait nem tanulta meg. A jó szónoknak már nincs szüksége szabályokra. Maga alkot szabályokat és ahol áthágja a régi szabályokat, ott tökéletesebbet alkot. **A kezdő szónokot azonban az itt tárgyalt rhetorikai ismeretek segitik ugy a beszéd elkészitésében, mint hatásos elmondásában.**

Az eddig felsorolt szabályok és tanácsokon kivül a beszédre vonatkozólag még a következőkre kivánjuk felhivni a kezdő szónok figyelmét:

A kezdő szónok mindig készitse el a beszédét teljesen, tanulja be és ugy mondja el. Sőt még az elmondást is gyakorolja. Aki igy kezd hozzá ahoz, hogy önmagát szónokká képezze, azt a kezdetnél tapasztalható csalódások nem fogják visszariasztani és végre is boldogul. A beszéd készitésénél ajánlatos a szerkesztés szabályainál adott tanácsok figyelembevételével a vázlat elkészitése. A gyakoroltabb szónoknak már elég, ha egyszerüen a vázlatot késziti el és a részletes kidolgozást előadás közben is végezheti. Azonban még az ilyen szónoknak is azt tanácsoljuk, hogy ne térjen el a vázlattól. Csak nagyon kevés az oly szónokok száma, akik értékes rögtönzött beszédeket tudnak mondani.

A szónoknak első feladata legyen, hogy a tárgyat alaposan tanulmányozza át. Különösen a munkásmozgalmi kérdésekkel foglalkozó szónoknak kell erre nagy gondot forditani, mert a munkásgyüléseken szokásos a szónokhoz kérdéseket is intézni. Vannak egyes emberek, akik hajlandók bármiféle tárgyról minden előkészület nélkül is beszélni. Az ilyen szónok nem ád semmi értékeset. Mint mondani szokás, csak "hasból" beszél és a saját, meg a közönségnek idejét lopja. Csak az a szónok számithat elismerésre, akinek a beszéde nem üres, hanem van benne valami értékes gondolat is.

A beszédnek legyen mindig valami alapgondolata, valami "magja," aminek a megvilágitása a szónok célja. Nem szükséges, hogy a tárgy "eredeti" legyen, azonban a szónok a tárgykörhöz uj gondolattal is járuljon hozzá. A szónok átdolgozhatja mások gondolatait, de szószerint mások irásait vagy beszédeit ne mondja el. Ha valamit idéz, akkor nevezze meg az idézet szerzőjét, vagy a forrást, ahonnan veszi.

Az előadásban sem kell más, ismertebb szónokokat utánozni. Leghelyesebb a természetes viselkedés. Általában ugy viselkedjen a szónok, hogy a közönség kellő tiszteletet mutasson iránta. Ha tulságosan szinészkedik, vagy nagyon erélytelen, félénk, akkor a közönségben nem tudja felkelteni azt a tiszteletet, amely okvetlenül szükséges ahoz, hogy kellő érdeklődéssel kisérjék a szavait.

A beszéd hosszára nem lehet határozott szabályt adni, mert az függ a tárgytól és azon körülményektől, amelyek közt a beszédet el kell mondani. A tulságos hosszu beszédet azonban minden körülmények között kerülni kell. Inkább legyen a beszéd rövid, mint hosszu. Munkásgyüléseken szokásos ugyan másfél órás beszédeket is mondani, de az egy órás beszédeket szivesebben veszi a hallgatóság. Az a szónok, aki tulhosszura nyujtja beszédét, visszaél a közönség tehetetlenségével és ahelyett, hogy megnyerné céljainak a közönséget, ellenszenvet támaszt maga és gyakran az általa hirdetett eszme iránt is.

A beszédeket rendesen a közönség megszólitásával kezdjük. A polgári szónokok nagy sulyt helyeznek a megszólitásra, mert ezzel mintegy a közönség kegyeibe akarják magukat behizelegni. A munkásgyüléseken azonban "émelygősen" hangzanak a hosszas és alázatos megszólitások. Az egyszerü "elvtársak" vagy "munkástársak" teljesen elegendő és megszokott megszólitások.

A beszéd befejezésére elő kell késziteni a hallgatókat. A mikor aztán elmondottuk a befejezésre szánt szavakat, ne folytassuk tovább a beszédet azon ürügy alatt, hogy valamit előbb "elfelejtettünk." Az elfelejtett dolgoknak a beszéd végén való elmondása sokkal többet árt, mint használ. A beszéd vázlatának elkészitésénél a következő sorrendet követhetjük:

1. Megszólitás.
2. A tárgy időszerüsége.

3. A tárgy definiciója.
4. A tárgy története.
5. Az előadás célja.
6. Általános ismeretek a tárgyról.
7. Uj adatok.
8. A legfontosabb érvek.
9. Ellenérvek és azok cáfolatai.
10. A szaktekintélyek idézése.
11. Példák és párhuzamok felsoro lása.
12. Öszefoglalás.
13. A konkluzió kimondása.
14. Az értelemre vagy az érzelmekre való hivatkozás.

BESZÉD VÁZLAT.

Az alábbiakban bemutatjuk egy beszédnek a vázlatát. A beszéd cime:

Ipari szolidaritás.

Megszólitás. Tisztelt Munkástársak!

Időszerüség. Mindannyian élénken emlékszenek még az angol bányászok sztrájkjára, amely rémületbe ejtette nemcsak Anglia, de az egész világ kapitalistáit. A nagy rémületre az adott okot, hogy a bányászokal szolidaritást vállaltak a velük szövetségben álló szállitó munkások és a vasuti alkalmazottak is. A nagy rémület azonban egyszerre nagy ujjongás váltotta fel, amikor a szállitó munkások és a vasutasok vezetői e két szervezet nevében a szolidaritás feladására határozták el magukat. Igy tehát tisztán láttuk, hogy az ipari szolidaritás milyen fontos szerepet tölt be a munkásság harcaiban és azért megérdemli ez a tárgy, hogy bővebben is megismerjük.

Története. **A szolidaritás** fogalma nem uj dolog. A munkásmozgalom résztvevői már nagyon régen ismerik. Szolidaritás alatt a munkások eddig nagy általánosságban azt értették, hogy szolidaritást vállaltak azzal a munkással, akit sérelem ért a munkáltató részéről. Megtörtént néha, hogy nem egyes munkással, hanem munkáscsoporttal vállaltak szolidaritást.

Definició. Ha magunkévá tesszük azt az igazságot, hogy a munkásosztály érdekei azonosak az egész világon, akkor a szolidaritás fogalmát az egész munkásosztályra kell értenünk. Miután az is közismert tény, hogy a munkásság ereje a munkaerejében nyilvánul, és miután a munkások iparok szerint dolgoznak együtt, a munkásság erejének az **ipari szolidaritás** utján adhat kifejezést.

Cél. Ezen előadás meg fogja önöket győzni arról, hogy az ipari szolidaritás az a fegyver, amellyel a munkásosztály megvivhatja a felszabaditásáért folyó küzdelmet. De egyben az ipari szolidaritás fegyverével küzdhet legsikeresebben a mindennapi előnyökért folyó harcaiban is. Ezért a munkásságnak olyan szervezetekben kell egyesülni, amelyek az ipari szolidaritás fegyverével küzdenek.

Általános ismeretek. Az ipari szolidaritás fegyverének hatásos volta ma már nagyon természetesnek látszik. Azonban mindezek dacára még ma is tekintélyes számu taggal rendelkező szervezetek azt tartják, hogy a munkások szolidaritását korlátozni kell. Ily korlátok gyanánt megjelölik a vallást, a bőr szinét, a nemzetiséget, a nemet, de leginkább a szerszámot. Az ilyen szervezetek, (szakszervezetek) azt tartják, hogy a munkások csak akkor vállaljanak szolidaritást egymással, ha azonos szerszámokkal dolgoznak. Sőt még az azonos szerszámmal dolgozók közül is megtagadták a közösséget azokkal, akiknek más szinü bőrük volt, vagy más vallás hiveinek mondották magukat. De megtagadták a szolidaritást azoktól is, akik nem voltak képesek lefizetni a magas felvételi dijakat. Az ilyen munkások aztán kénytelenek voltak sztrájktörőkké lenni. A szakszervezetek tehát nem a munkásosztály szolidaritását, hanem legfeljebb csak szakmai szolidaritást hirdettek és még azt is korlátozták.

Uj ismeretek. Az ipariszervezetek, mint pl. az IWW is, egyetlen nagy **osztályszervezetbe** tömöritik a munkásokat, tehát az ipari szolidaritás igazi kifejezői. Hogy az IWW megalapitói milyen tisztán látták az ipari szolidaritás fogalmát, az kitünt az 1912-ben folytatott lawrencei sztrájknál, amelyben a legkülönbözőbb nemzetiséghez tartozó, egymás nyelvét nem értő, szaktudással nem rendelkező munkástömegek vettek részt. Itt a jelszó az azóta közismertté lett "Egy mindért és mind egyért" volt. Az ipari szolidaritást tehát nem korlátozták, hanem az alatt az összmunkásság szolidaritását értették.

Hogy az IWW is ilyen módon értelmezi az ipari szolidaritást, annak több izben is kifejezést adott. 1920-ban a tagság helyeslése mellett kizárta azon philadelphiai rakodó munkásokat, akik municiót raktak hajókra az orosz ellenforradalmárok részére. Az angol bányászok sztrájkjával kapcsolatban pedig szolidaritásra szólitotta fel Amerika munkásait.

Az ipari szolidaritás hivei tudományos alapon állanak, mert maga az ipari szolidaritás a megfigyelés által szerzett tapasztalatok eredménye, ez pedig szigoruan tudományos módszerre vall. Az ipari szolidaritás hirdetői megfigyelték az iparok fejlődését és a szemük előtt folyó eseményekből azt következtették, hogy minden modern ipari államban a politikai hatalom csak árnyékává lett a gazdasági hatalomnak. A modern ipari államokban az igazi hatalom nem a politikai kormányok, hanem az ipar- és a pénzfejedelmek kezeiben van és ezt a hatalmat a munkások kizsákmányolásával tartják fenn, amire a termelő eszközök tulajdonjoga képesiti őket. Ezért a hatalmuk megtörésére az egyetlen ut a termelő eszközök felszabaditása a magántulajdonból, vagyis köztulajdonba vétele a munkások által. A termelő eszközök lefoglalása azonban csak a termelés szinterén mehet véghez, tehát **ipari akció** utján, amihez elengedhetetlen a munkások ipari szolidaritása.

Ellenérvek. Vannak, akik a munkásság felszabaditásához elegendőnek tartják a politikai állam meghóditását. Ezek azzal érvelnek, hogy a politikai állam meghóditása után a megszerzett politikai hatalommal a kizsákmányolást meg lehet szüntetni. Láttuk azonban, hogy több európai országban a szociáldemokrata pártok hatalomra jutottak és még sem tudták megszüntetni a kizsákmányolást, sőt éppen ellenkezőleg, annak védőivé lettek.

Szaktekintélyek. Már Marx és Engels kimondották a "Kommunisták Kiáltványá"-ban, "Világ proletárjai egyesüljetek!" Ez világos felhivás az ipari szolidaritásra.

Fontos adatok. Valójában azonban a munkásságnak nem a termelő eszközökre, hanem a **termelvényekre** van szüksége. Csak a termelvények elkészitésének céljából kellenek a gépek. A gép azonban még nem elegendő a termeléshez. Nem elegendő a gép a munkaerő együttvéve sem. A termelvények előállitására szükségünk van a termelő szervek bizonyos szervezettségére. A termelő szerveket ma a kapitalizmus a profit érdekében tartja munkában, vagyis a profit érdekében a kapitalizmus kifejlesztette azon munkaszervezeteket, amelyek bizonyos termelvényeket előállitanak. A munkásoknak át kell venni ezen munkaszervezeteket, hogy a termelést irányitani tudják. A munkásoknak azonban nemcsak egy műhelyben, hanem az egész iparban, sőt az össztermelésben is kooperálni kell. **Mással érvényt kell szerezni az ipari szolidaritásnak a legtágabb értelemben.** Ilyen ipari szolidaritás nélkül hiába vesszük birtokunkba a gépeket, a termelést nem tudjuk folytatni. Csakis az iparok szervezése, a tudatos s rendszeres termelés, másszóval az ipariszolidaritás képes meghozni azt a jólétet, amely nélkül a munkásság felszabaditása nem érne sokat.

Összegezés. Az ipari szolidaritásra tehát szükség van a nemzetközi munkásmozgalom szempontjából. Szoviet Oroszország és annak idején a Magyar Tanácsköztársaság is ezt kérték a világ munkásságától. De szükség van az ipari szolidaritásra ugy a mindennapi bérharcoknál, mint a termelőeszközök lefoglalásánál is. Miután a termelő eszközöket a termelés szinterén kell lefoglalni, azt csak az együtt dolgozó munkások szolidaritása estén lehet keresztül vinni és megint csak a teljes ipari szolidaritás az, amely erőt ad ahoz, hogy a termelő eszközöket meg is tudjuk tartani.

De legfőképpen szükség van az ipari szolidaritásra azért, mert csak ez tesz képessé bennünket a termelő eszközök hatásos használatára. Csak az ipari szolidaritással tudjuk előállitani azon javakat, amelyekre a társadalomnak szüksége van és a bérrabszolgaság megszüntetése csak akkor válik a munkásság javára.

Konkluzió. Az Egyesült Államokban, — sőt nagyitás nélkül mondva, talán az egész világon az Industrial Workers of the World (Világ Ipari Munkásai) szervezet fejezi ki legtökéletesebben az ipari szolidaritást. Elvinyilatkozata, szerkezeti formája, harci taktikája, mind az ipari szolidaritás kifejezésére törekszenek. És miután az uj társadalom lényegét az képezi, hogy az emberek milliói az ipari szolidaritás alapján termelik meg szükségleteiket az IWW már most épiti az uj társadalmat, mert épiti azokat az ipari szervezeteket, amelyek az ipari szolidaritást érvényre juttatják.

Felhivás. Az IWW tudatában fontos missziójának hivja fel a világ összes bérmunkásait, hogy csatlakozzanak ipari szervezeteihez és siettessék azt a társadalmat, a melyet nem a profit, hanem az ipari szolidaritás fog irányitani.

A vita.

Vita alatt az olyan beszédeket értjük, amelynél két vagy több ellenfél bizonyos kérdésben az igazságot akarja megállapitani, illetőleg mindkét fél az általa elfoglalt álláspontot védi, vagyis az igazát bizonyitja. Az angol nyelvü országokban a viták sokkal népszerübbek, mint Magyarországon. Amerikában is igen gyakoriak a közérdekü kérdések felett rendezett nyilvános viták. A vitáknál természetesen a szónoknak minden képességét igénybe kell venni, sokkal jobban, mintha csak egyszerü beszédet tartana. Vitánál a következő általános szabályokat vehetjük figyelembe:

1. Először is meg kell állapodnunk a tárgykörben. Ennek olyannak kell lenni, hogy ugy a közönséget, mint a vitázó feleket érdekelje. Tegyük fel, hogy a kiválasztott tárgykör a halálbüntetésre vonatkozik.

2. A tárgykörből kiválasztjuk a vita **propozicióját,** a vita kérdését. Ennek élesnek kell lenni ugy, hogy arra az **igen** vagy **nem** szóval válaszolni lehessen. Ha a vita propozició nem éles, akkor a vitázók más és más szempontból szólnak a tárgyhoz és vitázás helyett "elmennek egymás mellett," — mint mondani szokták. Tegyük fel, hogy a vita a halálbüntetés tárgyköréből folyik, de minden élesebb propozició korlátozása nélkül. Ebben az esetben az egyik vitázó a halálbüntetés erkölcsi hatásáról, a másik esetleg a halálbüntetés szükségességéről beszél és egyáltalában nem lesz vita. Ha azonban ebből a tárgykörből megszabják ezt propoziciót: "A halálbüntetés eltörlendő." Ebben a vitatkozónak csak arról lehet beszélni, hogy eltörlendő-e vagy sem. Szóval a vita élessé lesz.

3. Az első szónok késziti elő a közönséget a vita anyagának ismertetésére. Azért ez hosszabb bevezetést nyujt. A bevezetésben ismerteti a vita propozicióját és korlátozza a vita tárgyát.

4. A vitakérdés mindkét oldalát (pozitiv és negativ) ismertetjük.

5. Nemcsak a saját érveinket mondjuk el, hanem igyekezzünk az ellenfél érveit lerombolni. Azért a vitázónak el kell készülnie ugy, hogy a vitakérdés mindkét oldaláról felhozható érveket ismerje.

6. A befejezésnél összefoglaljuk ugy a saját, mint az ellenfél által adott érveket és a közönség itéletére, esetleg érzelmeire apellálunk.

A vitázónak még a szónoknál is nagyobb szüksége van arra, hogy vázlatot készitsen. Ebben a vázlatban helyet kell adnia az ellenkező oldalról felhozható érveknek is. Az ellenfél érveinek megcáfolása csaknem olyan fontos, mint a saját adatai igazságának a bizonyitása. Az előbbi vita propozicióra ilyenforma vázlatot készithetünk.

VITA-VÁZLAT.

A halálbüntetés eltörlendő.

Bevezetés. Midőn a mai társadalom kialakult, szükségesnek látszott, hogy valami büntetést alkalmazzanak azokra, akik a közönség érdekei ellen vétenek. A különböző büntetteknek elbirálása nagyon változóvá alakult, de egyes büncselekményeket már a legrégibb időkben is halállal büntettek. Ily bűntények voltak a gyilkosság, hazaárulás, erőszakos fosztogatás, hajó felgyujtása a nyilt tengeren, stb.

Definició. Kezdetleges társadalmaknál a gyilkosságot rendesen az áldozat rokonai vagy barátai megbosszulták. Ma ezt "vérbosszu" néven ismerjük. Azonban valamely bűnténynek ily módon való büntetését nem nevezzük halálbüntetésnek. Halálbüntetés alatt értjük a bűnténynek valamely állam törvényei nevében hivatalos fórumok által halállal való büntetését.

Története. A halálbüntetés eredete az ősidők homályába vész el. Az ókori leletek között talált iratok bizonyitják, hogy a halálbüntetést már az egyiptomiak, a babiloniaiak és a többi ókori népek alkalmazták. Az évezredeken át való használata révén az embereknek ma ugy tünik fel, mintha egészen természetes volna. Az uj idők azonban uj eszméket hoztak. A szabadabb gondolkodás, amely a civilizáció jellemző tulajdonsága, magával hozta a halálbüntetés elleni agitációt is. De mint az már magától értetődik, a konzervativ gondolkozásuak ragaszkodnak a régi intézményekhez, igy a halálbüntetéshez is. Most tehát vita kérdésévé lett, hogy vajjon a halálbüntetést megszüntessék-e vagy sem.

SZABÁLYOK A GYÜLÉSEK VEZETÉSÉRE.

A gyülés szervezése.

Bármi legyen is a gyülés célja, eredményes munkát csak ugy végezhet, ha a gyülést az általánosan elfogadott **parlamentáris szabályok** szerint vezetik. A munkásgyüléseken igen sok esetben nagyon kevés munkát végeznek, mert nem ismerik a szabályokat. Az olyan gyüléseken, ahol sem a gyülésvezető, sem pedig a tagok nem ismerik a gyülések vezetésénél alkalmazott parlamentáris szabályokat, az időt értéktelen vitákkal pazarolják el. Az ily szabályok ismerete tehát egyrészről az ülés sima menetét biztositja, másrészről pedig sok haszontalan pazarlástól óvja meg a gyülekezetet.

A gyülés szabályszerü vezetéséhez elsősorban is a gyülekezet szabályszerü szervezése szükséges. Ha a gyülés tagjai első izben jöttek össze, akkor az egybehivók valamelyike nyitja meg a gyülést. Ebben az esetben az ülés megnyitójának csak pár szóval kell megemliteni, hogy mi célból hivták egybe a gyülekezetet és fel kell hivnia a megjelenteket arra, hogy elnököt ajánljanak a gyülés vezetésére. Az elnök (gyülésvezető) megválasztása után megválasztják a többi tisztviselőket is.

Ajánlatos, ha minden gyülekezet választ a gyülésvezetőn kivül még egy **jegyzőt** is. aki a tárgyalások menetéről **jegyzőkönyvet** vesz fel. Szokásban van egyes helyeken **ajtónállót** is választani, aki a gyülésvezető részére szánt üzeneteket közvetiti és igy elejét veszi annak, hogy a tagok vagy a bebocsájtást kérő egyének (küldöttségek) a gyülést zavarják. Néha alelnököt is választanak, aki átveszi a gyülés vezetését, ha arra szükség van.

Állandó szervezeteknél, mint például gazdasági szervezetek, politikai pártosztályok, betegsegélyzők, stb. amelyek állandó tisztikarral rendelkeznek, a gyülést a tisztikar hivja össze. Amerikában a radikális munkásszervezeteknél rendesen a titkár hivja össze a gyülést és ő is nyitja meg, de azonnal felhivja a tagokat az ülésvezető megválasztására és csak azután kezdik meg az érdemleges tárgyalást.

Nagygyülések (konvenciók) megnyitásánál szokásban van egy **korelnök** megválasztása, miután ekkor még nem lehet tudni, hogy a gyülés a delegátusok közül kit fog igazolni. Ugyancsak ily módon választanak egy **korjegyzőt** is, aki ideiglenesen vezeti a jegyzőkönyvet. E két ideiglenes tisztviselő megválasztása után nyomban megválasztják az igazoló bizottságot, akik átnézik a delegátusok megbizó leveleit és jelentést tesznek arról a konvenciónak. A delegátusok igazolása után aztán megválasztják az állandó tisztviselőket. Egyes helyeken a gyülésvezetőt csak egy ülésszakra, másutt azonban a konvenció egész tartamára választják.

A tisztviselők megválasztása után veszi kezdetét a tulajdonképpeni gyülés. Előbb azonban ajánlatos, ha a gyülésvezető megállapitja, hogy a gyülekezet határozatképes-e. Nem volna észszerü tárgyalásokat kezdeni akkor, ha a gyülekezet nem hozhat az egyesületre kötelező határozatokat. Amerikában a radikális munkásmozgalomban csak a legritkább esetekben korlátozzák a gyülés határozatképességét. Rendesen a megjelentek számára való tekintet nélkül határozatképesek.

Az ülésvezető csak vezeti a gyülést, de a vitákban való részvételtől, amenynyiben lehet, tartózkodnia kell. Szavazatijogát is csak egyenlő szavazat esetén használja. Kivévén azon eseteket, amikor külön be akarja jelenteni, hogy mely oldalon foglal állást. Azonban vigyáznia kell arra, hogy a szónokok a tárgyhoz beszéljenek. A gyülés elé kell vinnie minden olyan levelet, üzenetet, stb., amelyet kivülről (nem a szervezet tagjai) a gyülés elé kivánnak terjeszteni. Szavazás alá kell bocsájtania minden olyan inditványt, amelyet szabályszerüen beterjesztettek és alá kell irnia minden olyan okmányt, amelyet a gyülekezet nevében adnak ki.

A gyülés menetéről a jegyző (jegyző-titkár) vesz fel jegyzőkönyvet. Bár a jegyzőkönyv helyes felvétele igen fontos, mindazonáltal csupán a jegyzőre van bizva, hogy a gyülésen elhangzott dolgokról mit örökitsen meg. Egyes fontos dolgoknál külön inditvány utján lehet rendelkezni, hogy valamely dolog bekerüljön illetőleg ne kerüljön be a jegyzőkönyvbe, amint azt a gyülés kivánja.

Az ügyrend.

Midőn az elnök (ülésvezető) megnyitja a gyülést, megállapitja a határozatképességet, előterjeszti az **ügyrendet.** Ezt az ügyrendet rendesen a titkár késziti el. Az állandó szervezeteknél az többé-kevésbbé azonos állandóan, a konvencióknál azonban a különleges viszonyokhoz alakul. Az amerikai radikális munkásmozgalom gyüléseinek gyakori ügyrendje a következő:

1. A gyülés megnyitása.
2. Az előző ülés jegyzőkönyvének felolvasása és hitelesitése.
3. Levelek felolvasása.
4. Tisztviselők és bizottságok jelentései.
5. Uj tagok felvétele.
6. Az előző gyülésről elmaradt ügyek. (Régi ügyek.)
8. (Ha az idő engedi) Szórakoztató vagy tudományos előadás.
9. A gyülés bezárása.

A vita vezetése.

A legtöbb gyülekezet azzal veszit sok időt, hogy a tagok cél nélkül vitáznak egymással. Mindenki szeretné keresztülvinni az akaratát és azért gyakran megfeledkeznek a szóbanforgó dologról. Ezt, vagyis a szóbanforgó dolgot rendesen a tisztviselők vagy bizottságok, esetleg valamely tag hozza szőnyegre, — mint mondani szokás. Tegyük fel, hogy valamelyik tisztviselő, vagy bizottság beterjeszti a jelentését. Ekkor az ülésvezető megkérdezi a gyülést, hogy mit kiván tenni a beterjesztett jelentéssel. A vita csak a gyülésvezető ezen kérdése után indul meg.

Minden tagnak, aki a tárgyhoz hozzá kiván szólni, jelentkeznie kell. **Beszédét csak akkor kezdheti meg, ha az ülésvezető erre felszólitja.** Ez a legelemibb rendszabály minden gyülekezetnél. Ennek helyességét maga a józan ész megmagyarázza, hiszen ellenkező esetben egyszerre többen is beszélnének. A jelentkezéseknek a különböző egyesületeknél különböző módjai vannak. Egyes gyüléseknél kézfelemeléssel, másutt azonban irásban jelentkeznek. Szokásban van az is, hogy a személyes jelentkezésnél a gyülésvezető csak annak ad szót, akit először vesz észre. Ezen szónok beszéde után mindenkinek ujból kell jelentkezni, aki beszélni akar. Másutt azonban a jelentkezőt a jelentkezés sorrendjében feljegyzik és az ülésvezető ugy szólitja fel őket. Az amerikai magyar munkásgyüléseken ez utóbbi szokás divik.

Nagyon fontos az, hogy a gyülekezet egyszerre csak egy dologgal foglalkozzon. Másképpen el sem képzelhető intelligens tárgyalás. Ezért kérdezi az elnök, hogy a gyülés mit kíván tenni a szőnyegre hozott tárggyal. Itt van a helye az első **inditványnak.** Az első felszólalónak tehát valamilyen inditványt kell tennie, pl.: "Ajánlom a jelentés tudomásulvételét." Vagy ha a jelentésben valamilyen ajánlat van, akkor abból kell megszövegezni az inditványt. **Csakis ilyen inditvány feltevése után lehet hozzászólni azután tovább is a tárgyhoz.**

Sok helyen egyenest kimondják, hogy **inditvány nélkül nincs tárgyalás.** Ez természetes is, mert ha nincs inditvány, akkor esetleg a szónokok mindegyike másról beszél és semmi határozatot nem lehet hozni. Az ülésvezetőnek tehát a jelentések után nem szabad megengedni semmiféle felszólalást, mielőtt valaki inditványt nem tesz. Ennek a pontnak a betartása nagyon sok időmegtakaritást jelent a gyülés számára.

Gyakorlatlan ülésvezető alatt, aki nem figyel erre, megesik, hogy a tagok egészen másról beszélnek és más dologra vonatkozólag hoznak határozatot, mint azt a jelentésből várni lehetett volna. Tegyük fel, hogy a könyvtárnok jelentésében a könyvtár kibővitését kéri. A gyülésnek ebben az ügyben kell határozni és igy az első felszólalónak azonnal indiványozni kell, hogy a könyvtárt ki kell bőviteni, illetőleg nem kell, már amint éppen az illető jónak véli. A további felszólalók aztán mind ehez az inditványhoz szólnak. Pártolják, illetőleg ellenzik azt, kiki a saját véleménye szerint és elmondják mindazon érveket, amelyekkel álláspontjukat védelmezik. Ha azonban az ülésvezető gyakorlatlan, megeshetik, hogy az ilyen könyvtári jelentés után a tagok azt határozzák, hogy a volt elnöknek diszoklevelet kell adni, vagy valami ilyesfélét, aminek semmi köze sincs a szóbanforgó tárgyhoz.

Egy másik igen fontos dolog az, hogy **az ülésvezető ne fogadjon el másik inditványt addig, amig az első fölött nem döntött a gyülés.** Az inditvány benyujtása történhetik szóval vagy irásban. Erre nézve minden gyülekezetnél megállapodott szokások az irányadók. Azonban az irásban benyujtott inditványt mindenütt szivesebben fogadják, mint a szóbeli inditványokat. Igen ajánlatos, ha az eredeti inditványokat (amelyek uj dologra vonatkoznak) irásban adjuk be. Nem tekintik eredeti inditványoknak az ülés felfüggesztésére, a napirendre való térés, stb. inditványokat.

Bármilyen is az inditvány, azzal csak akkor foglalkozhat a gyülés, ha annak **pártolói** is vannak. A legtöbb helyen elegendő egy pártoló, néhol azonban két pártolót kötnek ki. Az inditvány megtétele után tehát az ülésvezető megkérdezi, hogy pártolja-e valaki az inditványt. Az inditvány tárgyalását csak akkor lehet megkezdeni, ha a kivánt pártoló jelentkezik. Azon esetben, ha az inditványnak nem akad pártolója, akkor az automatikusan elesik és azzal a tagság nem foglalkozik.

Az inditvány és módositások.

Ha az inditványnak pártolói is vannak, akkor az tárgyalás alá kerül. Az ülésvezető tehát felteszi a kérdést, hogy ki kiván hozzászólni és a jelentkezőknek megadja a szót. Az inditványt fel kell olvasni a gyülés előtt. A tagok bármelyike a tárgyalások folyamán ujra felolvastathatja az inditvány szövegét, ha előzőleg azt nem értette meg.

Valahányszor a tagok valamelyike valami információt akar az inditványra vonatkozólag, azt mindig a gyülésvezetőtől kéri. Abban az esetben, ha az elnök a kért információt nem tudja megadni, az inditványozót vagy az arra hivatott tagot szólitja fel a felelet megadására.

A szabályok könnyebb megértésére egy példán kivánjuk bemutatni az inditványozást és a fölötte való tárgyalást. Tegyük fel, hogy a könyvtárnok uj könyvek vásárlását ajánlja. A jelentés tudomásulvétele után az egyik tag inditványozza, hogy a gyülés adjon felhatalmazást a könyvtárosnak uj könyvek megvásárlására. Az inditványt pártolás után a gyülésvezető tárgyalás alá bocsájtja. A tagoknak most alkalmuk van hozzászólni, akár ellenzik, akár pártolják az inditványt. Vannak azonban olyanok, akik egyelőre nem tartják időszerünek az inditványt. Az ilyenek megtehetik azt az inditványt, hogy az eredeti inditvány fölött később (pl. a pénztári jelentés után, vagy az árak beszerzése után) tárgyaljanak. Az ilyen inditványnak, amely az eredeti inditvány tárgyalásának idejét ki akarja tolni, helye van amennyiben az ügyrendi inditványnak tekinthető. Nincs helye azonban semmiféle más inditványnak, amelynek szelleme nem egyezik meg az eredeti inditvány szellemével.

Megesik azonban igen gyakran, hogy a tagok általában helyeslik az inditványt, de egyes részletekben változtatni kivánnak azon. Ebben az esetben **módositványt** nyujtanak be. A módositvány azonban nem lehet olyan, hogy az eredeti inditvány értelmét teljesen megváltoztassa. Például az előbbi inditvány esetén nem lehet elfogadni azt a módositványt, hogy az uj könyvek helyett uj könyvszekrényt vásároljunk. Ellenben elfogadható módositvány az, hogy 100 darab könyvet vásároljunk, amelyből 50 szépirodalmi és 50 tudományos munka legyen.

Midőn valamely tag módositványt vagy helyettesitő inditványt nyujt be a gyülésvezetőnek döntenie kell afölött, hogy elfogadható-e az, vagy sem. Tegyük fel, hogy az egyik tag benyujtja a könyvszekrény vásárlására szóló inditványt. Az elnök erre ugy dönt, hogy a módositványt nem fogadja el, miután az ellenkezik az eredeti inditvány értelmével. A módositvány benyujtója vagy megnyugszik a döntésben, vagy megfelebbezi a tagsághoz. Ebben az esetben a gyülés vezetését a titkár (esetleg az alelnök) veszi át. A módositvány benyujtója röviden elmondja, hogy miért nem tartja helyesnek az elnök döntését. Utána az elnök megindokolja eljárását. Ehez senki másnak nincs szava. A tagoknak nyomban szavazni kell, hogy helyeslik-e az elnök döntését, vagy sem. Megjegyzendő, hogy azon esetben, ha a tagsag nem hagyja jóvá az elnök döntését, ez nem jelenti azt, hogy az illetőt a gyülés vezetésére alkalmatlannak tartja. **Az elnök tehát tovább vezeti a gyülést és csupán abban az egy pontban a tagság döntéséhez kell igazodnia.** (A fenti példa esetén tehát a könyvtár-szekrény vásárlására vonatkozó módositványt tárgyalás alá kellene bocsájtani.)

A tárgyalás folyamán az ülésvezetőnek ügyelnie kell arra, hogy a felszólalók szigoruan az inditványhoz beszéljenek. Ha a szónok eltér a tárgytól az ülésvezető figyelmeztetheti, sőt ha a figyelmeztetés nem használ, meg is vonhatja tőle a szót. A szónoknak azonban minden alkalommal jogában áll a gyüléshez fellebbezni az elnöki döntés ellen, Abban az esetben, ha az ülésvezető el hagyja kalandozni a felszólalót, bármely tag szót kérhet az ügyrendhez." Ekkor bejelenti, hogy szerinte a felszólaló nem a tárgyhoz beszél. Az elnöknek ilyen esetben döntenie kell. Döntését azonban ugy az eredeti szónok, mint a felszólaló megfelebbezheti a tagsághoz.

Megesik az is, hogy valamely inditványhoz nem is egy, de számos módositványt nyujtanak be. Tegyük fel, hogy a fenti indiványunk esetén az egyik tag csak ötven könyv megvásárlását helyesli, mig a másik nem is százat, de százötven könyvet akar vásárolni. Ebben az esetben az első ugy kivánja módositani az inditványt, hogy kevesebb könyvet vásároljanak, mig a másik módositványa több könyv vásárlását célozza. Az utóbbi módositványt **"messzebbmenőnek"** mondjuk. Szokásban van, hogy előbb a messzebbmenő inditványok és módositványok fölött szavaznak. Ebben az esetben tehát az ülésvezető előbb azt szavaztatja le, hogy az egyesület vásárljon-e százötven könyvet? Ha ezt a gyülés elfogadta, akkor a második módositvány már automatikusan elesik.

Általános elfogadott szabály az is, hogy először a módositvány felett szavaznak és csak akkor szavaznak az eredeti inditvány felett, ha a módositványt elvetik. Igy például, ha a gyülés elfogadta, hogy 150 könyvet vásárolnak, akkor már nem is kell az eredeti inditvány fölött szavazni. Azonban ha a gyülés például elveti a módositványokat, még mindig fennáll az a kérdés, hogy akar-e egyáltalában uj könyveket vásárolni. Ennek eldöntésére le kell szavaztatni az eredeti inditványt.

Némely inditvány nagyon összetett és nemcsak egy, de számos ajánlatot (propoziciót) tartalmaz. Az ilyeneknél ajánlatos, ha részekre bontjük és minden propozició felett külön szavaz a gyülés. Elfogadott szabály az is, hogy az inditványozónak a szavazás előtt "zárszó"-hoz van joga, amelyben válaszolhat az elhangzott ellenvéleményekre. Az inditvány benyujtása és kellő pártolása után rendesen maga az inditványozó beszél hozzá először és igy kellőkép megmagyarázhatja. Az inditványokra és módositványokra általában a következő szabályokat kell megjegyeznünk:

1. Ha az inditvány több egymástól független, vagy lazán összefüggő propoziciót tartalmaz, akkor minden egyes propozicióval külön kell foglalkozni.

2. Minden olyan módositvány, amely az eredeti inditványon lényeges változtatást akar eszközölni, maga is módositható. Módositvány módositványának azonban már nem lehet további módositványa. Ily esetben előbb a második módositvánnyal kell foglalkozni, azután az elsővel és végre az eredeti inditvánnyal.

3. Inditvány vagy módositvány elfogadása után azon csak ujabb inditvány segélyével lehet bármit is változtatni.

4. A módositvány törülhet valamit az eredeti inditványból vagy hozzáadhat valamit, de lényegében meg kell egyezni az eredeti indivánnyal.

Ügyrendi viták.

A viták elsekélyedését gyakran azzal akasztják meg, hogy a vita, vagy a szónoki lista bezárását inditványozzák. Elfogadott szabály, hogy **ilyen inditványt nem tehet az, aki már hozzászólt a tárgyhoz,** mert akkor a felszólaló egyszerüen elmondaná a véleményét és nyomban inditványozná a vita lezárását. Ezzel elejét tudná venni annak, hogy az ellenfél is elmondja a nézetét. Azért a vita bezárását vagy a szónoki lista lezárását csak az inditványozhatja, aki még nem szólt hozzá a tárgyhoz, vagy midőn mindenki hozzászólt és már másodszor beszélnek. Szokásban van az is, hogy addig másodszor nem szólhat senki, amig vannak olyanok, akik először akarnak felszólalni a szóbanforgó kérdésben.

A vita berekesztése annyit jelent, hogy a tárgyhoz több szónoknak már nincs joga hozzászólni. Az ily inditvány elfogadása után nyomban következik a szavazás. A szónoki lista lezárása esetén azonban még a szólásra jelentkezettek valamennyije elmondja a mondanivalóját, sőt az inditványozónak joga van a zárszóhoz. Ugy a vita bezárására, mint a szónoki lista lezárásra vonatkozó inditványok ügyrendi inditványok, **amelyekhez mindkét részről csak egy felszólalót engednek meg** a legtöbb helyen. Egy tag beszélhet mellette s egy ellene. Azután nyomban dönt a gyülés szavazás utján.

Szavazás közben senki nem beszélhet. A szavazás elrendelése előtt azonban a tagoknak joguk van információt kérni. Általánosan elfogadott szabály az is, hogy az inditványt pozitiv formában kell feltenni szavazásra. A mi példánk esetén tehát a kérdést igy kell feltenni: "A szervezet vásároljon uj könyveket, aki mellette van az szavazzon kézfelemeléssel" (esetleg ingennel, kártyafeltartással, stb.) Némely esetben titkos szavazást szoktak kérni. A különböző szervezeteknél eltérő szabályok vannak arra, hogy a titkos szavazást mikor kell elrendelni. Azonban minden esetben áll az, hogy ha maga a gyülés kivánja, akkor el kell rendelni a titkos szavazást. Igy tehát a gyülésvezető helyesen jár el, ha a titkos szavazásra vonatkozó kérelmet ügyrendi inditványnak tekinti és erre vonatkozólag leszavaztatja a gyülést. Ebben az esetben bizonyosan a többség akaratát fogja érvényesiteni.

Ha valamelyik tag ugy találja, hogy az elnök nem pártatlanul vezeti a gyulést, vagy képtelen annak vezetésére, akkor kifogást emelhet az elnök ellen és inditványozhatja az elnök elmozditását. Ez az inditvány is közönséges ügyrendi inditványnak tekintendő, amely kellő pártolás után azonnal tárgyalás alá kerül. Abban az esetben, ha az elnök elmozditására vonatkozó inditványt kellő módon pártolták, az elnöknek nyomban át kell adnia helyét a titkárnak, (alelnöknek vagy valamelyik más tisztviselőnek,) aki az ülést vezeti addig, amig ezen inditvány sorsa felett nem dönt a gyülés. Ily esetekben az inditványozó megokolja az inditványát, a kifogásolt gyülésvezető válaszol reá és a tagság nyomban szavaz. Másoknak ehez az inditványhoz nincs szavuk. Abban az esetben, ha a gyülés elveti az inditványt, a kifogásolt elnök ujból átveszi a gyülés vezetését. Ha azonban a tagság az ülésvezető eltávolitása mellett dönt, akkor az ideiglenes elnök nyomban felszólitja a tagokat ujabb gyülésvezető ajánlására és megejtik a választást. Az ülésvezető elmozditása és az uj ülésvezető megválasztása közötti időben semmiféle érdemleges dolog nem kerülhet elintézés alá.

Az ülés berekesztését vagy felfüggesztését valamely szónok beszéde közben nem lehet kérni, illetőleg az ülésvezetőnek az ilyen inditványt nem szabad elfogadni. Zavaros ülések alkalmával azonban az elnök felfüggesztheti a gyülést a kedélyek lecsillapitására. Minden szónok nagyon helyesen teszi, ha nem él vissza a tagság türelmével. Ha az idő már előrehaladott, akkor ugy sincs valami sok értelme a hosszu beszédeknek. Általában a felszólalóknak alkalmazkodniok kell a gyülés hangulatához.

Ha az elnök hozzá kiván szólni a tárgyhoz, azt megteheti bármely szónok után, azonban ecélból ő sem szakithatja félbe egy felszólalónak sem a szavait, ha már egyszer megadta neki a szót. Az ülések sima lefolyása azonban korántsem függ magától az ülésvezetőtől, habár nagyon sokban hozzájárulhat, hanem magától a tagságtól. A tagoknak vigyázni kell arra, hogy ne használjanak olyan kifejezéseket, amelyekkel a hallgatókat megsértik vagy felingerlik.

Minden felszólalónak ügyelnie kell arra, hogy a gyülés méltóságát ne sértse meg illetlen szavak használata által. Tartózkodnia kell a személyeskedéstől. Aki ezen elemi szabályokat nem tartja be azt az elnök rendreutasithatja, sőt ismétlés esetén megvonhatja tőle a szót, esetleg ki is utasithatja. A gyülésnek természetesen ilyen esetben is joga van az elnöki intézkedést megváltoztatni, illetőleg jóváhagyni.

Az itt ismertetett szabályok betartása nemcsak a gyülések sima lefolyását, de az eredményes munka elvégzését is biztositják.

A SZÁMOK TANITANAK

(Folyt a 102-ik oldalról.)

Az automobil iparban az 1929. évben 530.711 munkás volt alkalmazva, mig 1931-ben már csak 334.674. Az autóipari munkások a statisztika összeállitásánál három csoportba osztandók. Még pedig motor az az gépmunkások, body munkások és végül a gummi munkások csoportja.

Év:	Gép vagy motor-munkások átlagos hetibére.	Body munkások átlagos hetibére.	Gumi munkások átlagos hetibére.
1929	$16.30	$16.51	$15.26
1931	$11.62	$12.86	$12.83

AZ ÉN ASSZONYOM

Irta: ADY ENDRE.

Mit bánom én, ha utcasarkok rongya,
De elkisérjen egész a siromba.

Álljon elõmbe izzó, forró nyárban:
"Téged szeretlek, Te vagy akit vártam."

Legyen kirugdalt, kitagadott, céda,
Csak a szivébe láthassak be néha.

Ha vad viharban átkozódva állunk:
Együtt hoskadjon, törjön össze lábunk.

Ha egy-egy órán megtelik a lelkünk:
Üdvöt, gyönyört csak egymás ajkán leljünk.

Ha ott fetrengek lenn, az utcaporába:
Boruljon rám és óvjon átkarolva.

Tisztitó, szent tüz hogyha által-éget:
Szárnyaljuk együtt be a mindenséget.

Mindig csókoljon, egyformán szeressen:
Könnyben, piszokban, szenvedésben, szennyben.

Amiben minden álmom semmivé lett,
Hozza vissza õ, legyen õ az élet.

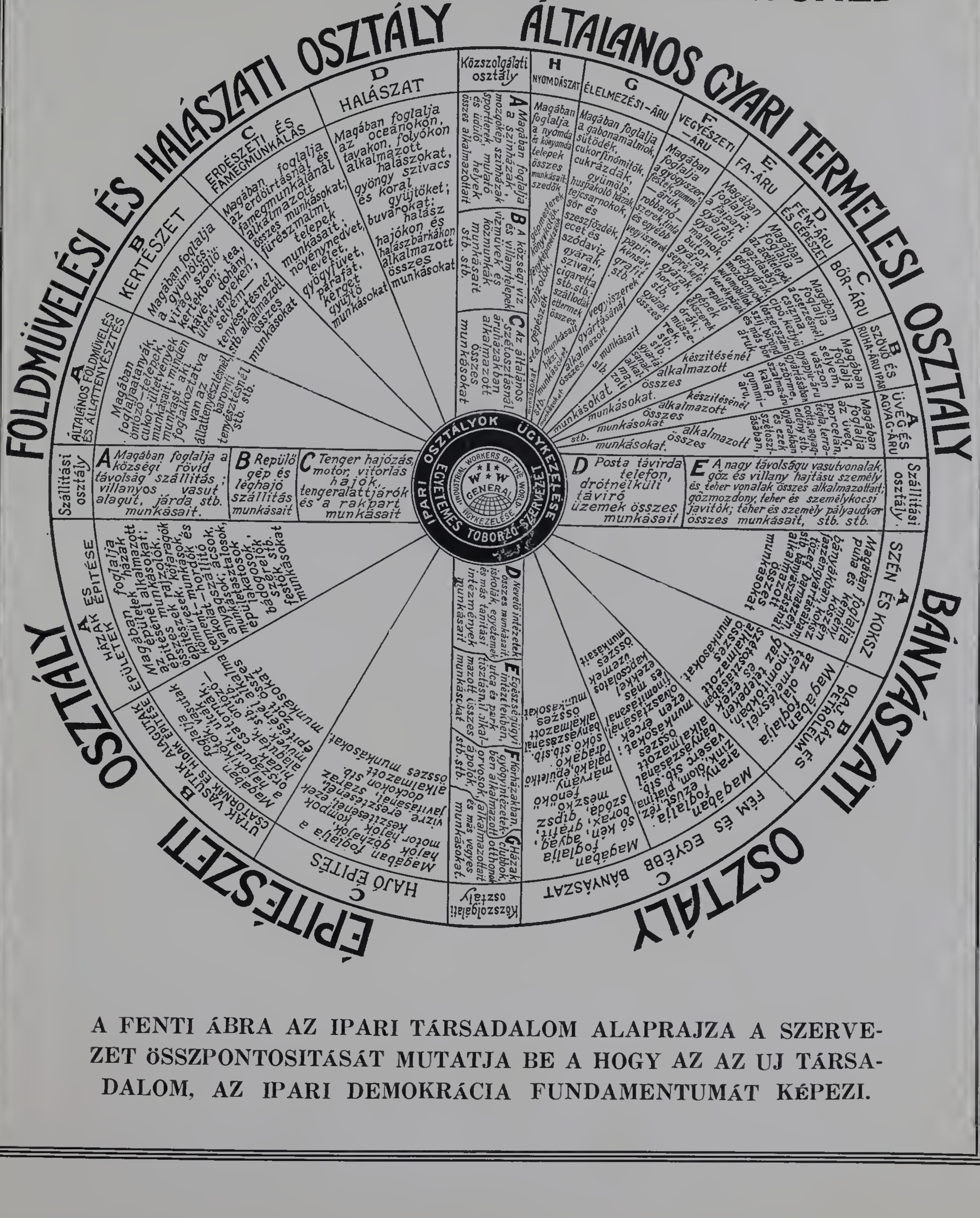
Kifestett arcát angyalarcnak látom:
A lelkem lenne; életem, halálom.

Szétzuzva minden kõtáblát és láncot,
Holtig kacagnók a nyüzsgõ világot.

Együtt kacagnánk végsõ bucsut intve,
Meghalnánk együtt, egymást istenitve.

Meghalnánk, mondván:
"Bün és szeny az élet,
Ketten voltunk csak tiszták, hófehérek."

EGY NAGY SZERVEZET
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD


FÖLDMÜVELÉSI ÉS HALÁSZATI OSZTÁLY
A ÁLTALÁNOS FÖLDMÜVELÉS ÉS ÁLLATTENYÉSZTÉS
Magában foglalja a tanyák, öntöző-telepek, cukor-ültetvények munkásait; minden munkást aki foglalkoztatva van az állattenyésztésnél, baromfi tenyésztésnél stb. stb.
B KERTÉSZET
Magában foglalja a gyümölcs, virág, szőllő kertekben; tea, kávé, dohány ültetvényeken; selyem-tenyésztésnél, stb. alkalmazott összes munkásokat
C ERDÉSZETI ÉS FAMEGMUNKÁLÁS
Magában foglalja az erdőirtásnál és famegmunkálásnál alkalmazott összes munkásokat; fürészmalmi telepek munkásait; növénynedvet, levelet, gyógyfüvet, parafát, kérget gyüjtő munkásokat
D HALÁSZAT
Magában foglalja az oceánokon, tavakon, folyókon alkalmazott halászokat, gyöngy szivacs és koral gyüjtőket; buvárokat; halász hajókon és halászbárkákon alkalmazott összes munkásokat
Közszolgálati osztály
A Magában foglalja a szinházak, mozgókép szinházak, sporttérek, mulató és üdülő helyek összes alkalmazottait
B A községi viz és villanytelepek, vizművek és közmunkák munkásait stb. stb.
C Az általános szétosztásnál áruházakban alkalmazott összes munkásokat
ÁLTALÁNOS GYÁRI TERMELÉSI OSZTÁLY
H NYOMDÁSZAT
Magában foglalja a nyomda és könyvnyomda telepek összes munkásait: szedők gépmesterek könyvkötők fényképészek rajzolók stb. gépészek stb. házi munkásokat
G ÉLELMEZÉSI-ÁRU
Magában foglalja a gabonamalmok, sütődék, cukorfinómitók, cukrászdák, gyümölcs, huspakoló házak, tejcsarnokok, sör és szeszfőzdék, ecet és szódaviz gyárak, szivar, cigaretta stb. stb.; szállodák, éttermek összes munkásait
F VEGYÉSZETI-ÁRU
Magában foglalja a gyógyszer, festék, gummi-áruk, robbanószerek, tinta és egyébb vegyiszerek, papir, kénsav, grafit stb. vegyiszerek gyártásánál alkalmazott összes munkásokat
E FA-ÁRU
Magában foglalja a faipari gyárak, gyalulómalmok, butor gyárak, sepró, kefe gyárak, hordó, stb. gyárak összes munkásait stb.
D FÉM-ÁRU ÉS GÉPÉSZET
Magában foglalja az acéltelepek, gazdasági gépgyárak, mozdonyok, automobilok, kerékpárak, repülő gépek, ékszerek, órák, müszerek, stb. stb. gyártásánál alkalmazott összes munkásokat.
C BŐR-ÁRU
Magában foglalja a cserzésnél, csizma, cipő, kesztyü, lószerszám, szij, bőrönd és más bőr áruk készitésénél alkalmazott összes munkásokat.
B SZÖVŐ ÉS RUHA-ÁRU IPAR
Magában foglalja selyem, vászon, gyapju-áru gyártásában, szőrme, szalma-áru, kalap, gummi-áru készitésénél alkalmazott összes munkásokat
A ÜVEG ÉS AGYAG-ÁRU
Magában foglalja az üveg, porcelán, tégla, terra-cotta, agyag-edény stb. gyárakban és ezek szétoszt-ásában, stb. alkalmazott összes munkásokat.
Szállitási osztály
A Magában foglalja a községi rövid távolság szállitás; villanyos vasut alagut, járda stb. munkásait.
B Repülő gép és léghajó szállitás munkásait
C Tenger hajózás, motor, vitorlás hajók, tengeralattjárók és a rakpart munkásait
D Posta távirda telefon, drótnélküli táviró üzemek összes munkásait
E A nagy távolságu vasutvonalak, gőz és villany hajtásu személy és teher vonalak összes alkalmazottait; gőzmozdony, teher és személykocsi javitók; teher és személy pályaudvar összes munkásait, stb. stb.
IPARI OSZTÁLYOK ÜGYKEZELÉSE
EGYETEMES TOBORZÓ SZERVEZET
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
I W W
GENERAL
ÜGYKEZELÉSE
BÁNYÁSZATI OSZTÁLY
A SZÉN ÉS KOKSZ
Magában foglalja puha és kemény szén bányákban, koksz-gyártásban, tőzeg, barnaszén stb bányászásánál alkalmazott összes munkásokat
B OLAJ GÁZ PETROLEUM ÉS
Magában foglalja az olaj, gáz termelésnél, az finomitókban, telepeken és ezek szétosztásában alkalmazott összes munkásokat.
C FÉM ÉS EGYÉBB BÁNYÁSZAT
Magában foglalja arany, ezüst, réz, ólom, platina, vasérc, zink, stb. stb. bányászásánál alkalmazott összes munkásokat; ezen ércek olvasztásánál, finomitásánál és más ezekkel kapcsolatos üzemek összes munkásait
Magában foglalja só, kén, agyag, borax, grafit, gipsz, szóda, mészkő, fenőkő, márvány, palakő, épületkő, drágakő, sókő stb. stb. bányászásánál alkalmazott összes munkásokat
Közszolgálati osztály
D Nevelő intézetek összes munkásait, iskolák, egyetemek és más tanitási intézmények munkásait
E Egészségügyi intézetekben, utca és park tisztásnál alkalmazott összes munkásokat
F Kórházakban, gyógyintézetekben alkalmazott orvosok, ápolók, stb. stb.
G Házak, clubbok, otthonok alkalmazottait és más vegyes munkásokat.
ÉPITÉSZETI OSZTÁLY
A HÁZAK ÉS ÉPÜLETEK ÉPITÉSE
Magában foglalja házak épületek alkalmazott épitésénél alkalmazott munkásokat; épitészek, rajzolók, kőfaragók, összeszerelők, munkások és épitőmesterek, kőmüvesek, hordók, ácsok, cement-, anyagszállitók, vakolók, munkások, asztalosok, bádogosok, épületlakatosok, festők, szerelők stb. munkásokat
B UTAK VASUTAK ALAGUTAK CSATORNÁK ÉS HIDAK ÉPITÉSE
Magában foglalja a hajókikötők, vasutak, országutak, utcák, hidak, csatornák, alagutak, öntöző-müvek, stb. épitésénél alkalmazott összes munkásokat
C HAJÓ ÉPITÉS
Magában foglalja a hajók, gőzhajók, motor hajók, kompok készitésénél, ezek vizre eresztésénél, javitásánál, szárazdockokon stb. alkalmazott összes munkásokat.

A FENTI ÁBRA AZ IPARI TÁRSADALOM ALAPRAJZA A SZERVEZET ÖSSZPONTOSITÁSÁT MUTATJA BE A HOGY AZ AZ UJ TÁRSADALOM, AZ IPARI DEMOKRÁCIA FUNDAMENTUMÁT KÉPEZI.

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AZ INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
MAGYAR NYELVÜ HETI LAPJA.

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● A tudás az IWW egyik leghatásosabb harci eszköze. Az IWW tudatában van annak, hogy csak a nemtörődőt lehet büntetlenül elnyomni.

● A tudatlanság a munkásosztály haladásának legnagyobb ellensége. A tudatlanoktól mindég félni kell, mert nem tudják, hogy mitevők legyenek.

● Ha a munkások felismerik osztályhelyzetüket a társadalomban, felismerik a szervezkedés szükségességét is és az erőt ami abban rejlik. Ennek a tanitásnak áll szolgálatában minden sorával a

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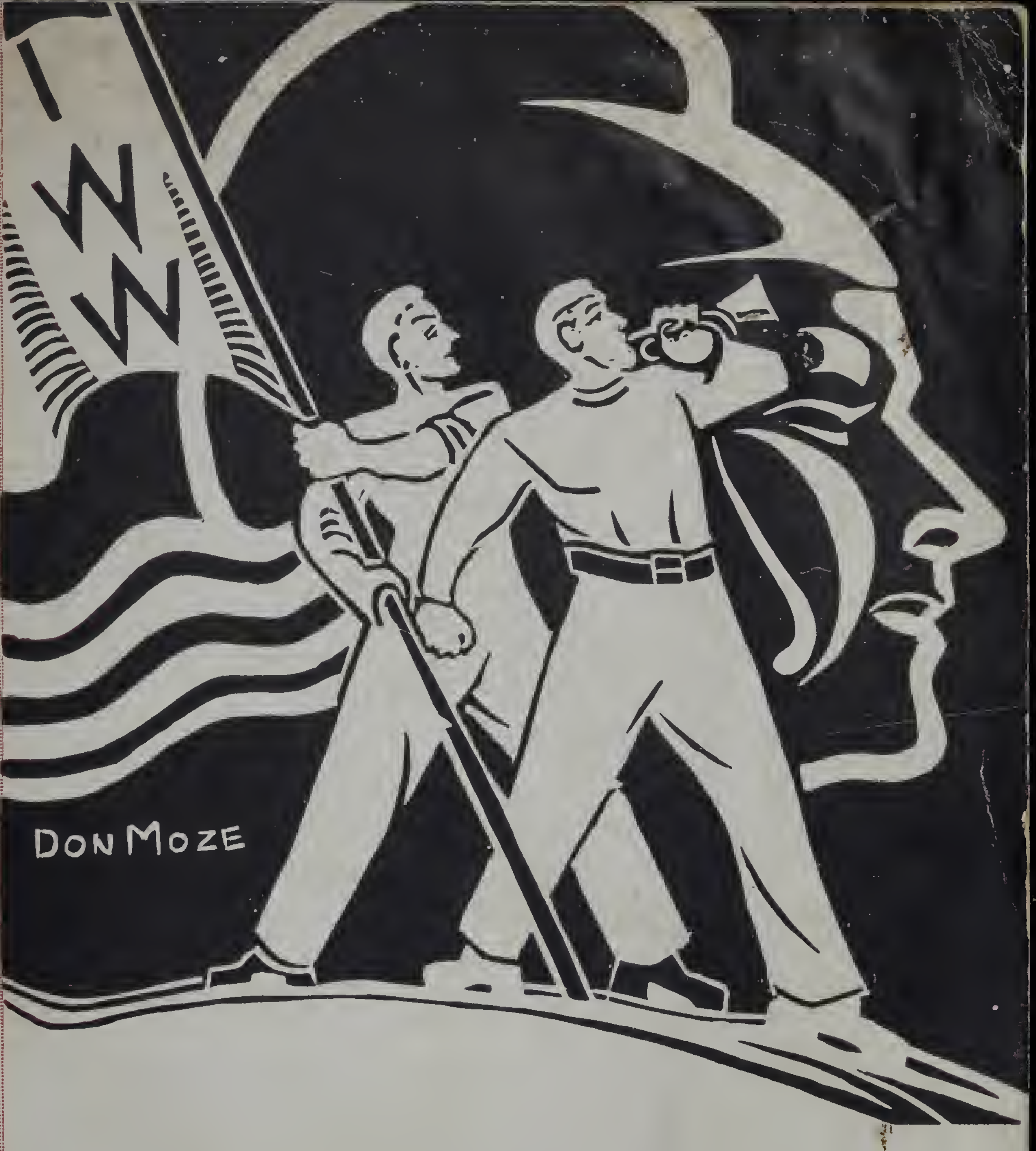
IWW
DON MOZE

BÉRMUNKÁS NAPTÁR 1942

AZ
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
ELVINYILATKOZATA

A MUNKÁSOSZTÁLY és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

● E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

● Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni összpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszi arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharc esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

● E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden az egy iparban — vagy ha kell, valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát bármikor ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti.

● E maradi jelszó helyett: "Tisztességes napibért tisztességes napi munkáért," ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "LE A BÉRRENDSZERREL!"

● A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül.

A
BÉRMUNKÁS
NAPTÁRA
1942. ÉVRE

Ára 45 cent

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AZ I.W.W. MAGYARNYELVÜ
HETILAPJA.

KÖSZÖNET. A Bérmunkás Naptárában az olvasó, a munkásmozgalmi és szépirodalmi rész mellett most nagy mennyiségben közhasznu ismereteket és statisztikai adatokat talál.

Midőn az Országos Értekezlet kérésére elvállaltam a naptár összeállitását, ugy tartottam, hogy az ily általános értékü ismeretek közlését olvasó közönségünk értékelni fogja, noha az első próbálkozás sok kivánni valót hagy.

E helyen köszönetet mondok mindazon Munkástársaknak és iróknak, akik értékes irásaikkal hozzájárultak naptárunk nivóssá, érdekessé és hasznossá tételéhez.

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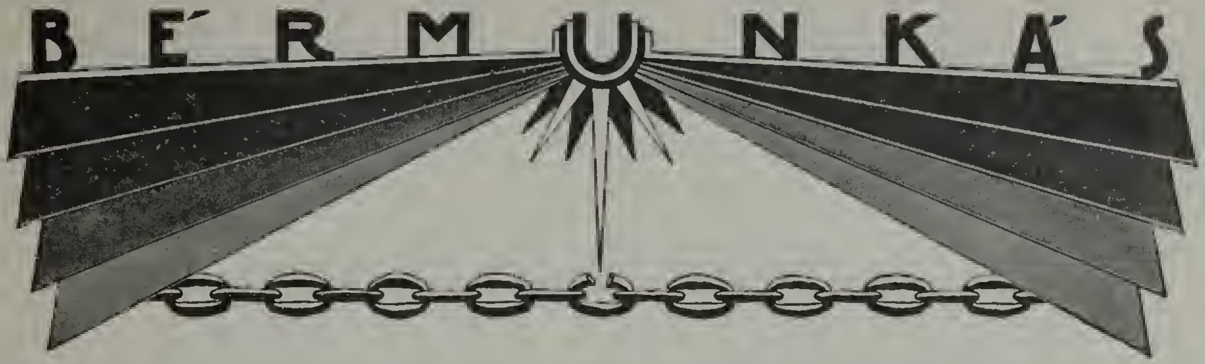

1942 JANUÁR 31 NAP

1	Csütörtök
2	Péntek
3	Szombat
4	**Vasárnap**
5	Hétfő
6	Kedd
7	Szerda
8	Csütörtök
9	Péntek
10	Szombat
11	**Vasárnap**
12	Hétfő
13	Kedd
14	Szerda
15	Csütörtök
16	Péntek
17	Szombat
18	**Vasárnap**
19	Hétfő
20	Kedd
21	Szerda
22	Csütörtök
23	Péntek
24	Szombat
25	**Vasárnap**
26	Hétfő
27	Kedd
28	Szerda
29	Csütörtök
30	Péntek
31	Szombat

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Január 1. Ujév.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1942 FEBRUÁR 28 NAP

1	**Vasárnap**
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	**Vasárnap**
9	Hétfő
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11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
15	**Vasárnap**
16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
18	Szerda
19	Csütörtök
20	Péntek
21	Szombat
22	**Vasárnap**
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Február 12. Lincoln születése

Február 22. Washington születése.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1942 MÁRCIUS 31 NAP

1	**Vasárnap**
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	**Vasárnap**
9	Hétfő
10	Kedd
11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
15	**Vasárnap**
16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
18	Szerda
19	Csütörtök
20	Péntek
21	Szombat
22	**Vasárnap**
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat
29	**Vasárnap**
30	Hétfő
31	Kedd

Legyen tagja Ön is az Egy Nagy Szervezetet épitő mozgalomnak.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1942 ÁPRILIS 30 NAP

1	Szerda
2	Csütörtök
3	Péntek
4	Szombat
5	**Vasárnap**
6	Hétfő
7	Kedd
8	Szerda
9	Csütörtök
10	Péntek
11	Szombat
12	**Vasárnap**
13	Hétfő
14	Kedd
15	Szerda
16	Csütörtök
17	Péntek
18	Szombat
19	**Vasárnap**
20	Hétfő
21	Kedd
22	Szerda
23	Csütörtök
24	Péntek
25	Szombat
26	**Vasárnap**
27	Hétfő
28	Kedd
29	Szerda
30	Csütörtök

Egy mindért, mind egyért... csak az IWW által valósitható meg.

1942 MÁJUS 31 NAP

1	Péntek
2	Szombat
3	**Vasárnap**
4	Hétfő
5	Kedd
6	Szerda
7	Csütörtök
8	Péntek
9	Szombat
10	**Vasárnap**
11	Hétfő
12	Kedd
13	Szerda
14	Csütörtök
15	Péntek
16	Szombat
17	**Vasárnap**
18	Hétfő
19	Kedd
20	Szerda
21	Csütörtök
22	Péntek
23	Szombat
24	**Vasárnap**
25	Hétfő
26	Kedd
27	Szerda
28	Csütörtök
29	Péntek
30	Szombat
31	**Vasárnap**

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Május 30. Decoration Day. (Halottak napja)

BÉRMUNKÁS

1942 JUNIUS 30 NAP

1	Hétfő
2	Kedd
3	Szerda
4	Csütörtök
5	Péntek
6	Szombat
7	**Vasárnap**
8	Hétfő
9	Kedd
10	Szerda
11	Csütörtök
12	Péntek
13	Szombat
14	**Vasárnap**
15	Hétfő
16	Kedd
17	Szerda
18	Csütörtök
19	Péntek
20	Szombat
21	**Vasárnap**
22	Hétfő
23	Kedd
24	Szerda
25	Csütörtök
26	Péntek
27	Szombat
28	**Vasárnap**
29	Hétfő
30	Kedd

Szervezetlenül könyör adományokért kilincselünk, szervezetten, mi rendelkezünk minden felett.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1942 JULIUS 31 NAP

1	Szerda
2	Csütörtök
3	Péntek
4	Szombat
5	**Vasárnap**
6	Hétfő
7	Kedd
8	Szerda
9	Csütörtök
10	Péntek
11	Szombat
12	**Vasárnap**
13	Hétfő
14	Kedd
15	Szerda
16	Csütörtök
17	Péntek
18	Szombat
19	**Vasárnap**
20	Hétfő
21	Kedd
22	Szerda
23	Csütörtök
24	Péntek
25	Szombat
26	**Vasárnap**
27	Hétfő
28	Kedd
29	Szerda
30	Csütörtök
31	Péntek

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Julius 4. — A függetlenségi nyilatkozat aláirásának évfordulója.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1942 AUGUSZTUS 31 NAP

1	Szombat
2	**Vasárnap**
3	Hétfő
4	Kedd
5	Szerda
6	Csütörtök
7	Péntek
8	Szombat
9	**Vasárnap**
10	Hétfő
11	Kedd
12	Szerda
13	Csütörtök
14	Péntek
15	Szombat
16	**Vasárnap**
17	Hétfő
18	Kedd
19	Szerda
20	Csütörtök
21	Péntek
22	Szombat
23	**Vasárnap**
24	Hétfő
25	Kedd
26	Szerda
27	Csütörtök
28	Péntek
29	Szombat
30	**Vasárnap**
31	Hétfő

A Bérmunkást munkások irják a munkásoknak. Ne hiányozzék ez egyetlen bérmunkás asztaláról sem.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1942 SZEPTEMBER 30 NAP

1	Kedd
2	Szerda
3	Csütörtök
4	Péntek
5	Szombat
6	**Vasárnap**
7	Hétfő
8	Kedd
9	Szerda
10	Csütörtök
11	Péntek
12	Szombat
13	**Vasárnap**
14	Hétfő
15	Kedd
16	Szerda
17	Csütörtök
18	Péntek
19	Szombat
20	**Vasárnap**
21	Hétfő
22	Kedd
23	Szerda
24	Csütörtök
25	Péntek
26	Szombat
27	**Vasárnap**
28	Hétfő
29	Kedd
30	Szerda

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Szept. első hétfője: Labor Day. (Máj. 1. A nemzetközi munkásünnep ellensulyozására.)

BÉRMUNKÁS

1942 OKTÓBER 31 NAP

1	Csütörtök
2	Péntek
3	Szombat
4	**Vasárnap**
5	Hétfő
6	Kedd
7	Szerda
8	Csütörtök
9	Péntek
10	Szombat
11	**Vasárnap**
12	Hétfő
13	Kedd
14	Szerda
15	Csütörtök
16	Péntek
17	Szombat
18	**Vasárnap**
19	Hétfő
20	Kedd
21	Szerda
22	Csütörtök
23	Péntek
24	Szombat
25	**Vasárnap**
26	Hétfő
27	Kedd
28	Szerda
29	Csütörtök
30	Péntek
31	Szombat

Egy kapitalista osztály van. Egy a munkásosztály is. Egynek KELL lenni a szervezetnek is.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1942 NOVEMBER 30 NAP

1	**Vasárnap**
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	**Vasárnap**
9	Hétfő
10	Kedd
11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
15	**Vasárnap**
16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
18	Szerda
19	Csütörtök
20	Péntek
21	Szombat
22	**Vasárnap**
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat
29	**Vasárnap**
30	Hétfő

AMERIKAI ÜNNEPEK:

Hálaadás napja a hónap utolsó előtti csütörtökjén.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1942 DECEMBER 31 NAP

1	Kedd
2	Szerda
3	Csütörtök
4	Péntek
5	Szombat
6	**Vasárnap**
7	Hétfő
8	Kedd
9	Szerda
10	Csütörtök
11	Péntek
12	Szombat
13	**Vasárnap**
14	Hétfő
15	Kedd
16	Szerda
17	Csütörtök
18	Péntek
19	Szombat
20	**Vasárnap**
21	Hétfő
22	Kedd
23	Szerda
24	Csütörtök
25	Péntek
26	Szombat
27	**Vasárnap**
28	Hétfő
29	Kedd
30	Szerda
31	Csütörtök

Figyelje meg a Bérmunkást csomagoló papirost és ha előfizetése lejárt ujitsa azt meg.

NÉVNAP MUTATÓ

A

Absolon, ápr. 20. szept. 2.
Adalbert, ápr. 23.
Adél, dec. 16.
Adelgund, jan. 30.
Adolár, ápr. 21.
Adolf febr. 11, máj. 11. jun. 17, aug. 21, szept. 17.
Adolfin, szept. 24.
Adorján, márc. 4.
Amilián, szept. 11, nov. 12. dec. 6.
Aladár, okt. 1.
Albin, márc. 1.
Alajos, jun. 21.
Alfonz, aug. 2, okt. 30.
Alfréd, febr. 15, jul. 19.
Albert, ápr. 7 és 24, máj. 26, szept. 3, nov. 14.
Albertina, ápr. 23.
Albrecht, ápr. 23.
Amália, máj. 4, jul. 10, okt. 7, nov. 20.
Ambrus, okt. 16 és 19, dec. 7 és 20.
Anastázius, ápr. 21.
András (Bandi,) febr. 4, máj. 15, okt. 17, nov. 30.
Angelika (Angyalka,) márc. 11, máj. 31, aug. 14.
Anna, febr. 19, jul. 26.
Antal, jan. 17, febr. 12, máj. 10, jun. 13, jul. 28, szept. 2.
Antónia, ápr. 19, jun. 13, jul. 7.
Anzelin, ápr. 21.
Appolónia, febr. 9.
Aranka, dec. 2.
Arnold, jul. 18.
Arthur, jan. 7.
Atala, dec. 2.
Athanáz, máj. 2. nov. 26.
Attila, márc. 10.
Augusta, márc. 29, aug. 17.
Aurél, jun. 15.
Aurélia, dec. 2.
Ádám, dec. 24.
Ágotha, febr. 5, ápr. 28.
Ágnes, jan. 21, márc. 28, ápr. 20.
Ágoston, aug. 3 és 28, okt. 7.
Ákos, jun. 22.
Ármin, ápr. 7, aug. 11, dec. 28.
Áron, ápr. 16, jun. 21.
Árpád, jan. 5, febr. 10.

B

Balázs, febr. 3.
Bálint, jan. 7, febr. 14.
Barnabás, jun. 11.
Bazil, márc. 22.
Beatrix, jul. 29.
Bekény, márc. 21.
Béla, jan. 2, ápr. 23, máj. 26.
Bence, márc. 21.
Benő, márc. 21, aug. 30.
Benedek, márc. 21.
Benjámin, márc. 31.
Bernát, máj. 20, jan. 16, jul. 15, aug. 21.
Berta, jul. 4.
Bertalan, aug. 24.
Bertram, aug. 17.
Blanka, aug. 10.
Bódog, jan. 14, máj. 30, jul. 29, okt. 24, nov. 20.
Boldizsár, jan. 6.
Bonaventura, jul. 14.
Bonifác, máj. 14, jun. 5 és 25.
Borbála, dec. 24.
Brigitta, febr. 1, okt. 8.
Brunó, márc. 8, ápr. 21, máj. 17, szept. 7, okt. 6.

C

Ceasar, febr. 15, ápr. 28.
Cecilia, jun. 3, okt. 21.
Clarissa jan. 15, jul. 12.
Clementina, jan. 23, nov. 14 és 23.
Concordia, febr. 18.
Constantin, febr. 25, ápr. 22, jul. 27.
Constantina, szept. 19.
Crescentia, jun. 15.
Crispin, okt. 25.
Cyprián, szept. 10 és 26, dec. 9.
Cyriák, aug. 8.
Cyrill, márc. 9, jul. 5.
Cyprus, jun. 16.

D

Dagobert, jun. 15.
Damascus, dec. 11.
Dániel, jan. 3, febr. 16, ápr. 10, jul. 21, nov. 23.
Dária, okt. 25.
Dávid, dec. 30.
Dezső, febr. 11, máj. 23, dec. 18.
Dénes, ápr. 8, okt. 9. nov. 17, dec. 26.
Dietrica, máj. 6.
Domonkos, aug. 4, okt. 14, dec. 20.
Donát, febr. 17, aug. 7, szept. 1.
Dorottya, febr. 6, jun. 5, szept. 9.
Dömötör, ápr. 9, okt. 26, dec. 22.
Döme, aug. 4, szept. 27.
Dionyzia, dec. 12.

E

Eberhardt, febr. 23, nov. 28.
Edith, szept. 16.
Edmund, nov. 6 és 20.
Eduárd, márc. 18, máj. 27, okt. 13.
Egyed, ápr. 27, szept 1.
Endre jul. 17.
Elemér, nov. 27.
Emilia, jul. 18, szept. 12, nov. 12 és 24.
Elek, febr. 11, jul. 17.
Eleonora, febr. 21, jul. 11.
Eleuthér, febr. 20, okt. 9.
Eligius, dec. 1.
Ella, febr. 10, márc. 24.
Emerencia, jan. 23.
Emánuel (Manó,) márc. 26.
Emil, ápr. 5, máj. 22, nov. 21.
Emma ápr. 19, jun. 29, szept. 22.
Engelbert, nov. 7.
Erasmus, jun. 2.
Erhardt, jan. 8.
Eric, febr. 15, máj. 18.
Ernesztina, jan. 12, jul. 31.
Ernő, jan. 12, márc. 13.
Ervin, ápr. 25.
Erzsébet, jul. 8, nov. 19, dec. 25.
Eszter, máj. 24, jul. 7.
Etelka, febr. 5, dec. 16.
Eugen (Jenő,) jul. 13, nov. 15, dec. 25.
Eufernia, szept. 16.
Eukár, febr. 20.
Eulália, febr. 12, dec. 10.
Eustachius, márc. 29, szept. 20.
Euzéb, aug. 14, dec. 16.
Evald, okt. 3.
Ezechiel, ápr. 10.
Éliás, febr. 16, jul. 20.
Éva, dec. 24.
Ézsiás, jul. 6.

F

Fábián, jan. 20.
Fánni, márc. 9, aug. 20, okt. 5.
Farkas, okt. 31.
Faustinus, febr. 15.
Felicián, jun. 9.
Felicitas, jan. 11, márc. 7.
Félix (Bódog,) febr. 14, máj. 30, jun. 14, jul. 7, okt. 24, nov. 20.
Ferdinánd, máj. 30, okt. 19.
Ferenc, jan. 29, ápr. 25, jun. 16, jul. 24, okt. 4 és 10, nov. 9, dec. 3.
Ferike, máj. 20.
Fidél, márc. 23, ápr. 28.

Fildes, aug. 1.
Filemon, márc. 8.
Flavia, máj. 11.
Flavián, febr. 18.
Flóra, jun. 19, nov. 24.
Florentin okt. 17.
Flórián (Flóris,) máj. 4, jun. 4.
Fodor, márc. 6.
Fortunatus, jun. 1, okt. 24.
Franciska, márc. 9.
Frida, febr. 8.
Friderika, okt. 6.
Fridolin, márc. 6.
Frigyes, márc. 6. jul. 18, okt. 6.
Frozina, febr. 11.
Fülöp, máj. 1 és 26, aug. 23. okt. 22.

G

Gábor, febr. 10, márc. 24, ápr. 7, nov. 2.
Gabriella, febr. 10.
Gallus, okt. 16.
Gáspár, jan. 6, aug. 18.
Gebhard, aug. 27.
Gedeon, okt. 10.
Gellért, szept. 24.
Genovéva, jan. 3.
Gergely, márc. 12, máj. 9 és 25, nov. 17.
German, febr. 21, máj. 2 és 28.
Gertrud, márc. 18, aug. 1.
Gerváz, jun. 19.
Géza, jan. 16, febr. 25, márc. 23, máj. 10, nov. 18 és 23.
Ginda vagy Gunda, márc. 3.
Gizella, máj. 7.
Gordián, máj. 10.
Gottfried, máj. 7. nov. 8.
Gotthard, máj. 5.
Gottlieb, jul. 7.
Gorgonia, dec. 9.
Gorgonius, szept. 9.
Gracin, dec. 18.
Guidó, márc. 30, szept. 12.
Guntrám, márc. 28.
Gusztáv, ápr. 22, aug. 2.
Gyárfás, jun. 19.
György, ápr. 24, máj. 5, dec. 8.
Gyula, ápr. 12, máj. 27.
Győző, febr. 28, jul. 28.
Günther, okt. 9, nov. 28.

H

Hannibal, aug. 2.
Háromkirály (Gáspár, Menyhért, Boldizsár,) jan. 6.
Hartwig, aug. 21.
Hedwig, okt. 15 és 17.
Helén, aug. 18.
Heliodor, jul. 8.
Henriette, márc. 16.
Henrik, jan. 16, jul. 12.
Heribert, márc. 16.
Hermin, ápr. 13, máj. 6.
Herman (Ármin,) ápr. 7.
Hilár (Vidor,) jan. 14.
Hilaria, aug. 12.
Hildegard, szept. 17.
Hubert, márc. 20, nov. 8.
Hugó ápr. 1, nov. 17.
Humbertus, márc. 25.
Hyreonim, jul. 20, szept. 30.
Hygin, jan. 11.
Hipolit (Ipoly,) aug. 13.

I

Ida, márc. 14, szept. 4, nov. 3.
Ignác, febr. 1, jul. 31, dec. 15.
Illés, jul. 20, aug. 9.
Ilona, máj. 22, aug. 18, nov. 3.
Imre, nov. 5.
Imrike, jan. 23 és 30.
Ince, jul. 28, dec. 2.
Ipoly aug. 13.
Irén, ápr. 6.
Irma, márc. 26, jul. 4.
István, aug. 20, nov. 28, dec. 26.
Iván, jun. 24.
Ivó, máj. 20.
Izabella, jan. 4.
Izidor, jan. 7, ápr. 4.
Izrael, márc. 26.
Izsák, dec. 20, máj. 29.

J

Jácint, jul. 3, aug. 16, szept. 11.
Jakab máj. 1, jul. 11 és 25.
Janka, máj. 22.
Jairus, okt. 3.
János, jan. 23 és 27, febr. 8, márc. 8 és 27, jun. 12 és 27, jul. 12, aug. 20, okt. 22, nov. 24, dec. 27.
Jenő, jul. 13, nov. 18.
Jeromos, szept. 30, nov. 19.
Joachim, márc. 20, szept. 24, dec. 9.
Jób, máj. 24, szept. 2.
Jovita, febr. 15.
Jolán, nov. 18, jul. 24.
Jónás, nov. 12.
Jordán, febr. 13.
József, febr. 4, márc. 19, máj. 8, jun. 20, aug. 27, szept. 18.
Józsua, febr. 23.
Judit, jul. 30, dec. 10.
Judás, máj. 11, okt. 28.
Julia, (Julianna,) febr. 16, máj. 22, jun. 29.
Julián, jan. 9, febr. 17.
Jusztin, jun. 16.
Jusztina, ápr. 13, szept. 26, okt. 7.

K

Kajetán, aug. 7.
Kálmán, okt. 13.
Kalliszt, okt. 14.
Kamil, jul. 18.
Kamilla, jul. 27.
Kandid, okt. 3.
Kandida, dec. 2.
Kanut, jan. 19.
Karolina, jun. 14, jul. 14. nov. 4.
Károly, jan. 28, márc. 2, nov. 4.
Kaszter, febr. 13.
Katalin, febr. 23, ápr. 30, nov. 25, dec. 6.
Kázmér márc. 4, ápr. 16.
Kelemen, jan. 23, nov. 23, dec. 7.
Keresztély, máj. 14.
Kiltlib, jul. 8.
Kilit, ápr. 26.
Klára, aug. 12 és 18.
Klotild, jun. 3.
Kleofás, szept. 25.
Kolozs, okt. 30.
Konstancia, febr. 17.
Konstantin, máj. 21.
Konrád, febr. 19, nov. 26.
Kornél, jul. 3.
Kornélia, márc. 31.
Kordula, okt. 22.
Kozma, szept. 27.
Kristóf, márc. 15, jul. 25. dec. 18.
Krisztina, jul. 21.
Kunigunda, márc. 3.
Kuno, máj. 29.

L

Lajos, aug. 19 és 25.
Lambert, szept. 17.
László, jun. 27.
Lázár, febr. 21, dec. 17.
Laura, jun. 28.
Laura, márc. 28.
Lea, márc. 22.
Leó ápr. 11, jun. 28.
Leodegar, okt. 2.
Leander, febr. 27.
Leontine, jan. 28.
Lénárd, nov. 6.
Liberatus, aug. 17.
Livia, febr. 12, nov. 21.
Livius, febr. 28.
Lóránt, aug. 10, szept. 13
Lipót, nov. 15.
Lothár, ápr. 2.
Lőrinc, aug. 10, szept. 5.
Lucia, jul. 9, dec. 13.
Lucian máj. 27, okt. 2.
Ludovica, jul. 9.
Ludmilla, szept. 16.
Lujza, jun. 9 és 21.
Lukács, okt. 18.
Lukrécia, ápr. 7, jun. 7
Lydia, febr. 12, aug. 8.

M

Magdolna, máj. 27, jul. 22.
Magnus szept. 6.
Makár, jan. 2.
Malvina, okt. 7.
Manó, márc. 26.
Mansvét, febr. 19, szept. 3.
Marcellin, jan. 9 és 16, jun. 18, okt. 30.
Marcel, jan. 16, jun. 18.
Marcilán, jan. 10.
Margit, jan. 28. febr. 23, jun. 10, jul. 19.
Marius, jan. 19.
Mária, ápr. 9, jul. 22, aug. 15.
Márk, ápr. 25, jun. 18, okt. 10.
Mártha, jul. 19 és 27.
Márton, nov. 11.
Mártonka, jan. 30.
Máté, szept. 21.
Maternus, szept. 13.
Matild, jan. 11, márc. 14.
Mátyás, febr. 24.
Maximus, jan. 25.
Medárd, jun. 8.
Melánia, jan. 6.
Menyhért, jan. 6.
Mihály, máj. 8, szept. 29.
Miklós, febr. 23, márc. 23, szept. 10 és 29.
Miksa, máj. 29, okt. 12.
Modest, jan. 12, jun. 15 dec. 18.
Mór, jan. 15, febr. 21.
Móric, febr. 21, szept. 22.
Mózes szept. 4.

N

Narcis, okt. 29.
Nándor, máj. 30, okt. 19.
Napoleon, aug. 15.
Náthán, okt. 24.
Nathália, dec. 1.
Nemezius, dec. 19.
Nesztor, febr. 27.
Neszte, febr. 28.
Nikodém, szept. 15.
Noah, nov. 28.
Norbert, jun. 6.

O

Oktávián, márc. 22.
Olga, jun. 21.
Olimpia, ápr. 15.
Orbán, máj. 24.
Orsolya, okt. 21.
Oszkár, dec. 1.
Oszvald, febr. 28, aug 5.
Ottilia, dec. 12.
Ottmár, nov. 16.
Ottó, márc. 23, nov. 18.
Ottokár, nov. 4.
Örzsi, lásd Erzsébet.
Ödön, jun. 3, nov. 16 és 20.
Özséb, márc. 5, aug. 14, dec. 16.

P

Pál, jan. 10 és 25, márc. 7, jun. 26 és 30.
Paskál, máj. 17.
Patrik, márc. 17.
Paula, jan. 26, márc. 22, jul. 21.
Paulina, jun. 22, aug. 31.
Péter-Pál, jun. 29.
Péter, jan. 31, febr. 22, ápr. 16 és 29, máj. 19, aug. 1, okt. 19, dec. 5.
Piroska, jan. 18, nov. 28.
Pilus, máj. 5.
Pongrác, máj. 12.

R

Ráchel, jul. 11.
Rafael, okt. 24.
Rajner, jun. 17.
Rajmund, jan. 7, febr. 11, aug. 31.
Rebeka aug. 30.
Regina, szept. 7.
Reinhard, febr. 23.
Reinhold, jan. 12.
Rezső (Rudolf,) ápr. 17.
Rikárd, febr. 7, márc. 7, ápr. 3.
Róbert, ápr. 22, jun. 7.
Rókus, aug. 16.
Román, febr. 28, aug. 9.
Romana, febr. 23.
Roland, aug. 9.
Róza, aug. 30.
Rozália, szept. 4.
Rozina, márc. 11.
Rupert, márc. 27.

S

Salamon, febr. 8, szept. 14.
Salvator, márc. 18.
Sámson, jul. 28.
Samu, aug. 26.
Sándor, febr. 28, márc. 18, máj. 3.
Sára, jan. 19, máj. 19.
Sarolta, jul. 5.
Saturnin, nov. 29.
Skolastika, febr. 10.
Sebestyén, jan. 20.
Sergius, okt. 7.
Simon, febr. 18, okt. 28.
Simeon, jan. 5, okt. 28.
Simplicius, márc. 2.
Sótér, ápr. 22.
Soma, jul, 3.
Szaniszló, máj. 7, nov. 18.
Szebáld, aug. 19.
Szerafin, szept. 3, dec. 5.
Szervác, máj. 13.
Szeverin, nov. 8.
Szevér, okt. 23.
Szidonia, jun. 23, szept. 19.
Szilárd, febr. 17, márc. 11.
Szilvér jul. 20.
Szilveszter, dec. 31.
Sylvia, nov. 3.
Szörény, jan. 8.

T

Tádé, okt. 28.
Tamás, máj. 8, szept. 18 és 22, dec. 21 és 29.
Thekla, aug. 19, szept. 23.
Theodora, ápr. 30.
Tiberius, v. Tibor, ápr. 14.
Tibolt jul. 1.
Timóth, jan. 24, máj. 21.
Titus, jan. 4 szept. 18.
Tivadar, ápr. 1, nov. 9.
Tóbiás, jun. 13, szept. 12.
Tódor, febr. 6, nov. 9, szept. 11.

U

Ubald, máj. 17.
Ulrik, jul. 4.
Urika, aug. 6.

V

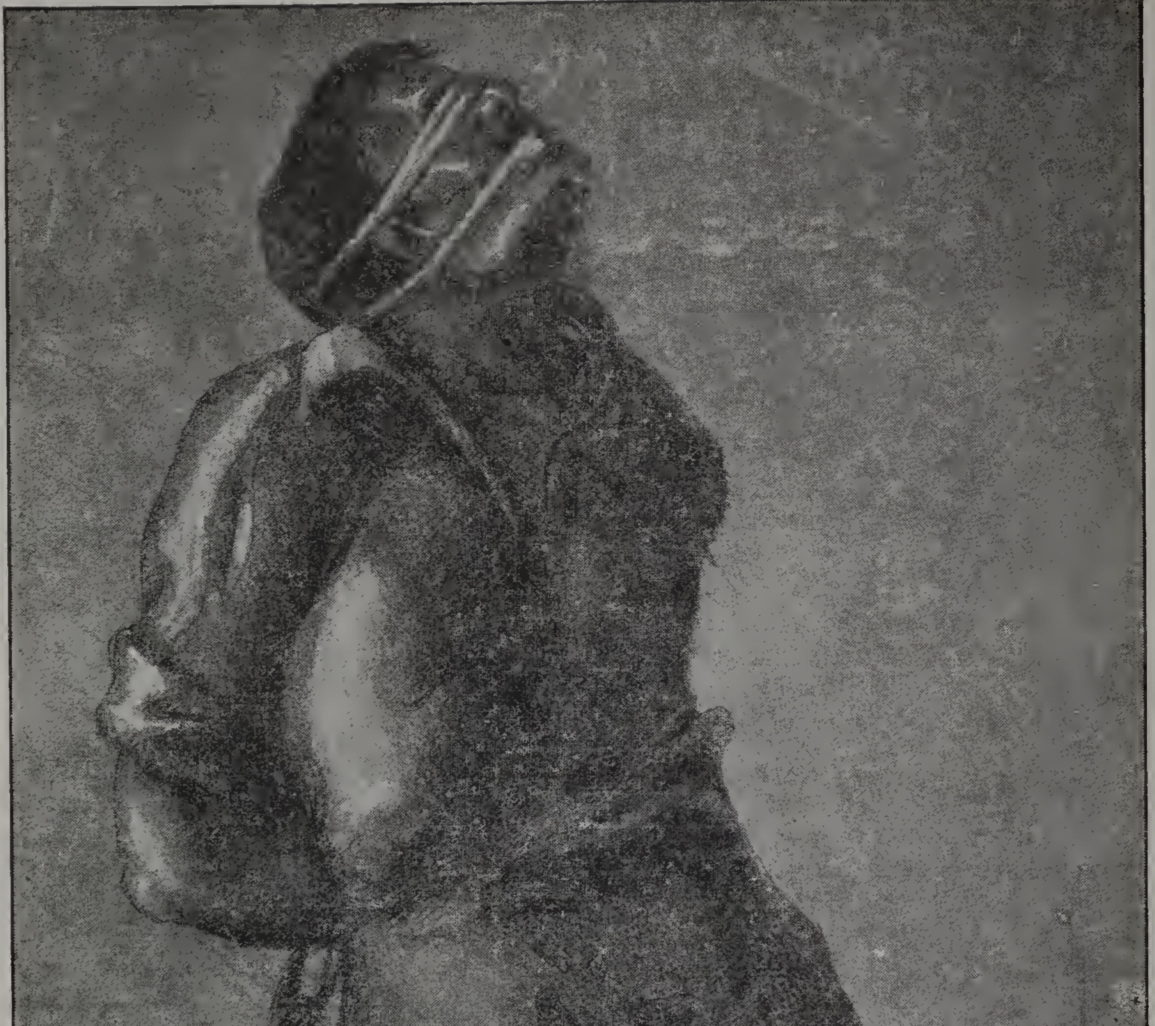
Valburgis, febr. 25.
Valér, jan. 29, ápr. 18, dec. 15.
Valter, nov. 29.
Vazul, nov. 29.
Venánc, máj. 18.
Vendel, okt. 20.
Vencel, szept. 28.
Veronika, jan. 13, febr. 4, jul. 9.
Victorian, márc. 23.
Viktor, febr. 11 és 26, jul. 28.
Viktória, máj. 10, szept. 5, dec. 23.
Vidor, jan. 13, okt. 21.
Vilibald, jul. 7.
Vilmos (Vilma,) jan. 10. ápr. 6, máj. 28, jun. 25. jul. 5, okt. 25.
Vince, jan. 22, ápr. 5, máj. 24, jul. 19.
Virgil, jan. 31, nov. 27.
Vitus, Vid, jun. 15.

X

Xavér, dec. 3.
Xenia, jan. 12.

Z

Zakariás, márc. 14, szept. 6.
Zéno, jun. 23.
Zenobius, okt. 29.
Zoltán, márc 8.
Zsigmond, máj. 2.
Zsófia, máj. 15.
Zsuzsanna, febr. 19. máj. 24, aug. 11.



A náci uj világrend szimbóluma.

GERÉB JÓZSEF

I. W. W.

I.W.W. — Ez három betü egy munkásszervezet angol nevének röviditése. A szervezet teljes neve: **Industrial Workers of the World.** — magyarul: **A Világ Ipari Munkásai.***

A munkásoknak szervezkedése, — UNION, (egyesülés) nem uj keletü dolog. Adataink vannak arra, hogy az őskori Görögországban az Athen város környéki ezüst bányákban a munkások Krisztus előtt 413-ban összebeszéltek és sztrájkba mentek. **összebeszéltek,** vagyis egyesültek, szervezetet alkottak és együttesen cselekedtek.

Minden munkásszervezetnek ez a lényege: **összebeszélnek és együttesen cselekszenek.** Más szóval UNION-t alkotnak, bizonyos szabályokat, törvényeket hoznak saját számukra és azok értelmében **együttesen járnak el.**

Azonban munkás unionokról valójában csak a modern iparok kifejlődése óta beszélhetünk. Régente egész természetes volt, hogy minden iparos bizonyos idő multán mester lett, aki aztán tanulókat és legényeket alkalmazott. Eleinte a munkás és a mester között bizonyos családi kötelékhez hasonló viszony állt fenn. Igy az iparosok szervezetei, amelyek egyes országokban "Céh" név alatt voltak ismeretesek, ugy a mester, mint az alkalmazottak érdekeit védték. Az iparok fejlődése folyamán azonban az ily szervezetek mindinkább csak a mesterek érdekeinek védelmére szoritkoztak. És mert a munkáltatók érdeke a munkabérek lenyomását követelte, a mesterek szervezkedése a szervezetlen munkások végtelen elnyomásához és kizsákmányolásához vezetett.

A munkáltatók szervezete segitette a mestereket abban is, hogy az egymás közötti versengést az árak korlátozásával mérsékelte. Lassanként aztán a munkások is rájöttek, hogy nekik is össze kell beszélni, meg kell egyezni, hogy milyen áron adják el azt, amiből élnek, — MUNKAEREJÜKET.

Ettől aztán már csak egy lépés volt a valódi munkásszervezetek, az union-ok megalakitása. Elősegitette az ily szervezetek felépitését a magántulajdon szentségébe vetett évszázados hit is. A munkás is ilyen magántulajdonnak tartotta az ő szaktudását, melyet individuálisan, egymással versenyezve árultak. Most szövetkeztek és a munkaerejeük árát közösen szabták meg. Hogy milyen sikeres volt ez az eljárás, következtethetünk abból, hogy Angliában már 1800-ban törvényesen büncselekménynek mondták a munkások ilyen gazdasági egyesülését.

Szakszervezetek.

A munkás uniok azonban minden üldöztetés dacára is tovább fejlődtek. És mint mondottuk, SZAKTUDÁSUKAT VITTÉK ÁRUBA, SZAKTUDÁSUK ÉRTÉKÉNEK EMELÉSÉRE SZÖVETKEZTEK, azért az ily unionokat SZAKSZERVEZETEK névvel jelölték. A szakszervezetben minden szakmának külön unioja van, melyek között legfeljebb csak valami laza szövetség jött létre.

Egy ideig az ilyen szervezkedési forma elegendő is volt, mert a különböző iparok között csak nagyon kevés összeköttetés állt fenn. Csaknem minden mühelyben elkészitették a teljes ipari cikket és éppen azért a munkásoknak nagy szaktudásra volt szükségük. Az iparcikkek, ruházat, háziszerek, épületek, stb. általában egyszerüek voltak és igy természetszerüleg az ipar szakmákra oszlott. A szakmák szerinti szervezkedés tehát elegendőnek mutatkozott, mert bérharcok esetén a munkáltatók nem fogadhattak fel a szakmán kivül álló, tehát szakmai tudással nem rendelkező munkásokat.

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*Mielőtt a szervezetet részletesebben ismertetnénk, meg kell jegyeznünk, hogy ezen szervezettel kapcsolatban az "ipar" szó fogalmát nem ugy értelmezzük, mint azt a magyar nyelvben megszoktuk. A magyar nyelv szerint a kőmüves, a gépész, az ács, stb. iparosok; ellenben a födmüvelő, a kereskedő, a tanitó, stb. nem tartoznak az iparosok közé. Az IPAR fogalma alá veszünk MINDEN TÁRSADALMILAG HASZNOS MUNKÁT, vagyis olyan munkát, ami az általános életszinvonal fenntartásához és fejlesztéséhez hozzájárul. Eszerint az arató munkás a földmüvelő iparban dolgozik, a tanitó a nevelésügyi iparban, az orvos a közegészségügyi iparban, stb.

Az iparok azonban rohamos fejlődésnek indultak. A mindinkább tökéletesebb gépek a munkát megosztották, a szakmai tudás leapadt s ma már a legtöbb nagyiparban szükségtelenné vált. Ma a nagyobb iparteleepeken a nagy tömeg munkásnak nincs szüksége szakmai tudásra, csupán egy kisebbségnek, akiket viszont számtalan szakmából válogatnak együvé. Egy nagy automobil gyárban például legalább 50 különböző szakmáju munkást találhatunk a nagy tömeg szakma nélküli munkás mellett. Mármost egész nyilvánvaló, hogy ha ezen munkásokat szakmáik szerint külön-külön szerveznénk, akkor jó részüket egyáltalán nem lehetne szervezetben egyesiteni, a többieket pedig számos, egymástól független, egymással mit sem törődő unionokban csoportositanánk és bérharcok esetén mig az egyik csoport sztrájkol a másik tovább folytatja a munkát és igy az egyik csoport segit leverni a másik csoportnak a harcát.

Az ipar öntudatos munkása.

Most már ez olyan nyilvánvaló, hogy mindenki látja. Éppen azért nagy dicsérettel kell megemlékeznünk az I. W. W. megalakitóiról, akik az ipari fejlődésnek ilyen menetét már 1905-ben látták és azért kimondották, hogy a MUNKÁSOKAT NEM SZAKMÁK HANEM IPAROK SZERINT KELL SZERVEZNI.

Kimondották, hogy a szakszervezkedés már nem szolgálja a munkások érdekeit, hanem éppen ellenkezők, utját állja annak. Olyan unionra van a munkásoknak szükségük, melynél bérharcok esetén, ha kell, a kérdéses ipar összes munkásai sztrájkba menjenek és ne segitsék letörni, hanem támogassák egymás bérharcait. De mert az amerikai nagy munkás szervezet, az American Federation of Labor **makacsul ragaszkodott, sőt ragaszkodik ma is a szakmai szervezkedési formához, szükségesnek tartották egy ipari szervezetnek, az Industrial Workers of the World szervezet megalakitását.**

A szakszervezetnek azonban az emlitett hibáin kivül más, igen lényeges hátrányai is vannak. A szakszervezet a mai állapotokat örökositeni igyekszik. Szakszervezeti elgondolás szerint a munkáltatóé minden termelvény és abból csak valamivel többet igyekszik szerezni a munkások számára. A szakszervezet valóban csak a munkaerőt ÁRULJA és igy fenn akarja tartani a mai rendszert, HOGY VEVŐ IS LEGYEN.

Ezzel szemben az I.W.W. megalapitói a marxizmus, illetőleg a tudományos szocializmus alapján állva kimondották, a munkások SZERVEZKEDÉSÉNEK VÉGCÉLLAL KELL BIRNIA. EZ A VÉGCÉL A BÉRRENDSZER MEGSZÜNTETÉSE.

A marxizmus továbbvitele.

Marx és társai kimutatták, hogy az a módszer, miként az élethez szükséges javakat előállitjuk, — termeljük, mint ezt a marxi irásokban mondják, állandóan fejlődik, változik. Az a rendszer, amiben most élünk és amelyet tőkés termelési rendszernek, avagy bér-rendszernek is neveznek, nem öröktől fogva létezik és nem is fog örökké tartani. Marx figyelte a társadalom fejlődését és észrevette ezt a változást. A mai társadalmi rendszer tehát nem azért változik meg, mintha Marx és társai valami formát gondoltak volna ki egy uj rendszer számára és aztán a követőik ezen rendszert szeretnék megvalósitani, hanem csak a fejlődés irányát figyelve kimutatták, hogy miként az előbbi feudális, vagy hübéri rendszert felváltotta a mai tőkés termelési rendszer, ugy ezt is egy fejlettebb rendszer fogja követni, **amelyben a termelés irányitása a dolgozók kezében lesz és nem a profitért fognak termelni, hanem, azért, mert az ipari termelvényekre szükségünk van** és igy a mai nagy szükséget az ipari termelvényekbeni bőség fogja felváltani.

Marx és társai azonban nem mondották ki, hogy a munkásság miként fogja átvenni a termelést. Éppen azért neveztük őket tudományos szocialistáknak, hogy nem bocsájtkoztak jövendölésekbe. És az ő korukban ez csak jövendölés lett volna. Azonban félszázaddal később az I.W.W. megalakitói már tisztábban láthatták ezt a dolgot és kimondották, hogy a munkásság átveheti az iparokat, ha iparilag szervezkedik, mert az ipari szervezetben meg van mindazon erő és tudás, ami az ipar folytatásához szükséges. Igy az I.W.W. ÁLTAL KÉPVISELT FORRADALMI IPARI UNIONIZMUS A MARXIZMUSNAK EGY LÉPÉSSEL VALÓ TOVÁBBVITELE.

Az I.W.W. megalapitói marxi felfogásukról adtak bizonyitékot, midőn az elvinyilatkozatban ezt mondották:

ELVINYILATKOZAT

A munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni összpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszik arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharc esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden, az egy iparban — vagy ha kell, valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát bármikor, ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti.

E maradi jelszó helyett: "Tisztességes napibért tisztességes napi munkáért," ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "LE A BÉRRENDSZERREL!"

A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét építjük, a régi társadalom keretein belül.

Elérkezett az idő.

Minél fejlettebbek lettek az iparok, annál inkább kitünt, hogy az I.W.W. megalakitóinak igazuk volt. Kitünt, hogy a magántulajdon jogra épitett kapitalista termelés csődöt mondott. Csak óriási méretü pangások és gigászi világháboruk során át tartotta magát az utóbbi évtizedekben. Most már világszerte hirdetik, hogy ha rövidesen el nem pusztul ez a rendszer, akkor vele pusztul az emberi civilizáció is.

Nyilvánvaló lett hogy a termelést észszerü módon szabályozni kell. A kapitalista rendszerben fennálló rendszertelenséget, őrült versenyt, fel kell váltani a tudatosan irányitott TERVEZETT TERMELÉSNEK. Az utóbbi évtizdek alatt kitünt, hogy az emberiség legfontosabb kérdései: mennyi élelemre, ruhára, lakásra, nevelésre, szórakozásra, stb. van szükségünk? És hogyan lehet ezen szükségletet a leggazdaságosabban és a legnagyobb bőségben kielégiteni?

Az észnélküli versenyző, csak a

profitot néző és kereső anarchisztikus tőkés termelés nem tud feletetet adni ezen kérdésekre. AZ EDDIG ZABOLÁTLAN TERMELÉST TERVSZERÜEN IRÁNYITANI KELL, HOGY A NÉPMILLIÓK SZÜKSÉGLETEIT KIELÉGITSÜK. **De ki fogja az iparokat irányitani?** Az utolsó évtized azt a kérdést tolta előtérbe, mert azt, hogy irányitani kell, már nyilvánvalóvá lett.

Az I.W.W. megalakitói kimondották, hogy a termelést CSAK MAGUK A MUNKÁSOK IRÁNYITHATJÁK ÉS KONTROLÁLHATJÁK SIKERESEN IPARI SZERVEZETEIK SEGÉLYÉVEL. Az első világháborut követő forradalmak során Oroszországban sikerült a termelés irányitását kivenni a BIRTOKOSOK kezeiből, de a kontrol nem a munkásság, hanem a forradalmat irányitó politikai párt kezébe ment át. Mindazonáltal a termelést birtokló tőkésosztályt világszerte rémületbe ejtette és készségesen segitették a fasizmus minden fajtáját, amelyek révén kiváltságaikat remélték megtartani.

A fasizta terror-szervezetek azonban olyan erőre tettek szert, hogy fegyveres hatalmukra támaszkodva saját maguk részére követelték az iparok fölötti uralmat. Ellensulyozásukra az ugynevezett demokrata államokban egy uj középosztály került hatalomra, amely a termelés részleges kontrolálását követelve a munkástömegekre támaszkodik, hogy hatalmukat megtarthassák és tovább fejlesszék.

Az Ipari Állam.

Ezekkel szemben az I.W.W. AZT HIRDETI, HOGY A MUNKÁSSÁG. HA IPARILAG SZERVEZKEDIK, KÉPES AZ IPAROK IRÁNYITÁSÁRA, A TERMELÉS ÁTVÉTELÉRE DIREKT, MINDEN KÖZBEESŐ MÁS OSZTÁLY SEGITSÉGE NÉLKÜL. Nincs szükségünk semmiféle politikai szervezetre, bürokrata csoportra, még kevésbé kalandorok által vezetett terrorszervezetekre, amelyek szerepe társadalmi életünkben ugyanis csak ideiglenes lehet és csak a népmilliók szenvedéseit fokozzák.

Az I.W.W. azt tartja, hogy minden dologképes férfi és nő, bizonyos korhatárok között, kell, hogy HASZNOS MUNKÁT VÉGEZZEN. Másszóval mindenki, aki más emberek munkatermelvényeit használja fel élete fentartásához, kell, hogy SZINTÉN HASZNOS MUNKÁVAL FIZESSEN AZON JAVAKÉRT, AMIT ÉLVEZ. És aki hasznos munkát végez, az valamely ipari szervezetben megtalálja helyét.

Az I.W.W. felfogása szerint az összes hasznos munkákat felölelik a következő ipari departmentek: 1, földmüvelés; 2, bányászat; 3, épitészet; 4, általános gyári termelés; 5, szállitás; 6, közszolgálat. Ezen departmentek aztán ujra alosztályokra oszlanak. Természetesen az iparok fejlődésével a beosztás is megváltoztatható, ha arra szükség lesz.

Már most könnyen érthető, hogy egy ilyen department központi tisztviselői vannak arra hivatva, hogy megmondják, mennyi termelvényre van szükség és hogy annak előállitására mennyi nyersanyag, munkás, stb. kell. És mert EZEK AZ IGAZÁN FONTOS KÉRDÉSEK, A PARLAMENTEK ÉS EGYÉB POLITIKAI INTÉZMÉNYEK MINDINKÁBB ALÁRENDELTEBB SZEREPET FOGNAK JÁTSZANI, MIG AZTÁN VÉGLEGESEN MEGSZÜNNEK.

A jövő IPARI ÁLLAMÁNAK parlamentjében tehát nem politikai pártok kiküldöttjei lesznek, hanem az IPAROKNAK A KÉPVISELŐI. Az I.W.W. hiveinek ezt a megállapitását sokan tévesen POLITIKA-ELLENES MAGATARTÁSNAK MINŐSITIK. Valójában azonban ez csak kifejezése annak, hogy a fejlődési menetet miként látják. És amennyiben ez a fejlődés azt mutatja, hogy a munkásságon kivül álló politikai rétegekre a jövő ipari államában nincs hely, a politikai pártokkal és intézményeikkel nem törődve hirdetik a forradalmi ipari unionizmus eszméjét, **hogy az uj társadalom szerkezetét már most épithessék, a régi társadalom keretein belül.**

● ● ● ● ●

Amerikai városok között a legkevesebb halálozási arányt Denver Colorádó tartja.

VISI ISTVÁN

AMERIKA TERMELÉSI ÉS FOGYASZTÁSI SZÜKSÉGLETE

MINDEN gondolkozó munkás tudja, hogy meg tudnánk termelni a teljes szükségletet Amerikai lakossága részére, még a mai haszonrendszer keretein belül is, ha az üzemek urai megengednék, hogy azokat teljes üzembe tarthassuk. Azt is megállapithatjuk, hogy sokkal többet tudunk termelni, mint a fogyasztási lehetőség, még akkor is, ha minden családnak 2000 dollár minimális évi jövedelme volna, nem ugy mint jelenleg, amikor 19 millió családnak évi jövedelme alul van, még az 1.500 dolláron is.

Amerika 1929-ben érte el az üzem teljesitmény tetőfokát, ezen évben termeltek 81 billió dollár értékben, vagyis a termelési és más szolgálati pénzforgalom kitette a fenti összeget. De a külföldi befektetések utáni haszon és a spekulációkon nyert összegekkel kapcsolatosan 92 billió dollár forgalmat mutatnak ki, az 1929-s évre, azonban mi csak az első, azaz a 81 billió dolláros forgalmat vesszük alapul, melyben benne van a haszon, kamat, adó és más forgalom, mely a mai rendszernek fontos alkatrészei.

Persze, hogy a 81 billió dollár értékü termelvényt nem tudtuk visszavásárolni, 1929. évben amikor még legtöbben dolgoztunk is, ami azért történt, mert fizetések fejében csak 65 billió dollárt kaptunk vissza, melyben még a nagy korporáció elnökeinek fél millió dolláros fizetései is benne vannak. Tehát 16 billió dollárt haszon és kamat fejében vontak ki a forgalomból, ami előidézte azt, hogy a raktárakban maradt az áru, nem birtuk viszszavásárolni.

Az állami vizsgálatok, reportok szerint, melyet a Brooking Institution két könyvben foglalva adott ki, még ezen legjobb évben 1929-ben is, csak átlag 70%-ban voltak az üzemek termelőkepessége kihasználva. Tehát ha teljes mértékben használtuk volna az üzemeket és szerszámokat, 100 billión felül termelhettünk volna. Viszont, hogy elhasználhassuk amit termelhettünk volna, föltétlen szükséges, hogy legkevesebb 2000 dollár jövedelme legyen minden családnak és hogy az esetleges 20 billió dolláros hasznot ujabb befektetésekbe tudják tenni a kapitalisták. Amire kilátás nincsen, sem egyik sem másik föltétlen szükséges követelményre, mely még esetleg lehetővé tenné a mai rendszer további normális funkcióját.

Csak egy kis szemléltető példa, hogy mennyit termeltünk és mennyit tudtunk volna termelni:

	1929-ben	képesség
Áram klwt. ..	91,700.000	200,000.000
Automobil	5.621,715	8.562,758
Cement	209,600.000	257,487.000

Ezt lehetne folytatni sok más lékben használják a meglevő üzemeket fejlesztési ipar, ahol ma alig 38 százalékban használják a meglevő üzemeket és mégis az előállitási költség háromszorosát számitják a fogyasztásért, mely nagyban csökkenti a villany használatát minden felé.

Eltekintve attól a közismert ténytől, hogy a verseny rendszer alapján leginkább a "boom" évben 1929-ben, a munkánk, üzemeink és szállitási eszközeink energiáját, teljesitő képességét 40 százalékban elpazarolták, a hirdetések, ügynökségek, a szétosztási rendszer duplikációja és az ország egyik részéről a másik részére való szállitások olyan cikkeknek, melyet ottan is gyártanak, például Chicago vidékéről New York vidékére és viszont.

Fogyasztási képességünk.

Elegendő volna a 100 billió dolláros évi termelés elfogyasztására, ha egy-egy családnak legalább két ezer dolláros évi jövedelmet, fogyasztási lehetőséget adnának, melyet most 23 millió családtól megtagadnak. De ezek között 8 millió családnak még az évi 750 dolláron aluli összeg áll fogyasztásra. A kormány beismerése szerint a 8 millió család lassu éhinségben szenved, rosszul táplált, minden betegségre hajlamos gyermekeket nevelnek, melyet a mostani kényszersorozás adatai fényesen bizonyitanak.

Tehát csak elméletben számithatjuk, hogy 100 billió dollár értékü árut eltudnánk fogyasztani. Ez átlag véve a szükségleti cikkeknél tenne nagy különbséget, mint az élelem, ruha és hajlék, melyek nagyobb mértékben és jobb minőségben a következő formában emelnék az évi fogyasztást:

Élelem, 3.100 millió; Otthon 4.700; Ruhanemü 2.200; Vegyes szükségletre 5.400, tehát összesen 15 billió 400 millió dolárral több mint 1929-ben a legjobb évben elfogyasztottunk.

Egyes családnak, hogy élvezhesse az amerikai életszinvonalat, a következő mennyiségben kellene használni a szükségleti cikkeket: Évente élelemre 770; otthonra 690; ruhára 350; vegyes szükségletre 240 dollár, összesen 2.450 dollár. Ez a szükséglet az 1929. évi árakhoz van szabva, mely az egész cikk alapja képen van elfogadva, mint legjobb éve az amerikai termelési és fogyasztási adatoknak.

Ezt még a prosperitás legjobb évében sem tették lehetővé 23—24 millió család részére, akiknek évi bevétele a megkivánt összegen alul volt még a legjobb évben is. Tehát csak üres frázis, az amerikai életszinvonal, legfeljebb csak, vagy hat millió család élvezheti azt, az Amerikában élő 29 millió család közül. Ez az arány mindég a szegényebb családok szaporodását és a gazdagabb családok kisebbségét idézi elő, amint a vagyon mindég kisebbedő osztály kezébe kerül, amig a szegénység mindég többeket érint. Ez megváltoztathatatlan törvénye a kapitalista rendszernek.

Az összehasonlitás kedvéért, megemlitjük, hogy miből mennyit fogyasztott el az olyan család, amelynek évente 10.000 dollár állt rendelkezésére: Élelemre 1.060; otthonra 2.290; ruhára 900; vegyes szükségletre 2.500 dollárt, mely mennyiséget nem sokkal mulják felül a sokkal több jövedelemmel rendelkező családok évi fogyasztásai, mert egy ember csak egy ember helyett tud enni, ruházkodni. Legfényesebb életmód tehát 7.290 dollárba kerül, melyet még nem nevezhetünk pazarlásnak. Ezen felüli összeget vagy elpazarolják, vagy ujabb befektetésekbe teszik, hogy még nagyobb jövedelemre tehessenek szert és még több befektetéseket eszközölhessenek.

Az alábbi statisztikai kimutatást száraznak, de szükségesnek találjuk, hogy ezeket a horribilis számokat, jobban az eszünkbe véssük és tudjunk számadatokat idézni, amidőn ezekről beszélgetünk, tanácskozunk.

Egyes ember termelőképességének emelkedése százalékokban az 1900. évet véve 100 százaléknak: 1922-ben 115; 1929-ben 136 százalék, tehát egy ember 36 százalékkal többet termelt, mint 1900. évben. Ezt átlag véve alapul, belefoglalva a mezőgazdaságot is, mely nem haladt lépést az ipari termelés fokozásával, vagyis, amig némely iparban egyes ember termelő képessége a 200 százalékot érte el, a mezőgazdaság alig emelkedett 15 százalékot az 1900-as évhez viszonyitva.

Bevételek a termelő és szétosztási intézmények és munkásainak:

	Végösszeg	Munkásoknak	Üzemek száma	Üzemek haszna
1900. évben	$17,035.	$ 9,650.	6,080.	....
1910. évben	27,726.	15,090.	7,263.	$ 4,077.
1915. évben	35,200.	19,361.	8,489.	5,233.
1920. évben	67,325.	42,283.	15,335.	8,310.
1925. évben	75,918.	46,855.	15,960.	10,252.
1929. évben	81.940.	53,350.	14,188.	12,164.

(A dollárok milliókban értendők)

VINCE SÁNDOR

EMLÉKEZÉS EGY NYÁR-ÉJSZAKÁRA

“Az égből dühödt angyal
Dobolt riadót a szomoru földe . . . .”
Ady.

FORRÓ agusztus volt Pesten 1919-ben.

A vörös hadsereget a románok már julius vége felé szétszórták a Tiszánál. A vesztett háboru után a munkásság ép ugy elvesztette az ország feletti hatalmát, mintahogy az uri osztályok elvesztették hatalmukat, amikor az ő hadseregüket verte szét a szövetségesek ereje az Isonzónál 1918-ban.

A népbiztosok — a szabad elvonulás feltétele alatt — átadták az ország kormányzását a Peidl Gyula elnöklete alatti szakszervezeti kormánynak.

A kötést a szovjetkormány nevében Weltner Jakab és Bőhm Vilmos csinálták Bécsben a francia Allizée és az angol Cunningham megbizottakkal.

A Bécsben tartózkodó magyar arisztokraták és tőkések, élükön a ravasz Bethlen Istvánnal nagyon örültek a kötésnek, koncentrációs kormányt szorgalmaztak, udvaroltak a szociáldemokratáknak és siettek az első gyorsvonattal Pestre azt gondolva, hogy egy-kettőre visszaállitják a régi nemes Magyarországot.

Hát olyan gyorsan a dolog nem ment, ahogy ők elképzelték, tévedtek, mert kihagyták a számitásból a háboru utáni lumpenburzsoáziát és annak főhadiszállását a pesti Sörház uccát.

A Sörház uccában székelt az Ébredő Magyarok Egyesülete és az egyesületben ott szónokolt már éjjel-nappal Friedrich István fiatal magyar-sváb gépészmérnök.

Ez a lelkiismeretlen kalandor, valamikor a Károlyi párt tagja volt és a háboru kitörése után Mátyásföldön “A Nép” cimen lapott adott ki, melyben barátjával, Csizmadia Sándorral, a később teljesen elzüllött, árulóvá lett proletár-költővel bátor háboru ellenes cikkeket irt.

A háboru végső vonaglásának sorsdöntő napjaiban, mikor a Nemzeti Tanács még nem merte kikiáltani a forradalmat — Friedrich István már megszimatolta, hogy vége van a Hapsburg dinasztiának, megszervezte az uccát, megostromolta a Lánchid őrségét és parázs kis csatával vezette be a hamarosan kitörő forradalmat. A forradalom kitörése után bement a hadügyminiszterium épületébe, elfoglalta az államtitkári szobát és kinevezte önmagát hadügyi államtitkárnak. Nekem még ebben a minőségben adott telefonon utasitásokat Kolozsvárra különféle katonai természetü dolgokban.

A Károlyi kormány néhány hét mulva kidobta az államtitkárságból megalázta és megbélyegezte — mondván róla, hogy megbizás nélkül, stréber kalandorként ült be az államtitkári székbe.

A forradalomból kizavart embernek csak két utja lehet az életben. Vagy a teljes visszavonultságba, — vagy az ellenforradalomba vezető. És Friedrich az utóbbit választotta. Bement a Sörház uccai tanyára és élére állt a söpredéknek. Tehetségesebb bátrabb és lelkiismeretlenebb lévén a többi ott összeverődött kalandornál, — csakhamar ő lett a vezér.

Friedrichet a bécsi paktum és a grófok nem érdekelték. Egy csapat rendőrrel és egy szakasz kölcsönkért román katonával megint megrohamozta a Lánchidat, amelyen most már akadálytalanul jutott fel a miniszterelnöki palotába. Felérkezve — az ellenforradalom jogára és erejére hivatkozással — letartóztatta a szakszervezeti kormányt, kinevezte önmagát miniszterelnöknek, barátait minisztereknek átvette Magyarország kormányzását és elinditotta a fehér terror furiáit!

A zsidó és munkás gyülölet volt az uj politikai rend, az ugynevezett “keresztény kurzus elvi alapja. A vérontás, börtönzés, a kibacsök és a herélőkés voltak az “eszmeterjesztés” eszközei. Egy minden hatalmat kiszolgálni kész, gyáva hivatalnok-sereg, a hivatását nem tudó papság, a javaiért reszkető és az adófizetéstől irtózó polgárság és egy dologtalan életet veszélyben látó katonatiszti kaszt voltak a segitői és hatalomra juttatói a történelem eladdig legsötétebb gazfickóinak!

Megnyilt a magyar história leggaládabb fejezete: a fehér terror korszaka, Horthy Miklós uralma!

Pár hét mulva a magyar urak kezdték visszanyerni a bátorságukat. A bolseviki ördög veszedelme is mulóban volt már. Ugy látták, hogy miután a sváb-magyar gépészmérnök megmentette számukra a hazát — legjobb lesz, ha most már eltünik a balfenéken. Nem kellett már nekik ez a nagyszáju és üres parvenü, hát ki akarták rugni. De Friedrich már nem volt olyan könnyen kirugható, mint forradalmár korában. Hosszu és nehéz harca volt vele a magyar uri világnak, amig ki birta végezni. És végül is csak Garami Ernő segitségével sikerült ez nekik!

Érdemes feljegyezni a fehér terror történetét kutatók okulására, hogy ez hogyan történt.

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Szeptemberre már elég erősnek érezték magukat a grófok, hogy megrohamozzák az első Friedrich kormányt. Egy-két vásárolható alakot könnyen megvettek maguknak Friedrich táborában, — a többit a magyar politika öreg hamiskártyásai már a szokott politikai intrikákkal intézték el. Megjött az első kormányválság, amikor az ellenforradalom még alig három hónapos volt csupán! Friedrich megérezte, hogy honnan fuj a szél; — bátor lépésre határozta el magát. A szociáldemokratákhoz fordult segitségért a közös ellenség legyürésére!

Egy éjjel megjelentek Nyul uccai buvóhelyemen a temesvári Roth Ottó, az aradi Varjassy Lajos és Preusz Mór, a Typographia szerkesztője. Ironbridge angol generális kocsiján és az ő tudtával jöttek és közölték, hogy Friedrich sürgősen tárgyalni akar a szociáldemokratákkal és ajánlatot akar tenni a kormány ujjászervezésére. Közölték azt is, hogy Friedrich — tett igérete szerint — véget akar vetni a terrornak és a szociáldemokratákkal akar összemüködni.

TIZENNÉGY ÉV

(Ady emlékéhez)

Zilah, Debrecen, Várad és Páris..
A gyorsvonat az éccakában fut.
Koporsó zárja, szemfedő fedi —
Valaki még ma csillagokba jut.

Valaki mindent elsirt, ami fájó,
Valaki öklöt rázott vakmerően,
Valaki szivárványt vetett az égre
Izzadságos, rossz magyar mezőn.

Illés szekerén ragadták az égbe,
Rongyos, szomoru, paraszt angyalok.
Tizennégy éve teritették testét —
Azóta folyton élő a halott.

Él, prédikál, dalol és követel
Csákok házára tüzcsóvát hajit,
Dózsa Györgyöknek koldus éhes népe
Igy még szívébe nem zárt valakit.

A história százszor megtaposta,
De él a föld s két uj paraszti rendje,
Nagy, számonkérő akaratok gyulnak
Te gyujtod őket, urunk, Ady Endre!

Pajzsunk, reményünk, bátor bizodalmunk
Ezernyi szörnyü véres poklon át,
A sirod partján állók felkiáltnak
Egy kemény, harci Jézus-Máriát.

Vezess Ady Endre!

Góra Lajos

A pesti rendőrség cellái és az összes pesti börtönök már zsufolásig tele voltak akkor a legjava szervezett munkásokkal. Az embereket a megvadult rendőri fenevadak ütötték, verték, kinozták. A párttitkárság zsufolva volt panaszkodó asszonyokkal, akiknek hozzátartozóit a rendőrök és katonai különitmények válogatás nélkül tartóztatták le és hurcolták el. Szörnyü időket éltünk át a párttitkárságban nappal — és még szörnyübbeket a bujkálásban éjszaka.

Természetesen nagyon örültem, hogy Friedrich egyszerre frontot akar változtatni és boldogan csatlakoztam Preuszhoz. Éjfél után értünk fel a várba az angol lobogóju kocsin. Friedrich már várt ránk és bevezetett a hires vörös szobába. Ott tárgyaltunk.

Amikor asztalhoz ültünk elmondta magát és azt mondta, választójogot, kal és az egész ellenforradalommal. Az októberi forradalom hivének vallotta magát és azt mondta, választójogot, közszabadságokat, köztársaságot és békét akar. Őszinteségét bizonyitandó kivett a zsebéből egy iv papirt, amelyen az uj kormány tagjai voltak felirva. Három miniszteri tárcát és hat államtitkárságot a szociáldemokrata pártnak ajánlott fel. Garamit külügyminiszternek akarta. Lovászyt nem akarta bevenni a kabinetbe, — de amikor mi ragaszkodtunk hozzá, beleegyezett. Nagyatádi Szabót azonban semmi körülmények között nem akarta.

“Ez a bitang paraszt a legkorruptabb embere a magyar politikának! — mondta — vegyük be helyette Sokorópátkai Szabót, aki intelligensebb is és tisztességes ember.”

A listát átvettük azzal, hogy másnap délelőttre összehivjuk a pártvezetőséget, előterjesztjük a javaslatot és értesitjük a határozatról. Megmondtuk neki, hogy még a tárgyalásra se volt megbizatásunk.

Reggel 4 órakor hagytuk el a palotát. Tárgyalásaink alatt egyszer Csilléry, másszor Ereky nyitott be, de látva, hogy Friedrich el van foglalva, — nem zavarták a tárgyalást.

Amikor Csilléry benyitott megkérdeztem tőle, hogy mi a terve ezekkel?

Friedrich igy felelt:

“Ha én a szociáldemokrata párttal együtt mehetek, akkor ezeket a senkiket mind egy szálig kirugom. Ezek zsidófalásból akarnak élni és ezzel akarják az éhező országot etetni. Én nem vagyok antiszemita.”

Mikor a tárgyalásokat befejeztük Preusz Mór a következő kérdéssel fordult Friedrichhez:

“Van-e tudomása róla miniszterelnök ur, hogy ma a Nap nyomdában kiszedtek egy nagy plakátot, amely közli Garami Ernőnek egy állitólagos nyugtáját, amit 700 font sterlingről adott Kunnak, valamilyen ezután végzendő sajtószolgálatért?!”

“Tudom! A plakátot én rendeltem! Azonnal intézkedem, hogy ki ne ragasszák!”

Ezzel elváltunk.

—

Reggel 8 órakor már a pártitkárságban voltunk mind a hárman Varjassy nem jött el. A pártvezetőségi tagokat telefon utján hivtuk össze. Kilenckor már kezdődött az ülés.

Elmondtuk, hogy hol jártunk az éjszaka és kértünk a kérdésben sürgős határozatot.

Peidl Gyula volt az első felszólaló, aki azt a véleményét fejezte ki, hogy Garami nem fog tárcát vállalni a Friedrich kormányban. Ha pedig Garami nem vállalja, — akkor ő se vállalja.

Buchinger összeszidott minket, hogy miért álltunk szóba ezzel a csirkefogó Friedrich Istvánnal és haragudott, hogy a pártvezetőség felhatalmazása nélkül tárgyaltunk.

Megnyugtattuk, hogy azok az elvtársak, akiket ütöttek-vertek a rendőrségen — majd megadják a felmentést, ha kijönnek. Erre Buchinger elhallgatott.

A jó emlékü Somogyi Béla szólalt fel ezután és kifejtette, hogy valamikor az volt a párt álláspontja, hogy a választójogért — az ördöggel is szövetkezünk. Ha a választójog elég értékes volt arra, hogy az ördöggel szövetkezzünk, akkor a tizezrével elfogott és kinzott elvtársaink szabadsági és élete még jobb arra, hogy akár egy csirkefogóval is szövetkezzünk! Somogyi ajánlotta, hogy fogadjuk el Friedrich ajánlatát.

A pártvezetőség többsége az elfogadás mellett látszott dönteni, amikor Payer Károly lépett a terembe és letette az asztalra a Friedrich plakátját a 700 fontról. Az ellenforradalom parvenüje elfelejtette a plakátot letiltani. Természetesen a pártvezetőség elutasitotta ajánlatát.

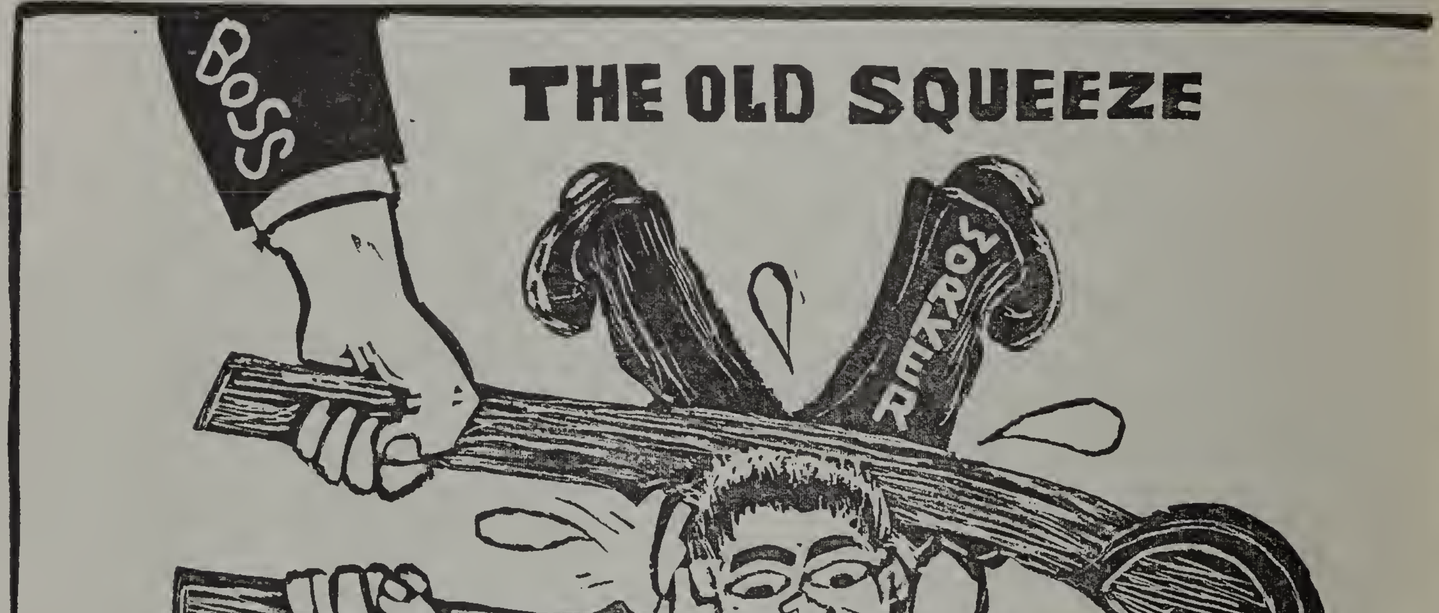
A választ én telefonáltam meg neki, élénken a szemére hányva, hogy megszegte az igéretét.

"Nem szegtem meg, — csak elfelejtettem," — ez volt a válasza.

Feledékenysége azonban a fejébe került.

Néhány hét mulva már az angoloknak se kellett. A Clark féle tárgyalások idején Garaminak már csak egy szavába került, hogy kiröpitsék a bitorolt miniszterelnökségből. Persze nem csináltunk jó cserét. Utána Huszár Károly lett a miniszterelnök.

Szörnyü idők! Bibliai idők! Hogy is mondja a jó öreg Károli Gáspár? "Disznók elejébe entették az kalárist."



A szervezeti ügyekkel nem törődő munkásság a munkáltató és a féker munkásvezér szoritójába kerül.

LEFKOVITS LAJOS

FONTOS A NEVELÉS IS

AZ IWW hivatalos nyomtatványain feltüntetett három csillag egyike a nevelés szükségességét jelképezi, amelylyel a munkásmozgalom eljuthat célkitüzéséhez, az ipari társadalom megvalósitásához. Nem elegendő, hogy a munkásság unió tagsági kártyával rendelkezzen, mert azt már elérték ugy a fél évszázados American Federation of Labor, mint az ujabban alakult Committee of Industrial Organization szervezetekben is. Ez a két szervezet magában foglalja Amerika dolgozóinak egy ötödrészét, sok helyen olyan erős ellenőrzéssel, hogy a munkatelepeken csak azok dolgozhatnak, akiknek a zsebében benne van az union igazolvány, a tagsági kártya.

Ennek ellenére lépten-nyomon azt látjuk, hogy a szervezet irányitásában a tagságnak, különösen, ha valaki más véleményen van, mint az unio vezetősége, nemcsak beleszólása nincsen, sőt a kizárásnak is kiteszi magát az illető. Ezeknek a szervezeteknek a tagsága tehát tulnyomórészt a tagsági jogát csak azért tartja, hogy a munkán maradhasson és a szervezettel szemben egyébb hivatást nem is ismer, mint, hogy fizetési kötelezettségének eleget tegyen. De maga az unio törvényei, tisztviselői sem kivánnak többet, sőt nem is akarják, hogy az egyszerü tag belekontárkodjon a szervezet irányitásába.

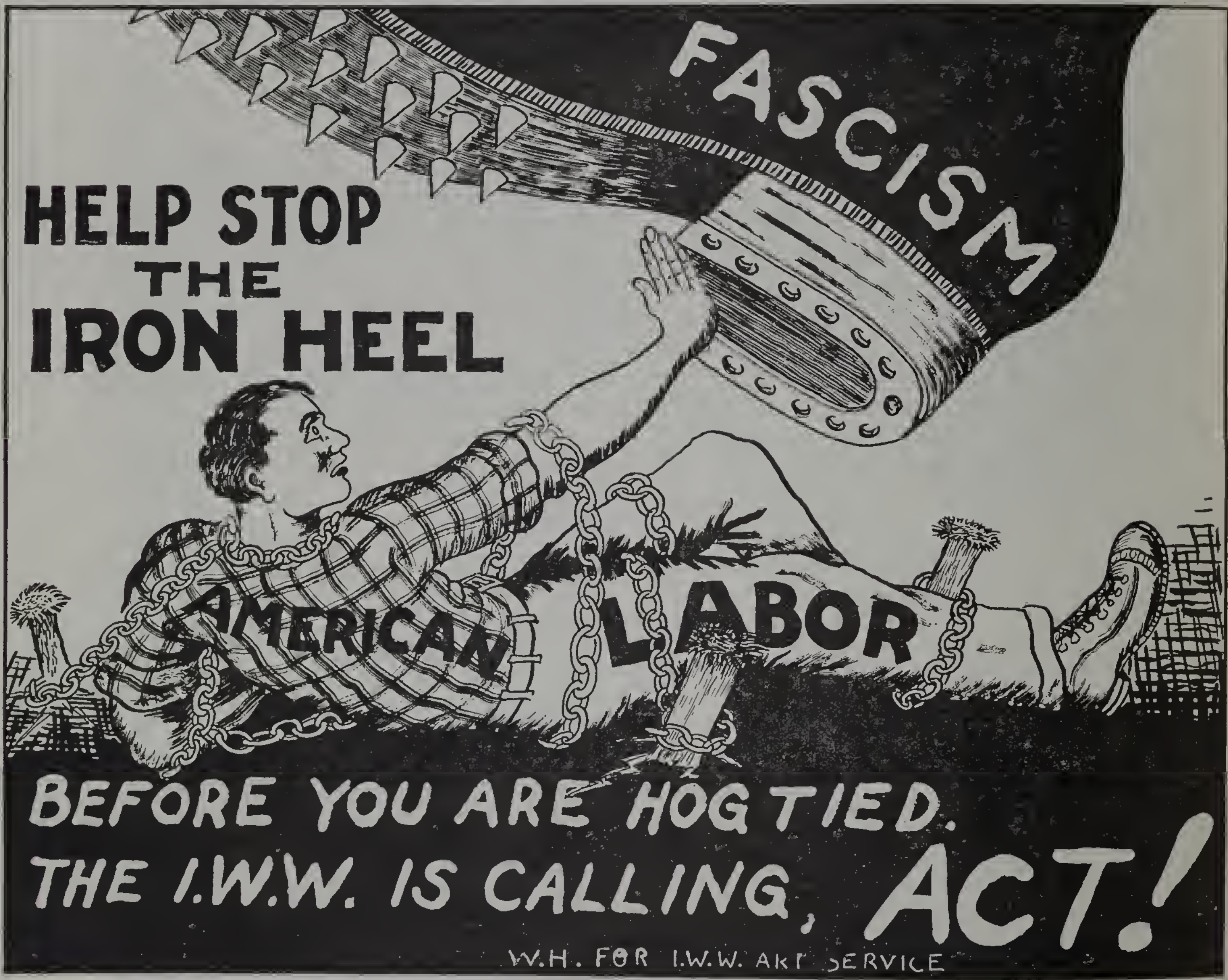
Ezzel ellentétben az IWW megalakulásának pillanatában megállapitotta, hogy a munkásságnak a nevelése nem kevésbbé fontos a szervezésnél. Nem szabad, hogy a munkások egyszerü munka-piacnak tekintsék a szervezetüket, hogy csak azt érezzék a szervezettel szemben, hogy annak őrködni kell, hogy a munkáltatók a megállapitott munkabért megfizessék és a munkaórát betartsák, szóval, hogy a munkást a munkán sérelem ne érje. Ezt mint emlitettük elvégzi és gyakorolja más szervezet is. De meg kell a munkásokkal ismertetni, hogy az a munkabér, az a munkaidő amellyel ma dolgoznak csak azért van, mert a szervezet nem elég erős ahhoz, hogy megvalósithassa célkitüzését, a bérrendszer eltörlését, a magántulajdon megszüntetésével az ipari társadalom megvalósitását. Ezen rendszerben mindenkinek dolgoznia kell és ezért a közösség látja el mindazzal, amire szüksége van és amit a technika fejlődésével az emberiség előnyére, javára kitermelni lehet.

Más szavakkal: a munkásságot a szervezete keretében meg kell ismertetni azzal, hogy ugy a mai, mint minden későbbi rendszernek ők az igazi fenntartói, nélkülök nincs sem egyéni, sem társadalmi élet. A munkást a legtökéletesebb gép sem nélkülözheti, mert az emberi kéz nélkül a gép hideg, holt tárgy marad. Ennek számtalan bizonyságát láthatjuk napjainkban. Ha a munkások tudatára jönnek annak, hogy nem nekik kell függni a ma munkáltatóitól, hanem a társadalomnak a munkásosztály szükségéhez és igényeihez kell alkalmazkodni, berendezkedni, el fog tünni mind azon körülmény, amely eddig sullyal nehezedett a munkásosztály, a munkáscsaládok vállaira.

Az IWW-nak ezt a célkitüzését a nevelés szükségességére már egy egész könyvtárat kitevő irodalomban és cikkekben vetettük papirra. És, hogy ezuttal itt foglalkozunk azzal, azért történik, mert e sorok irójának sok alkalma van annak a megismerésére, hogy a szervezetnek eme célkitüzésében sok hiányossága van. Sokan, az IWW üzemekbe beszervezett munkások sem haladtak tovább a szervezet fontosságát illetőleg, mint az előbb kihangsulyozott unionok tagsága. Nincs meg bennük a harc tovább vitelére az ösztönösség. Ennek a kinevelésére nem történik meg mind az, aminek történni kellene. Csak Clevelandon közel egy tucat IWW shop van, részben az egész telep, részben egyes departmentek beszervezésével már több esztendő óta. Bár ezeknek a mühelyeknek a munkásai ragaszkodnak az IWW szervezethez, de nem kapják meg azt a nevelést, hogy nekik nemcsak a munkatelepüknek a szervezetben való megtartását kell szemelőtt tartaniok, de ugyan abban az iparban a többi mühelyek megszervezésében is segédkezet kell adniok. Igy történik meg, hogy esztendők óta egyetlen ujabb munkatelep beszervezésével nem növekedett a clevelandi ipari szervezetünk.

Egy másik szomoru állapot, hogy munkásemberek, akik évtizedeket töltöttek a munkásmozgalomban, értelmesen, öntudatosan magyarázzák a szervezet forradalmi célkitüzését, hogy annak másokat is megnyerhessenek, a hozzájuk legközelebb állókat, a feleséget, a gyermekeket elmulasszák meggyőzni a maguk eszméjének, felismerésének a helyességéről.

Igaz, hogy ez a jelenség nem kizárólagosan nálunk van meg, de a munkásmozgalom történetét kiséri végig kezdetleges elindulásától mind a mai napig. Ki nem tudna családi viszályokról a férj, az apának a mozgalomban való részvételeért? Ennek a következménye, hogy a munkás elsősorban nem a vele együtt élő feleségét győzi meg a mozgalomnak az, hogy


FASCISM
HELP STOP THE IRON HEEL
AMERICAN LABOR
BEFORE YOU ARE HOG TIED.
THE I.W.W. IS CALLING, ACT!
W.H. FOR I.W.W. ART SERVICE

Az I.W.W. cselekvésre szólitja Amerika munkásait a fasizmus rémuralma ellen.

egymás között gyakori, vagy állandó a veszekedés, civódás. Sok esetben a férj, hogy elkerülje a szóváltást, az esti gyülések után nem igyekszik haza, de a mozgalom nevében más elmaradásokat rendez, amit mind a mozgalom terhére irnak otthon és az ellenségeskedés jobban fokozódik. Ennek kapcsán a feleség, az anya egyenesen ellenségnek neveli a gyermeket nemcsak a mozgalomnak, de sok esetben az apának is, ami sulyosságát akkor éri el, amikor a gyermek önállóvá lessz és bizony sok családapát öregségére a szó szoros értelmében kitagadják.

Éppen ugy, mint ahogy sok munkás előtt ujból és ujból kell a helyes szervezkedés szükségességét és előnyeit ismertetni, amig megértve azt közibénk áll, ugyan ugy a nők, az asszonyok meggyőzését sem szabad feladni és józanul, intelligensen, szép szóval és az életadta ezer és ezer példával meg kell győzni arról, hogy ő is érezze azt, hogy a gyár, a munkatelep, erejét, egészségét rombolja szét a munkásnak olyan kis jövedelmezésért, ami a legjobb esetben csak azt szolgálja, hogy amig a munkás dolgozik, megszerezhessék a szükséges élelmet, ruhát és lakást. Hogy amikor a munka megszünik, már mindezeknek a beszerzése lehetetlenné válik. Minden asszonnyal meglehet értetni, hogy ha ő is és ők is valamennyien, együtt a munkásokkal tudatában lesznek annak, hogy ez a rendszer helytelen, igazságtalan, a munkások a szervezetük segitségével és az asszonyok támogatásával ezt a rendszert megváltoztathatják. A munkásmozgalom lassu haladásának az igazi célja felé, nem kis mértékben akadályai ezek a jelenségek, amelynek a kiküszöbölése sohasem késő. Minél hamarabb hozzálátunk, annál előbb célt érünk vele.

A család meggyőzésének az elhanyagolása nyilvánul meg abban is, hogy amikor a mai rendszer emberfölötti kihasználása folytán a munkás, aki egy életet a munkásmozgalomnak élt, azért fáradozott, öntudatosnak vallotta magát, fölülhelyezkedett a bigottságon, kivetkőzött az egyház tanitásaiból, évtizedekig semmi összeköttetése nem volt templom és pappal, amikor ez a munkás utolsó óráihoz kerül, a feleség, a család, a rokonság semmibe sem veszi a haldokló multját, meggyőződését, valóságos hitét, hanem megszégyeniti a haldoklót azzal, hogy a magával tehetetlen öntudatos munkás fölé papot állit és egyházi temetést rendeznek, amelyről az illető munkástársai azután különböző véleményezéssel vannak és megtörténik, hogy ezt a fordulatot a volt munkástárs szégyenére számlázzák.

Az amerikai magyarság felett eljártak az esztendők. Mindközelebb vagyunk az elmuláshoz. Az emlitett esetek a közelmultban több helyen történtek meg. De hadd mondjak el egy clevelandi esetet is. Egyik munkástársunkat hosszu betegeskedése, mind közelebb vitte ereje, élete végéhez. Maga is látta és tudta ezt. E sorok irójával sokat elbeszélgetett a jövőt illetőleg, sőt temetését is reá és a szervezetre bizta. Torok baja folytán az utolsó napokban már csak ceruzával, irás utján beszélgettünk és még ma is az iróasztal fiókjában van a kezeirása, hogy elégettessük. Amikor ravatalon feküdt, a hátramaradt négy gyermeke közül az egyik elhozta a papot, aki azt állitotta, hogy az utolsó órákban ő beszélt elhunyt Munkástársunkkal, aki hozzájárult, hogy ő temesse el. Amikor mi ezt kétségbe vontuk, hogy Munkástársunk ilyen hozzájárulást adott volna, a pap és a gyerekekkel közel egy órás vita után, ott a temetkezési intézetben a gyerekeket ugyszólván leszavaztattuk és ma mind a négyen örvendenek annak, hogy a többségük ugy szavazott, hogy apjuknak az irásos akarata érvényesüljön.

Vagyis nem csak az életben vannak sulyos következményei a nevelési hiányosságnak, de elkisért az bennünket a sirig is. Mig az utóbbi állapoton már sokat nem változtat, bár azért is élünk, hogy bennünket minden időben a megérdemelt, megszolgált megbecsülés érjen, annál jobban hasznosithatjuk a nevelésnek mindenre kiterjedő figyelmességét az életben. Öntudatos munkásnak nem szabad figyelmen kivül hagyni egyetlen utat-módot sem, amely a cél, az ipari társadalom megvalósitásához vezet.

VASZKó GYöRGY

A GYERMEK-MUNKA

A FIATALKORUAK munkája mindkét nembeli gyermekek és fiatalkoruak hivatásszerü dolgoztatása, legtöbbször a munkaerejük nagymérvü kihasználása, amely testi és szellemi fejlődésüket károsan befolyásolja. A géptechnika haladása, a nagyarányu munkamegosztás, a gyártási módok egyszerüsitése a legtöbb iparban lehetővé tette a gyermekmunkát és fiatalkoruak munkáját. A gépek kiszolgálása, az ezzel kapcsolatos és egyébb sokfajta munka alig kiván testi erőt és szakértelmet, a vállalkozók inkább alkalmazzák tehát a könnyebben fegyelmezhető, igénytelen, főképpen olcsó gyermek és fiatal munkásokat, akiknek a kizsákmányolással szemben gyöngébb az ellenálló képességük, a termelésben elfoglalt helyzetüknél fogva hiányzik a saját erejükből való helyzetjavitás lehetősége, ennélfogva türik a kedvezőtlen munkaföltételeket és a felnőtt munkásokkal szemben a bérlenyomás legkivánatosabb eszközei. A gyermekmunkának és fiatalkoruak munkájának több csoportja van: a) a tanulatlan gyermekmunkásoké, amelyet az ipari és másfajta munka könnyü természete hozott létre, az e csoporthoz tartozók bérért dolgoznak, hogy saját magukat fenntartsák és segitsenek a családfönntartásban; b) az otthoni és háziiparban foglalkoztatottaké, akiket többnyire szülőik dolgoztatnak. Ide tartoznak a háztartásokban alkalmazott és cselédmunkára fogott fiatalkoruak is; c) a mezőgazdasági gyermekmunkások és d) a tanoncok csoportja, amelyhez tartozókat szerződés köt a munkáltatókhoz bizonyos szakma elsajátitása végett.

A gyermek munka és fiatalkoruak munkájának szociális, erkölcsi és egészségügyi hátrányai annál nagyobbak, mivel a munkáscsaládok rossz helyzete folytán munkára kényszerült, a megfelelő táplálkozást, lakást, tisztaságot, testápolást és iskoláztatást nélkülöző gyermekek és fiatalkoruak fejletlen testét és szellemét a tulfeszitett és egyhangu munka, a munkahely rossz levegője, — sokszor pincéje — az ipari por s mérgező anyagok, a hosszu munkaidő és az elfáradás ártalmas hatásai idő előtt elkorcsositják. Kiterjedt vizsgálatok mutatják, hogy a dolgozó gyermekek testhosszaságának, sujának, izomerejének és mellbőségének átlagmértéke kissebb, mint a munka hatásainak ki nem tett hasonló koru gyermekek testi átlagmérete.

A modern értelemben vett gyermekmunka a kapitalizmus kialakulása kezdetén jelentkezett. A mult századelej Angliában a pamutgyárakhoz egész hajórakományokkal szállitották azokat a gyermekeket, akik mint árvák vagy találtak a község jótékonyságára voltak bizva. A brutális bánásmód, az éjjel-nappal tartó munka és tulzsufolt lakás a gyermekek százezreit kergette a korai halálba. 1796-ban hallatszik az első tiltakozás a gyermekkizsákmányolás ellen. Ekkor már 6—7 éves gyermekeket is alkalmaztak, akiket napi 16—18 órai munkára fogtak. Az angol parlament 1802-ben végre szükségesnek tartotta a beavatkozást, igy született meg az első gyermekmunka törvény, amely tulajdonképpen az első munkástörvény is volt. A gyermekmunka komoly védelme csak jóval később történt. 1839-ben Angliában a munkások 45.8 százaléka 18 éven aluli volt. A gyermekmunka és fiatalkoruak munkája a kapitalizmus fejlődésével párhuzamosan terjedt és az angolokhoz hasonló állapotokat mutatott föl a többi országokban és Amerikában is. A 19. század végén és 20. század elején az összes európai államokban, az esetleges törvényes szabályozás ellenére is hatalmasan nőtt és a világháboru óta pedig ugrásszerüen emelkedett a dolgozó gyermekek és fiatalkoruak száma. Ujabban Ázsia és Afrika kapitalizálódó országaiban is egyre nagyobb arányokat ölt a korai kapitalizmus jelenségeit mutató gyermekmunka és fiatalkoruak munkája terén fönnálló borzalmas viszonyok későn birták rá az államok törvényhozását bizonyos minimális intézkedések megtételére. A foglalkoztatás első korhatárának megállapitásait, a munkaidő maximumát, az éjjeli munka korlátozását és egyes iparágakban való alkalmazás eltiltását ölelték föl a különféle országok első idevonatkozó törvényei, amelyek sokáig csak papirostörvények voltak és gyakorlati végrehajtásukat mindenütt a munkásság intenzivebb szervezkedése és erre irányuló követelései tették lehetővé.

Az Egyesült Államokban a Roosevelt adminisztráció próbálkozott a gyermekmunka mérsékeltebb vagy emberségesebb törvényekkel korlátozni, ami kissebb mértékben sikerült is. De a nagytőke nyomására a congressmenek és szenátorok, amennyire lehetett elgáncsolták a gyermekmunka kikapcsolását az iparokból.

Magyarországon a gyermekmunkások legnagyobb tömegeit a fonó- és szövöipar, vegyészeti, tégla és üveggyárak, kisebb számban a vas- és faipar foglalkoztatja. Ezek nagyobbára 12—18 évesek, de nagy számban vannak közöttük 10—11, sőt 9 évesek is. Munkaidejük 10—12, a tégla, szövő és üveggyárakban sokhelyütt 14 óra. Munkabérük heti 3—10 pengő között váltakozik. A szövő, gumi, szappan, gyógyszer, vegyészeti és gyufaüzemekben sok a fiatal lány. A nehéz munka, a különféle gázok és gőzök, a műhelyek pora párosulva a rossz és elégtelen táplálkozással okozza a fiatalkoru munkások megdöbbentő egészségügyi viszonyait. Vérszegény, gyönge testalkatu, tüdővészre hajlamosak a gyári ifjumunkások, akiknek sorát évenként nagyobbodó számban tizedelik a balesetek, mivel a fiatal szervezet gyorsabban elveszti a munkához szükséges lendületet és hamarább elfárad, mint a felnőtt. A termelés és forgalom más területén is nagyszámban találhatók a tanulatlan munkát végző fiatalkoruak.

Az otthon- és háziiparban foglalkoztatott gyermekek sorsa magán viseli az otthonmunka minden jellemzőjét. A szük, szennyes és fertőzött levegőjü műhellyel párosult lakás, a kora reggeltől késő estig tartó robot, a rossz táplálkozás folytán az átlagosnál jóval magasabb halandóság és a sürün előforduló ragályos betegségek, különösen a tüdővész korai áldozatai az otthoni és házi gyermekmunkások, akiknek nemcsak dolgozniok, de a házkörüli durva munkákat is el kell végezniök. Azt otthonmunka megszüntetése és a szülők fölvilágositása az egyedüli orvossága az otthoni gyermekmunkának és fiatalkoruak munkájának, mert az otthon és háziipar természete a szabályozást nem birja el.

A mezőgazdasági gyermekmunka nyomoruságát nehezebb föltárni, mert amig az iparban legtöbbnyire tömegmunkahelyeken foglalkoztatják a fiatalkoruakat, a mezőgazdaságban elszórtan, távoleső helyeken dolgoznak. A falusi és tanyai gyermekek többnyire már az iskolaköteles korban bérmunkát végeznek. Az 1900. évi népszámláláskor Magyarországon 350.152 7—14 éves koru gazdasági munkát végző gyermeket találtak. A mezőgazdasági munkálatok minden ágában alkalmazzák a gyermekeket, mert ha a fizetésnél nem is, de a munkánál emberszámba veszik őket. A kenyérgond a földmüvelő szülőket rákényszeriti, hogy legalább szegényes ruházatuk kikerüljön a járandóságból és kosztjukról ne kelljen gondoskodni. Ezeknek a fiataloknak a nyári hónapokban hajnali 3, legföljebb 4 órától este 9—10 óráig talpon kell lenniök, kitéve az időjárás viszontagságainak, a lealázó, tettlegességgel párosuló bánásmódnak rendkivül alacsony bérek vagy természetbeni ellátás mellett. Az állatok gondozását, a szőlőmunkák egy részét, kukoricakapálást, pásztorkodást, lóvezetést, marokszedést, béres és kocsiszolgálatokat, sőt sok helyen az utfedő kőtörést is fiatalkoruakkal végzik. Különösen azokon a vidékeken nagymérvü a mezőgazdasági gyermekmunkások kihasználása, ahol a kivándorlás és a háboru emberpusztitása a felnőtt munkások számát lecsökkentette. A háboru alatt és óta ennek következtében a mellékmunkálatokon kivül a termőföld nagy erőt igénylő megmunkálására is fölhasználják a gyermekmunkát. Ez a gyermekévektől kezdődő dolgoztatás nagy hatással van szellemi életükre is. Az általános tankötelezettség ellenére évenkint többezer gyermek nő fel iskola nélkül, akik a földeken dolgoznak. Sok a gyermek és fiatalkoru munkás a bányákban szerte az egész világon.

Az ifjumunkásszociálpolitika napjainkban nemzetközi probléma lett. Amig az egyes országok szabályozták csupán a gyermekmunkát és hoztak törvényeket a fiatalkoru munkások gazdasági, kulturális és szociálpolitikai érdekeinek védelmére és e téren nem állott fönn a nemzetközileg kölcsönösen biztositott egyforma bánásmód és védelem, valóságos gyermekkereskedelem alakult ki. A világháboru után létrejött Nemzetközi Munkaügyi Hivatal értekezletein hozott errevonatkozó egyezménytervezetek és megállapodások nagy mértékben hozzájárulnak a gyermekmunka nemzetközi szabályozásához és azokban az országokban, amelyek ezeket az egyezményeket ratifikálták, csökkentik is az ifjumunkás kizsákmányolási lehetőségeit. A békeszerződés "Munka" fejezetének 6. pontja szerint a szerződő felek kötelessége "a gyermekmunka megszüntetése és mindkét nembeli fiatalkoruak munkájának olyan korlátozása, amely nevelésük folytatását és kellő testi fejlődésüket lehetővé teszi." Az 1919-ben Washingtonban tartott munkaügyi konferencián elfogadott és az ipari munkára bocsátható gyermekek alsó korhatárát 14 évben megállapitó egyezménytervezethez eddig 23 állam, a fiatalkoruak éjjeli ipari munkájának tilalmát elrendelő egyezménytervezethez eddig 26 állam, közöttük Magyarország is hozzájárult. Az 1920. és 1921. évben Genfben a tengeri munkára bocsátható gyermekek legkisebb életkorára és a hajókon alkalmazott fiatalkoruak és gyermekek orvosi vizsgálata tárgyában hozott egyezménytervezetet 22 állam ratifikálta. Az ugyancsak 1921. évi genfi értekezleten a mezőgazdasági munkálatoknál alkalmazható gyermekek alsó korhatárát 14 évben megállapitó egyezménytervezetet pedig 16 állam fogadta el.

Természetesen azokban az országokban, ahol a gyermekmunkáknak és a fiatalkoruak munkájának védelmét célzó rendelkezéseknek gyakorlati alkalmazását és szigoru betartását nem biztositják a speciális ifjumunkásgondozó és ellenőrző intézmények, a jól kiépitett iparfölügyelet és a szakszervezetek megállapodásai, a vállalkozók azokat teljesen figyelmen kivül hagyják. A Nemzetközi Szakszervezeti Szövetség az 1927. évben megfelelő, tiz pontból álló programot alkotott, amelyet minden ország szakszervezeti tanácsához és munkáspártjához megküldött, hogy annak megvalósitása érdekében az ország viszonyait figyelembevevő akciókat inditsanak: 1. A 14 éven aluli ifjuságnak minden bérmunkától való eltiltása. 2. Ezidőig az iskoláztatásnak kötelező kiterjesztése. 3. A szakirányu iskolákban 18 évig minden ifjumunkás kötelező továbbképzése. 4. A gyermek és fiatalkoru munkások védelmének a 18 évig való kiterjesztése. 5. A nyolcórás fmunkanap biztositása az iskolaidő és a munkahely kitakaritásának a beszámitásával. 6. A teljes vasárnapi munkaszünet és a szabad szombat délután biztositása. 7. A fiatalkoruak éjjeli munkájának teljes eltiltása. 8. A 16 éven aluliak részére a fizetett szabadságidőnek három, a 16—18 éveseknek két hétben való megállapitása. 9. A keresetképtelen és munkanélküli ifjumunkások védelme és támogatása. 10. A szakmai képzés szabályozása a munkásszervezetek bevonásával.

* * *

Az emberi test.

Az emberi bőrön több mint 2 millió nyilás van, melyeken át a levegő behatolhat. A testben levő összes vér át megy a sziven körülbelül minden percben. A tüdő körülbelül 320 köb inch tartalmu. Egy lélegzésre átlag két harmad pint levegőt szivunk a tüdőnkbe. A gyomor annyi savat erjeszt naponta, amennyi 9 font táplálék feldolgozásához elegendő.

Az izmok száma több mint 500, ugyan ennyire tehető az erek és idegek száma is. A sziv átlagos sulya 8-10 ounce és minden órában körülbelül 100.000-et ver. Felnőtt ember percenként 18-19 lélekzetet vesz és óránként körülbelül 3000 köbláb levegőt vesz magához. Egy normális ember évenként egyforma sulyu tápanyagot és folyadékot fogyaszt el.

KOVÁCS ERNŐ

A HARMINCÉVES BÉRMUNKÁS

HÁROM évtized nagyon tekintélyes idő egy munkáslap életében még akkor is, ha az nem egy megalkuvás nélküli osztályharcos organum, amely egyedül a lap olvasóira, az általa hirdetett eszme hiveire támaszkodik, hanem egy olyan politikai lap, amely az irányát a politikai élet hullámzásai, vagy az államhatalom nyomása szerint változtatja.

Egy lap, amelyet nem a hirdetők, politikai pártok, vagy irányzatok finansziroznak, itt Amerikában fenn tud maradni, ha az nem az állam nyelvén jelenik meg azt igazolja, hogy a létezése jogosult, arra a munkásosztálynak szüksége van. Különösen nehéz lett egy osztályharcos nyelvi lapnak a fenntartása az első világháboru után, amikor a bevándorlást erősen korlátozták, az itt élő magyarság viszont természetszerüleg elöregedés, elhalás és nem kis mértékben elamerikaiasodás folytán el vész a nyelvi lap részére, mert mint olvasó a második generáció számitásba sem jöhet egy nyelvi lap életében.

A harmincéves Bérmunkáson kivül még két másik lap állitja magáról, hogy "munkáslap," de mig az egyiket csak a hirdetések és Oroszország iránti rokonszenvezőktőli folytonos gyüjtés; a másikat pedig a magyarországi munkásmozgalomból régen ideszakadt s mint kis üzletemberek jó anyagi viszonyok közé jutott hiveinek támogatása tartja fenn. De mindkét lapnál az összes munkát fizetett alkalmazottak végzik és a támogatóktól az anyagi segélyen kivül mást nem is várnak.

Igy valójában az egyetlen a Bérmunkás az, amelyet ténylegesen a lap olvasói és az eszme agitátorai tartanak fenn, igazolva azt, hogy erre a lapra az amerikai munkásosztály magyar nyelvü csoportjának szüksége van és hogy az osztályharc eszméjének a terjesztése terén pótolhatatlan munkát végez.

Mint régi munkástársak mondják azelőtt 15-18 éve a bevándorlás korlátozásának a kezdetén már sok jó munkástárs azon a véleményen volt, hogy miután uj bevándorlás nincs, a lap rövidesen feleslegessé válik és anyagi okokból is képteleneség lesz fenntartani. Ezek a munkástársak rossz jósoknak bizonyultak, mert ha a depresszió sulyos idejét nehezen is usztuk meg, ma ismét olyan anyagi alapon áll a Bérmunkás, amely a fennmaradását — dacára annak, hogy most a bevándorlás teljesen megszünt — biztositja, ezt annál is inkább el lehet érni, mert még minden elöregedés dacára is sok ezer olyan magyar munkás van, kiket még nem értünk el, akik ma még a hazafias, vagy a politikai féker lapok igájában vannak. Tehát nem csak a fennmaradás, hanem a fejlődés lehetősége is meg van.

A harminc év sok-sok kemény küzdelmet, sok üldöztetést, sok áldozatos munkát jelentett. Az elmult harminc év, amelybe beleesik az első világháboru, az orosz és más európai forradalmak, a kommunista pártok nagy robajjal való felvonulása, sokszor hozták a Bérmunkást nehéz helyzetekbe, amikor, hogy meg maradhasson a tiszta elvi alapon, szembe kellett néznie a hatósági üldöztetéssel éppen ugy mint a divatos áramlatokkal és mindezekben a kérdésekben megalkuvás nélkül álta meg a helyét. Az első világháboru idején minden háborus hisztéria dacára is kitartott az álláspontja mellett, hogy az a háboru az imperializmus háboruja és teljesen közömbös a munkásosztálynak az, hogy melyik fél kerül ki győztesen. Ez az álláspont a postai szállitások megvonását s üldöztetést jelentett.

A szovjet és a magyar tanácsköztársaság utáni időkben, amikor a magyar tömegekben divatos volt az orosz példának az amerikai viszonyokra való átültetése, a Bérmunkás kitartott a maga álláspontja mellett, nem volt soha sem szovjet ellenes, csak tiltakozott, védekezett az ellen, hogy Moszkva szabja meg az amerikai munkásságnak azt az utat, amelyen eljut a felszabadulásához. Nem volt szovjet ellenes, de ez nem jelentette, hogy ne mondjon kritikát, ha ugy látta, hogy az orosz vezérek ténykedése árt az egyetemes munkásmozgalomnak és főleg nem jelentette azt, hogy a legélesebben szembe ne szálljon az ugynevezett kommunista vezérekkel, akiknek a többsége csak egyszerü megélhetési lehetőségnek nézte a munkásmozgalmat.

Mindezeket a válságokat könnyen uszta meg a Bérmunkás és a köréje csoportosult magyar olvasótábor, mert meggyőződése, öntudata és tudása volt. Ez a három tényező segitette át azon az uj helyzeten is, amelyet a nácizmus előretörése és az ezt kiváltó második világháboru okozott.

Tökéletesen tisztában voltunk azzal, hogy ez a háboru sem a munkásosztály háboruja. Tudatában voltunk annak is, hogy mint az első világháborunak, ugy ennek is az inditó oka az imperializmus volt, de ugyan akkor megláttuk azt a veszélyt is, amelyet a kapitalizmusnak a végső kiformálódása a fasizmus jelent a kellőleg meg nem szervezett munkásosztályra.

A fasizmus ugyszólván minden erőfeszités és ellentállás nélkül söpörte el a politikai alapon szervezett munkásságot és az egész munkásosztályt az ipari feudalizmusba süllyesztette ugy, hogy ahhoz fogható helyzetben az ipari munkásosztály kialakulása óta soha sem volt.

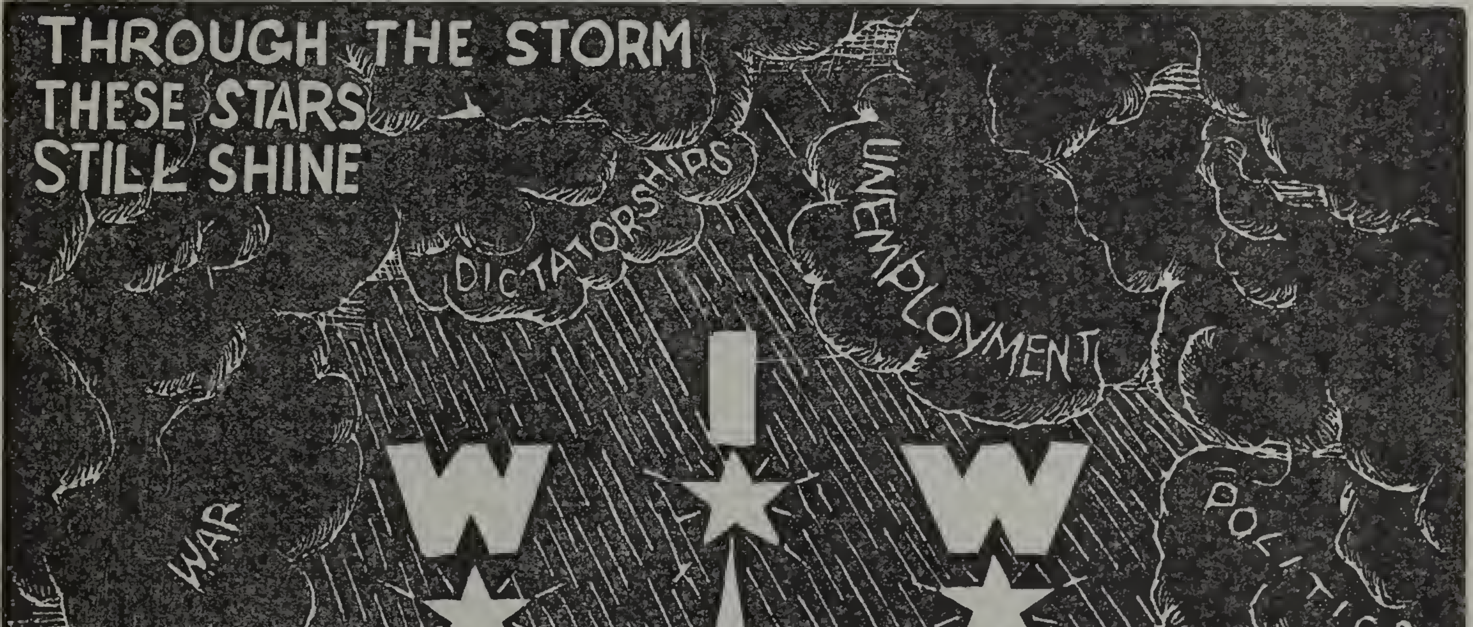
Miután az európai munkásosztály nem volt felkészülve arra, hogy a nácizmus veszélyét legyürje, elveszitette mindazokat a jogait, amelyeket évtizedes harcok árán vivott ki magának. De éppen igy elmulasztotta az amerikai munkásosztály is azt, hogy megfelelő szervezeteket épitsen. Kétségtelen volt az, hogy a nácizmus győzelme hasonló sorsra juttatja az amerikai munkásosztályt is, mint az európai osztálytársait, nem csak a meglevő jogainak a megsemmisitését, de a felszabanulási lehetőségének bizonytalan időre való visszavetését is jelentené.

Ennek az osztályharc szempontjából való analizálása vezetett oda bennünket, hogy leirjuk azt, hogy a munkásosztály szempontjából ma nem közömbös, hogy melyik fél győz, az e amelyik minden munkásszervezetet megsemmisit és minden öntudatos munkást fizikailag kiirt, vagy az amelyik ma még megadja a lehetőséget a szervezkedésre, amely még megtüri a meglevő szabadság jogokat. Tudatában voltunk annak is, hogy a nácizmus leverése megadja a lehetőségét annak, hogy a ma elnémitott európai munkásosztály ujra hallassa a szavát és kiépüljön egy olyan nemzetközi szervezet, amely képes legyen nem csak egy uj nácizmus előretörését megakadályozni, de arra is, hogy a nácizmus szülőanyját, a kapitalizmust megszüntesse.

Ez a tiszta meglátás következménye volt az, hogy helyeslünk minden eszközt, amely a nácizmus bukását elősegiti, ezért nem elleneztük az ország felkészülését és követeltük a náci hordákkal szemben álló nemzetek, Anglia, Kina és Oroszország legmesszebbmenő megsegitését. Ezt az osztályharcos álláspontot sokan támadták a régi ellenfeleink, kik a gyámoltalan pacifizmusukat éppen ugy ez mögé bujtatták mint az eltitkolt magyar hazafiságukat, vagy náci rokonszenvüket.

Sokkal szomorubb az, hogy akadtak olyan IWW-isták is, kik a beléjük gyökeresedett, régi, abban az időben helyes taktikából, nem tudják meglátni a ma követelményét, ez a merevség, amelynek nagy oka van abban, hogy az IWW dacára, hogy fennállása ótha óriási tömegeket mozgatott meg, nem tudott szervezetileg ugy kiépülni, mint ahogy annak a lehetősége meg volt — ha idejében meg nem szünik, sulyos károkat okozhat a mozgalmunknak. A Bérmunkás nevelő képességének tudható be az, hogy magyar téren ezek a proletár izolácionisták elenyészően kis számban vannak.

Ma jósolni nem lehet, nem is szabad, de szent meggyőződésünk az, hogy a profit társadalomnak ez a legundokabb és legveszedelmesebb kinövése a fasizmus, el fog pusztulni és utána a szervezkedés reneszánsza jön, amikor olyan szervezeteket épit fel, amelyek ugy védő, mint támadó szempontból megálljak a helyüket. Erre az időre kell megtartanunk a Bérmunkást, hogy oktató és harci eszköze legyen az amerikai munkásosztály magyar csoportjának, ennek a célnak az érdekében, szem előtt tartva a végcélját, rendületlenül mutat rá továbbra is a munkásosztály legközvetlenebb veszélyére a nácizmusra, amelynek a kiirtását előfeltételnek tartja egy szebb jövőnek.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Minden viharon átfénylenek az I.W.W. csillagai: Szervezkedés — Nevelés — Felszabadulás.

VISI ISTVÁN

RÁDIÓ ÉS MOZGÓKÉPEK

ELVITATHATATLANUL elfogadhatjuk a fenti két csoda dolgot leghathatósabb propaganda eszközöknek. Még az irás sem olyan hathatós, mint a kép vagy rádió, melyet kényelmesen otthonainkban hallgathatunk. Igy nagyon érdemes ezeket megismerni, értékelni, ahol lehet ellensulyozni.

A rádió hatását legjobban megérteti velünk, mikor Orson Welles drámai előadásban a H. G. Wells meséjét adta elő New Yorkban, mely szerint a Marsról inváziót inditanak a föld ellen, melyet nem birnak megállitani és mindent lerombol. Ezt olyan megrenditően és élethüen adta elő, hogy New York vidékén pánikot idézett elő és nagy tömegek menekülni akartak. Persze nagyon kevesen olvasták Wellsnek ezen regényét, igy nem tudták azt, hogy az csak mese. Amint nagyon sok mesét, propagandát olyan élethüen és meggyőzően adnak elő, hivatásos szinészek, propagandisták, hogy készpénznek veszik, elhiszik a tudatlan tömegek.

Másik példa a mozgóképeket illetőleg. A Charlie Chaplin, “Great Dictator” cimü képe, mely több egyént tett Hitler ellenessé, mint a németek által elkövetett tömeggyilkosságok hirei. Ez és több názi ellenes képek hatása alatt, mindég több és több amerikai felismerte a názi veszedelmet, annyira, hogy a fasizta rokonszenvezők, szenátusi vizsgálatot rendeztek, hogy megtudják ezeket akadályozni, vagy legalább is megcenzurázni. Ezt a két leghatalmasabb propaganda fegyvert, ámbár jó, de ugyan akkor rossz célra is sikeresen feltudják használni, azért az uralkodó osztály, éber figyelemmel vigyáz és mindent megtesz, hogy saját kezeiben, kontrólja alatt tarthassa és csak a saját érdekében használja.

Sok öntudatos munkás csodálkozott, hogy már nagyon nehezen lehet sikeres népgyülést összehivni, mely az irás mellett nekünk legsikeresebb eszközünk volt. Valamint szinelőadásokra is ma sokkal nehezebb tömegeket összehozni, mivel a rádió és mozi nagymértékben csökkentette ezen módozatok általuk való sikeres használatát. A rádió operákat, szindarabokat, meséket és kitünő szónokok beszédeit hozza nekünk helybe, otthonainkba. A Caughlinok, G.K. Smithek és Hitlerekkel együttesen.

Kevés igazsággal, tudománnyal, sok maszlagot összevegyitve, az uralkodó osztályt és rendszerüket védelmező szónoklatok, előadások, hirek tömegeit adják, drámai előadások zene és néha tanulságos előadások között.

A Rádió.

Melyből ma 52 millió müködő alkotmány van az Egyesült Államokban és közel minden két emberre esik egy és harminc millió otthonban be van szerelve, még hatalmasabb mint a mozgókép ipar és egy este, adott alkalom és körülmények között milliókat tudnának harcba uszitani, vagy menekvésbe, pánikba ejteni. A diktátoroknak is ez volt a leghathatósabb eszköze, legolcsóbb melyen keresztül országokat megigézték, béklyóba vertek. A rádió szónokainak óriási előnye van a régi népgyülések szónokjai felett, a rádión keresztül nem lehet vitatkozni, kérdezni, vagy vissza beszélni. Ottan nem lehet hazugságban fogni, vagy beszédjének hatását egy jól irányzott kérdéssel vagy közbeszólással lerontani.

A rádió 1895-ben Marconi által lett feltalálva, aki Olaszországból Angliába ment, ottan fejlesztette tovább találmányát, husz évig leginkább csak hajókon volt használva, csak a háboru alatt lett a szárazföldön de leginkább hadicélokra használva és csak a háboru után kezdett a mai formájában minden otthonba beférkőzni.

A statisztikai kimutatás 1922-től kezdődik, mely a következő: 1922-ben 40.000 készlet, 1927-ben, tehát öt év mulva 6,500.000, 1932-ben 18.000.000, 1937-ben 37,600.000 és már 1940-ben

52 millió készlet volt használatban az Egyesült Államokban.

1940-ben az üzleti forgalom a rádióval kapcsolatosan meghaladta a 932 millió dollárt, melyből 180 milliót csak a rádión leadott hirdetésekért és idővásárlásért fizettek, a 758 milliót rádió készletekért, darabokért és javitásokért fizettek, mely most már szintén trust szerüen van kontrolálva, legnagyobb részben a Radio Corporation of America, (RCA) név alatt, vagy kontrólja alatt müködnek.

Legujabb fejlődés szerint képeket is tudnak rádión továbbitani, sőt teljes szinelőadásokat. Ezen dolgot Televizió néven ismerjük és nagy lehetőség van további fejlődésre, mely esetleg nagy mértékben fogja csökkenteni a mozgóképek használatát. A rádió fejlődésével sok munkamegtakaritás is történt, de még sokkal többre van kilátás, egész könyveket, ujságcikkeket tudnak átutalni rádió segitségével Televizió utján. Valamint a rádió segitségével irányitani tudnak hajókat, repülőgépeket nem is szólva a villamos áram ki és bekapcsolását és más sok automatikus készletek irányitását amely mind rengeteg munkást tesz feleslegessé.

A Mozgóképek.

Ez sokkal régebbi és már a tetőfokát elértnek vélhető ipar, csak másod szerepre van itélve, de még mindég nagymértékben használható és fejlődési lehetőség sincs kizárva. Nem régen a beszélőfilmek behozatala, mely ugyancsak a rádió tudomány segitségével készült, nagy mértékben ujabb lendületet adott a moziiparnak.

1940-ben hetenként 80 millió személy látogatta a mozit, ami a lakosságnak több mint fele, ámbár vannak akik egyszer sem voltak szinházban, de vannak akik hetenként kétszer sőt háromszor is mennek és jobban tudják élvezni a filmet mint a rádiót. Ezeket csak a Televizió fogja a moziktól elragadni.

Érdemes itt megjegyezni, hogy tudósok vizsgálata szerint, a népességnek 30 százaléka látás, 40 százaléka hallás után bir legjobban tanulni, azonban a két módszer együttes használata 90 százalékban kielégiti a népességet és alig 15 százalék az, akik irásból is éppen ugy tudnak tanulni, mint hallás vagy képek szemlélése folytán.

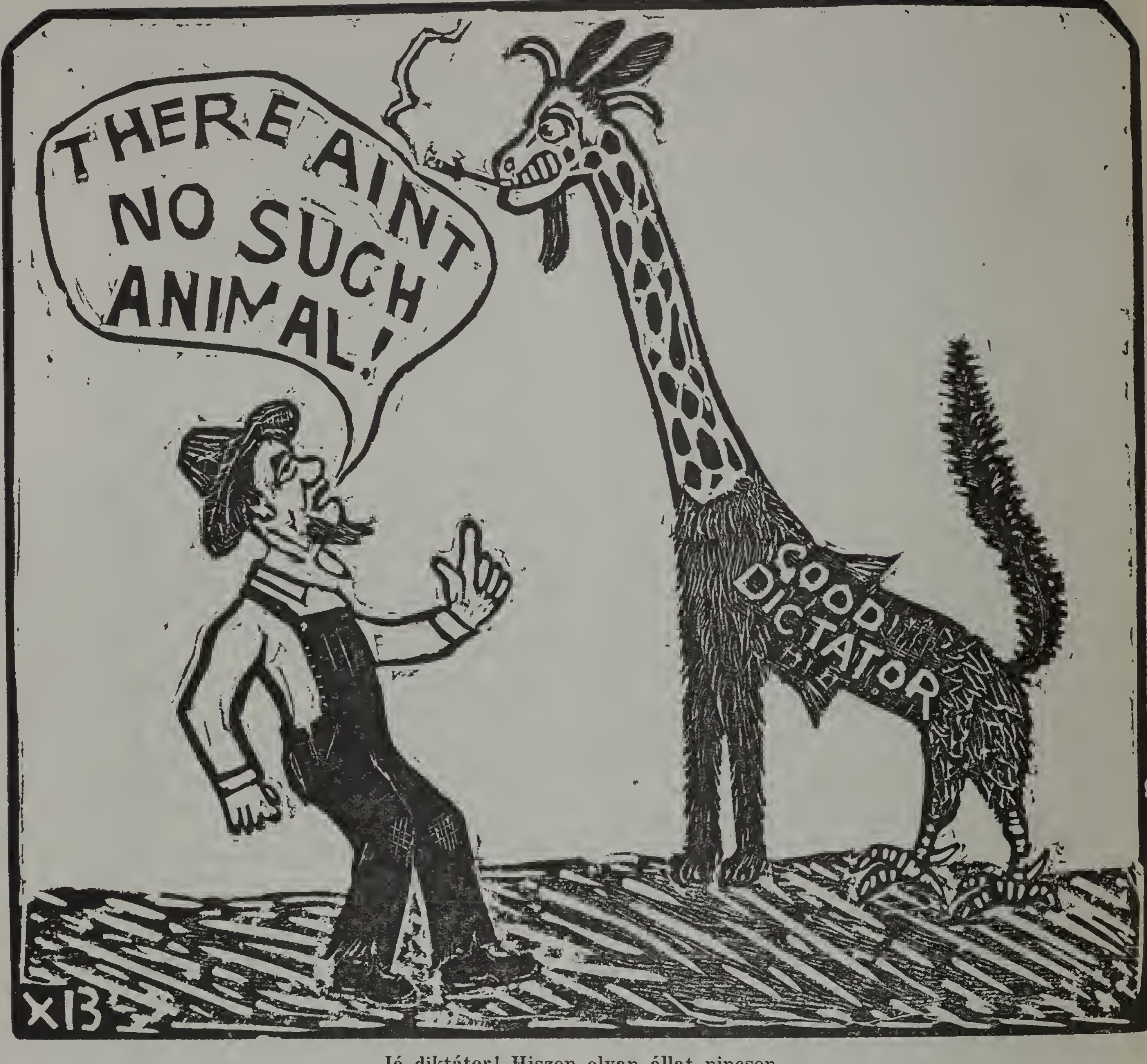
Az egész világon 69.153 mozgokép szinház van, melyből 19.032 itt az Egyesült Államokban van, 10,462.818 ülőhellyel. Ha számitásba vesszük, hogy legtöbb szinházban két előadást rendeznek naponta, igy naponta 21 millió egyénnek van kényelmes ülőhely a mozikban. Amerika legnagyobb államaiban a következő mennyiségben:

Állam	Szinház	Ülőhely
New York	1.418	1,609.773
Pennsyvania	1.258	882.052
California	1.095	804.872
Illinois	1.100	720.593
Ohio	942	595.530
Michigan	684	445.938
New Jersey	435	425.931

Az Egyesült Államokban 2.050 millió dollár van a mozgókép iparban befektetve, mely az egész világ ezen iparának kétharmad részét teszi ki és az amerikai filmeket az egész világon mutogatják és a legjobbak.

Oroszországban minden munkásotthon nagytermében, vagyis 30.000 ilyen teremben van beszerelve a filmelőadás, melyet ingyen mutogatnak. Itten most az Unionok is ezt akarják rendszeresiteni, legtöbb gyülésre ingyen mozgókép előadásokat, ámbár egyenlőre csak Unió propaganda képeket adnak elő.

Ezt a két hatalmas propaganda eszközt ma kizárólag az uralkodó osztály uralja és bizony sokszor a munkásság és a jobb társadalmi rendszer kialakulása ellen használják, holott ezeknek a segitségével, máról-holnapra kilehetne épiteni egy tökéletes, emberséges rendszert, ahol nem tömeggyilkosság, rombolás, gyülölet, éhség, nélkülözés és ezekből eredő betegségek járványai pusztitanák az emberiséget, hanem együttes, egymás boldogságát, szükségleteinek kielégitését és betegségek okainak megszüntetésével, közös boldogságban élhetnénk, melyhez a rádió és a moziképek segitségével nagyon hamar és könnyen elérhetnénk, de ezek ellenünk való felhasználásával, csak nagy küzdelmek után fogunk eljutni.


THERE AINT NO SUCH ANIMAL!
GOOD DICTATOR
X13

Jó diktátor! Hiszen olyan állat nincsen.

Távolságok New York és a nagyobb külföldi városok között:

Antverpen 4004, Alexandria 6150, Amsterdam 3985, Athén 5655, Bécs 4740, Bréma 4235, Buenos Ayres 11.120, Florence 4800, Havana 1366, Honkong 10.569, Hononlulu 5645, London 3740, Madrid 4925, Mexico 3750, Páris 4020, Rio de Janero 6204, Leningrád 9920, Stockholm 4975, Sydney 11.570, Yokahoma 7345 mérföld.

A világ legnagyobb folyói:

Mississippi 4200, Amazon 3800, Nilus 3760, Congo 300, Niger 2900, Lena 2800, Amur 2600, Hoangho 2600, Panama 2450, La Plata 2300, MacKenzie 2300, Volga 2300, Ob 2300, Yukon 2200, St. Lawrence 2100, Arkansas 2000, Madeira 2000, Rio Grande 1800, Duna 1725, Euphrates 1700, Indus 1700, Orinoco 1600, Zamberi 1600, Amu Darya 1500, Ganges 1500, Paraguay 1500 métföld.

ANONYMUS

AZ "OSZTÁLYHARC!"

AZ osztályharc a magántulajdon jogrendszerének terméke, a különböző társadalmi osztályok érdekellentéteiből fakadó küzdelem, amelynek Marx szerint döntő hatása van a történelem alakulására és az emberi haladás legjelentékenyebb előmozditója.

Az osztályok kialakulása egyidős a magántulajdonnal. A történelemelőtti emberi közösségek nem ismerték ezt a fogalmat, a nemzetiségi szervezetek, a családi közösségek, az ősi kommunisztikus együttélés formáinak keretében nem voltak egymástól elkülönitett osztályok, mert a közösségben élőknek nem is voltak érdekeik.

A törzsszervezet minden tagja egyformán részesült a közös munka, közös gyümölcsében. Csak amikor ezek a közös törzsszervezetek felbomlottak, vagy egymással való harcaikban foglyokat ejtettek, akiket munkára fogtak s akik mint idegenek alárendelt helyzetbe kerültek, amikor az anyajog helyébe az apajog került és kialakult a patriarchális családi szervezet s vele együtt a magántulajdon és az örökösödés uj rendje, akkor kezdődött meg az emberi társadalom osztályokra való szakadása és ezeknek az osztályoknak egymástól és gazdasági érdekeik szerint való elkülönülése és ezzel a ténnyel együtt kezdődött az osztályok egymás ellen való harca.

A történelemelőtti idők törzsi, nemzetségi szervezetében a magántulajdon ismeretlen volt. A törzs tagjainak minden munkaeredménye az egész törzs tulajdona volt. Ugyanis közös tulajdon volt minden munkaeszköz és a tüz is, amelyet közösen őriztek és védelmeztek. Ebben az időben a magántulajdon kialakulásának föltételei is hiányoztak még. Hiszen az élelmet ugyszólván napról-napra kellett megszerezni. Az állattenyésztés és földmüvelés ismeretlen volt és rettenetes küzdelmet kellett vivniok az ősi közösségek tagjainak létföntartásukért és csak közös erővel voltak képesek az éhséggel megbirkózni, csak közös erővel tudták legyőzni a természet vad ellenségeskedését. A közösségnek ez a szelleme nemcsak a megszerzett zsákmányra s a zsákmányok megszerzéséhez alkalmas eszközökre terjedt ki, nem csupán a létföntartás eszközeire, hanem a fajföntartás körülményeire is: a nemi érintkezés ezekben a kezdetleges törzsi szervezetekben korlátlan volt. Minthogy a csoportházasság eme rendszere mellett csupán csak az anyai ágon való leszármazás volt kimutatható, következésképpen csak ezt ismerték el és az a tény vált forrásává a későbbi anyajognak, amely a fejlődés bizonyos szakán az örökösödési viszony alapjává lett.

A barbárság alsó fokának határán kialakult törzsi és nemzetségi szervezeteket, ennek alapján a csoportházasságot és ebben a csoportházassági közösségben az anya megkülönböztetett szerepét, megrenditette a fejlődés, amely rávezette az embert az állatok megszeliditésével együttjáró előnyök fölismerésére, a nyájtenyésztésre. Ez a fölismerés egyértelmü volt az ősi közösségek létbizonytalanságának megszünésével, de legalább is ennek a bizonytalanságnak erős csökkenésével. A nyáj szaporodásával a törzsi szövetségek számára a gazdaság uj forrása nyilt meg. De a gazdaságnak ez a szaporodása bizonyos határon tul uj legelők fölkutatására és meghóditására ösztönözte a pásztortörzseket és eközben harcba keveredtek idegen törzsekkel, amelyeket a legelőkért vivott harcban legyőztek, vagy a megtámadott törzs győzte le őket. Akár az egyik, akár a másik eset következett be, a győzők a legyőzötteket előbb lemészárolták mint szükségteleneket, később azonban fölismerték, hogy a legyőzött törzsek tagjait munkára szorithatják és most már nem gyilkolták le, hanem rabszolgákká tették és munkára kényszeritették őket. Az ősi közösségekbe ezzel uj elem vonult be, amely az eddigi egységes szervezetet megbontotta. A nyájtenyésztés mellett kialakult a földmüvelés és bizonyos iparszerü munkálkodásnak halvány körvonalai is kibontakoztak. Mindez a gazdagság további szaporodásával járt együtt és az uj termelőmódok, a munkának uj formái az ősi közösségek szerkezetét is kikezdték. A csoportházasság megszünt és helyét a párosodó család váltotta föl. Ezzel együtt az ismert anya mellé került az ismert apa, akinek ebben a családi közösségben lényegesen megnőtt a szerepe és jelentősége is, amennyiben neki kellett gondoskodni a családi közösség élelméről és az élelem megszerzésének eszközeiről is. Ezeknek a megszerzésével megszerezte a hozzájuk füződő tulajdonjogot is. Ez a körülmény alapjában forgatta föl a régi rendet, noha az anyajog és az anya után való örökösödés rendszere még nem halványult el, minthogy a régi jog mindég később omlik össze, semmint az azt alkotó gazdasági és termelési viszonyok. De miként a javak szaporodásával nőtt a férfi sulya a családban, ahogy a nyájtenyésztés mellett terjedt a földmüvelés és ennek folytán megszünt a nemzetségeknek vidékről-vidékre való hullámzása, egyre szilárdabb alakot öltvén a törzsek és a nemzetségek állandó települése, akként homályosult el a nő szerepe a családban, mig végül teljesen eltünt az anyajog, helyet adván a patriarchális családi szervezetnek, amely a maga uj organizmusában egészen más képet adott, mint a csoportházassági rendszeren fölépült nemzetségi, vagy törzsi szervezetek kommunisztikus közössége. A patriarchális család ugyan magában foglalta a rabszolgákat is, de a családi közösségbe tartozók anyagi és erkölcsi közössége megszünt. A családfő az atya, a közösségbe tartozók fölött a mindenható ur. Noha ez a családi forma még ismeri a többnejüséget, mégis közvetlen őse a mai házassági rendszernek és Marx találóan irja róla, hogy "nemcsak a rabszolgaságat foglalja magában, hanem a jobbágyságot is, mert eleve a földmüvesszolgálatokra is tekintettel van. Kicsiben mindazok az ellentétek megtalálhatók benne, amelyek az államban és a társadalomban később nagy mértékben kifejlődtek."

A patriarchális családban megszünt a közös tulajdon. A családi vagyon fölött kizárólagosan a családfő rendelkezett és az örökösödés is ennek az uj tulajdonviszonynak megfelelően fejlődött.

A magántulajdon kialakulásából megdőlt a régi nemzetségi szervezet, a régi jog, a régi erkölcs, amennyiben ilyenről abban az időben mint az emberek által tudatosan fölismert és életüket szabályozó társadalmi törvényekről szó lehetett. Megdőlt az anyajog és ezzel Engels szerint "a férfi egyeduralmának utolsó korlátja is elpusztult." Ez az egyeduralom rést ütött magán a nemzetségi szervezeten is. Egyre erőteljesebb hatalommá alakult ki a család, mint a későbbi társadalmi fejlődésnek minden ellentétét magában foglaló sejtje.

A rabszolgatársadalom bizonyos fejlődési fokán a tevékenységek differenciálódásával az emberi haladás szempontjából óriási jelentőségü változás jött létre: az ipar elszakadása a földmüveléstől és ezzel együtt a termelés hatalmas megnövekedése, amely viszont az emberi munkaerő értékét fokozta eddig nem is sejtett mértékben. A rabszolga a termelés fontos tényezőjévé emelkedett s egyesek gazdagságának, hatalmának, befolyásának mértékét rabszolgáinak száma adta meg. Megkezdődött a kezdetleges árutermelés, a csere céljaira való termelés, a barbár kereskedelem és a termelés differenciálódásával a társadalom differenciálódása is. A szabadok és a rabszolgák közötti különbséget követte a szegények és gazdagok közötti különbség, az osztályokra való tagozódás és az egymástól elszakadt osztályokban jelentkező érdekellentétek csirájából kibontakozott az osztályok harca, mely az emberiség irott történelmét végigkisérte.

Marx és Engels voltak az elsők, akik az osztályharc tényében fölismerték a történelmet alakitó leghatalmasabb erőt és ennek jelentőségét a Kommunista Kiáltványban ragyogó ékesszólással és drámai erővel méltatták, tudománnyá kovácsolván ezt az uj történelemszemléletet. Tanitásaikat megdönthetetlen tételekre épitették és az osztályharc fölismerésével a történelem-filozófiának uj és valóságos tartalmat adtak, szemben az addigi terméketlen metafizikai spekulációval, amely a történelem alkotó erejét és az emberi élet törvényeit eszmék fejlődésében, vagy még korábban valami földöntuli világakaratban kereste.

Az osztályharc szerepének fölismerése nemcsak a filozófiai zürzavart szüntette meg, szilárd magyarázatát adván a történelmi eseményeknek, a gazdasági, társadalmi és ideológiai fejlődésnek, hanem halálos csapást mért az utópisztikus szocializmusra is, bebizonyitván a proletáriátusnak, minden más osztálytól különálló társadalmi osztálynak létezését és történelmi szerepét.

Marx és Engels a Kommunista Kiáltványban rakják le az osztályharcos szocializmus alapköveit, a következő megállapitásokkal:

"Minden eddigi társadalom története osztályharcok története."

'Szabad és rabszolga, patricius és plebejus, hübéres és jobbágy, céhmester és legény, szóval elnyomó és elnyomott örökösen szemben állott és hol nyilt, hol lappangó, de szakadatlan harcot vivott egymással. Ez a harc mindenkor vagy az egész társadalomnak forradalmi átalakulásával, vagy a harcoló osztályok együttes pusztulásával fejeződött be."

"A történelemnek régebbi szakaszaiban a társadalomnak különféle rendekre való pontos tagolása, a társadalmi állásoknak fokozatos elkülönitése figyelhető meg. Az ókori Rómában ott láthatjuk a patriciust, lovagot, plebejust, rabszolgát. A középkorban a hübérest, céhpolgárt, legényt, jobbágyot a azonfelül ezen osztályok mindegyikében különféle fokozatokat."

"A hübéri társadalom pusztulásával támadt modern polgári társadalom nem szüntette meg az osztályellentéteket. Csak uj osztályokat teremtett a régiek helyett, az elnyomatást uj föltételekhez, a harcot uj eszközökhöz füzte."

"A burzsoázia fejlődésének minden egyes fokozatát megfelelő politikai haladás követte nyomon. Elnyomott rend volt a hübéreseknek uralma idején, fölfegyverzett és önmagát igazgató társulat a községben, egyhelyt független, városi köztársaság, másutt harmadik adófizető rend valamely monarchiában, majd a manufaktura idején a rendi, vagy abszolut monarchiában a nemesség megfékezésére szolgáló ellensulyból a nagy monarchiák alapjává lett. A nagyipar és a világpiac kialakulása óta a modern képviseleti rendszerü államok kizárólagos urává küzdötte föl magát. A modern államhatalom az egész burzsoá osztály közös üzleteinek lebonyolitására rendelt végrehajtóbizottság."

Ebben a néhány mondatban az emberiség történelme kristályosodik ki az uj, történelmet alkotó osztálynak, a proletáriátusnak föllépéséig. Ennek az uj korszaknak osztályküzdelmei ugyszólván a szemünk láttára folynak le, mégis sokan vannak, akik nagy összefüggéseit nem látják, az uralkodó osztályokhoz tartozók pedig nemcsak az osztályharc jelentőségét, hanem a tényét is tagadják. Olyasvalamit nem látnak és olyasvalamit tagadnak tehát, amelynek részesei.

Az ember viszonya a társadalomhoz, a termelési folyamatban elfoglalt helye és a termelt javakban való részesedése szerint igazodik. A társadalom nem egységes. Nem egységes azóta, mióta a magántulajdon kialakult. Amiképen az ókorban voltak szabadok és rabszolgák, földtulajdonosok és nincstelenek, ahogyan a középkorban voltak hübérurak és jobbágyok, céhmesterek és céhlegények, azonképpen van ma burzsoá és proletár. Mindazok, akik azonos gazdasági körülmények között, azonos társadalmi helyzetben élnek együtt osztályt alkotnak. Minthogy a tulajdonviszonyok alakulása következtében vannak szegények és gazdagok s minthogy továbbá a társadalmi termelés eredményeiben a társadalomban élők nem egyformán osztozkodnak, a javakban bőségesebben részesülők és a javakból kitagadottak között érdekellentétek támadnak. A föld tulajdonosának más az érdeke, mint a nincstelen parasztnak. Ismét más az érdeke a termelőeszközök birtokosainak, mint a vagyontalan proletárnak, aki munkaerejét, hogy éhen ne haljon, kénytelen a termelőeszközök birtokosainak áruba bocsátani.

Az érdekellentétek a vagyonosak és vagyontalanok osztályát egymással szembe állitják, a vagyontalanokat arra ösztönzik, hogy maguknak a gazdasági és társadalmi élethez megfelelőbb elhelyezkedést érjenek el, a vagyonosokat pedig arra, hogy eddigi helyzetüket megvédelmezzék, hogy megtarthassák. Ezek a törekvések szükségképpen harcra vezetnek. A társadalmi osztályok egymás ellen való kiméletlen küzdelmére.

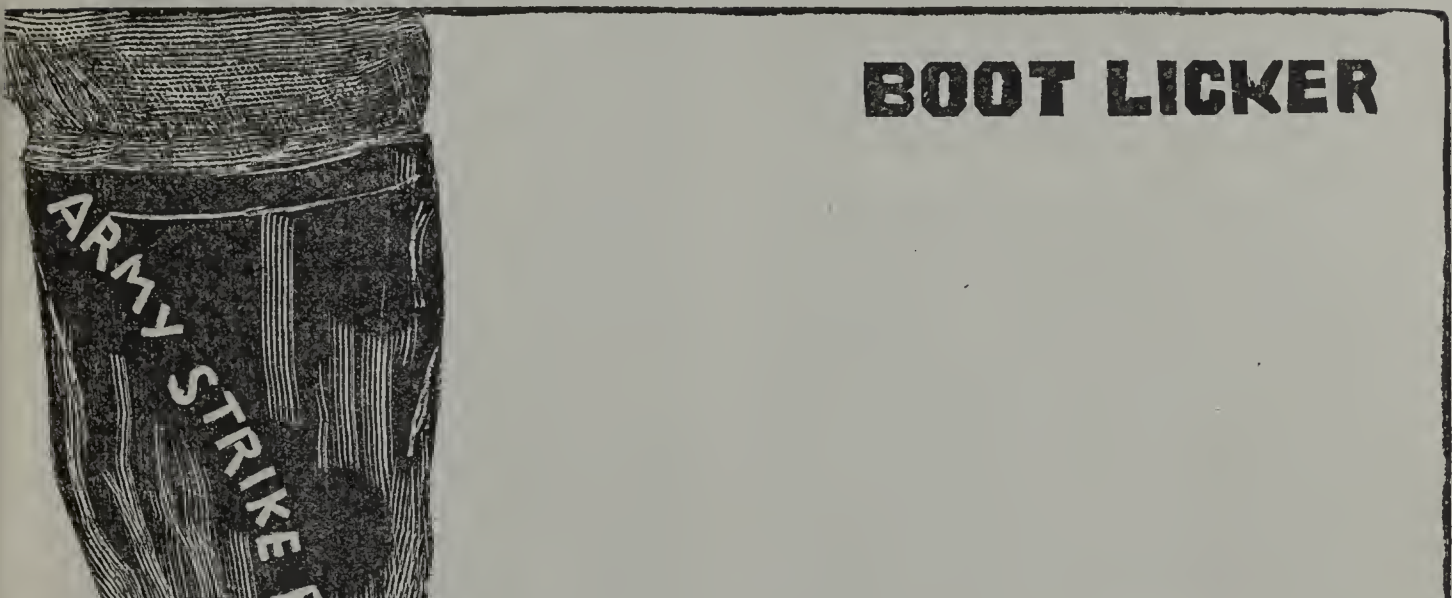
A hübéri társadalomban a polgárság volt az elnyomott rend, szemben a nemességgel és a királyi hatalommal, amely a polgárság történelmi érvényesülését a kezében összpontosult hatalommal megakadályozta. Ebben a hübéri társadalomban a burzsoázia képviselte a forradalmi elemet, mint egy következő korszaknak uralomra kijelölt osztálya, mert hiszen a kapitalista termelés már a hübéri társadalom méhében kicsirázott és az uj termelési mód kereste érvényesülésének föltételeit. Azok akik érdekeikkel az ipari termeléshez, a kapitalista gazdálkodáshoz kapcsolódtak, szükségképpen harcosaivá váltak az uj társadalmi rendnek, amely a kapitalisztikus termelés érvényesülésének feltételeit megadja. A feudális nemesség és a királyi hatalom viszont kiváltságokkal megerősitett hatalmát védelmezte az uj renddel szemben és hatalmának eszközeivel tört a feltörekvő harmadik rend ellen. Minden uralkodó osztálynak benső sajátossága, hogy megvédelmezze gazdasági és politikai hatalmát, hogy ezt a hatalmat isteni eredetünek nevezett jogrendszerrel bástyázza körül és mindaddig, amig a feltörekvő osztályok mint uj termelési rendnek előcsatárai meg nem erősödnek annyira, hogy legyőzhessék a régi uralkodó osztályokat, mindaddig a gazdasági hatalom terméke, a jogrend, elegendő védelmet nyujt az uralkodó osztályok számára, hogy uralmi rendszerüket megtarthassák. A hübériség is a végletekig védelmezte önmagát a megszületni akaró uj renddel szemben, de el kellett buknia, mert a termelési viszonyok tulnőttek rajta és az uj termelési viszonyok képviselője, a burzsoázia, elég erőhöz jutott, hogy megdöntse a régi rendet.

Az osztályharc azonban nem egy bizonyos időre korlátozott társadalmi mozgás, hanem állandó tartalma a történelemnek. Nem egyetlen végső küzdelemben jut kifejezésre, hanem apróbb-nagyobb csatározások végtelen láncolatában. Ez a mozgás folytonos változásokat hoz létre s igy világunk, mint az ellentétek világa, folytonos átalakulásokon megy át.

Az osztályharcokat tehát az osztályoknak egymással szemben álló érdekei idézik föl. Az érdekellentét ott van, ahol az érdekek nem azonosak, sőt ellenségesen állnak szemben egymással. Ez az ellentét letagadhatatlan és áthidalhatatlan. Vannak ugyan, akik azt állitják, hogy a szegény emberből is lehet gazdag ember, hogy a szegény emberek világából át lehet jutni a gazdag emberek világába, de ez az állitás nem más a való tények elhomályositásánál, mert hiszen, ha igaz is az, hogy a mai polgári társadalomban az osztályok közötti határvonalak elmosódottabbak, mint a régi rendi társadalomban, azért ez nem jelentheti, amiképpen nem is jelenti az osztályellentétek hiányát, mert hiszen a bérmunkásosztály egész tömegében nem lehet kapitalista, a nincstelen parasztság nem juthat a nagybirtokos nemesség osztályhelyzetébe, sem az ipari munkásosztály, sem a nincstelen parasztság nem változtathat osztályhelyzetén a mai társadalom keretei között. A proletáriátus, mint osztály politikailag elnyomott, gazdaságilag kizsákmányolt mivoltából csak a kapitalista termelési mód és a polgári társadalom megszüntetésével szabadulhat föl, csak a termelőeszközök magántulajdonának megszüntetésével, mert ameddig a termelőeszközök magántulajdona fönnáll, addig a proletáriátus gazdaságilag és politikailag elnyomott osztály marad. Harcaival tágithat bilincsein, előrenyomulásával könnyithet láncain, de bérmunkás mivoltán, nincstelenségén nem változtathat.

Ha a hübéri társadalomban a burzsoázia szükségképpen mint forradalmi osztály tünt föl és hajtotta végre történelmi szerepét, ugy a kapitalisztikus társadalomban a proletáriátus a történelmileg forradalmi osztály és amiképpen a feudális nemesség és polgárság között folytatott osztályküzdelmekből egy magasabb rendü gazdasági állapot, fejlettebb termelési rendszer s ezt követően magasabbrendü társadalmi szerkezet, haladottabb erkölcsi és szellemi kultura keletkezett, ugy a proletáriátusnak a tőkésekkel szemben folytatott osztályharca is a termelés magasabb kvalitásu rendszere s elébb egy uj, sajátságos forradalmi ideológiai rendszert tenyészt ki, hogy később, győzelme idején tökélyre emelkedjék a következő korszak gazdasági és szellemi tartalma.

Az osztályharc szerepe tehát elgondolhatatlanul nagyobb jelentőségü az emberiség történetében, semmint az



A munkásfékerek örömmel veszik a hadsereg felhasználását sztrájktörésre.

első hallásra bárki is fölmérni tudná. És minél tudatosabbá válik az osztályharc a szemben álló osztályok társadalmi tudatában, annál nagyszerübb eredményeket hoz létre a szociális élet minden területén.

A proletár osztályöntudat korunk társadalmának leghatalmasabb alkotóereje és az uralkodó osztályok legnagyobb veszedelme. Az osztályellentét társadalmat alakitó hatóerővé csak a forradalmi osztály tudatában válhat, amikor ez megtörténik, akkor az osztályharc szervezett és tudatos osztályharccá válik. A modern osztályharc hordozója az ipari proletáriátus, mint az uralkodó burzsoázia történelmi örököse.

Az osztályharc formái különbözők és korunk társadalmában sem korlátozódnak az osztályharcok pusztán és kizáróan a burzsoáziára és a proletáriátusra, mert hiszen egy társadalmi forma sem hal el nyomban az uj társadalom kialakulásának pillanatában. Megmaradnak a réginek csökevényei, nemcsak a gazdasági termelési viszonyok területén, hanem jogi, politikai és erkölcsi téren is. A burzsoázia nem egyszer szembekerül az ipari proletáriátuson kivül az ugynevezett történelmi nemességgel, vagy a kispolgársággal, amiként a feudális nemesség a hübéri társadalomban nem csupán a burzsoáziával állott szemben, hanem sokkal többször és talán élesebben az elnyomott parasztsággal s a lázongó jobbágyokkal, a proletáriátus viszont nem egyszer kénytelen több front felé egyszerre harcolni s ez mindaddig igy lessz, amig a megelőző korok gazdasági és társadalmi csökevényei ki nem mulnak, mindaddig, amig a társadalom két egységes osztályra nem szakad, a magántulajdon rendszerének ebben az utolsó fázisában.

Az osztályharc egyben politikai harc is. A proletáriátus a maga osztályharcát ennek megfelelően gazdasági és politikai területeken folytatja a vagyonos és kiváltságosokkal fölruházott uralkodó osztályokkal szemben. Az osztályharc egyik megnyilvánulási formája a sztrájk, amelynek segitségével a munkások életszinvonaluk emelkedésére törekszenek. A sztrájk sikeres megvivásának előfeltétele a szervezkedés. Ezen a fölismerésnek adott hatalmas lendületet a proletáriátus osztályszerveződésének és előretörésének. A sztrájk **támadás az értéktöbblet ellen, lényegében a tőkés termelés alapja ellen.** Ez a támadás a kapitalizmust védekezésre ösztönzi. Előbb uj kiváltságokat teremt, ujabb rendszert formál ki a proletáriátus ellen, később maga is szervezkedik, még később föladja merev ellenállását a munkaviszonyok javitásával és a szociálpolitikai törvényhozással szemben és az ellentétek elhomályositására törekszik. Védekezése és támadása egyaránt arra vezet, hogy a proletáriátus megteremtse szervezkedésének magasabbrendü formáit, fokozza kulturáját, ellentállóbbá keményedjen és nagyobb erővel forduljon a politikai és gazdasági küzdelmek felé, hogy mint szervezett osztály megteremtse érvényesülési utját a hatalom meghóditása felé.

A proletáriátus szervezett osztályharca az uralkodó osztályok ellen, időről-időre hatalmas változásokat visz véghez már a mai társadalomban is. A proletáriátus, mint osztály, maga is kitermeli a maga sajátos kulturáját és időről-időre rávetiti gondolkodását az egész társadalomra. Harcaival az uralkodó osztályok védelmi övezetének egy-egy bástyafokát dönti le, fogyasztó- és termelőszövetkezeteivel pedig már ebben a társadalomban elvégzi az eljövendő korszak gazdasági és termelési formáinak hatalmas kisérletét.

A proletáriátus osztályharca tömérdek értéket rejt magában, mindezekből az értékekből épül föl a szocializmus uj világa, mint a proletáriátus osztályharcának történelmi terméke.

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A legnagyobb vizesések.

A világ legnagyobb vizesése Kukenaam, British Guenában van, amelynek a magassága 2000 láb. Utána a New Zelandban levő Sutherland következik 1904 láb magassággal. Az amerikai földrészen a legmagasabb a californiai Yosemite 1300 lábbal, mig a hires Niagara vizesés csak 167 láb magas.

PIKA PÁL

SZOCIALIZMUS

AZ öntudatlan agyakba félelmet jelentő “szocializmus” valódi értelmezése közösséget jelent. Az a társadalmi rend, amely ma ténylegesen uralja az emberi társadalmat, ugy igyekszik a szocializmust az emberek nagy tömegének értelmezni, mint valami borzasztó veszélyes jelenséget amely bizonyosan vissza vezeti az embereket a barbarizmus korszakába. Az emberi kapzsiság és ravaszság, amelynek fő célja mindig az volt, hogy mennyire képes lesz egyik ember a másikat legázolni és felette fölényesen rendelkezni. A világ történelmet lapozgatva és az emberi társadalom különböző korszakát tanulmányozva, megállapithatjuk, hogy valamikor az emberi törzsek közösségbe éltek, amit ős-kommunizmusnak nevez a történelem. A törzsek szaporodása és azon területek amelyen egyes törzsek éltek, amikor már a megélhetés lehetősége nehézzé vált, igy azután egyes törzsek felkerekedtek és több területet akartak hóditani, aminek következtében háboruba keveredtek más törzsekkel. És ha ezen háboruból kifolyólag egyik törzs győzelmet aratott a másik felett, azokat azután rabszolgákká tették, akikkel azután dolgoztattak, hogy ők maguk kényelmesen élhessenek. Ebben az időben a győző felek csak a legyőzött törzsek népeit dobták rabszolga sorsba. Az emberi társadalom fejlődése elvezetett bennünket az ugynevezett “civilizált” emberi társadalomba, amelyről nagyon sok ember azt hiszi, hogy ez a mai társadalmi rendszer a leghelyesebb, mert van egyéni szabadság (?). A népeknek van önrendelkezési joga, sőt még demokratikus rendszernek is nevezik.

Maga a szó demokrácia, amely görög eredetü, a tényleges jelentősége nép uralmat jelent. Most azt szeretnénk tudni hol létezik ilyesmi a földtekén? A mai emberi társadalomban amit modern rabszolga társadalmi rendszernek mondunk, modernnek nevezzük azért mert ugy funkcionál, hogy az emberek legnagyobb többsége abban a tudatban él, hogy szabad ember, mert a modern technikai tanitási rendszer igy hiteti el az emberekkel, amit a nagy gyakorlati megpróbáltatások sem tudtak megértetni az emberekkel, hogy tulajdonképpen most is egy rabszolga rendszerben élünk, aminek olyan elnevezést adtak, hogy a laikus ember azt hiszi, hogy szabad és megvan minden önrendelkezési joga. Ez az ugynevezett “bérrendszer” amelyben élünk, amikor minden ember függővé van téve azok jóakaratától, akik a termelő eszközök és a természeti kincsek birtokosai. A mai ember csak annyiban különbözik a mult rabszolgáitól, hogy amazok élelmiszert, ruházatot és lakhelyet kaptak a rabszolgatartóktól, amig a mai ember bizonyos bért kap munkája fejében, amiért élelmiszert, ruházatot és lakhelyet bérelhet érte. Hogy azután a Szocializmus eszméje miért hat olyan sullyal sokakra, azt meglehet érteni. Meglehet érteni azért, mert a mai rendszer a magántulajdon és az azzal járó kizsákmányoláson alapszik. Ennek azután természetes következménye az, hogy azok, akik ma birtokosai ugy a természeti kincseknek, mint a termelő eszközöknek, akik tényleg uralják ma az egész emberi társadalmat, semmi esetre nem akarják, hogy ezen bármi változás jöjjön létre. Mivel ők rendelkeznek az élet javai felett, ezért az ő gazdasági érdekeiknek megfelelőleg rendezték be magát a társadalom osztályintézményeit, amelynek hivatása nem is lehet más, mint minden tekintetben a jelenlegi fennálló gazdasági rendszer életben tartása. Megtudjuk érteni magát az uralkodó osztályt, hogy ragaszkodik a mai rendszer fentartásához. De nem tudjuk megérteni magát a munkásosztályt, hogy nagy részük annyira fél még a szocialista elnevezéstől is. Ezt a legtöbb esetben a kapitalista rendszer ferde nevelésének tudhatjuk be, de azért legalább elvárnánk a munkások nagy tömegétől, akikről tudjuk azonban, hogy mindenre hajlandó csak tanulásra és a saját osztályérdekében cselekedni nem, hogy ne féljen a szocializmus szónak már a puszta emlitésétől.

Annyi bizonyos, hogy ma már mindenki hallott a szocializmusról, akár jót, vagy akár rosszat. Ha már olyan sokszor hallottunk róla, akkor az volna mindenkinek a kötelessége, hogy valójában megtudja, hogy mi is a szocializmusnak az igazi lényege. Ma a legnagyobb baj, hogy különösen a munkások nagy tömege, akiknek tényleg osztályérdekük volna, hogy a valóságban megtudják mi is a szocializmus, mert mikor a nincstelenség beköszönt a proletár házba, azt legalább tudniok kellene, hogy mi az okozója az éhségnek és nyomornak és miért van az, hogy némelyek duskálnak az élet javaiban.

A szocializmus megértése igen könnyü, csak nem azoktól kell azt megtanulni, akik annak ellenségei, mert ők a mai rendszerben gond nélkül és a bőség közepette élnek.

A szocializmus, amint a bevezetésemben emlitettem közösséget jelent. Közösség alatt értjük az élet javainak egyenletes elosztását, hogy az emberi társadalomban az összes munkabiró emberek közösen termeljék meg az élethez szükséges összes javakat és azokat egyenlően szétosztani az emberi társadalom összes hasznos tagjai között.

A szocializmus eljövetelének csak azok lehetnek ellenségei, akik ma embertársaik kizsákmányolása érvén jólétet tudnak maguknak biztositani. Most azután, akár az emberszeretet, akár pedig vallási szempontból birálják meg a dolgot nem helyeselhetjük, hogy egyik ember a másik embertársát meglopja, vagy megfossza a megélhetési lehetőségtől csak azért, hogy saját jólétét biztositsa.

Az I.W.W. maga a szocializmus igazi megtestesitője. Habár nevében nem szerepel a szó szocializmus, de arra alakult és azért igyekszik a Világ Ipari Munkásait megszervezni, hogy megvalósithassa azt az emberi társadalmat, amelyet szocializmusnak nevezünk. Az I.W.W. a szintiszta szocializmust igyekszik megvalósitani akkor, amikor a mai "bérrendszer" helyébe egy olyan társadalmi rendszert akar felépiteni — a mainak keretein belül — ahol az emberek a közös termelési mód életbeléptetésével egy olyan társadalmi rend megalapozását irányitják elő, amelyben nem lesznek többé osztályok, nem lesznek sem diktátorok, hanem az igazi társadalmi demokrácia fog életbe lépni. Amikor közösen fogunk termelni a társadalmi javak igazságos és egyenletes elosztása alapján.

Ez jelenti magát a szocializmust, amiért mindenkinek küzdeni kell, hogy már egyszer az emberiség elérhessen egy olyan emberi társadalomba, ahol nem lessz többé az embereknek a főtörekvése a kapzsisággal járó vagyonfelhalmozás, amikor minden gyülölet megszünik, amit ma csak a gazdasági féltékenység és különbözet okoz. Ne féljen senki a szocializmus eljövetelétől, mert ez csak az emberiség boldogságát állandósithatja.

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A föld ismertetése:

A föld felületének nagysága 196,550.000 négyszög mérföld. Ebből 141 millió négyszög mérföld vizzel van boritva, az egész felület 70 százaléka.

Az egyes világrészek közötti megoszlás a következő:

Afrika	11,632.000
Észak Amerika	7,746.641
Dél Amerika	7,334.508
Ázsia	17,470.282
Ausztrália	3,456.290
Európa	3,671.624
Sarkvidék	6,970.000

(A számok négyzetmértföldben értendők)

VASZKO GYÖRGY

MUNKÁSOK OKTATÁSA

MUNKÁSOKTATÁS, ugyszólván egyidős a munkásmozgalom fejlődésével a proletáriátus fölszabadulása el sem képzelhető a szellemi béklyók széttörése nélkül, amelyet az uralkodó osztály rakott az elnyomott munkásság vállaira, különösebb jelentőséget a szocialista munkásoktatás mégis a legutóbbi évtizedekben nyert, amikor a háborus országok munkáspártjai és szervezetei rideg kiméletlenséggel levonták a világháboru konzekvenciáit. Abból kiindulva, hogy azt a hatalmas vérfürdőt a kapitalista imperializmus és az uralkodó osztályok általában csak a tömegek tudatlanságán és szervezetlenségén keresztül zudithatták az emberiségre, logikussá vált, hogy ezt a jövőben csak ugy lehet megakadályozni, ha a munkástömegeket kiemelik tudatlanságukból és ezáltal képessé teszik olyan hatalmas szervezkedésre, amelynek erején megtörik minden háborus törekvés. A másik szempont, amely a forradlami munkásoktatásnak hatalmas lendületet adott a háboruutáni években, az volt, hogy a harctéren tömegével estek el olyan munkások, akik a munkásmozgalomban már szerepet játszottak, megfelelő képzettséggel rendelkeztek és akiket sürgősen pótolni kell a munkásmozgalom érdekében. Azonkivül a háborut követő forradalmak több olyan harci területet nyitottak meg a munkásság számára, amelyeken csak tudással vértezetten folytatható a fölszabadulásért vivott küzdelem.

A nyugati államokban a munkásságnak már beleszólása van az üzemi tanácsokon keresztül a termelés menetébe is, amit szintén csak hozzáértő munkások utján eszközölhet. Ez teszi lehetővé, hogy a nemzetközi munkásmozgalom vezetői a háboru utáni években hatalmas erőfeszitéseket tettek a munkásoktatás kiépitésére és egységes alapra való helyezésére. 1922-ben az Internationale már összehivja Brüsszelbe a Nemzetközi Oktatásügyi Kongresszust, hogy az egész világra kiterjedően irányt szabjon a szocialista munkásoktatásnak. Két év mulva, 1924-ben, ez a tanácskozás megismétlődik Oxfordban, ahol már 20 ország képviselteti magát 78 küldöttel. Itt már megjelennek Amerika, Ausztrália, Palesztina, India és Japán küldöttei is és szines delegátusok testvéri kézszoritásokkal pecsételték meg azt a frigyet, amely a nemzetközi munkásmozgalomban, fajra, nyelvre, vallásra és szinre való tekintet nélkül egybefüzi a világ munkásságát. Itt küldenek ki egy héttagu bizottságot azzal a föladattal, hogy teremtsék meg a szocialista munkásoktatás Internacionaléját. (Internationale Federation der Arbeiterbildungsorganization) Itt vetődik föl a terv egy Nemzetközi Főiskola (Internationale Hochschule) létesitésére nézve is. Ennek a főiskolának kell megoldania a munkásoktatók kitermelésének sulyos problémáját. A brüsszeli és az oxfordi tanácskozások eredménye gyanánt kiépülnek világszerte a munkásiskolák, egyazon pedagógiai módszer alapján. Mindenhol a gyakorlati képzésen van a hangsuly és a tantárgyak ugy vannak megválogatva, hogy semmi fölösleges és elvont értékü tanitás ne zavarja a munkáshallgatóság szellemi kifejlődését. A tanitás különböző retortákon keresztül a munkásegyetemeken éri el legmagasabb fokát. Kezdve az egyes nyilvános előadásokon, amelyeket sürün támaszt alá a vetitett képekkel és filmekkel operáló szocialista pedagógiai módszer, folytatva a heteken át tartó szemináriális esti tanfolyamokon, egészen az internátus jellegével biró főiskolákig, mindenfajta oktatás a propaganda jegyében folyik.

Az ifjuság, a nők, a felnőtt munkások, a bizalmiférfiak, az üzemi tanácstagok, sőt a vezető szerepre készülők is külön tanfolyamokon nyernek képzést. Az egyes országok oktató apparátusának külön sajtója is van. A gazdagon fölszerelt könyvtárak pedig, valamint a munkáshallgatóságnak nyujtott könyvvásárlási kedvezmények szintén ennek a magasztos célnak a szolgálatában állanak. Külön figyelmet érdemel a legutóbbi években megteremtett nyári iskola rendszere, amely szintén kétirányu. A nyári iskolák egy részben az illető ország szocialista pártja, szakszervezetei és szövetkezeti intézményei delegálnak hallgatóságot a maguk kiválasztott tagjai közül, ahol a nyáron megfelelő helyen, internátusban nyujtanak hónapokon át képzést a tanulóknak és azokat vezető szerepre készitik elő. A másik része a nyári iskolának olyképpen van megszervezve, hogy azokon különböző országok szocialista pártjai küldik ki kiválasztott embereiket, hogy ott más országok delegátusaival együttesen tanulva, nemcsak egyetemes szocialista képzést nyerjenek, hanem egyuttal, az állandó érintkezés folytán, megismerjék a különböző országok munkásmozgalmát is. Ez is tisztára gyakorlati célokat szolgál, mert lehetővé teszi, hogy az ezekből az iskolákból kikerülő tanulók hazavigyék magukkal idegen országok munkásmozgalmának praktikus és követésre érdemes ujitásait. Ezenkivül hátra vannak még az egyes országok munkásegyetemei, amelyek azonban nem szocialista propaganda jegyében végzik oktató munkájukat, hanem általános, egyetemes képzettséget nyujtanak a munkásokból álló hallgatóságnak. Ezek közül kiemelendő az angol Ruskin College (Munkás főiskola), amelyet 100 évvel ezelőtt alapitott két amerikai polgár, a Labour College, amely a fönti egyetem kebeléből alakult a 80-as években, a The Victorian Labour College az ausztráliai Melbourne-ben, amely 1917. évben alakult, valamint a hasonló berendezésü munkásfőiskolák Sydney-ben, Brisbaneban és Perthben. Az 1921-ben megalakult brüsszeli munkásegyetem, az 1905-ben alakult prágai Arbeiterakademie, az 1922-ben megalakult párisi Munkásegyetem, az 1882-ben Sottevilles-Rouen-ben létesitett Népegyetem, az 1921-ben megnyilt Német Birodalmi Munkásfőiskola, a frankfurti Arbeiterakademie, a Brookwod College az Egyesült Államokban és az edingurghi College Irországban, az esbjergi Munkásfőiskola Dániában, a chicagoi Munkásfőiskola, amely szakszervezeti veztők kiképzésére van berendezve, a Common-Wealth College az amerikai Newlandban és ugyancsak amerikai I.W.W. ellenőrzés alatt álló Duluth Colleg stb. Ezek az adatok a háboru előtti időkről valók.

Az egyes országok szocialista oktatóapparátusára vonatkozóan elsősorban kell megemliteni Belgiumot. Munkásegyetemén évente két hónapos tanszakon folyik az oktatás. Az egyik tanszak francia, a másik flamand nyelven. Az egyetem föntartási költségeire minden ottani szervezett munkás állandóan heti öt centimes külön járulékot (Son de L'Ecole) fizet, mig a tanulót delegáló szervezet minden hallgató után 1600 frankot fizet tanszakonként. Azonkivül számtalan szeminárium müködik 6—9 hétig tartó tanszakkal, esténként 2 órai tanitással. A szemináriumokat — alsó és felső fokon — szakszervezeti tisztviselők, bizalmiférfiak és üzemi tanácstagok látogatják. Az oktatásnak két folyóirata van: a francia Education et Recreation és a flamand Ontwikkeling. A munkásegyetemek könyvtárában több mint 25.000 könyv van fölhalmozva. Az iskolák ingyen adják a tankönyveket. Vannak speciális tanfolyamok, amelyek 30 hétig tartanak. Sürün rendeznek külföldi tanulmány kirándulásokat, amelyek szintén a munkásoktatás célját szolgálják. Németországban hatalmas arányokban folyik a munkásoktatás, ugy az élőszó, mint a nyomtatott betü utján, 60 hetilapjuk 9 millió példányban jelenik meg, 10 szakfolyóirat 500,000 példányban szolgálja a munkásoktatás célját. A helyi pártszervezetek 665 könyvtárral rendelkeznek, 107 helyiségben van olvasóterem. A szakszervezeti funkcionárusok számára 55.000 példányban nyomják a szakszervezeti értesitőt. A Gewerkschaftliche Frauenzeitunk cimü ujság 468.000 példányban jelenik meg. Rendszeres tanfolyamok vannak a pártszervezeti titkárok számára. A munkásfőiskolán főként szakszervezeti tisztviselők nyernek egy éven át képzést és ennek költségét a szakmai szervezetek fedezik. Főiskolájuk van Tinzben (Thuringiában) is, azonkivül gazdasági iskolákat tartanak fön Dusseldofban és Berlinben. Az üzemi tanácstagok számára münsteri egyetemen rendeznek hathetes tanfolyamokat. Berlinben van a Volksschule, amelynek négyhónapos tanszakára a párt és szakszervezetek küldik ki a hallgatókat. Külön szemináriális tanfolyamokat rendeznek az egyes szakszervezetek. A Betriebsrate-Zeitung százhusz ezer példányban jelenik meg. 9 nagy szakszervezet külön folyóiratot ad ki az üzemi tanácsok számára 350.000 példányban. Azonkivül a szociáldemokrata párt az egész országban rengeteg szemináriumot tart fön féléves tanszakkal, átlag 30 hallgatóval, akik a munka alól fölvannak mentve a párt költségén.

Angliában a két egyetemen kivül az egész országban mindenfelé föntartják az esti iskolákat, amelyek demokratikus alapon vannak megszervezve és amelyekben a hallgatók választják meg az igényelt tananyagot, sőt magát az oktatót is. Az angol párt nagyon sok munkást küld ki a külföldi főiskolákba, amelyeknek a költségeit a párt és a szakszervezetek fedezik. Tartanak azonkivül megszámlálhatatlan mértékben szocialista propagandisztikus előadásokat, amelyekben dominálnak a vetitettképes és filmes előadások. Angliában a legteljesebb tanszabadság uralkodik és ez teszi érthetővé, hogy ott már évtizedek óta, semmi akadálya sincs annak, hogy a legszegényebb sorsban élő proletár gyermekek is, a munkás iskolákon keresztül, egészen a munkásegyetemekig juthatnak el ingyenes tanulással a legteljesebb képzettségig. Kitünő oktatóapparátusa van Csehszlovákiának, amely különböző nagy városaiban létesitett már munkásiskolákat. Ezek közül különösen kiemelendő a pilseni, a mahrischostrani, a teplitzi, a karlsbadi birodalmi pártiskolák, amelyekben 30—60 hallgató tanul állandóan. Ezenkivül vannak szemináriumok a bizalmiférfiak, üzemi tanácstagok, községi funkcionárusok, a nők és ifjumunkások számára. Hollandiában nyári iskolákat tartanak fenn. Évente 10 hallgatót küldenek a frankfurti Arbeiter-Akademie tanszakára is, azonkivül különböző szemináriumokban képezik a munkásságot, Ausztriában tökéletes oktatóapparátus müködik. 1926-ban avatták föl Bécsben a mintaszerüen berendezett Arbeiter-Hochshule-t, ahol évente 32 tanulót helyeznek el internátusszerüen és ennek költségeit a párt és a szakszervezetek fedezik. A legképzettebb munkásvezetők, egyetemi professzorok és autodidakták oktatják a hallgatóságot. Sok szeminárium müködik Ausztriában specializált tanszakokkal, ifjak, nők és különböző funkcionárusok számára. Az egyes előadások rendezésénél nagy sulyt helyeznek a szemléltető oktatásra, a vetitettképes és filmes előadások ott napirenden vannak. Meg kell itt külön emliteni, hogy Bécsben, amely szociáldemokrata közigazgatás alatt áll, a munkásság vezetői megteremtették évekkel ezelőtt azt a nagyszerü iskolareformot, amellyel a népiskolákban is egészen uj pedagógiai rendszer alapjára helyezték az oktatást. Az iskolákból kiküszöbölték a régi, elavult és a gyermekek bifláztatásán alapuló pedagógiai rendszert és helyette életre hivták a tapasztaltatáson,

ELŐRE KÖLTŐK.

Előre költők!.. Lantotok hurjain
Csüggedt hattyudal ne zengjen soha!
Legyen a hangotok: recsegő harci kürt,
Vagy milliók jaját zugó orgona!

Szilaj induló — vagy lelkes ébresztő,
Petyhüdt ereket mely friss vérrel elönt;
Hivő munkásszivek zugó zsolozsmája,
Hajnalhasadás mely ujjongva köszönt.

Cikázó villám sürü éjszakában,
Mitől fénybe borul a setét égbolt.
S ha kell, kihalt puszták vándorkeselyüje,
Mely a romok felett vészesen rikolt.

Sirva vagy nevetve. Keserüen vagy vigan,
De előre költök! Hallasuk szavunk.
Rémitő a Csönd és riaszt a Némaság.
Tudják meg, hogy élünk s élni akarunk!

Zoldos István

ráeszméltetésen nyugvó pedagógiai rendszert. Abból indulva ki, hogy minden emberben van egy természetes, veleszületett képesség és hajlam, amelyet ki kell váltani már az ifju gyermekből, olykép rendezték be a tanitást, hogy az iskolákban nem kell a gyermekek fejébe beleverni a tudást, hanem komoly céltudatossággal és megfelelő tanitási módszerrel ki kell váltani a bensőjükből a bennük szunnyadó képességeket. A gyermekek ingyen kapnak könyveket és tanszereket, amelyek uniformizálva vannak és igy tehát a gazdag gyermek nem lehet megkülönböztetve a szegény gyermektől. Az osztrák pedagógiai módszer tehát már az elemi iskolában tompítja a gyermekek között látható osztályellentéteket. Az osztrák iskolákban a tanitónak nincs katedrája, dobogója, hanem csupán egy asztala és igy tulnyomó részt a gyermekek között járkálva végzi oktató munkáját. Az ilyen szabad szellemben nevelt gyermekek, ha kikerülnek az iskolából, fejlődésük minden fokán találkoznak a szocialista oktatómódszerrel és mire bekerülnek fölnőtt munkáskorukba a munkásiskolába már minden előfeltétellel rendlekeznek arra, hogy kitünő harcosaivá válhassanak a munkásság fölszabaditó küzdelmeinek. — Franciaország szocialista munkásoktatása a belgiumi rendszer nyomdokain halad, de távolról sem oly tökéletes, mint az. Két munkásegyetemen kivül ugyancsak rövidebb-hoszszabb tanfolyamokon képezi a szocialista munkásságot és rendezi az ország különböző részeiben ismeretterjesztő előadásait. — Olaszországban egy meglehetős nagykiterjedésü szocialista munkásoktatást fojtott meg a fasizmus. Az olasz munkásságnak 1921-ben még 97 munkásiskolája volt. Akkor létesült az Universita Proletária Monza, amelyet az olasz Magántisztviselők Szövetsége és a Szakszervezeti Tanács együttesen hivott életre. Azonkivül ugyanakkor létesitették Milánóban a Népegyetemet, amely szintén a szocialista munkásság képzésének célját szolgálta. Monzában a szakszervezetek és a fogyasztási szövetkezet együttes akciója nyomán létesült a Ricreatoria Laico Giuseppe Garibaldi nevü munkásintézmény, amely azonban csupán a munkásság sportszerü képzésével foglalkozott. Minthogy a fasizmus az egész szocialista munkásmozglamat tönkretette, igy ott jelenleg szocialista munkásoktatásról nem lehet szó. Hasonló a helyzet Lengyelországban, ahol 1920-ban alakitották meg a Kultura Robotnika nevü munkásoktatószövetséget, mely kebelébe zárt 16 oktató szervezetet, az Universytet Ludlowy-t, egy munkásfőiskolát, azonkivül egyes szakszervezeteket és néhány semleges kulturális szervezetet. A Lengyelországban dühöngő ellenforradalmi reakció azonban ezt az oktatási szervezetet szétdulta és Lodzban például ennek a szövetségnek az egyik szekcióját, amely munkásiskolát akart létesiteni, az alapitóval, a tanulókkal és a tanárokkal egyetemben letartóztatták. Svédországban szintén müködik egy munkásfőiskola, amelynek szervezete évente 6—7 kurzust rendez 10—12 heti időtartammal. Azonkivül Svédországban is százával tartanak az ország különböző részeiben oktatóelőadásokat. Az oktatásügyi központ havi folyóiratot ad ki és sulyt helyez vándorszinésztársulatok szervezésére, amelyek propagandisztikus előadásokat tartanak a munkásság számára. Svájcban rövidebb-hosszabb tanfolyamokkal, egyes ismeretterjesztő előadásokkal, külön oktatásügyi folyóirattal, külföldi tanulmányi kirándulások rendezésével képezik a munkásságot, azonkivül évente átlag 10 hallgatót küldenek ki a frankfurti munkásegyetemre.

Az Egyesült Államokban 1921-ben alakitották meg a munkásképző szervezetet, amelynek a kebelébe tartoznak a különböző szervezetek, összesen 2 millió taggal. Három internátussal rendelkeznek, amelyekben átlag 10 osztályban képezik a munkásokat. A különböző munkásegyetemeken kivül, amelyekről már föntebb emlitést tettünk, müködik Amerikában 26 munkásiskola, amelyek közül a legnagyobb a bostoni. Ezekben 24 hetes tanfolyamokkal oktatnak és minden munkásiskolának 5 osztálya van. Az oktatás ideje októbertől áprilisig terjed. Azonkivül föntartanak speciális tanfolyamokat különböző iparágak munkásai számára. Főiskola müködik Portlandban 200 hallgatóval. Továbbá Denverben, Coloradó Springsben, Greelyben, Pueblóban, Des Moines-ben, Minneapolisban, St. Paulban, Rochesterben, New Yorkban és Newhavenben. Ezenkivül 200 városban van rendszeres szeminárium a nők és az ifjumunkások részére is. Az iskolákban évente összesen 30—40 ezer hallgató tanul és ugyan ott nemcsak a munkásszervezetek vezetői, hanem tanitók, tanárok és különböző egyetemek vezetői is tanitanak. Az oktatószervezetnek van egy havi folyóirata, azonkivül egy negyedévenként megjelenő organuma (Workers Education). Külön oktatóapparátusokat tartanak fönn az egyes nagyobb szakszervezetek is. Dániában munkásfőiskola létesült helsingőrben, amelybe azonban külföldi országok is delegálhatnak hallgatókat. A munkásfőiskolába főként ipari munkásokat vesznek föl, mert ezeknek a kiképzésére helyezik a fő sulyt, (ez vonatkozik egyébként a bécsi munkásfőiskolára is). Dániában azonkivül a többi országokhoz hasonlóan, rendeznek munkásszemináriumokat és ismeretterjesztő előadásokat. Finnországban 1919-ben alakult meg az oktatásügyi központ és 1924-ben privát ajándék és a szervezetek hozzájárulása segitségével megteremtették Helsingforsban a munkásfőiskolát, amely azonban nem kifejezetten szocialista oktatást, hanem egyetemes képzést nyujt a hallgatóságnak. Évente átlagban 120—130 szemináriumot tartanak fönn Svédországban és tömegével rendezik az egyes ismeretterjesztő előadásokat. Uj-Zealandban a kormány évente 500 fonttal támogatja a munkásképzést, Canterburyban 3 nyári, 1 téli iskola van földmunkások számára és több szemináriális tanfolyam szolgálja a munkásoktatást. Azonkivül a különböző nagyobb városokban szintén müködnek tiz-tizenkét hetes munkásszemináriumok. Palesztinában a különböző városokban négy és hathetes szocialista tanfolyamokat rendeznek ugy az ipari, mint a mezőgazdasági munkások részére. Három városban és hét községben héber tanfolyamok müködnek, hogy az odaözönlő idegen bevándorlók mihamarább megtanulják ezt a nyelvet és hogy belekapcsolódjanak a munkásmozgalomba. Indiában most van kifejlődőben a szocialista munkásoktatás és egyelőre Bombayban müködik munkásiskola, amelynek előadásait bárki meghallgathatja. A különböző városokban tudományos előadásokat rendeznek és ezeknek előadói kizáróan a Bombay egyetem tanáraiból tevődnek össze. Magyarországon szintén csak a háboru utáni években kapott hatalmasabb lendületet a szocialista munkásoktatás, amelyet azonban nagyban hátráltat kifejlődésében az ellenforradalmi politikai rendszer. Ennek ellenére azonban ugy a fővárosban, mint a vidéken mind nagyobb számban létesülnek évente hathetes és féléves szemináriumok, amelyeket részint a párt és részint a szakszervezetek tartanak fönn. Az egész országra kiterjedően rendez a párt ismeretterjesztő és tudományos előadásokat, muzeumlátogatásokat és tanulmányi kirándulásokat. Azonkivül megszervezi a külföldi tanulmányi kirándulásokat is. A téli hónapokban kulturestélyek rendezésével szolgálja a munkásság irodalmi és müvészi képzését. Hasonló oktatásügyi apparátust tart fönn a Szak-

KORUNK JÁRMÁBAN

Nem merünk bátran önmagunkba nézni,
Hetykén kiszórni mi bennünk hazug;
Kinzó csalásra lettünk elitélve,
S igy vénit minket hajlottá a lug.

Lőre kell nekünk éltető méregnek,
Hogy elviseljük szótlan a nyomort.
Tavaszi felhők illatos zenéje.
Mert mártirságunk váltsa meg e Kort.

Vagy közhelyeket fecsegő poéta,
Ki gyáván mekeg alanyra igét;
Hogy tudatunkon fohásszá rothassza
Mit mákonnyal a kor szelleme véd.

Smint hol szerelmét dédelgető férfi,
Ki gyászruhában keres uj arát:
Asztal döngetve szellemet idézünk,
Hogy megszépitsük sután a halált.

Szüdi György

szervezeti Tanács, főként a munkásságnak a szakszervezeti mozgalomban szükséges gyakorlati képzés szempontjából. Ugyancsak a Szaktanács fáradozik azon, hogy a legközelebbi időben a szakszervezetek anyagi támogatásával megteremtse a munkásfőiskolát, amely vezetők képzésére volna hivatott.

Általában meg kell jegyeznünk, hogy a szocialista munkásoktatás ügyét minden országban demokratikusan szervezett testületek irányitják, amelyek speciálisan foglalkoznak a szocialista oktatás kimélyitésével. Ezeknek a testületeknek az összessége alkotja az Oktatásügyi Internationálét, amely fejlődése folyamán hivatva van nemcsak a Nemzetközi Főiskolának a megteremtésére, hanem egy olyan modern és szocialista alapelveken fölépülő pedagógiai rendszernek a kidolgozására is, amelynek alapján később a proletáriátus céltudatosan nevelheti a jövő nemzedéket.

Ezek a föntebb közölt adatok kézzel foghatóan bizonyitják, hogy menynyire szüksége van a munkásosztálynak a demokratikus keretek között élni, hogy fejlődhessenek, tanulhassanak és hogy céltudatosan szervezkedhessenek. A munkásosztálynak már többször is volt alkalma a történelem folyamán az uralkodó osztályt megsemmisiteni, de tudásának hiányában a megszerzett hatalmat hagyta kisiklani a kezéből, mert a felette álló osztály tanultabb, rafináltabb, képzettebb volt, ugy Spartakus, mint Dózsa avagy Hitler idejében is. És hiu ábránd az, hogy a fasizmus, vagy nácizmus ipari koncentrációja közelebb hozza a munkást a fölszabaduláshoz, mikor elzárják előle a tudást, mert "a tudás hatalom" és tudás nélkül nincs hatalom.

A technika, a szerszám fejlődhet, a tömegmunkás szétszórva, részletekben kezelheti a legkomplikáltabb gépeket is, de ha általános tudása nincs, akkor a fölszabadulás még nagyon messze van, még akkor is, ha a magánkapitalizmus elpusztul és helyét a diktatura veszi át, mint Németországban — bár ott sem pusztult el a kapitalizmus. Vakok azok a munkások és botorul tudatlanok, akik Hitlerben látják a fejlődés szentgyörgy lovagját. Végtelenül sajnálatos szellemi szegénységre vall az a gondolkozási mód, aki Hitler gaz, becstelen theóriáját és cselekedeteit tudja glorifikálni, mert sajnos, ilyen munkások is vannak.

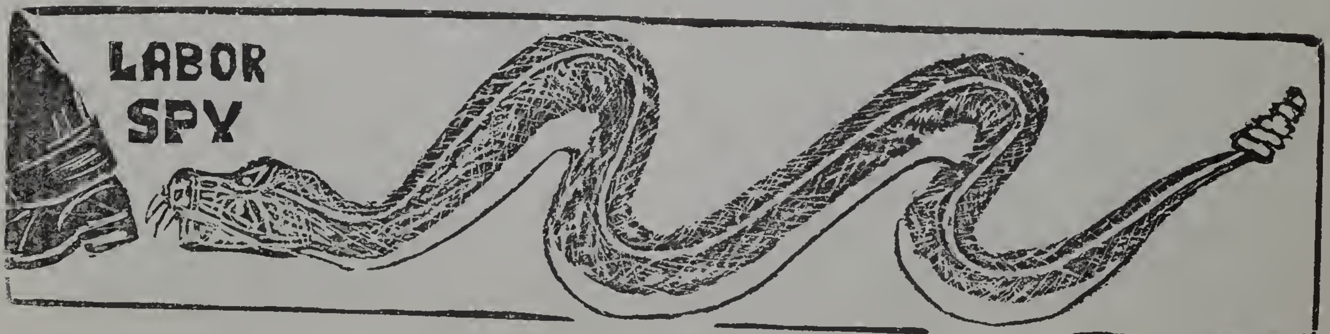
Az áldemokratikus kapitalizmus kivánatos és kötelességünk felcserélni a szocializmussal, az ipari demokráciával, de, hogy ezt elérhessük, ehhez szükésges egy munkáskulturában felnevelt, harcos és öntudatos munkásosztály, hogyha majd az örökséget átveszi, tudjon azzal bánni.

● ● ● ● ●

A gyakran használatos anyagok fajsulya:

Fasuly alatt azt a számot értjük, hogy az a bizonyos anyag hányszor nehezebb az ugyan olyan térfogattal biró tiszta viz sulyánál.

Viz 1, parafa 0.24, fenyőfa 0.61, hársfa 0.84, alkohol 0.84, jég 0.92, vaj 0.94, bor 1, ecet 1.02, tej 1.00, szén 1.30 ébenfa 1.33, méz 1.45, elefántcsont 1.43, kén 2.00, márvány 2.70, üveg 2.89, gyémánt 3.55, öntött vas 7.21, kovácsolt vas 7.79, acél 7.83, réz 8.95, ezüst 10.47, ólom 11.38, higany 13.57, arany 19.26, platina 21.50.



VÁMBÉRY RUSZTEM

MEGHALT A LIBERALIZMUS

RÉGI elérhetetlen álmom, hogy senki fiát ne engedjék a tanitó-mesterség közelébe — mindegy, hogy mint professzor, politikus, ujságiró, tudós vagy müvész gyakorolja-e —, aki egy fogalomtisztitóintézetnek hites bizonyitványával nem igazolja, hogy tisztában van azoknak a szavaknak fogalmi értékével, amelyeket használ. Sohasem volt aktuálisabb Mefisztó mondása: “mikor a fogalom hiányzik kapóra jön egy röpke szó” s bár közel két évtized óta kevés okom volt, hogy a hatalmat gyakorló államférfiak politikai tudásának szabatosságáért lelkesedjem, mégis el kell ismernem Marschall Ferenc államtitkár megállapitásának helyességét, hogy “a nemzet nagy tragédiái a felelőtlenül terjesztett jelszavak uralomrajutásából keletkeznek”. Kiegészitésre szorul e megállapitás, mert a tragédiák reménytelen katasztrófákká sulyosodnak, ha e szembenálló jelszavakat mindenki önkényesen más tartalommal tölti meg, mint aminőt jelentésükkel kifejeznek. Pénzhamisitás vagy élelmiszerhamisitás büntetendő cselekmény, de a fogalomhamisitás, bár sokkal veszélyesebb következményekkel jár, fémjelzett politikusok kedélyes játékának számit.

Pár évvel ezelőtt a magyar kormány egyik tudós korifeusa, a liberálisnak keresztelt ujságok üdvrivalgása mellett hirdette, hogy “Tisza István szelleme int bennünket a ma divatos diktatura-ideologia ellen”, sőt megállapitotta, hogy Tiszának liberalizmusa “egyenes folytatója volt Deák Ferenc liberalizmusának, mely az egyéni és a közszabadságok, a törvényes jogok és az emberi méltóságok köteles tiszteletét jelentette”. Vajjon a Tiszák, akik Deák Ferenc nemzetiségi törvényének végrehajtásától ‘liberálisan’ eltekintettek s a magyar dolgozó osztályok helyett a Habsburgok mellé álltak, valóban folytatói voltak-e Deák liberalizmusának s vajjon Tisza István, saját uri kasztjának a becsületes, bátor, de rövidlátó képviselője, valóban a közszabadságot tisztelte-e, amikor a zsebkendőszavazást feltalálta s az emberi méltóságot tisztelte-e, amikor a szocialista “izgatókat” a toloncházba csavargók s prostituáltak közé csukatta, arról ezuttal nehogy irásom tulhoszura nyuljon, inkább nem vitatkozom, de azt nehéz szó nélkül hagyni, mintha a liberalizmus általában s a háboruelőtti magyar “liberalizmus” különösen, a diktaturáknak hatékony ellenszere volna.

A föld- és finánctőke szabadsága

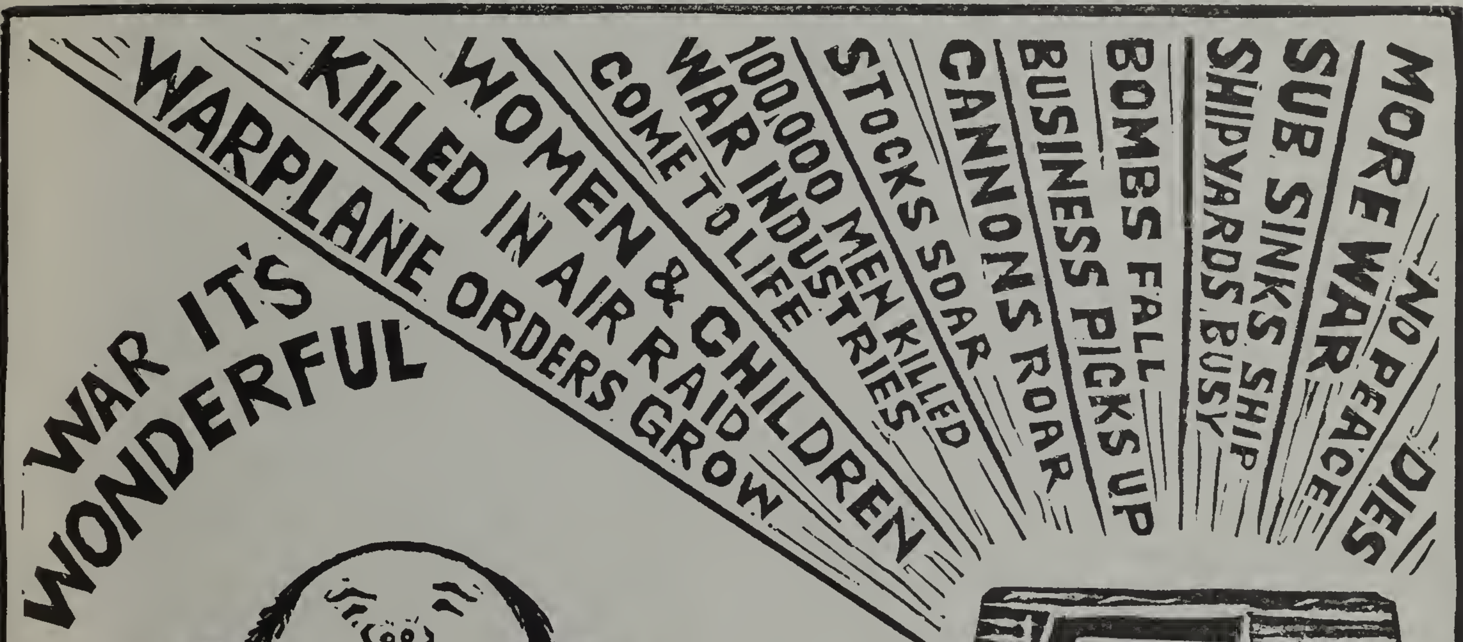
Noha a liberale szó őshazájában, Spanyolországban, a 19. század legelején, a servile szónak ellentéte volt és a negyvenes évek magyar liberalizmusa, ahogy azt Eötvös, Deák, Szalay, Kemény Zsigmond és társaik elkondolása kiépitette, a metternichi zsarnoksággal állt szemben, sőt az 1848 márciusának hitvallása is a maga tisztaságában tükrözte azt a politikai rendszert, amelyért a nyugati államokban, Palmerston, O’Connor, Victor Hugo és Cavour harcoltak, mégis annak a liberalizmusnak, amelyet Tisza Kálmán és utódai szabadelvüségre magyarositották, édes-kevés köze volt a francia forradalomnak a napoleoni korban leszürődött hagyományaihoz. Lényege, az erősen megnyirbált és csak papir-biztositékra támaszkodó szabadságjogoktól eltekintve, a föld- és finánctőke zsákmányoló szabadsága volt. Ez a laisser faire liberalizmus, amely a tengerek szabadságát összetévesztette a kalózkodás szabadságával, mit sem törődött azzal, hogy a nyugati államokban a 19. század végefelé e politikai irány képviselői: Hobhouse, J. A. Hobson és mások követelték az állami beavatkozást azon a cimen, hogy nemcsak az egyén, hanem a közösség is tényezője a gazdasági termelésnek. Amikor maguk meg a bankokkal szövetkezett feudális uralom a "szabadelvü" cimmel és jelleggel diszitve, szélesitette ki a gazdasági ellentéteket, Franciaországban a szocializmus, Angliában a fabianizmus, sőt a bismarcki Németbirodalomban is erősen céltudatos szociálpolotika gyakorolt befolyást arra a liberalizmusra, mely a gazdasági hatalom birtokosainak szabadságát a nekik alávetettek kifosztására használta föl.

Egész a világháboruig kifogástalanul müködött ez a magyar királyi szabadelvüség, de sajnos, kevesen akadtak a világháborut megelőző félszázadban, akik a szabadelvü minisztereket, főispánokat, bank- és iparvezéreket, mint hajdan Madame Le Mére a fiát, Napoleont, figyelmeztették volna, hogy "tout va bien, pourvu que ca doure" (minden jól megy feltéve, hogy ez igy tart) és ma is nyilván kevesen vannak, akik észreveszik a kapcsolatot a szabadelvüség aranykora és a mai "szélsőségek" korlátolt elkeseredése közt. Épp igy mgefeledkeznek a hazai veretü szabadelvüség letünt aranjuezi napjainak siratói arról, hogy a liberalizmus nemcsak a nyilt és az álparlamentarizmussal leplezett diktaturák országaiban bukott meg, hanem a demokráciákban is felmorzsolódott a tőke és a munka malomkövei között. Felmorzsolódott, de nem szünt meg, mert tartalma: a politikai szabadság, az egymással szembenálló pártokba egyaránt felszivódott. Valamikor nálunk, a negyvenes évek diétáján, Angliában még a háboru előtt is, a liberális párttal a konzervativ párt állt szemben, de ma a konzervativ párt egy jottával sem kevésbé biztos támasza a politikai szabadságnak, mint a munkáspárt s mindkettő, noha egyik sem "liberális", egyaránt ellensége a különböző nevü és szinü diktaturáknak.

Elemi fogalomzavar nélkül senki se tarthatja a háboruelőtti magyar liberalizmust, amelyért oly megható sirámok hangzanak el a "baloldali" karszalagu tizfilléres nyomtatványokban, a diktaturák ellenszerének. Nemcsak azért nem, mert a diktatura ellentéte a demokrácia, amely nem szükségképpen liberális, nemcsupán azért nem, mert a liberalizmus ellentéte a konzervativ reakció, amelyet csupán kevésbbé fegyelmezett elmék szoktak a diktaturával összetéveszteni, hanem főképpen, mert a magyarveretü "liberalizmus", amely az uri kaszt előtt meghódolóknak bő kereseti lehetőséget biztositott, nem éppen alkalmas a gazdasági elkeseredés enyhitésére. Már pedig nyilvánvaló, hogy a diktaturáknak nagyzási hóbortban szenvedő kalandorai, zavarosagyu fanatikusai és korlátolt követői éppen ebből az elkeseredésből táplálkoznak.

örök harc a diktaturák poklán át — a zsarnokság ellen

Belenyugodhatunk tehát, hogy az a liberalizmus, amelyet kivénült bankvezérek, a szekerük elé fogott kivénült politikusok és publicisták makacsul visszasirnak, minden felélesztési lehetőség nélkül jobblétre szenderült. Ami korátsem jelenti, hogy vele együtt halt volna meg az egyéni polgári és politikai szabadságért folytatott örök harc, amelynek formái és fegyverei váltakozhatnak ugyan, de amely minden diktaturák poklán át fog folytatódni a szarnokság ellen, akár a saját, akár az állammindenség (totalitás) nevében gyakorolja azt az itélőképességtől mentes kalandor, akinek tehetsége vagy tehetségtelensége a fejébe szállt. Szerencsére az emberi természetben rejlik, hogy a zsarnokság ellen küzdjön és bár Hazlitt szerint "egy zsarnok számára mindig készen áll ezer rabszolga" ("A talpnyalók és zsarnokok összefüggéséről"), épp oly kétségtelenül mindig készen állnak a milliók is, hogy zsarnokaiktól megszabaduljanak. De ennek a szabadulásnak egyik feltétele, hogy a szabadságért folytatott küzdelmet ne kapcsolják politikai pártoknak elkoptatott cimjelzéséhez. Diktaturák elhárítására sokkal alkalmasabb eszköz a közszabadságok helyreállitása, anélkül természetesen, hogy ez a szabadság jogot adna a diktatura őrültjeinek és gonosztevőinek az alkotmányosság lerombolására. Oly parlamenti párt, amely nyiltan a demokrácia ellen tör és a szabadságot arra használja, hogy a szabadság ellen lázitson, csak a bolondok házának logikájába illik, de nem a népképviseletbe. Éppen az utóbbi évtizedek tapasztalata bizonyitja, hogy a parancsuralomra vágyakozókat érvekkel épp oly lehetetlen vállalkozásuk ostobaságáról meggyőzni, mint az önjelölt diktátorokat arról, hogy bennük nem szükségképpen a kifürkészhetetlen isteni bölcsesség öltött testet. Arra a parlamentre, amelynek kormánya nem teszi ártalmatlanná a diktátorjelöltet, mielőtt ártalmassá válhatna, valóban Jézus szava illik: "Az én házam imádkozás házának mondatik,


WAR IT'S WONDERFUL
WARPLANE ORDERS GROW
KILLED IN AIR RAID
WOMEN & CHILDREN
COME TO LIFE
WAR INDUSTRIES
100,000 MEN KILLED
STOCKS SOAR
CANNONS ROAR
BUSINESS PICKS UP
BOMBS FALL
SHIPYARDS BUSY
SUB SINKS SHIP
MORE WAR
NO PEACE DIES
BOSS
WAR NEWS
X13

A Big Business soha nem remélt hasznot élvez a háboru borzalmaiból ti pedig ezt latroknak barlangjokká tettétek." (Máté 21. 13.)

Sem Tisza István szelleme, sem a magyar alkotmány szelleme nem nyujt elég védelmet a diktatura ellen, amelynek éppen az a sajátossága, hogy minden szellemi ellenvetést ököllel szokott elintézni. Különösen vonatkozik ez arra a diktaturára, amely szellemtelen pogányságát, troglodita brutalitását, tudománytalan nagyzási hóbortját és a belőle fakadó gyülöletet a keresztnek, mint a szeretet jelképének, különféle eltorzitásaival leplezi. Egyetlen "szellemi" hatalma: a fajelméletre alapitott antiszemitizmus, érveknek épp oly hozzáférhetetlen, mint más demagógikus jelszavak. Szinte el kellene szomorodni a naivságon, ha nem volna anynyira kómikus, hogy egyébként komoly emberek az antiszemitizmusnak ostobaságát, amely nem hajlandó tudomásul venni, hogy gazdag és szegény, eszes és korlátolt, tisztességes és becstelen zsidók között sokkal nagyobb az ellentét, mint mindezek és a nemzsidók közt, azzal akarják leküzdeni, hogy reámutatnak: mi mindent tettek zsidó iparmágnások és bankárok, mintaföldbirtokosok, kereskedők, tudósok és müvészek a magyar anyagi és szellemi kultura terén! Nem veszik észre, hogy éppen ez az, amit a nyilas- vagy horogkereszt nem tud megbocsátani. Nem veszik észre, hogy éppen ezzel igazolják a Nep meg a Nap "szélsőségeinek" a vádját, amely szerint a zsidók annyira elfoglalták a magyar közélet napos oldalát, hogy a szegény diplomás keresztény fiatalság az állástalanság árnyékában didereg. Mintha — mellesleg megjegyezve — az egyetemi oklevél, még amikor több tudással szerezték, mint ma, valaha is kereseti jogot s nem csupán lehetőséget biztositott volna. Éppen azok, akik a fajelméleti antiszemitizmus miatt joggal hördülnek fel, nem vesznek tudomást róla, hogy védekezésükkel zsidó fajelméletet teremtenek. Aki akár a gazdasági, akár a szellemi alkotás terén elért sikereket mint zsidó sikereket és eredményeket könyveli el, ezzel csak a tudatlan babona alá ad lovat, mintha a tehetség és szorgalom, a szellemi képesség és az erkölcsi kiválóság elsősorban fajtától, nemzetiségtől vagy vallástól függne. Holott a legelemibb társadalomtudományi ismeretekből kiderül, hogy mindezek az egyéni képesséség, a környezethatás és a gazdasági helyzet mellett elenyésző szerepet játszanak. Fogalomzavar nélkül nem is képzelhető, hogy valaki a nácizmussal vitába szálljon, még hozzá oly érveléssel, amely ellenfelének "elméleti" zagyvaságát támasztja alá.

Szociális igazságot és szabadságot!

Érvek azokról, akik ellenfeleink erőszakos elpusztitását politikai erkölcsnek tartják, ugy pattognak le, mint borsó a falról. Ideiglenesen a börtön és a bolondok háza alkalmas ugyan az erőszak közveszélyes fanatikusainak a megfékezésére, de a diktatura baktériumait, mint minden élősdit csak ugy lehet kiirtani, ha lecsapolják a lápot, amelyben tenyésznek. Lehet, hogy sok mindent köszönhetünk a háboruelőtti liberalizmusnak, csak éppen szociális igazságot és politikai szabadságot nem. E kettőnek összhangja nélkül pedig mindig fog akadni több-kevesebb bolond, kalandor és csirkefogó, aki sikeresen üzi a lélekhalászatot a fogalomzavar mocsaras vizében, hogy hataloméhségét kielégitse. Sem a szociális igazság, sem a politikai szabadság nem a szavakon mulik és hirdetésük — hogy boldogult Szabó Ervin barátom szavait variáljam — "annyit ér, amennyit hirdetőjük a maga cselekvésével valóra vált".

Nincs okunk, hogy a háboruelőtti Magyarország örökségének láttára a liberalizmus csendes elhunytán keseregjünk.

(Vámbéry Rusztem, egyetemi tanár, ezt a cikket eredetileg a budapesti Népszava 1937 május elsei számára irta. Az azóta lezajlott történelmi események igazolják nagyszerü megállapitásait és éppen azért a cikk ujbóli közlése igen aktuális. — Szerk.)

FISHBEIN LÁSZLÓ

HOGYAN VISELKEDJÜNK A MOZGALOMBAN

“AZ ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül” az I.W.W. elvinyilatkozat történelmi megállapitásainak egyik részlete. Munkásmozgalmunk tehát megjelenésével különbözik a jelenlegi rendszert fenntartó mozgalmaktól. Egy kis uj társadalom a régi társadalomban. Habár sok tekintetben alkalmazkodnia kell a régi társadalom szokásaihoz és törvényeihez, formájában kiválik a rendszerből és még azok által is könnyen felismerhető, akik soha nem voltak aktiv résztvevői a munkásmozgalomnak.

Az utóbbi évekig azt mondhatjuk, hogy az igazi munkásmozgalom csak mint propaganda alakulat létezett és jó részben még ma is csak ezt a hivatást tölti be. A munkástömegek között elhinteni azt az eszmét “hogy egynek a sérelme valamennyiünk sérelmét jelenti” megértetni azt, hogy mint munkások mindannyian testvérek vagyunk az egész világon, eltekintve attól, hogy milyen nemzet fiai vagyunk, vagy milyen szine van arcbőrünknek, avagy milyen vallás istenének tisztelgünk. Mint munkások közös érdekeink vannak melyeket ugy a pillanatnyi sérelmeink orvoslására, mint a jövő társadalom felépitésére az Egy Nagy Szervezet hatalmi erejével érvényesithetünk.

Nehéz feladat a propaganda végzése és nagyon sok akadályokkal kell annak folytatásánál megküzdenünk. Amikor már elértük azt, hogy egy egy munkást a munkásmozgalmi uj társadalomba beszerveztük még csak azután kezdődnek az igazi akadályok, hogy a megnyert munkástársunkat a kis uj társadalmunkban megtartani tudjuk. Ismerve a kapitalista rendszer összetételét mi jól tudjuk azt, hogy minden megnyilvánulása végeredményben a kizsákmányolás szinterére nyulik vissza s csakis azon célból, hogy a profit gyüjtés minél simábban és eredményesebben történjen az uralkodó osztály részére.

Amikor egy munkás elhatározta magát arra a lépésre, hogy a munkásmozgalom tényleges tagjai közé akar tartozni, még nem jelenti azt, hogy a régi társadalom minden szokásaival felhagyott és mint osztályharcos forradalmár megtalálta a helyét az emberiség jövőjéért folytatott küzdelemben. De viszont ehhez már segitséget akar nyujtani és azoknak, akik már régebben tagjai annak a kis uj társadalomnak minden alkalmat meg kell ragadni, hogy az uj jövevényt állandó tagnak megtartani tudják. Ehhez szükséges a tapintatos bánásmód az uj munkástársunk fogadásánál és általában olyan viselkedés, mely az uj társadalmunkat kedvelté teszik előtte.

Mint ahogy mondani szokás, minden embernek van valami hibája, hiba nélkül ember nem létezik. Különösen nem létezhet ma, amikor a végletekig felsrófolt speed-up termelés a legjobb idegzetü embert is megtöri. A nagy bizonytalanság, mely munkanélküliség rémét tükrözi állandóan a munkás szeme elé, az alacsony bér, mely a család nélkülözését eredményezi, betegségek melyekre nincsen meg a szükséges orvosi kezelés és ezer és ezer más családi és egyéni bajok, a legerősebb idegzetet is részben felőrli. Ha megnyertünk egy munkást uj társadalmunknak ugy az közénk jött a régi társadalomban szerzett minden bajaival.

És mi magunk is a létezési táperőt a régi társadalomból meritjük. Bármilyen hosszu idő óta is tagjai vagyunk az uj társadalmunknak a réginek a bélyegét magunkon viseljük. Igy történik aztán az meg, hogy a régi társadalomban szerzett bajainkat az uj társadalmi családi körünkbe behozzuk ottan tárgyaljuk és a régi szokások szerint mások ügyeivel foglalkozunk. Ezeket a bajokat ki kell küszöbölni a mi kis társadalmi rendszerünkből, mert azáltal annak gyorsabb ütemü fejlődését fogjuk elősegiteni.

Első sorban tehát arra kell vigyáznunk, hogy amennyire csak tőlünk telik, egymással szemben a legnagyobb tisztelettel viselkedjünk, egyéni véleményeinket az eseményekről tiszta meggyőződéssel nyugodtan mondjuk el és soha ne felejtsük azt, hogy amilyen határozottan mi állitjuk véleményünk helyességét, ugyanolyan tiszta meggyőződésü határozottsággal állithatják annak ellenkezőjét más munkástársak. És ahogyan elvárjuk azt, hogy meghallgassanak bennünket, ugyanolyan jogon elvárják azt mitőlünk. Az eszmecsere az uj kis társadalmunk elméleti fejlődésének értékmérője. A kritika jogának szabad használata az egyik leghathatósabb fegyver a diktatorikus uralmi rendszerek ellen. Sose képzeljük azt el, hogy mivel mi vagyunk a legjobb forradalmárok, akik rajtunk kivül állanak azok senkik és semmik. Ezzel csak gyülölőket és nem barátokat fogunk nyerni a munkásmozgalomnak.

Sose foglalkozzunk munkástársaink egyéni és családi dolgaival. Sose itéljünk meg senkit arról, hogy milyen eset történt családjában. A családi bajok a kapitalista társadalmi rendszer kinövései melyekért első sorban a kapitalista társadalmi rendszer felelős. Nem lehet tehát birálat alá venni valakit a családi dolgaiért, csak azért mert a munkásmozgalmi uj társadalmunknak is tagja. És nem szabad leszólni egyeseket azért, mert családtagjaik a munkásmozgalom iránt ellenszenvesen viseltetnek. Ki kell vetköznünk abból a régi társadalmi szokásból, hogy apát a fiáról, a fiut az apáról itéljük meg. Mindenre meg kell várni az alkalmas időt, és aki ma a legnagyobb ellenségnek tekint bennünket dacára annak, hogy munkástestvére vagyunk, holnap talán legjobb barátunk lehet és hasznons tagja uj társadalmi rendszerünknek.

És ami szintén nagyon fontos, ne foglalkozzunk senkinek sem a vallási ügyeivel. Tudományos alapon, értelmes magyarázattal a legvallásosabb egyénnel is beszélgethetünk a vallási kérdésekről és sok esetben ha nem is nyerjük meg, de nem lesz ellenségünk. De egyeseket sértegetni vagy gunyosan leszólni csak azért mert bizonyos vallás hivei, az inkább kárt jelent a munkásmozgalmi agitációban. Azt az álláspontot követni a munkásmozgalmi ténykedésben, hogy "papszamarakkal nincs mit beszélni" átkos tévedés és felmérhetetlen károkat okozott a munkásmozgalomnak. Nem szabad felejtenünk, hogy a vallás hirdetésének évezredes gyökerei vannak és azt nem lehet máról-holnapra megváltoztatni. Ahhoz nyugodt, értelmes, ismertető propagandára van szükség. A leszólásokkal csak ellenséget szerzünk a munkásmozgalomnak. A vallást tehát tekintsük mindenki magánügyének és csakis társadalmi vonatkozásban foglalkozzunk vallási kérdésekkel.

Van még egy igen fontos kérdés, mely szinte elég sok bajokat okozott a kis munkásmozgalmi uj társadalmunkban, ez az alkohol fogyasztás kérdése. A magyar munkásmozgalomban különösen sok vita tárgyát képezte ezen ügy, leginkább azért, mert mig a régi magyarországi munkásmozgalomnak az egyik látszólagos forradalmi ténykedése volt az alkohol fogyasztás elleni harc, addig az amerikai munkásmozgalomnak őszintén bevallhatjuk egyik kelléke. Munkásmozgalmunk kezdetén itt az Egyesült Államokban is megpróbáltuk amennyire csak lehetséges volt az alkohol fogyasztást kiküszöbölni. Az eredmény az volt, hogy a munkás mulatságokra külső elemeket megnyerni nem lehetetett és anyagi jövedelem amelynek céljából leginkább a mulatságokat rendezték egyáltalán nem volt. Már pedig a munkásmozgalmi eszmék terjesztésére is első sorban anyagiakra volt szükség.

Fölvetődött a kérdés, hogy mi a különbség ha az a munkás aki bizonyos mennyiségü alkohol elfogyasztására betér a sarki szalonba és ott is marad, miért ne jöhetne közénk és miért ne lehetne a munkásmozgalom hasznára. Tény az, sokan bekerültek a munkásmozgalomba mint alkoholisták és azok is maradtak, de viszont az is tény, hogy sokkal többen vannak olyanok, akik a munkásmozgalomban szoktak le az erős alkohol használatról. Nem szabad felejtenünk azt sem, hogy az alkohol fogyasztás is a régi kapitalista társadalmi rendszernek egy beteges kinövése és ilyen elbirálásban kell azt kezelni. Nem szabad tehát egy munkásra azt a megjegyzést tenni, aki esetleg némelykor több alkoholt fogyaszt mint amit elbir, hogy "egy részeges alak" véleménye nem számit mert elitta az eszét.

Az alkoholizmus az egy betegség és éppugy mint ahogy nem vethetjük meg, egy más betegségben szenvedő munkástestvérünket, nem szabad lenézően elbirálni azokat, akik saját hibájukon kivül az alkohol bacillusának az áldozatai. Azokat a munkásokat egy különösen figyelmes propagandával inkább igyekeznünk kell időről időre az alkohol fogyasztásról leszoktatni. Ellenkező esetben elriasszuk őket a munkásmozgalomtól s számüzzük őket arra az utra, mely teljesen az alkoholizmus fertőjébe sodorja őket. A mi kis uj társadalmunkban tehát nem csak céljaink vannak a jövőt illetőleg, hanem a jelenlegi helyzethez megfelelően bizonyos kötelezettségeink is.

Ennek a kötelezettségünknek a jelzáloga az egyéni viselkedésünk a munkásmozgalomban. Amikor becsatlakoztunk a mai társadalom keretein belül épülő uj társadalom épitészei közé, igyekezzünk viselkedésünkkel is megfelelni a nagy feladatnak. Egy pillanatra sem szabad felejtenünk, hogy mi a jövő társadalomnak ideális meggyőződésü hirdetői vagyunk, egy olyan eszmének a hivei, mely a kapitalista társadalmi berendezkedés folytán, egymagában gyülöletes a nagy tömegek előtt. Ezt a gyülöletet a mi barátságos viselkedésünkkel részben ellensulyozni tudjuk. Barátokat és aztán harcosokat kell nyerjünk a munkásmozgalomnak, mert őszintén hisszük, hogy "a munkásosztály felszabaditása csakis a munkásosztály müve lehet!"

• • •

A világ tengereinek területe és a legnagyobb mélysége:

Tenger	Terület négyz. mérf.	Mélység láb
Atlanti tenger	24,536.000	27.300
Csendes tenger	50,309.000	30.000
Indiai tenger	17,084.000	18.600
Északi tenger	478.000	9.000
Déli tenger	30,592.000	25.200

A főbb európai nyelvcsaládok:

Angol	160 millió
Német	130 millió
Orosz	100 millió
Francia	70 millió
Olasz	50 millió
Spanyol	50 millió
Portugál	25 millió

AKIK SZERETIK A NÉPET

“Ha majd minden rabszolga nép
Jármát megunva sikra lép,
Piroslό arccal és piros zászlókkal
És a zászlókon eme szent jelszóval:
Világszabadság!” . . . Petőfi

PETŐFITŐL nemcsak a gallérja viselését tanultam el, de egész életem pályáján az ő életfelfogását és tanitását állitottam magam elé követendő példának.

Ettől a tanitástól egy sokkal nagyobb és aktivabb Nagymester az Élet tudott csak más utra tériteni, amikor a gépkorszakba taszitott bennünket, hogy eme széditően nagyszerü, alkotó és pusztitó korban, melyben egymást gázlojuk el és pusztitsuk holnap, amit ma termeltünk . . .

Ha nem volna maga a rideg, szivtelen valóság, hát az ember azt hihetné, hogy ez csak fantazmagória, vagy másszóval agyrém, rémlátás az egész. Az ember feltud szállni a felhők fölé, sőt sokkal feljebb és nincs olyan nagyon messze az idő, amikor áttud majd kirepülni a legközelebbi testvérbolygóra, a Vénuszra, vagy a Mars-ra.

És mégis . . . mégis, nem tudja itt a saját Világán megbecsüli magát és embertársait, hogy ezt a rövidke életet békességben, jólétben, örömben élje le. Hanem, mindenféle gyilkoló és pusztitó gépeken töri azt a kis gonosz, nagy pénzekre vágyó fejét, hogy mennél jobban elkeseritse embertársainak az életét, mint ahogy csak egy keresztény tudja elkeseriteni, kinzóvá tenni a másik ember, a másik keresztény és nem keresztény létezését.

Milyen jogcimen merészeli egyik ember a másik embertársát “alkalmazni”, azaz szolgájává tenni őtet, hámba fogva robotoltatni, kinóztatni? Hát ő külömb ember, embernek mint az a másik, akit kinoz vagy kinoztat?! Nem hiszem! Mert ha ugy volna, akkor nem is tenné azt, amit tesz. Ellenkezőleg, felemelné őt magához s nem eltaszitva jármába fogná, hogy őt szolgálja, neki dolgozzon szakadásig, majdnem ingyen.

Hol van itt a “szabadság, egyenlőség, a testvériség”? A kereszténység legfőbb parancsa: “Szeresd felebarátodat mint önmagadat”. Mint társadalmunk funkcionál, azt kell hinnünk, hogy Krisztus sohasem létezett, az egész kereszténység egy a papok által kifundált, fabrikált mese és semmi más. Azért fundálták ki, mert nékik a munka nem komájuk, dolgozzon a paraszt, gondolták, s ma is csak igy gondolják, mivel igy is teszik, élnek gond nélkül, élvezik mások munkájának a gyümölcsét urimódon.

Arra nem is gondolnak, hogy ez igy, ilyenformán nem tisztességes eljárás, ez egy jellemnélküli, hitvány banditizmus semmi egyébb. Hazudni, csalni, lopni, gyilkoltatni, évezredes remekmüveket, más nagy vagyonokkal együtt a háborus hisztéria által elpusztitani, melyet ember soha jóvá nem tehet. Hiába mondta Jézus Péternek (feltéve ha élt és csakugyan mondta?) az ő elfogatásakor, amikor Péter kihuzván kardját, a főpap szolgája felé csapott vele s levágta a szolga fülét: “Tedd hüvelyébe a kardot, mert aki kardot huz, kard által vész el”.

Mondhatott Jézus akármit, az ő (sic!) papjai, prédikátorai fütyülnek a Jézus tanitására, hisz akkro nekik is be kellene tartani. Ha az igaz volna és Jézus csakugyan az Isten fia lett volna és Isten is csakugyan volna? Mert ha volna, hát nem engedhetné meg e földlakóknak azt a gyalázatosságot tenni, amit tesznek és tenyésztenek ki önmagukból.

Confucius, ez a nagy kinai bölcselő, (Krisztus előtt 551-ben született, élt 72 évet) aki korának kimagasló alakja volt, mondotta a többek között: “Ovakodj azoktól, akik azt állitják, hogy természetfeletti dolgokkal van kapcsolatuk. Nagy szerencsétlenség éri azt az országot, ahol a babona lábra kap.”

A vallásoknak az apja, anyja a babona volt, az nemzette, az hozta a világra. Legtalálóbban Marx nevezte nevén a gyereket: a vallás ópium, mellyel a népeket tartják álomkórságban lenyügözve, tehetetlenségre kárhoztatva az elnyomott dolgozó rabszolgákat, hogy ők uralkodhassanak, parancsolhassanak. Owen Róbert pedig igy ir a nagytőkések által dirigált társadalomról, melyben a munkások csak dolgozó állatok:

"A módszer, melyszerint a világ összes népei dolgoznak, a legdurvább csaláson alapszik, a legkifejlettebb tudatlanságon, vagy mindkettő egyesülésén,ugy, hogy bármint változzanak is az elvek melyeken ez a módszer alapul, soha emberre ebből jó nem háramlik, ellenkezőleg, minden gyakorlati eredménye rossz lesz és rosszat szül."

Ez igy fog menni mindaddig, amig mi termelő munkások elő nem vesszük a jobbik eszünket és szervezkedünk. Ott a munka szinhelyén, ahol ellopják tőlünk az általunk termelt javakat, még pedig az IWW tanitása nyomán. És ha már elég erősnek érezzük magunkat, akkor lefoglaljuk a gépeket s mindent amelyek a termeléshez szükségesek és kezdünk termelni közszükségletre és nem profitra. Csak akkor lesz gyakorlati eredménye a munkás munkájának, jó és áldásos, minden dolgozót kielégitő.

Tolstoj igy ir erről a témáról: "Hogy az emberek helyzete megjavuljon, a vagyonos osztályé csakugy, mint a munkásosztályé, meg kell érteni, hogy az emberek helyzete meg nem javitható, ha a saját előnyünket tartjuk szem előtt, hogy az emberiséget áldozatok meghozása nélkül szolgálni nem lehet és hogyha az emberek ténylegesen meg akarják javitani helyzetüket és nem mindenki csak a saját külön helyzetét, nem csak a megszokott egész életrend megváltoztatására kell késznek lenniök és minden előnyéről lemondaniok, de megerőltető küzdelemre is kell megukat szánni, küzdelemre, először is önmagukkal és családjaikkal. El kell készülniök azokra az uldözésekre is, melyekben a kormányhatalom követeléseinek ki nem elégitése, megtagadása miatt lesz részük."

Ugy bizony, ez az, amire sem az egyes ember, sem az embertömegek nem merészelik elszánni magukat: a küzdelemre. Azért, mint mindenben, ugy itt is vannak kivételek, de éppen ezek a kivételek megerősitik a szabályt, mely szerint a nagy tömeg rém nehezen akar megmozdulni. Ők csak nagy nehezen tudják rászánni magukat, hogy a megszokott életrendjüket elhagyják, egy általuk ismeretlenért.

Reggel felkelni, enni valamit, menni a munkahelyre dolgozni, délben félórára megállni, falni valamit, ismét neki a munkának egész erővel, este a rogyós inakkal hazamászni, enni valamit és be az ágyba, pihenni. Mert reggel előről kell kezdeni a hámbafogást ismét. Akárcsak az igavonó jószág, csak hogy mi még bőgni is alig merünk, ugy kiiskoláztak és templomoztak bennünket.

Megszoktuk a jármot, a századokon keresztül, tehát azt hisszuk, hogy annak ugy kell lenni, járom nélkül nem is lehetne életet csinálni. Mert az óvódától az egyetemig ezzel töltik meg az emberformáju állati fejeket. Tehát csak azt adhat amije van, ha más társadalmi és gazdasági életfelfogást akarna kitenyészteni és épiteni, előbb a sok szecskát kellene kiszórnia a koponyájából, hogy helye legyen korunk emberies eszméinek, a közmüködő, együttdolgozás (kooperációs) társadalom felépitésének, amelyben mindenki tehetsége szerint fog dolgozni, fogyasztani pedig a szükségletéhez mérten.

Tolstoj, aki életének nagyobbik részét a szabad emberek társadalmának áldozta fel, földjeit szétosztotta az orosz parasztok között, maga is egyszerü parasztruhában járt. Példát mutatott, hogy senkinek sincs joga nagy földeket lefoglalni, mert az egész földünk mindannyiunké s nem egyes uralkodóké, vagy hordóhasu papoké, akik azt nem müvelik s nem termelnek rajta semmit, csak bitorolják a birtokjogot.

Nekünk magyaroknak is van ilyen élő grófunk: gróf Károlyi Mihály. Aki szintén kiosztotta, szétosztotta földjeit a dolgozó földmüvesek között. Aki a magyar népet szerette s szereti ma is. Viszont a magyar nép is szereti őt. Őt is a magyar oligarchia (az arisztokraták, a főnemesek, főpapok, a kevesek uralma a nép felett) kiüzte, annyi sok más jeles férfiakkal, ugy, hogy Magyarországon a kilenc millió rabszolgán csak pár tucat főur s főpap, élükön a bitang, lator Horthyval uralkodik, Horthyékból áll tehát a nemzet. A többi azért született, hogy ez elsődieket eltartsa.

Közöttünk, egyszerü bérmunkások között is vannak szépszámmal ideális munkásemberek, akik feláldozzák önmagukat sorsosaikért, a dolgozó egyszerü népért. Van egy jóbarátom, aki szintén ebből a fajtából került ki. Együtt jártunk iskolába, együtt mentünk inasnak, egynapon szabadultunk fel, és később mint segéd, Budapesten az épitészeti iparrajziskola négyéves nappali tanfolyamát (a mester képzőt) elvégezte, jobban telt neki mint nekem, mivel az apja is céhmester volt, s egy kis pénz is maradt utána.

Mindig a nép bolondja volt, élthalt érte. A rákospalotai "Függetlenségi Kör"-nek jegyzője, majd alelnöke volt. Mindenütt a néppel, a népért harcolt. Hogy megmutassa, hogy a népet mennyire szereti, feleségül vett egy kofa Márinéninek a kis kofa Mariját. Én is, az anyja is, hiába próbáltuk őt lebeszélni, hogy ez a lány nem ő hozzá való, ez nem tudja őt sohasem megérteni, nem használt, elvette.

Majd a sors őt is, engemet is kihajtott a szeretett hazánkból, ide Amerikába. Persze, ez a "sors" a grófok, mágnások, főpapok és nagybirtokosok zsarnoki uralma volt az, hogy otthon (?!) kenyérből sem ehetett a munkásember eleget.

Itt, az én kedves barátommal ugy elbánt a Panca Mári felesége, hogy még a dologházba is becsukatta őt. Mivel az én barátom, itt is radikális lett és az IWW-nek tevékeny, harcos tagja lett. Csak néha látogattam meg őt, félve a felesége (!?) mosdatlan szájától, akkor is ilyesféléket kellett hallanom: "Minek házasodik meg olyan ganajember, aki a családját nem birja eltartani?" Vagy: 'Aki megbecsüli a munkáját, annak mindig van munkája."

A gyermekeit is, az apjuk ellen nevelte fel. És, mivel az első világháboru után, őt is kidobták a munkából s igy az uj ötezer dolláros házat, amit a felesége megvétetett vele nem tudta fizetni, hát a felesége és gyermekei kimarták, turták a családi fészekből. Sőt az egyik fia —aki önkényesen Árpád nevét Arthurra forditotta — őt még az akasztófára is óhajtotta, a többi radikálisokkal együtt. Hát kedves népeim, ilyenek is nőnek fel köztünk, ilyen bogáncs, parajfélék. Ilyen s ehhez hasonló sors vár mindazokra, akik őszintén, igazán szeretik a népet és érte mindenüket feláldozzák, sőt még az életüket is.

(U.S.)

● ● ● ● ●

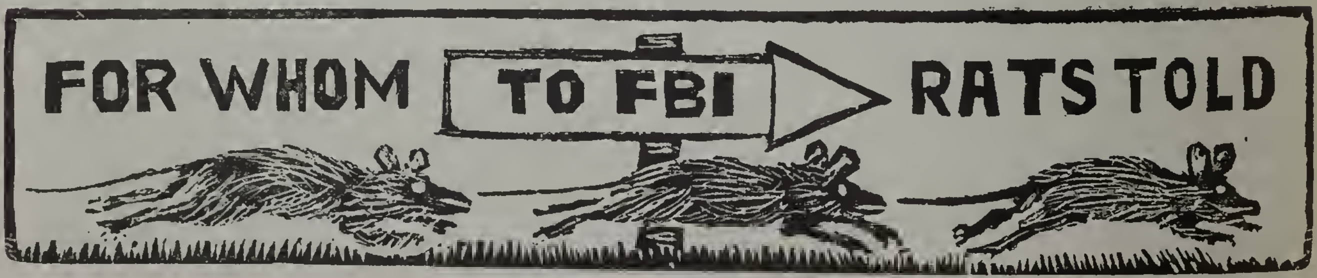
MÉRTÉK RENDSZER

HOSSZMÉRTÉK — 12 inch—1 láb, 3 láb —1 yard, 5½ yard—1 rod, 40 rod—1 furlang, 8 furlang—1 stative mile, 3 mile—1 league.

SULYMÉRTÉK — 16 drams—1 ounce, 16 ounce—1 pound, 25 pound—1 quarter, 4 quarter—1 centrum weigh, 2000 lbs.—1 short ton, 2240 lbs.—1 long ton.

SZÁRAZ MÉRTÉK — 2 pints—1 quart, 8 quarts—1 peck, 4 peck—1 bushel, 36 bushel—1 chaldran.

ÜRMÉRTÉK — 4 gill—1 pint, 2 pint—1 quart, 4 quart—1 gallon.



SZÖLLŐSI ZSIGMOND

A BŐREMBER, ETHEL MEG A VÖRÖS TIGRIS

JEGYZET: Erkölcsi kötelességemnek tartom előrebocsátani, hogy e történetnek nem kitalálója, csak közvetitője vagyok. Ugy mondom el, ahogy azt barátom, a Bivaly, a história egyik döntő szereplője, maga volt szives elbeszélni. Barátomat, a Bivalyt különben a polgári életben Baloghnak hivják és a Bivaly nevet tőlünk, egykori osztálytársaitól az iskolában nyerte nem szellemi, hanem fizikai képességei jellemzéséül. A második A. és a második B. osztály közötti háborut igazán ő döntötte el, amikor ötször egymás után egymaga verte el az egész második B.-t. Akkor mi Kinizsi Pálnak neveztük el, a megvert ellenség viszont a Bivalynak. Az emberi hálátlanságnak nem utolsó dokumentuma, hogy az idők folyamán nem az első, hanem a második elnevezés lett általánossá. Különben ez a tudnivaló csak hasznos, de nem fontos. A barátom ugyanis nem az erőmüvészi, hanem a mérnöki pályára lépett, Zürichben kapott diplomát, azután néhány esztendeig Amerikában dolgozott, és mikor hazajött, igen rövid idő mulva elsőrangu tekintély lett a hidépitésben, egy nagy vállalat vezető-igazgatója. Ez a barátom volt szives elmondani e nem minden merészség nélkül való, sőt némileg amerikai történetet, tehát, aki elég életunt ahhoz, hogy kételkedni bátorkodnék benne, idevonatkozó kételyeivel őt sziveskedjék fölkeresni.

Egy különös találkozás.

— Harmadéve, — kezdte Balog, a Bivaly — junius elején Párisból jöttem hazafelé. A dolgomat jól és simán intéztem el, hogy egy pár heti időm is maradt. A tavasz istenien szép volt, gondoltam egy okosat, Zürichben megforditottam a szekerem rudját és még teljes alkonyati napsütésben a terrieti Grand Hotel csodás terraszán ültem, meghatott szinte imádkozóan bámulva alattam a tejfehér tavat és a tulsó parton az aranyos várában villogó sulyos havasokat.

Mikor dinner táján visszamentem a hotelbe, a portás elém lépett:

— Levelei vannak, uram.

Meglepődtem, hogy a posta már rámtalált. De mindjárt vissza is adtam a paksamétát. A leveleken, ujságokon amerikai bélyeg és valami Mr. H. K. Jonesnak szólt valamennyi.

— Tévedés — mondtam. — Ezek nem az enyimek.

A portás csodálkozva nézett rám, elpirulva és tétova mozdulattal vette át a leveleket. Olyan furcsán viselkedett, hogy el kellett mosolyodnom.

A következő pillanatban megint egy kis furcsaság. Beszállok a liftbe, amely a második emeleten áll meg. Odaszólok a fiunak:

— Az én szobám a harmadikon van.

A gyerek meghajtja magát és bocsánatkérő hangon mondja:

— Nem tudtam, uram, hogy átköltözködött.

Ha még valami kétségem lett volna, egy harmadik esetke végképpen fölmentett a további gondolkozástól. Amint a szobám felé tartva a lépcső előtt elmegyek, egy lehaladó kis társaságból hirtelen hátranéz egy fehérruhás lady és amint megpillant, visszaszól:

— Mr. Jones, ne feledje, hogy a hajó reggel hétkor indul!

Most már tisztában voltam a helyzettel. Ezek összetévesztenek engem Jones urral Amerikából. De hogy milyen szenzációs alapja volt ennek a tévedésnek, az csak az ebédnél derült ki. Még nem volt szezón. A gyönyörü, hatalmas teremben alig gyülekezett huszonöt-harminc ember, ezeknek azonban a szó szoros értelmében kiesett a kanál a kezükből és nem tudtak tovább enni, csak tátott szájjal hol engem néztek, hol meg egy másik jól megtermett szőke urat és dörzsölgették a szemüket és összesugtak és csóválgatták a fejüket. Valóságos izgalom támadt a teremben, egy nagy feszültség és a szemek bámuló tekintete valósággal egymáshoz taszitott bennünket: Jones urat meg engem. Hogy indult az összeismerkedés, már igazán nem tudom, de két óra mulva már együtt ültünk a hallban egy csodálkozó társaság közepében, amely nem győzött kifejezést adni a bámulatának.

— Nincs a világon két tojás, amelyik ennyire egyforma lenne! — mondta az egyik.

— A saját tükörképük nem mutathat az uraknak ekkora hasonlatosságot — konstatálta egy másik.

Kiderült, hogy a magasságunk, a vállunk szélessége, a hajunk szine és sürüsége, de még a kezünk formája is tökéletesen ugyanaz. Biztos, hogy ha véletlenül impreszárió van a vendégek között, szédítő ajánlatokkal ostromolt volna meg bennünket.

Nem nagyon szeretek látványosság, vagy az alkotó természet egy különös szeszélye lenni, a helyzet tehát nem volt nekem tulságosan kellemes. De lett e találkozásnak egy másik és szintén nem sulytalan következése is. A hasonmásom vagy nagyon szeretett a tükörbe nézni, vagy pedig egy belső kapcsolat eredőjének érezte a külső hasonlóságot: rohamos barátságával tisztelt meg. Egyszerüen belém tapadt és valósággal elárasztott a bizalmával. Menthetetlenül meg kellett tudnom, hogy Washingtonban született, kémiát tanult, egy egészen, sőt forradalmian ujfajta cserzési eljárást talált ki, most kilenc nagy bőrgyára van, amelyeket Bostonból igazgat. Egyáltalában nem bizonyos azonban, hogy vissza fog-e még térni a hazájába.

— Hát végképpen megunta az üzletet? — kérdeztem.

Megdöbbenten nézett rám.

— A világért se! — felelte mohón. — Hát hogy lehetne ezt az üzletet megunni?

— Akkor hát miért mondja, hogy meg kell válnia tőle?

Csöndesen felelte:

— Mert meg fogok halni . . .

Ez nagy szó volt. Részvéttel és megütődve néztem Mr. Jonesra.

— Meg fog halni? Hát beteg? . . . Igazán nem látszik meg rajta.

— Azt elhiszem. Az ilyen kórság nem látszik meg az emberen.

— Hát mi a betegsége?

Nagyot sóhajtott és alig hallhatóan mondta:

— Ethel.

Elcsodálkozva néztem rá:

— Sose hallottam ilyen betegségről.

Egy szomoru mosoly hullámzott át az ajkain:

— Ez nem is betegség. Ez a feleségem neve . . . A feleségemé aki megszökött.

— Az rossz lehet.

Hevesen bólintott a fejével:

— Az. Nagyon rossz. Nekem. Mert Ethel . . . ő nem rossz. Ethel nem gonosz. Ethel csak egy gyermek, aki imádja az erőt és nem tud ellentállni az erőnek . . . Ez az oka az egésznek.

— Ez az oka az egésznek?

— Ez. Mindjárt meg fogja érteni, ha megmondom: ki az, akinek az oldalán távozott.

— Hát mondja meg!

— Cnox.

— Cnox?

— Az. Most már érti, ugy-e?

Őszintén feleltem:

— Most már nem értem. Nem tudom, ki az a Cnox. Sejtelmem sincs róla. Soha a nevét se hallottam.

Mr. Jones összecsapta a kezét és karikára nyilt szemmel bámult rám.

— Lehetetlen! — mondotta. — Ön nem tudja, ki az a Cox? Ön sose hallotta a nevét a Vörös Tigrisnek, Amerika championjának, a két világ első öklöző-bajnokának? . . . Lehetséges ez?

— Lehetséges . . . De most már hallottam.

— Akkor tehát kezdi érteni, ugye?

— Igen. Kezdem érteni. Tehát ez a Cnox volt a szerencsés? . . .

— Igen. Ez az átkozott. ő ragadta el tőlem Ethelt és átkelt vele az oceánon. Mert Ethel miádja az erőt és nem tud ellentállni az erőnek . . . De én meg nem tudok élni Ethel nélkül. Nem tudok uram. Voltam egy chicagoi specialistánál, aki megvizsgált és kijelentette, hogy a vágy Ethel után föltétlenl sirba visz. Legfölebb háromszáz napig fogok élni és ebből a háromszázból hetven már letelt . . . Ezért jöttem Európába Ethel után.

— Hogy megölje?

Az amerikai összerázkódott a borzalomtól:

— Hogy mondhat ilyet? Ki lenne oly vadállat, hogy Ethelt megölje?

— Hát hogy . . . visszarabolja?

Mr. Jones szó nélkül a zsebébe nyult és egy levelet nyujtott át, hogy elolvassam. A levél rövid volt, de velős:

> "Bőrember! Ön elég vakmerő volt, hogy kövessen bennünket. Észrevettem. Ha még egyszer mutatkozni mer, össztöröm az orrcsontját és tizenkét bordáját. W.M. Cnox."

Mr Jones halkan magyarázta:

— Ezt a levelet Milanóban kaptam, mert a nyomozóvállalat értesitett, hogy ott vannak. Ugyanabba a hotelbe szálltam, de este már ezt a levelet találtam az asztalomon. Természetesnek fogja találni, hogy ezek után egy pillanatig se maradhattam tovább . . . De a reményről se mondhattam le, hogy ha lopva és csak egy pillanatra is láthassam Ethelt. Egy hét alatt el kellene sorvadnom a tudatban, hogy az egész oceán van közöttünk. Igy legalább nem vagyok oly nagyon messze tőle, a nyomozóvállalat minden lépéséről mindennap értesit és itt az emberek is jobbak, mint Amerikában . . . itt mindenki részvéttel van hozzám és mindenki nagyon sajnál engem . . .

Kissé elhülten mondtam:

— Hát mindenki tudja? . . .

— Oh igen. Oly nehéz a szivem, hogy ki kell öntenem minden alkalommal. És nagyon szivesen meghallgatnak, sőt vigasztalnak is. De hisz erről ön maga is meg fog győződni. Bizonyára össze fogják téveszteni velem s látni fogja: milyen sajnálkozó és szánakozó tekintetek szállnak feléje . . .

Elöntött a forró verejték és ha nem uralkodom minden erőmmel magamon, amerikai hasonmásomnak nagyon viharos meglepetésben lett volna része. De mégse tettem, amit tenni szerettem volna, sőt nem is mondottam, amit mondani szerettem volna. Csak fölrohantam a szobámba, egész éjszaka nem tudtam behunyni a szememet és a hajnali vonattal elutaztam, még mielőtt a meleg részvét egy szemsugarával találkoztam volna.

DERÜS INTELEM ÖNMAGUNKHOZ:

Csókolnak a lányok, a drágák
És szökdel a zerge, a fürge,
Virulnak a délszaki pálmák,
Rohannak a holdak az ürbe,
Forró a világ ölelése
És mind, ami él, robog és ég,
Zug, harsog a sors nevetése
És minket üz, kerget az éhség:

A jobbnak, a szebbnek a vágya,
A lelkes, a drága, nagy éhség:
Keményre van vetve az ágya
Mindannak, akit a reménység
Az élet igaz kenyerével
Táplál. Ha sovány is ebédünk,
Hátunkon a sok cudar évvel
Horpadt a hasunk, de remélünk:

Mert élni szerethet a gyáva,
Élvezheti éltét a gazdag,
Remeghet a féreg utána,
De szent joga minden igaznak
Hogy dus akarással akarja
A jobbat, a rossznak a végét
És szép öröm leple takarja
Be tagjai meztelenségét:

Akarj! Hogy a sors ki ne vessen
Téged, meg a többit öléből.
Vigyázz! Nehogy ugy kinevessen,
Mint azt, akit kishitüség öl.
A gyenge lapul, meg a gyáva
És félti, mit lopva elorzott,
Erősnek a sors a barátja,
Erős zabolázza a sorsot.

Erdődy János

Még egy különös találkozás.

Természetesen nagyon bosszantott, hogy a látogatásom a genfi tó partján ilyen korai, gyászos véget ért, valami különös, nagy lehangoltság is ránehezedett a lelkemre, de azért nem álltam meg, hogy Milanóban pár napos stációt ne tartsak. Az első napot nagyon kellemesen töltöttem. Fölmásztam a Dóm tetejére, benéztem a Brerába, üldögéltem a Biffiben, megvacsoráztam a Codában és végignéztem egy igen jó kis francia vigjátékot a Manzoni-szinházban. Szóval semmi baj se történt.

Másnap reggel pedig átrándultam csak a felöltőmmel a karomon Luganóba. Ez a hely nekem régi szerelmem, imádom ezt a görbe tavat, a kupos zöld hegyeket, a piros tetejü házakat, a ragyogó fehér utakat, a folyton lefől kapaszkodó és csuszkáló hegyi siklókat, a városka olasz derüjét és svájci tisztaságát. Csatangoltam, aztán megebédeltem, jó két óra hosszat ültem a Café Centrale egy fehér asztalkájánál, csöndes szédületben pihentetve a szememet a mozdulatlan vizen, azután egy kocsin bucsusétára indultam a tó partján.

Becsületes meleg volt, de elviselhető. Csöndes ballagással elhagytam a hotelek palotasorát, el már Paradisót is. A megkeskenyedett ut egészen a hegy tövébe csuszott: egy árva lélek sehol nem volt látható. Mintha minden és mindenki aludt volna a bóditó napsütésben.

Mikor visszafordultam, mert az időm kezdett már lejárni, meglehetős távolságban egy emberpárt pillantottam meg. Egy világoskék ruhás zömök ur, meg egy csipkeernyős, fehérruhás nő jöttek a város felől. Természetesen aligha törődtem volna velük, ha a viselkedésük egyszerre igen különössé nem válik.

Talán husz lépésnyire lehettünk egymástól, mikor a két ember egyszerre hirtelen megállt. Az asszony mintha sikoltott volna is, leeresztette az ernyőjét és hátralépett. A férfi pedig ellenzőt formált a szeme fölött a kezéből, ugy nézett rám.

Konstatáltam, hogy az asszony nagyon csinos, de mielőtt alaposabban szemügyre vehettem volna, ösztönszerüen meg kellett állanom. Mert nem kis meglepetés nélkül láttam, hogy a férfi, miután pár szót mond az asszonynak és egy kézmozdulattal hátradirigálja, nyilegyenesen felém tart. Egyenesen és gyorsan: tisztára egy roham lendületével. Nagy beretvált, husos arca vörös volt, mint a főtt rák, a szeme kidagadtan meredt rám. Egy lépésnyire előttem hirtelen megállt és a dühtől rekedten fujta az arcomba:

— Bőrember, ön dacolni mer a tilalmammal! Bucsuzzék el a csontjaitól!

De nem hagyott időt se bucsuzásra, se feleletre. Hirtelen előre szegte a nagy fejét és én csak azt láttam, hogy egy rettenetes ököl, mint egy lecsapó gránát, röpül felém.

Meg kell jegyeznem, hogy se az ökölvivás, se a birkózás technikájához abszolute nem értek. Tisztára naturalista vagyok ebben a mesterségben, amelyet gyerekkorom óta nem is praktizáltam. Az ellenfelem nyilván a müvészet szabályai szerint támadott, én pedig szabálytalanul védekeztem, azután ő nyilván szabályszerüen védekezett, én pedig szabálytalanul, sőt az is meglehet, hogy szabályellenesen püföltem.

Szabálytalanul, de izzó lelkesedéssel. Minden meglepetésem közepett is tisztában voltam vele, hogy semmi okot se adtam e barátságtalan eljárásra. Nem verekedni jöttem Luganóba és semmi rosszat nem terveztem a vörösképü ellen. Teljes jogom volt tehát a dühre, amely elfogott és teljes sikerü ellentámadásra tüzelt.

Az ököl-gránát nem érte el kitüzött célját, mert akkorát ütöttem a támadóm felső karjára, hogy reccsent. Még történt néhány tétova ellenséges mozdulat, de dolgozni igazán már csak az én iskolázatlan öklöm dolgozott. A düh megszéditett. Semmit sem láttam, csak egy éles női sikoltást hallottam, azután szitkot, nyögést, recsegést, egy mély jajkiáltást és egy tompa zuhanást. Éreztem, hogy a karom már az üres levegőt kaszálja.

Megtörültem a homlokomat és nagyot fujtam. A vörösképü ott feküdt előttem a földön, nyögött és jajgatott. Bizonyára volt rá oka. El volt látva egy időre. A fehérruhás lady jó pár száz lépésnyire a tusa helyétől futott, mint egy nyulacska, a néptelen uton.

Ismétlem: sejtelmem sincs az ököl-párbaj paragrafusairól. Teljes tanácstalanságban voltam tehát afelől, hogyan kell ilyen esetben a leteritett ellenféltől illendően elköszönni. Viszont azonban tisztában voltam a lehető legsürgősebb távozás tanácsosságával, még mielőtt egy svájci rendőr odatéved. Az öklöm megtette a kötelességét, most a lábamon volt a sor. Az első ösvényen fölkanyarodtam a lejtőre, hamarosan el is csiptem szerencsére egy szép fehér-kék villamoskocsit és tizenöt perc mulva már a vonatban ültem.

Más emlékem a csudálatos kalandból nem maradt, mint egy vérző karcolás a kezemfején. A helyzettel különben már az első percekben tisztában voltam. Ami a luganói tónál történt velem, egyenes folytatása volt annak, ami a genfi tónál kezdődött. Megint a külsőm druszájának néztek: ezuttal sulyosabb következésekkel.

Minthogy pedig a dolgom nem végződött rosszul: lassanként nagyon kellemes érzésem támadt. Hiu lény az ember. És különösen a férfi. Eszembe jutott az a leszerelt, kétségbeesett respektus, amellyel a szerencsétlen H. K. a Vörös Tigrisről beszélt és mosolyognom kellett. A siker csiklandozott és kifelé kivánkozott belőlem. Nem tudtam ellentállni ennek a csiklandozásnak. Amint megérkeztem Milanóba, levelet irtam:

> “Uram! A véletlen folytatta a játékot. Ma Luganóban találkoztam a Vörös Tigrissel, aki összetévesztett és rám ugrott. De a Vörös Tigris nem fog ugrani többé. Az én csontjaim épen maradtak. Az övéi nem. Ha ápolni kivánja: keresse föl egészen bátran.”

Ezt a levelet elküldtem a hasonmásomnak. Territetbe. És igen jól éreztem magamat. Csak azt sajnáltam, hogy az asszonyt jobban meg nem nézhettem.

Finálé.

Aztán nyár lett, aztán ősz lett, aztán tél lett és én már rég nem gondoltam az egész furcsa históriára, mikor éppen karácsony előtt egy kis paksaméta jött a cimemre — Amerikából, Bostonból. Természetesen nagyon kiváncsian nyitottam föl, Hát: először is egy levélke hullt ki belőle:

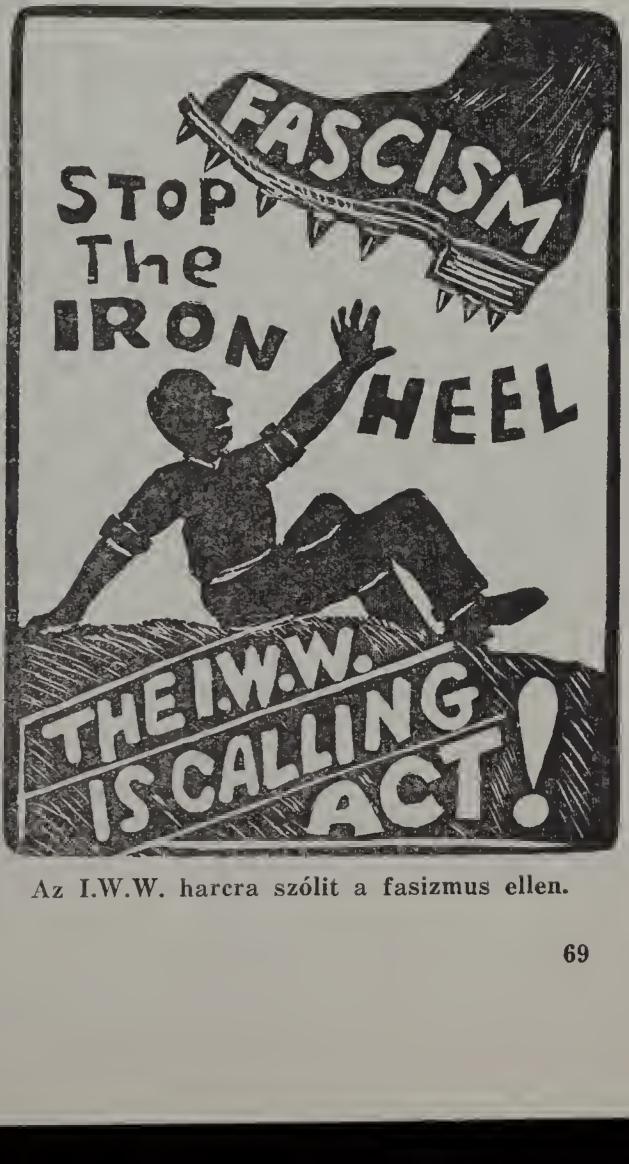
> “Uram! Nem a hálám volt késlelkedő, de az tartott sokáig, mig a cimét megtudtam. Közlöm önnel, hogy nagyon boldog vagyok, mert Ethel, amióta hősnek tart, ismét imád engem. Kilátásom van rá, hogy sohase halok meg. De ha örökké él, akkor is mindig hálával gondol önre és bizik az ön titoktartásában
>
> H. K. Jones.”

A levélnek melléklete is volt. Egy gyönyörü, nehéz, szinarany cigarettatárca a barátom monogrammjával. Tekintettel arra, hogy a kezdőbetük gyémántból voltak kirakva, még jobban szerettem volna, ha H. K. Jones a levelét irja a tárcára és a monogrammját a levélre. De igy is meg voltam nagyon hatva.

* * * * *

A világ legnagyobb szigetei:

Baffin Land 236.000, Borneo 284.000, Celebes 72.000, Ceylon 24.000, Cuba 44.164, Grönland 827.300, Anglia 88.600, Hayte 28.800, Izland 32.600, Japán 160.000, Jáva 48.400, Madakaszkár 227.000, New Foundland 42.000, New Genua 330.000, New Zeland 103.000, Sumatra 162.000, Tamánia 26.200 négyzetmérföld



Az I.W.W. harcra szólit a fasizmus ellen.

ÉRDEKES STATISZTIKAI ADATOK

Az Egyesült Államokban 1938-évben a születések száma 2,286.962 volt, ami 17.6 százalék születési rátának felel meg, vagyis, minden 10.000 lélekre ennyi születés esik. Az ujszülöttekből 1,172.541 fiu és 1,114.421 leány volt.

Ugyanabban az évben a halálozási ráta 10.6 százalék volt. Elhalt 1,381.391 egyén, amelyből 764.902 férfi és 616.-489 nő volt.

A születések megoszlása: fehér 2,005.965; néger 267.700, más fajok 13.307. A halálozás megoszlása: fehér 1,195.431; néger 178.573; más fajok 7.387.

Minden 100.000 lakosra 1.061 haláleset volt, amelynek okai: szivbaj 269 esetben; rák 115; tuberkulozis 45; agyvérzés 86; tudőgyulladás 67; cukorbetegség 24; vesebaj 77; autószerencsétlenség 24; öngyilkosság 15; gyilkosság 7; vakbélgyulladás 11; alkohol mérgezés 2; egyéb esetek 9.

A születések arányszáma legnagyobb volt New Mexico államban (34), majd Vermont (25) és Idaho (23) államokban. Legalacsonyabb volt a ráta New Jerseyben (13), majd Connecticut (14) és New York (15) államokban.

A halálozási arányszám legnagyobb volt Arizona államban (15), majd New Mexico (14) és District of Columbiában (13). Legkisebb volt New Dakota (7), Oklahoma (8) és South Dakota (8) államokban.

A gyermek halandóság aránya legnagyobb volt New Mexico (109), Arizona (99) és South Carolina (80) államokban. Legalacsonyabb rátát mutatnak: Connecticut (36), Nebraska (36) és Minnesota (39) államok. A zárjelben adott szám a minden 1000 élve született csecsemőből egy éven belül elhaltak számát jelzi.

Az Egyesült Államok legutóbbi statisztikai adatai szerint az elmult évben az ország teljes területén különböző balesetek folytán elhalt 93,805 egyén. Ebből

Autó balesetből	93.805
Esés következtében	32.582
Tüz és égés által	7.145
Vizbefulás révén	7.347
Vasuti balesetben	4.868
Fegyver balesetben	2.696
Gázmérgezésben	1.459
Másféle mérgezésben	2,196

Az Egyesült Államok lakosságának növekedése:

1790	3,929.214	1910	91,972.266
1800	5,308.483	1920	105,710.620
1850	23,191.876	1930	122,775.064
1900	75,994.575	1940	131,409.881

Az Egyesült Államok területén elitéltek 1,484.554 egyént. Ebből

Gyilkosságért	7.514
Nem szándékos emberölésért	4.394
Erőszakért	8.832
Rablásért	59.786
Támadásért	46.483
Betörésért	311.104
Csalásért	872.988
Atomobil lopásért	177.997

Elloptak az Egyesült Államok 207 városában, amelynek 25.000-n felüli lakosuk van: Pénzt és értékpapirt $3,284.042, melyből megkerült 404.611 értékü. Ékszert és drága ércet 2,955.-669, melyből megkerült 666.352. Szőrmét és ruhát 570.427, melyből megkerült 76.774.

● ● ● ● ●

Népsürüség:

Az 1930-as népszámlálás szerint egy négyzet mérföld területen az átlag 41 lélek. Az U.S.A. legsürübb lakossága Rhode Islandnak van, ahol egy négyzet mérföld területen 644 ember él mig a legritkább lakossága Wyomingnak van, ahol 4 négyzet mérföldre esik csak egy lélek.

O'HENRY (Sidney S. Porter)

SZERELEM ÉS MÜVÉSZET

"AKI a müvészetet szereti, az mindenre képes érte."

Elbeszélésünknek ez az alaptétele, amelyből természetesen a végén levonjuk a "tanulságot". Egyben azonban be fogjuk bizonyitani, hogy ez az alaptétel helytelen, ami ugyan ellenkezik a logikának iskolában tanitott szabályaival, de az elbeszélések történetében sokkal idősebb még magánál a kinai nagy falnál is.

—

Joe Larrabee a közép-nyugati államok egyik tölgyfa erdőkkel koszoruzott városkáját nevezte szülőföldjének. Itt történt meg vele az a szerencsétlenség, hogy hat éves korában a városi kutat lerajzolta az éppen arra haladó egyik előkelő polgárral egyetemben. A képet kiakasztották a városka gyógyszertárának kirakatába s mindenki megállapitotta róla, hogy Joe-ban "isteni szikra" szunnyadozik. Husz éves korában aztán Joe a városka népének segitségével, lobogó, széles, müvészi nyakkendővel, de annál szükebbre szabott tőkével, elindult New Yorkba, hogy a természettől nyert festői képességét hozzáértő mesterek vezetése alatt tökéletesitse.

Delia Karuthy, valahol a Délen, az egyik pálmasoros utcáju városkában, olyan brilliánsan vágta ki a hatodik oktávát is, hogy a rokonok isten ellen való véteknek tartották volna, ha a Delia tehetsége kiaknázatlanul marad. Nosza összeadták tehát azt az összeget, mellyel Delia utnak indulhatott New Yorkba, hogy hangját méltó mesterek vezetése alatt kiképezze. A rokonok ugyan nem gyönyörködtek többet ebben a hangban, — de várjunk csak, hiszen éppen ezt akarjuk elbeszélni.

Delia meg Joe találkoztak egy müteremben, ahol növendék müvészek Rembrandt, Wagner, Chopin, Caruso, Waldteufel s egyébmesterek felől álmodoztak szépeket.

A találkozásból barátság, a barátságból szerelem, a szerelemből pedig házasság lett, mert aki a müvészetet igazán szereti, az mindenre képes érte, — mint ahogyan már előbb is mondottuk.

Larrabee ur és Larrabee asszonyság kétszobás lakás béreltek és berendezkedtek a háztartáshoz. Lakás?! Eh, mit beszéljünk róla, hiszen boldogan éltek, müvészek voltak s szerették egymást. Müvészettel meg Deliával még az ilyen lakásban is boldog lehet az ember.

A kis lakások birtokosai bizonyithatják, hogy igazi boldogság csak az ilyen lakásokban található. Boldog emberek szemében a ruhaszekrény billiárd asztallá lesz, a szoba egyik sarka hálóteremmé, sőt Delia meg Joe még a mosókádat is csak zongorának nevezték.

Joe a nagyhirü és nagytekintélyü Magister mestertől vett leckét. Ismerik őt, ugyebár? Igen, igen, ő az, akinél a tandij nagyon sulyos, de a leckék annál könnyebbek. Delia az ugyancsak hirneves Rosenstock mesternél tanult. Ismerik őt is, a zongorabillentyük örökös veszedelmét, ugyebár?

Nagyon, de nagyon boldogak voltak, — mindaddig, mig tartott a pénzből. Tudták, hogy Joe nemsokára olyan képeket fog festeni, amelyek birásáért a vékony oldalszakállal, de annál vastagabb pénztárcákkal rendelkező pátronusok össze fognak veszni. És Delia? Rövid időn belül olyan tündöklő csillag lesz, hogy ha pár üres széket fog látni abban a szinházban, amelyet felléptével hirnevessé tesz, akkor bizony beteget jelent és Joeval valamelyik előkelő vendéglő barátságos külön szobájában fog vacsorázni, mialatt a boldogtalan direktor a haját tépi tehetetlenségében. Mind látták ők ezt már jó előre.

Ki törődne ilyenkor a lakással? A sovány vacsorákkal, meg a sajtszendvicsekkel helyettesitett ebédekkel? Delia és Joe nem törődtek. Számukra a jelen nem létezett. Legalább is nem addig, mig a folytonos kiadások teljesen le nem győzték a semmi bevételeket. De egyszer csak elérkezett az az idő is hogy a nagyhirü Magister meg Rosenstock mestereknek nem tudták beszállitani a tandijat.

De aki a müvészetet igazán szereti . . . (lásd fentebb) Delia rájött, hogy hiszen ő énekleckék adásával kereshetne is valamit. Három napon keresztül rótta az uccákat, hogy tanitványokra akadjon. A negyedik nap estéjén örömtől sugarzó arccal jött haza.

— Joe drágám — mondotta büszkén, — már van tanitványom. És milyen kedves népek! Gyönyörü házban laknak . . . a 71. uccában. Csak látnád azt a kaput! Azt hiszem bizanti stilus, persze te jobban tudnád. Hidd el Joe, soha még olyat nem láttam.

Most néhány forró csók következett és Delia csak azután folytathatta.

— Az apja tábornak . . . A. B. Pinkney generális. És milyen törékeny kis teremtés, mindig csak fehérbe öltözik, egészen egyszerüen. Óh, hogy szeretem már is. Három leckét adok neki hetenként és képzeld, öt dollárt kapok minden leckéért. Ha még három másik tanitványt szerzek, akkor meg tudom fizetni Rosenstocknak a tandijat. No, most aztán nézz vidámabban. Gyere, együnk egy jó vacsorát.

— Részedről már rendben van, — mondta ekkor Joe komoran — mialatt a favágó baltácskával igyekezett kinyitni a sarki "delicatessen" üzletben vett zöldborsót tartalmazó kannát, — de mi legyen velem? Azt hiszed talán hagyni foglak fizetésért dolgozni addig, mig én csak a müvészetben gyönyörködöm? Nem, Raphaelre mondom, nem! Tudok ujságot árulni vagy maltert hordani és én is kereshetek egykét dollárt.

Delia karjai a Joe nyaka köré fonódtak.

— Joe, édesem, milyen kis ostoba is vagy te. Neked folytatnod kell a tanfolyamot. Látod, nálam egészen más, mert mialatt én tanitok, magamat is gyakorlom. Tanitok és tanulok egyszerre. Aztán heti 15 dollárból megélhetünk addig . . . (Itt ismét csókok következtek.)

— Jól van, legyen igy, — mondotta Joe a zöldborsó főzeléket két tányérkára öntve, — hidd el, borzadok, ha arra gondolok, hogy leckéket adsz fizetésért. Ez nem müvészet. Téged is csak a nagy jóságod vitt erre.

—Aki a müvészetet szereti, az mindenre kész érte, — mondotta Delia.

— Magister mester megdicsérte az eget azon a képen, amelyet a parkban festettem, — szólt Joe rövid hallgatás után — és az egyik Broadway-i mükereskedő megengedte, hogy a kirakatába tegyem. Talán akad valami pénzes hülye, akinek megtetszik és megveszi.

— Óh, egész biztosan akad, drágám, — viditotta Joet Delia. — És most fogyasszuk el a zöldborsot. Pinkney tábornok segélyével lesz még itt borjusült is.

A következő héten állandóan korán reggeliztek és Joe elsietett, mert a reggeli napfényben tündöklő Central Park fáit festette. Delia uzsonnát készitett neki, összecsókolóztak és csak este 7 óra tájban találkoztak ismét. A hét végén Delia diadalmasan helyezte a 10 hosszu 8 széles (láb) szobának egyik sarkában álló 10 hosszu 8 széles (incs) asztal közepére első keresetét, — három darab ötdollárost.

— Néhai Clementin nagyon kifáraszt — mondotta Joenak, miközben lassan helyet foglalt a széken, — azt hiszem, nem gyakorolja magát eleget. Számtalanszor ismételnem kell neki mindent. És aztán mindig egyforma fehérbe öltözik, fehér, fehér . . . minden fehér . . . A tábornok, azonban nagyon kedves öreg ember. Néha bejön és mögénk áll, aztán mindig ezt kérdezi: "Nos, hogyan halad a kis tanitványunk?"

— Ugy szeretném, ha látnád a társalgószobában lévő képeket. Aztán a szőnyegek! Valódi perzsa készitmények. Clemetinának meg olyan furcsa kis diványa van. Tudod, Clementina nem is olyan törékeny, mint előbb hittem. Most még jobban szeretem, mert olyan jó, olyan előkelő. Egyszer a tábornoknak a fivére is ott volt, aki nagykövet Boliviában.

Jo ecsak hallgatta egy darabig, aztán lassan a zsebébe nyult és mintha Monte Cristo összes kincseinek birtokosa lenne, olyan büszkeséggel huzott ki onna egy tiz, egy öt, egy két, meg egy egydolláros bankjegyet, mind csupa jó, törvényes pénzt és odahelyezte Delia keresménye mellé.

— Eladtam azt az obeliszk vizfestményt egy Peoriába való embernek, — jelentette ki diadalmasan.

— Igazán? Nem csak valami tréfát akarsz üzni velem — kérdezte Delia meglepetve. — Aztán valóban Peoriába való volt?

— Oda valahová a felvidékre. Bár csak láttad volna, őt Del, — szólt Joe az asszonykát cirógatva. — Meglátta a képet a kirakatban és képzeld, azt hitte, hogy szélmalom. Előbb tréfázott, majd élcelődött, de a végén mégis megvette a képet és rendelt egy másikat is. Azt akarja, hogy fessem le a Lackawanna vasuti állomást akkor, midőn ő a jegyet váltja meg hazamenőben . . . Énekleckék?! De talán abban is van még valami müvészet.

— Olyan boldog vagyok, Joe, hogy végre kezdenek megismerni. Meglátod, hamarosan győzni fogsz. Az igazi nagy tehetség utat tör magának minden akadályon keresztül. Nézd csak 33 dollár. Ennyi pénzünk már régen nem volt. Estére osztrigát eszünk.

— És omlettet, meg hozunk egy üveg pezsgőt is, — tette hozzá Joe.

A következő szombat este Joe érkezett haza előbb és az asztalra tette a 18 dollárt, majd alaposan megmosta kezeit, amelyeken sötétkék festék jelei látszottak. Félórával később Delia is megérkezett. A jobbkarja vászonkötelékkel volt körülcsavarva és a nyaka köré erősitett kendőben tartotta.

— Mi történt? — kérdezte Joe elhalványulva.

— Semmiség az egésez, nevetett Delia erőltetve. Aztán a férjéhez szaladt a szokásos csókűdvözlésre. —Tudod, ez a Clementina olyan szeles. Délután 5 órakor eszébe jutott, hogy nyulpecsenyét eszik. Láttad volna, mint szaladt maga a tábornok az edényekért, mintha nem is volna elég cseléd a házban. Tudtam, hogy Clementinának valami baja van, olyan ideges volt. Amikor levettük az edényt, a karomra öntötte a forró zsirt. Borzalmasan fájt! Szegény leány ugy megijedt. De hát még a tábornok! Az egész házat szalajtotta a legközelebbi gyógyszertárba valami olajért, amelyet a karomra tettek és azóta nem fáj olyan nagyon.

A KÉK TENGER PARTJÁN

Ahol mások élnek, szeretnek,
Én eljöttem ide betegnek,
Csókot temetni, álmot dobni,
Nyugodt partokon nem nyugodni.

Mindig a holnapra mosolygok,
Elvágyom onnan, ahol bolygok,
Ugy vágytam ide s most már
szállnék.
Óh én bolond, bus beteg árnyék.

Ady Endre

— Mi ez? — kérdezte a kötelék alól kilátszó csepüszerü kócra mutatva.

— Ez az a fehér ruha, amelyre az olajat öntötték . . . És te, drágám, már megint adtál el képet? — igyekezett Delia más tárgyra terelni a beszélgetést, amint megláttam az asztalra tett 18 dollárt.

— Igen, igen, — felelt Joe vontatva, — a peoriai embernek. Talán másik képet is fog rendelni . . . valami vázlatot a Hudson folyóról . . . De, mondd csak, mikor is égetted meg a kezedet?

— Öt órakor délután . . . ugy gondolom. A vas, akakrom mondani, a nyulat akkor vettük le a tüzről. Joe láttad volna csak, mint rohant a tábornok . . .

— Delia, jöjj, ülj le ide a díványra . . . Igy ni . . . És most mondd meg nekem, kicsi feleségem, mit csinálsz te már két hét óta?

Az asszonyka elhalványodott, de azért egész bátran szembenézett férjével. Szerelemittas tekintettel kezdett el beszélni valamit Pinkney tábornokról. Joe hallgatta pár pillanatig, aztán végigsimitotta az asszonyka haját.

— Igen, igen, kicsikém, ezt már tudom. Hanem most mondd meg nekem, mivel keresed te ezt a heti 15 dollárt?

— Joe, édes, kis uram, ne haragudj reám, nem kaptam tanitványokat és nem nézhettem, hogy te abbahagyd a tanulást. Munkát vállaltam egy nagy mosódában a 24-ik uccában. Minden rendben lett volna, ha ma délután az egyik leány kezemre nem dönti a vasalót. Ugy-e, nem haragszol, drágám? Ugy-e, nem? Hiszen látod, ha nem megyek dolgozni, talán el sem adod azt a két képet a peoriai embernek.

— P-e-o-r-i-a? — mondta Joe vontatva, aztán semmitmondóan bámult maga elé.

— Hiszen nem baj, ha nem Peoriába való is . . . De Joe kérlek, ne nézz igy . . . jőjj, csókolj meg . . . Legyél már vidámabb. Ugy-e, ügyesen kieszeltem Pinkney tábornokot, meg Clementinát? De te még ügyesebb vagy, mert rájöttél. Mondd, mi tett gyanakodóvá?

— Nem gyanakodtam én egészen mostanáig, — mondta Joe szomoruan, — csak most, mikor láttam a csepüt a kezeden. Ezt az olajba mártott csepüt én küldtem fel a gépházból, amikor leüzentek, hogy valamelyik leány megégette a kezét. Két hét óta a gépházban a fütők segitője gyanánt dolgozom.

— Akkor te sem . . .

— Nem, én sem adtam el képeket. A peoriai ember, meg Pinkney tábornok egyformán kitalált mesék. Igaz, ilyen meséket kitalálni és igy végigjátszani, szintén müvészet, de nem vág sem a zene, sem a festészet körébe.

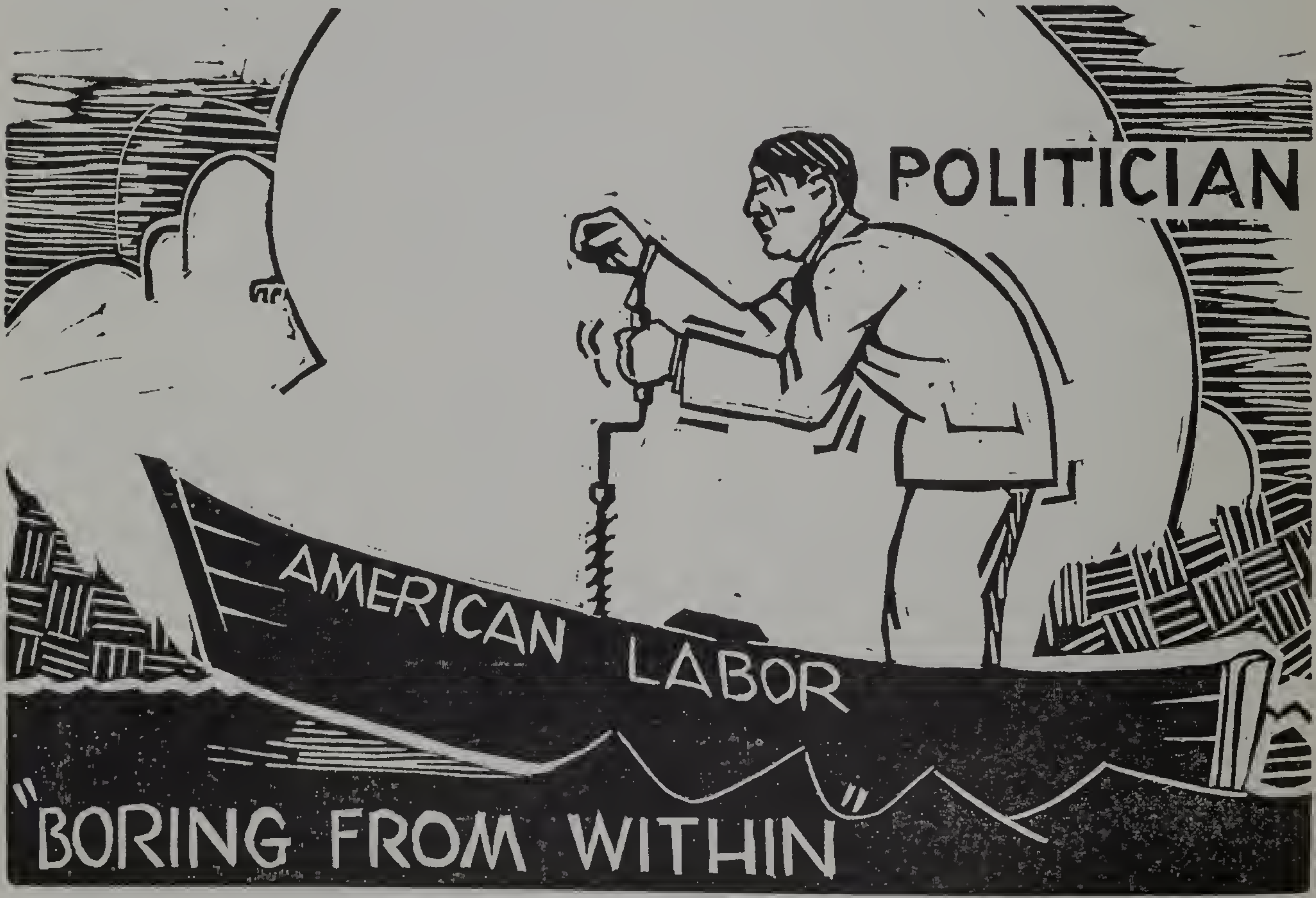
Egymásra néztek szerelmesen, aztán jóizüen felkacagtak.

— Aki a müvészetet szereti, az mindent megtesz érte, — kezdte Joe, de Delia megakasztotta.

—Nem, Joe, nem ugy, hanem csak igy: "Akik egymást igazán szeretik, azok . . .

Nem fejezhette be a mondatot. Joe hosszu, szenvedélyes csókkal bizonyitotta az uj alaptétel helyességét.

Geréb József forditása.



Ilyen a politikusok által hirdetett "belülről furás".

VOLTAIRE

EZ A VILÁG SORJA...

AZON szellemek között akik a birodalmak sorsát intézek, Ituriel egyike a legelőkelőbbeknek, müködésének köre Magas Ázsiára terjed ki. Egy reggel leszállott a skytha (az ókori Középázsiában elterülő Skytria lakosa) Babuk lakába, az Oxus (folyó Ázsiában) partjára s igy szólt hozzá: — Babuk, a perzsák bolondsága és esztelensége kihivták haragunkat. Magas Ázsia szellemei tegnap ülést tartottak abban a kérdésben, megbüntessék-e Persepolist (Ó-Perizsia fővárosa) vagy eltöröljék-e a föld szinéről. Eredj hát el abba a városba, vizsgálj meg mindent, térj vissza pontos jelentéssel s annak alapján fogom eldönteni, megjavitom-e azt a várost vagy elpusztitom. — De uram, — felelt alázatosan Babuk, — én sohasem voltam Perzsiában és egy lelket sem ismerek ott. — Annál jobb, — mondá az angyal, — legalább nem leszel részrehajló. Az ég fölruházott azzal a képességgel, hogy helyesen fogd föl a dolgokat, megtoldom ezt azzal, hogy bizalmat tudj gerjeszteni. Eredj, nézz körül, hallgatódzál, figyelj s ne félj semmitől, mindenütt szivesen fognak látni.

Babuk fölkapaszkodott a tevéjére s fölkerekedett a szolgáival. Néhány nap multával Sennaar (szerecsenek országa és városa Afrikában) sikságai irányában találkozott a perzsa hadsereggel, mely az indiai hadsereggel készült összecsapni. Először is egy hátramaradt katonával bocsátkozott beszélgetésbe s megkérdezte tőle, mi a háboru oka. — Az összes istenekre mondom — felelte a katona, — fogalmam sincs róla, az a mesterségem, hogy kenyérkeresetből öljek s megölessem magam, mit bánom én, kinek szolgálok. Holnap akár az indiai hadseregbe mehetnék át, mert ugy mondják, hogy azok egy fél rézdrachmával (régi görög pénzegység) többet fizetnek a katonáiknak mint amennyit nekünk adnak ebben a nyomorult perzsa szolgálatban. Ha meg akarja tudni, miért harcolunk, kérdezze meg a kapitányom.

Babuk valami csekélységgel mit magával hozott megajándékozván a katonát, belépett a táborba. Hamarosan megismerkedett a kapitánnyal s megkérdezte tőle a háboru okát. — Hogy tudjam azt én? — felelt a kapitány, — s mit törődöm vele én? Kétszáz mértföldnyire lakom Persepolistól s hallottam, hogy megüzenték a háborut. Ott hagytam a családomat s elmentem, amint ez szokásom, vagyont szerezni vagy megtalálni a halált, hisz egyéb dolgom ugy sincsen. — De hát a bajtársai sincsenek jobban értesülve a dolgok állásáról? — kérdé Babuk. — Bizony azok sem, — felelt a kapitány, — csakis a fősatrapák (óperzsai kormányzo) tudják azt, hogy miért öljük egymást.

Az elámult Babuk fölkereste a generálisokat s bizalmasukká vált. Egyikük végre igy szólt: — Ennek a háborunak, amely husz év óta tartja siralomban Ázsiát, az a civódás az oka, mely a nagy perzsa király egyik nőjének ennuchja s az Indiák nagy királyának egyik hivatalnoka között támadt. Valami vámilletékről volt benne szó, aminek az értéke egy darignak körülbelül harmincadrészét tehette. India első minisztere meg a mienk méltó módon megvédelmezték fejedelmeik jogait. A civódás elmérgesedett s mindkét részről milliós hadsereggel indultak a harcra. E hadseregek részére mnden évben több, mint négyszázezer embert kell sorozni. Se szeri, se száma a gyilkosságnak, a gyujtogatásnak, a rombolásnak, a pusztitásnak, az egész világ szenved s a gyülölködés nem enyhül. Főminiszterünk meg az indiai főminiszter gyakran kijelenti, hogy csupán az emberi nem boldogságáért cselekszenek igy s minden ujabb kijelentés alkalmával ujra elpusztitanak egynéhány várost s tönkretesznek egy-két tartományt.

Másnap, arra a hirre, hogy meg fogják kötni a békét, a perzsa és az indiai tábornokok siettek hamarosan megütközni. A csata véres volt. Babuk látta annak minden bünét és borzalmát s tanuja volt a fősatrapák mesterkedéseinek, akik főnökükkel el akarták veszittetni a csatát. Szemtanuja volt, hogy öldösték le a katonák a tulajdon tisztjeiket s látott olyan katonákat, akik egynéhány véres és sáros rongy birtokáért leszurták haldokló bajtársaikat. Elment a kórházakba, amelyekbe a sebesülteket vitték, akiknek legnagyobb része elpusztult azok embertelensége folytán, akiket a perzsa király drága pénzzel fizetett a betegek ápolásáért. — Emberek ezek, — kiáltotta Babuk, — vagy vadállatok? Ah, látom Persepolis el fog pusztulni.

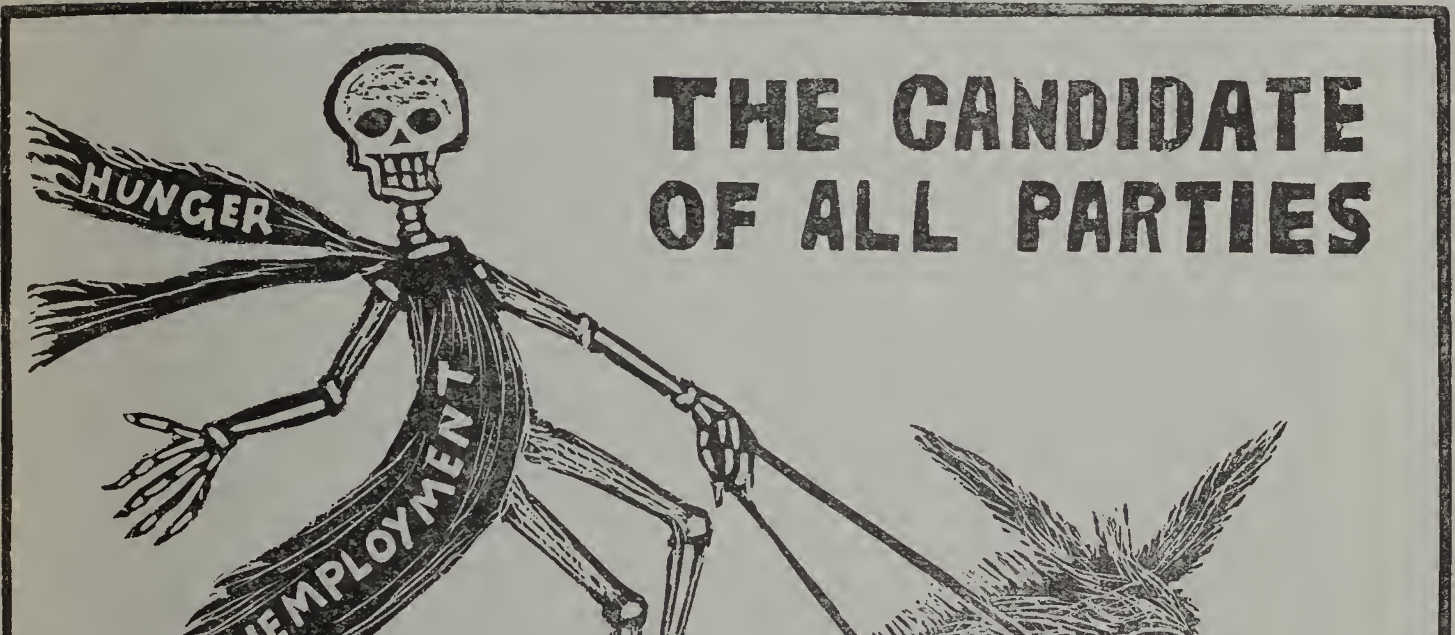
Eltünődve ezen a gondolaton, belépett az indiaiak táborába. Ott is olyan szivesen fogadták, mint a perzsáknál, ahogy ezt előre megmondták neki, de ott is ugyanazon borzalmak tárultak föl előtte. — Óh, óh — mondá magában, — ha Ituriel angyal ki akarja irtani a perzsákat, méltányos, hogy az Indiák angyala meg az indiaikat pusztitsa el. — De mikor azután részletes tudósitást nyert mindenről, ami a két táborban történt, olyan nemes, lelki nagyságra és emberségre valló tettekről is hallott, amelyek csodálatba ejtették és elragadták. — Megmagyarázhatatlan emberi lények, — kiáltott föl, — hogy férhet meg bennetek annyi aljasság és annyi nagyság, annyi erény és annyi bün?!

Időközben megkötötték a békét. A két sereg vezérei, akiknek egyike sem volt győztes és csak a saját érdekeikért ontották annyi embertársuk vérét, visszatértek a maguk udvarába, jutalmakat vadászni. A nyilvános irások nagy hangon ünnepelték a békét s tele voltak vele, hogy az erény és a boldogság ismét leszállottak a földre. — Hála légyen istennek! — szólt Babuk, — Persepolis lesz a megtisztult ártatlanság lakóhelye s nem fog elpusztulni, amint azok a csunya szellemek akarják. Siessünk hát késedelem nélkül Ázsiának e fővárosába.

Ebbe a roppant városba a régi bejárón át lépett be, amely teljesen barbár volt s amelynek a falusias mivolta bántotta a szemet. A városnak ez a része emlékeztetett arra a korra, amelyben épült, mert hát hiába megasztalják a régit a modern rovására, el kell ismerni, hogy az első kisérletek mindenben durvák.

Babuk belevegyült a tömegbe, amelyben férfi, nő a lehető legpiszkosabb volt. Ez a tömeg megriadtan rohant egy tágas és komor elkeritett helyre. A folytonos zajgásról, az emberek sürgölődéséről, meg arról, hogy egyesek pénzt adtak bizonyos személyeknek azért, hogy joguk legyen leülni, azt hitte, hogy valami piacra került ahol szalmaszékeket adnak-vesznek, de látván, hogy több nő térdreborul s ugy tesz, mintha merően maga elé tekintene, oldalvást azonban a férfiakra pislog, észrevette, hogy templomban van. Éles, rekedt, vad, harmóniátlan és rosszul tagolt hangok reszkettették meg az épület boltiveit, olyan hatást keltve, mint a vad szamarak nyeritése, amikor Pictave (régi francia tartomány) sikságán felelgetnek a hivogató duda tutulására. Befogta a fülét, de majdnem a szemét és az orrát is befogta, látván, hogy fogókkal és lapátokkal munkások lépnek be a templomba, akik félrehengeritenek egy nagy követ, az üregből dögletes szagot terjesztő földet lapátolnak ki jobbra-balra s ezután egy halottat fektetnek bele, visszaállitván tetejébe a követ. — Hogyan, — kiáltott föl Babuk, — ezek az emberek oda temetik a halottaikat, ahol az istenséget imádják és holttestekkel kövezik ki a templomaikat! Most már nem csodálkozom azokon a pestises nyavalyákon, amelyek oly gyakran ejtik kétségbe Persepolist, hiszen a halottak rothadása oly helyeken, ahol annyi élő gyül és szorul össze, akár az egész földtekét megmérgezhetné! Óh, utálatos város! Valószinüleg azért akarják elpusztitani az angyalok, hogy helyébe szebbet épitsenek s tisztább emberekkel népesitsék be, akik szebben tudnak énekelni. A Gondviselés tudja, mit miért tesz, hagyjuk hát cselekedni.

Közben a nap elérkezett pályája tetőpontjára. Babuknak a város másik végére kellett mennie, hogy egy hölgynél ebédeljen, akihez férje, egy katonatiszt, ajánlóleveleket adott részére. Előbb azonban körüljárta egynémely helyen Persepolist s látott szebben diszitett templomokat is, amelyekben udvariasabb emberekel találkozott és ahol bájos zene hangzott. Tetszettek neki a szökőkutak, amelyek, bár rosszul voltak elhelyezve, meglepték a nézőt, terek tárultak föl előtte, ahol bronzbaöntve lélegzeni látszottak Perzsia egykori legjobb királyai és ismét más terekre bukkant, ahol a nép füle hallatára igy kiáltott föl: — Mikor fogjuk itt látni kedves urunkat? — Megcsodálta a folyam nagyszerü habjait, a kényelmes és pompás rakodópartokat, a jobb és balparton épült palotákat és azt az óriási házat, amelyben ezernyi elöregedett, sebesült és győztes katona imádkozott naponta a hadak istenéhez. Végül eljutott a hölgyhöz, aki finom uriemberek társaságában ebédre várta. A ház tiszta és diszes volt, az ebéd pompás, a hölgy fiatal, szép, szellemes



Az összes politikai pártok jelöltje — Munkanélküliség.

és nyájas, a társaság pedig hozzá méltó, ugy, hogy Babuk minden pillanatban igy szólt magában: — Ituriel angyal, ugy látszik, bolondot üz a világból, amikor egy ily kedves várost el akar pusztitani.

Észrevette azonban, hogy a háziasszony, aki kezdetben oly gyöngéd figyelemmel kérdezősködött tőle férje hogylétéről, az ebéd vége felé még gyöngédebben beszélgetett egy ifju mágussal s látott egy birót, aki a felesége jelenlétében nagyon élénken ostromolt egy özvegyet, aki egyik karját a biró nyaka körül fonta, mig a másikat egy igen szép és igen szerény polgárnak nyujtotta. A biró felesége elsőnek kelt föl az asztaltól, hogy a szomszéd szobácskában értekezzék későn jött lelki gondozójával, akit ebédre vártak és az ékesszóló lelkiatya a szobácskában oly hévvel és kenetteljesen értekezett vele, hogy a hölgynek, amikor ujra megjelent, a szeme nedves, az arca piros, a járása bizonytalan volt és a hangja remegett.

S ekkor Babuk attól kezdett tartani, hogy Ituriel angyalnak mégis igaza lehet. Azon tehetsége folytán, melylyel másokban bizalmat tudott gerjeszteni, még azon a napon meghittjévé vált a hölgynek, aki elárulta neki az ifju mágus (csillagjós) iránt érzett hajlandóságát s arról biztositotta, hogy Persepolis minden házában épen ezt fogja látni, amit az övében láthatott. Babuk azt a következtetést vonta le ebből, hogy az ily társadalom nem képes fönmaradni, hogy a féltékenységnek, az egyenetlenségnek, a bosszunak minden ház békéjét föl kell dulnia, hogy minden nap könnynek és vérnek kell folynia, hogy a férjek bizonyára megölik feleségük udvarlóit vagy azok őket s hogy egyszóval Ituriel nagyon jól cselekszik, ha nem hagy követ kövön oly városban, mely botrányt botrányra halmoz.

Ezekben a sötét gondolatokba volt elmerülve, amikor az ajtónál egy komolykinézésü, feketeköpenyes ember jelent meg, aki alázatosan előadta, hogy beszélni óhajtana a fiatal biróval. A biró, anélkül, hogy székéről fölkelt s még csak rá is pillantott volna, büszkén és szórakozottan néhány iratot adott át neki és ezzel elbocsátotta. Babuk megkérdezte, hogy ki volt az az ember. A ház urnője halkan igy válaszolt neki: — Ez egyike a város legjobb ügyvédjének, ötven éve tanulmányozza a törvényeket. Ez az ur pedig, aki mindössze huszonöt éves és csak fél nap óta itélkező satrapa, átadta neki egy pör kivonatát, amelyben holnap kell itéletet mondania s amelyet még nem olvasott át. — Az a fiatal ugrifüles bölcsen teszi, ha tanácsot kér egy aggastyántól, de hát miért nem az öreg ember a biró? — Ön talán tréfál, — hangzott a válasz, — sohasem azok jutnak a méltóságokhoz, kik a munkás és alárendelt hivatalokban öregedtek meg. E fiatal embernek nagy tisztsége van, mert az atyja gazdag s mert itt a biráskodás jogát éppugy veszik, akár egy tanyát. — Óh, erkölcsök, — kiáltott föl Babuk, — ez már azután koronája a fejetlenségnek. Kétségtelen, hogy azok, akik igy megvásárolták a biráskodás jogát, el is adják az itéleteiket, valóban mindenütt csak feneketlen jogtalanságot látok.

Amint igy kifejezést adott fájdalmának és meglepetésének, egy fiatal harcos, aki aznap jött meg a seregétől, igy szól hozzá: — Miért ellenzi, hogy a birói hivatalokat megvásárolják? Én ugyancsak megvettem azt a jogot, hogy kétezer ember élén nézzek farkasszemet a halállal, akik parancsnokságom alatt állanak s ebben az évben negyvenezer darig-omba került, hogy harminc éjen át egymásután vörös ruhában fekhessen a puszta földön s két jó nyillövést kaphassak, amiket még ma is érzek. Ha én tönkreteszem magam ő perzsa felsége szolgálatában, akit sohasem láttam, a biró-satrapa ur is fizethet valamit azért az élvezetért, hogy kihallgatást adjon pörlekedő alattvalóinak. — Babuk telve méltatlankodással, nem állhatta meg, hogy el ne itélje szivében azt az országot, amelyben a béke és háboru tisztségeit a legtöbbet igérőnek adják oda s arra a hirtelen következtetésre jutott, hogy az ily országban sem a háboru tudományát, sem a törvényeket nem ismerhetik s azért, ha Ituriel nem is szánná el magát rá, hogy elpusztitsa ezt a népet, annak már a rossz kormányzás miatt is el kell vesznie.

Ezt a rossz véleményét még megerősitette egy vastag ember megérkezése, aki nagyon bizalmasan üdvözölvén a társaságot, a fiatal tiszthez lépett s igy szólt hozzá: — Csak ötvenezer arany darig-ot kölcsönözhetek önnek, mert igazán mondom, a birodalom vámjai mindössze háromszázezret hoztak az idén. — Babuk megkérdezte, hogy ki volt ez az ember, aki jövedelme csekélységéről panaszkodott s megtudta, hogy Persepolisban negyven plebejus király van, akik bérbevették a perzsa birodalmat s akik valamit juttattak a bevételekből a fejedelemnek.

Ebéd után elment a város egyik legponpásabb templomába s helyet foglalt egy sereg férfi és nő társaságában, akik azért gyültek itt össze, hogy agyonüssék az időt. Egyszerre valami emelvényfélén egy mágus jelent meg, aki hosszasan szónokolt a bünről s az erényről. Ez a mágus több részre osztotta föl azt, amit semmi szükség sem volt fölosztani, rendszeresen bebizonyitotta azt, ami anélkül is világos volt, megtanitott mindazokra, amiket ugy is mindenki tudott, hideg szivvel lelkesedett és megizzadva és elfulladva távozott. Az egész gyülekezet fölébredt erre s abban a hitben élt, hogy valami oktatásban részesült. Babuk pedig igy szólt: — Ime, egy ember, aki tőle telhetőleg mindent elkövet abból a célből, hogy két- vagy háromszáz polgártársát agyonuntassa, de hát a szándéka jó volt s ez nem lehetne ok Persepolis elpusztitására.

Ahogy elhagyta ezt a gyülekezetet, elvezették egy nyilvános ünnepélyre, amelyet az év minden napján megültek. Valami bazilikában folyt az le, amelynek a mélyében egy palota volt látható. Persepolis legszebb polgárnői s legtekintélyesebb satrapái, sorok szerint elhelyezkedve, oly szép látványt nyujtottak, hogy Babuk eleinte azt hitte, ebből áll az egész ünnepély. Az emlitett palota előcsarnokában azonban nem sokára két vagy három személy jelent meg, akik királyoknak és királynőknek látszottak. Nyelvük nagyon eltért a nép nyelvétől, mértékes, zengzetes volt és fenséges a hangzása. Senki sem aludt, mindenki mély csendben figyelt, amelyet csak az általános bámulat és elérzékenyülés jelei szakitottak olykor félbe. A királyok kötelességei, az erény szeretete, a szenvedélyek veszedelme oly élénk és megható jellemvonásokkal jutottak kifejezésre előadásukban, hogy Babuk könnyezett s meg volt róla győződve, hogy mindezek a hősök és hősnők, királyok és királynők, akiket beszélni hallott, a birodalom prédikátorai s föl is tette magában, hogy Iturielt rá fogja beszélni, jöjjön el és hallgassa meg őket, meg lévén róla győződve, hogy ily látvány örökre ki fogja békiteni a várossal.

Mihelyt az ünnepély véget ért, látni óhajtotta azt az első királynőt, aki ebben a szép palotában oly nemes és tiszta erkölcsöket hangoztatott. Be akart tehát mutatkozni őfelségénél. A hátsó lépcsőn, egy a második emeleten lévő kis, szegényes butorozott szobába vezették, amelyben egy hanyagul öltözött nőt talált, aki nemes és pathetikus (szenvedélyes) arckifejezéssel igy szólt hozzá:

— Ebből a mesterségből nem lehet megélni. Azon hercegek egyike, akiket látott, anyává tett, nemsokára meg fogom szülni gyermekemet, pénzem azonban nincs, már pedig pénz nélkül nincs szülés. — Babuk száz aranyat adott neki, mondván: — Ha csak ennyi baj van a városban, Iturielnek semmi oka sincs olyan szörnyü haragra.

Estéjét eltöltendő, innen azokhoz a kereskedőkhöz ment, akik boltjaikban pompás haszontalanságokat árultak. Egy értelmes ember vezette hozzájuk, akivel időközben megismerkedett. Ami megtetszett neki, azt megvette és a kereskedők sok mindent eladtak neki nagy udvariassággal és drágábbért, mint amennyit megértek. Amikor haztértek, barátja fölvilágositotta, hogy mennyire megcsalták. Babuk fölirta a kereskedő nevét, hogy Ituriel külön számoljon majd le vele, a város megbüntetésének napján. Ahogy éppen irt, kopogtak az ajtaján s ugyanaz a kereskedő lépett be, magával hozván Babuk erszényét, amelyet a boltban felejtett. — Hogy lehetséges az, — kiáltott föl Babuk, — hogy ön ily tisztességes és nemeslelkü s viszont nem általta, hogy olyan haszontalanságokat akasszon a nyakamba, négyszeres áron az értékük fölött. — Nincs olyan csak kevéssé neves kereskedő sem ebben a városban, — felelte a kalmár, — aki vissza ne vitte volna az ön erszényét, de azok, akik azt mondják önnek, hogy négyszeres áron adtam el azokat a dolgokat, amiket vásárolt tőlem, megtévesztették, mert én bizony tizszeresen megfizettettem őket. És ez, amit mondok, oly igaz, hogy ha egy hónap mulva el akarná azokat adni, a vételárnak még a tizedrészét sem kapná meg értük. Azonban semmi sem igazságosabb ennél. Ezeknek a haszontalanságoknak az árát az emberek kedvtelése szabja meg, ez a szeszély élteti azt a száz munkást, akiket alkalmazok, ez teszi lehetővé, hogy szép házam, kényelmes kocsim és lovaim legyenek, mert ez mozgatója az iparnak, táplálója az izlésnek, a forgalamnak és a bőségnek. Ugyanezeket a haszontalanságokat még drágábban adom el a szomszéd népeknek, mint önnek s ezen az uton-módon hasznot hajtok a birodalomnak .

Babuk, miután egy kissé eltünődött a mondottakon, kitörölte a kereskedő nevét.

Mivelhogy azonban sehogy sem tudta eldönteni, mit is gondoljon tulajdonképpen Persepolisról, fölkereste a mágusokat és az irástudókat, mert az elsők a bölcsességre, az utóbbiak a vallásra oktatnak s azzal biztatta magát, hogy miattuk a lakosság többi része is kegyelmet fog nyerni. Mindjárt másnap reggel elment hát a mágusok egyik kollégiumába. Az archimandrita (a keleti egyházak nagyobb kolostorainak főnöke) bevallotta neki, hogy szegénységi fogadalma százezer tallér évi jövedelmet hoz neki s alázatossági fogadalma révén ugyancsak széleskörü hatalmat gyakorol, ezek után pedig rábizta Babukot egy papocskára, hogy mutogasson meg neki mindent. Mialatt tehát a barát megszemléltette vele a bünbánatnak ezt a hajlékát, az a hir terjedt el, hogy e házak megreformálása céljából érkezett. Erre a hirre minden oldalról önzönlöttek hozzá a különböző emlékiratok, amelyek lényegükben mind ezt az egyet tartalmazták: — Hagyjon meg bennünket s törőlje el a többit. — A védekezéseket olvasva, ugy találta, hogy ezek a társaságok mind szükségesek, ha pedig kölcsönös vádjaikat mérlegelte, be kellett látnia, hogy valamennyi megérett a pusztulásra. Csodálkozással tapasztalta, hogy egy olyan sem akadt közöttük, mely nem a világ érdekében kivánta volna a világ fölött való uralkodást. S ekkor egy kis ember jelentkezett nála, aki afféle fél-mágus volt s aki igy szólt hozzá: — Látom, hogy a mü beteljesedik, mert Zerdust visszatért a földre, a kis lányokból próféták lesznek, akik elölről fogóval csipkedtetik magukat s megostoroztatják a hátulsó felüket. Igy hát az ön védelmét kérjük a nagy láma (budhista pap) ellen. — Hogyan, — kérdé Babuk, — azon nagy főpap ellen, aki Tibetben (Kinához tartozó ázsiai ország) székel? — Az ellen. — Hát háborut viselnek talán s hadseregeket mozgósitanak ellene? — Nem, de ő azt állitja, hogy az ember szabad, mi meg nem hisszük ezt. Apró könyvecskéket irkálunk ellene, amelyeket ő nem olvas s aligha is hallotta a hirünket és csak megelégszik vele, hogy elitéltessen bennünket, akárcsak egy gazda, aki meghagyja, hogy hernyózzák le a fáit. — Babuk elszörnyedt ez embernek bolondságán, akik bölcseknek vallották magukat s megbotránkozott azokon a cselszövényeken, amelyeket e világi hivságokkal leszámolt bünbánók szövögettek, akik még telve voltak dicsvággyal s gőgös megkivánásokkal, egyidejüleg pedig emberséget és önzetlenséget papoltak. Ugy döntött hát magában, hogy Iturielnek igaza van, amikor el akarja pusztitani ezt a szemétnépet.

Hazatérve, bánata elcsöndesitésére elhozatta az ujonnan megjelent könyveket s néhány irástudót hijt magához ebédre, egy kis szórakozásért. Kétszerannyian érkeztek, mint amenynyit hivott, darazsak módjára, melyeket a méz magához csábit. Ezek a tányérnyalók sokat ettek és sokat locsogtak. Kétféle embert dicsértek agybafőbe: azokat, akik már meghaltak s jómagukat. Kortásaikról azonban egy jó szót sem szóltak, kivéve a ház urát. Ha valamelyikük egy jó viccet mondott, a többi lesütötte a szemét s ajkát harapdálta, afölött való elkeseredésében, hogy az élcet nem ő sütötte el. Kevésbé tudtak szinlelni, mint a mágusok, mert ambicióik tárgyai sokkal szerényebb méretüek voltak. Mindegyikük valami szolgai állásra lesett s a nagy ember hirnevére vágyakozott, egyébiránt szemtől-szembe sértegették egymást, abban a hiszemben, hogy szellemességeket mondanak. Valamit megorrontottak Babuk küldetéséről s egyikük halkan arra kérte, hogy pusztittasson el egy kritikust, aki öt év előtt nem dicsérte ki eléggé, mert az sohasem nevetett a vigjátékain s végül egy harmadik az akadémia megsemmisitését szerette volna, miután sohasem tudott oda bejutni. Az ebéd végével valamennyien egyenként távoztak, mert az egész vendégseregben nem akadt két olyan ember, aki elbirta volna a másik társaságát s csakis a gazdag vendéglátók asztalánál tudtak beszélni egymással. Babuk ugy gondolta, hogy igazán nem lenne nagy kár, ha ezek a férgek elpusztulnának az általános pusztulásban.

Mihelyt megszabadult tőlük, belemélyedt egynéhány uj könyvbe. Fölismerte bennük vendégei szellemét, s különös méltatlankodás fogta el, olvasván a rágalom ez ujságjait, a rossz izlés ez okmánytárait, amelyeket az irigy rosszakarat, az aljasság és az éhség diktáltak, látva ezeket a gyáva gunyiratokat, amelyekben kimélik a keselyüt s széttépik a galambot, ezeket a képzeletszegény regényeket, amelyekben annyi olyan nő arcképe van megfestve, akiket a szerző sohasem ismert.

Tüzbe hajitotta hát ezeket az utálatos irásokat s kiment estefelé a sétatérre. Bemutatták ott egy öreg irástudónak, aki nem volt nála a többi tányérnyalóval. Ez az irástudó kerülte a tömeget, ismerte az embereket, tudta a velük való bánásmódot és megfontoltan nyilatkozott. Babuk panaszkodott előtte azok fölött, amiket olvasott és látott.

— Ön bizony nagyon alacsonyrendü dolgokat olvasott, — mondá neki a bölcs irástudó, — de a rossz minden müfajban, minden időben hemzseg s ami jó, az ritka. Vendégei az irodalom szemetjéből kerülnek ki, mert minden foglalkozásnál azok tolakodnak előtérbe a legnagyobb arcátlansággal, akik erre a legkevésbé jogosultak. Az igazi bölcsek egymás között visszavonulva csöndesen élnek s vannak még közöttünk jeles emberek és oly könyvek, amelyek méltók az ön figyelmére.

Amig igy beszélgettek, egy másik irástudó csatlakozott hozzájuk s társalgásuk oly kellemes, oly tanulságos volt, annyira kiérzett belőle a jóravalóság, hogy Babuk sohasem hallott hozzá hasonlót.

— Ime, — mondá, — ezek olyan emberek, akikhez Ituriel nem mer majd nyulni, ha csak nem akar könyörtelen lenni.

Kibékült hát az irástudókkal, de meg mindig haragudott a nemzet többi részére. — Ön idegen, — mondá neki az a helyes itéletü ember, akivel beszélgetett, — s ezért mig a visszaélések tömegesen föltárulnak szeme előtt, addig a rejtett jót, amely gyakran éppen ezekből a visszaélésekből származik, nem tudja meglátni. — S ekkor előadta neki, hogy az irástudók között is akadnak olyanok, akik nem irigyek és hogy még a mágusok karában is vannak erényes emberek. Megmagyarázta, hogy ezek a nagy testületek, amelyek egymással való surlódásaikban közös romlásuk felé látszanak haladni, alapjában véve üdvös intézmények, hogy a mágusok minden egyes társasága fékül szolgál a másikra nézve s hogy ha bizonyos véleményekben eltérések is vannak közöttük, valamennyien ugyanazt az erkölcsöt tanitják, nevelik a népet, tisztelik a törvényeket s olyanok, mint a tanitók, akik vigyáznak a ház gyermekeire, fölöttük pedig a mester őrködik. Babuk egynéhánnyal megismerkedett közülök s földöntuli jellemeket ismert meg bennük. S még arra is rájött, hogy azok között is, akik háboruskodni látszottak a nagy lámával, igen nagy emberek találkoztak. Sejteni kezdte, hogy Persepolis erkölcseivel is ugy állhat a dolog, mint azokkal az épületekkel, amelyeket a városban látott: egyik-másik szánalmasnak tünt föl előtte s viszont akadtak közöttük olyanok is, amelyeket kénytelen volt megcsodálni.

— Nagyon belátom, — felelt az irástudónak, — hogy ezek a mágusok, akiket oly veszedelmesnek tartottam, a valóságban nagyon hasznosak, különösen, ha egy jó kormány meg tudja akadályozni, hogy nagyon is szükségesek legyenek. Vallja be azonban legalább, hogy fiatal biróik, akik mihelyt megtanultak lovagolni, birói széket vásárolnak maguknak, az igazságszolgáltatás terén a legnevetségesebb arcátlanságot tárják föl közszemlére s a leggonoszabb jogtalanságnak nyujtanak tápot. Bizonyára többet érne, ha helyüket ingyen azok az öreg tudósok foglalnák el, akik egész életükben megtanulták mérlegelni az érveket és ellenérveket.

Az irástudó ekként válaszolt neki:

— Mielőtt Persepolisba érkezett láthatta, hogy fiatal titsztjeink nagyon jól harcolnak, pedig pénzen vásárolták a rangjukat. Talán meg fogja figyelni azt is, hogy fiatal biráink sem itélkeznek rosszul, ámbár megfizették birói székük birtokát.

Elmentek hát másnap a főtörvényszékre, ahol fontos itélet volt kihirdetendő. Az ügyet mindenki ismerte. Azok az öreg ügyvédek, akik beszéltek róla, haboztak határozott véleményt nyilvánitani s száz törvényt hoztak föl, amelyek közül egyik sem érintette a pör velejét. Száz oldalról vizsgálták a kérdést s egyikről sem tudták helyes világitásban meglátni. A birák gyorsabban itéltek, semmint az ügyvédek kételkedtek s itéletük egyhangu volt. Nemcsak egyhangu, de helyes is, mert a józan ész vezette őket, mig az ügyvédek rosszul okoskodtak, mert csak könyveiktől kértek tanácsot.

Babuk azt a következtetést vonta le ebből, hogy a visszaélésekben gyakran igen jó dolgok is rejtőzködhetnek. Sőt ezen a napon még azt is meglátta, hogy a pénzemberek gazdagsága is, mely annyira fölháboritotta, jó hatással lehet, mert a császárnak pénzre lévén szüksége, segélyükkel egy órán belül megszerezhette azt az összeget, amelyet rendes uton hat hónap alatt sem tudott volna megkapni. Látta azt, hogy ezek a vaskos felhők, telve a föld harmatjával, eső képében visszajuttatták neki mindazt, amit kaptak tőle. Különben is ez uj emberek gyermekei, akik igen sokszor jobb nevelésben részesültek, mint a régi családok fiai, sok esetben többet is értek azoknál, mert az, hogy valakinek az apja jól tudott számolni, nem állja utját annak, hogy jó biró, vitéz katona és ügyes államférfi váljék belőle.

Babuk észrevétlenül megkegyelmezett a financier kapzsiságának, mely lényegében nem különbözik más emberek kapzsiságától s amely szükséges. Megértette azt a bolondságot is, hogy valaki anyagilag tönkreteszi magát, azért, hogy mint biró itélkezhessék és mint katona harcolhasson, mert ez a bolondság nagy birákat és nagy hősöket termel. Megbocsátotta az irástudóknak irigységüket, akik között az emberiség világitótornyai akadnak, kibékült a dicsvágyó és cselszövő mágusokkal, akik sorában több nagy erényre, semmint apró bünökre bukkant, de hát még mindig elég kifogásolni valója maradt s különösen a nők galantériája s az abból keletkező nagy bajok nyugtalansággal és félelemmel töltötték el.

Miután ismerni óhajtotta az öszszes emberi életviszonyokat, elvezettette magát egy miniszterhez, de mindig attól reszketett, hogy valamelyik férj a jelenlétében fogja megölni a feleségét. Ahogy megérkezett az államférfiuhoz, két órán keresztül kellett várakoznia, mielőtt bejelentették volna s ismét két órán át, miután már bejelentették. Ez időközben megfogadta, hogy ugy a minisztert, valamint szemtelen ajtónállóit Ituriel angyal figyelmébe fogja ajánlani. Az előszoba mindenféle rétegbeli hölggyel, mindenféle szinü mágussal, birákkal, tisztekkel és tanférfiakkal volt tele és valamennyien a miniszterre panaszkodtak. A fösvény és az uzsorás igy szóltak: Kétségtelen, hogy ez az ember megdézsmálja a tartományokat, a szeszélyesek szemére vetették bizarrságát, a kéjenc kifogásolta, hogy csak gyönyörüségeinek él, a cselszövő abban bizakodott, hogy nemsokára elbukik valami intrika folytán, a nők pedig abban reménykedtek, hogy nemsokára fiatalabb miniszter kerül a helyére.

Babuk hallgatta ezeket a beszédeket s nem állhatta meg, hogy igy ne szóljon: — Boldog ember! Ime, minden ellensége ebben az előszobában van, ő pedig eltiporja hatalmával minden irigyét s lábai előtt hevernek mindazok, akik gyülölik. — Végül bejutott s egy kicsiny, az évek és az ügyek sulya alatt meggörnyedt, de még mindig élénk és szellemdus aggastyánt látott maga előtt.

Babuk megtetszett neki s ő viszont tiszteletre méltó embert ismert meg benne. Társalgásuk érdekessé vált. A miniszter bevallotta neki, hogy fölötte szerencsétlen. Gazdag ember hirében áll, de szegény, mindenhatónak tartják s mindenben ellenkeznek vele, lekötelezettjei nem ismerik a hálát s negyven évi fáradságos munkája alatt alig volt derült pillanata. Babuk elérzékenyült s ugy gondolta, hogy ha Ituriel angyal meg akarja büntetni ezt az embert, nem kell elpusztitania, hanem csak meg kell hagynia a hivatalában.

Mialatt a miniszterrel beszélgetett, hirtelen az a szép hölgy rontott be, akihez ebédre volt meghiva. Széméből és homlokán meglátszott a fájdalom és a harag. Szemrehányásokkal halmozta el az államférfit, sirt s keservesen panaszkodott, hogy megtagadták férjétől azt az állást, amelyre születésénél fogva igényt tarthatott s amely szolgálatainál és sebeinél fogva megillette. Oly erélyesen beszélt, annyi bájjal füszerezte panaszát s oly ékesszólóan védelmezte igazát, hogy mikor a szobából kikerült, férje szerencséjét kivivta.

Babuk kezet fogott vele, mondván: — Lehetséges-e, asszonyom, hogy ön ennyi fáradságot pazarolt egy emberre, akit nem szeret s akitől minden tekintetben félnie kell? — Egy emberre, akit nem szeretek? — kiáltotta föl a hölgy. — Tudja meg, hogy férjemnél jobb barátom nincs a világon s nincs semmi, amit áldozatul ne hoznék érte, kivéve a szeretőmet s ő is mindent megtenne értem, azon kivül, hogy elhagyja a kedvesét. Akarom, hogy megismerkedjék azzal a hölggyel, oly bájos, szellemes teremtés s a legnemesebb jellem. Ma este együtt vacsorázunk férjemmel és kis mágusommal, jöjjön el, vegyen részt örömünkben.

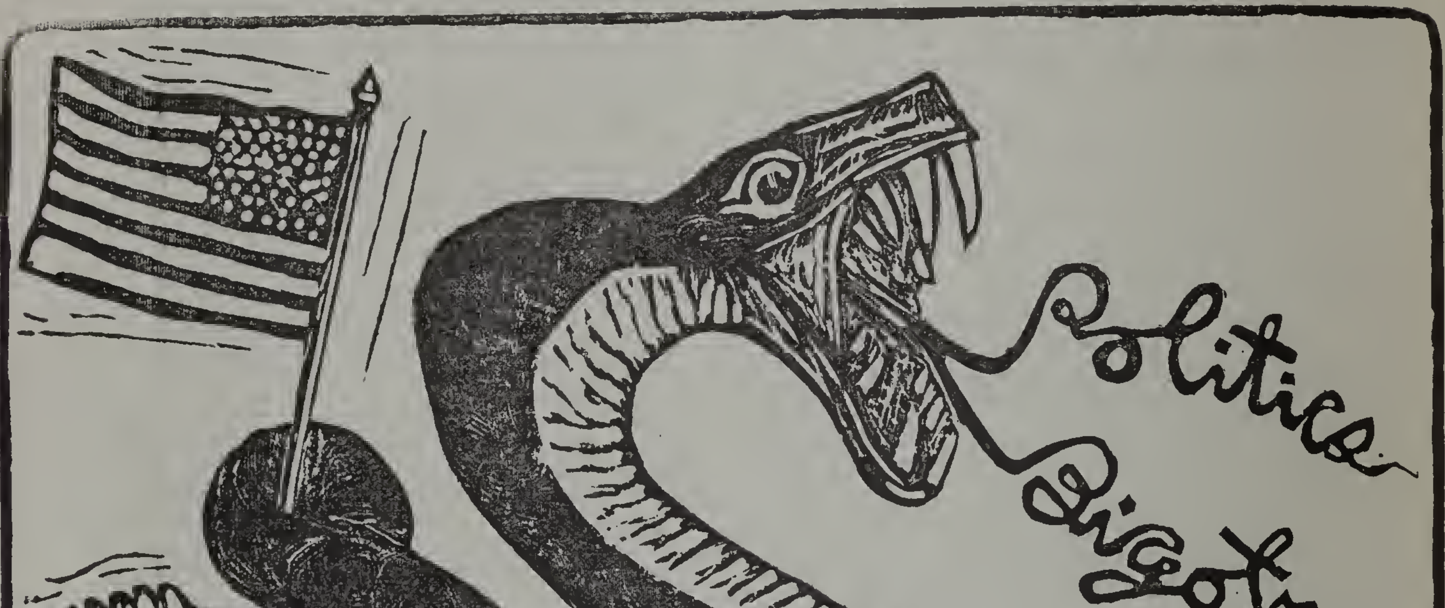
A hölgy el is vitte magával Babukot. A férj, aki végre bánatterhesen megérkezett, a legnagyobb hálával és kitörő vidámsággal látta viszont feleségét. Sorban megölelte hitvesét, a szeretőjét, a kis mágust és Babukot. Az együttérzés, a vidámság, a szellem és a kecsesség uralkodtak e vacsora alatt.

— Tanulja meg, — mondá Babuknak a szép hölgy, akinél vacsorázott, — hogy azok, akiket gyakorta nem tisztességes nőknek neveznek, igen sokszor érnek annyit, mint egy nagyon tisztességes férfi és hogy meggyőződjék állitásom igazságáról, jöjjön el velem holnap vacsorára a szép Téonehoz. Akad ugyan egynéhány elaggott vesztaszüz (papnő), akik nagyokat karmolnak rajta, de ő maga több jót tesz, mint azok együttvéve, a világ minden kincséért sem követné el a legkisebb igazságtalanságot, szeretőjének a legnemesebb lélekre valló tanácsokat adja, csakis az ő dicsőségével van elfoglalva és az viszont pirulna előtte, ha a jó cselekedetre kinálkozó legkisebb alkalmat is elszalasztaná. Mert semmi sem buzdit annyira nemes tettekre, mint annak a szeretőnek a tanusága és birálata, akinek becsülését birni akarjuk.

Babuk ott is volt a találkán. Oly házat látott, amelyben minden gyönyörüség föl volt található. Téone uralkodott fölöttük. Mindenkivel a maga nyelvén tudott csevegni, természetes szelleme fesztelnné tette a többieket, tetszett anélkül, hogy kereste volna a tetszést, époly szeretetreméltó volt, mint jótékony és szép, ami kidomboritotta minden jó tulajdonságát.

Babuk minden skytha-volta és minden angyali megbizatása ellenére érezte, hogyha még továbbra is Persepolisban marad, Téone kedvéért el fogja felejteni Iturielt. Megszerette azt a várost ,amelynek népe udvarias, szelid és jótékony volt, ámbátor könnyelnyelmü és telve hivságokkal. Félt Persepolis elitélésétől és félt előadandó jelentésétől.

Ime, hogy számolt be küldetéséről: A város legjobb ötvösével öntetett egy kis szobrot, amelynek anyaga a legdrágább és legközönségesebb fémekből, a legbecsebb és leghaszontalanabb kövekből és földből volt összekeverve s elvitte azt Iturielnek. — Össze fogod-e törni ezt a szobrocskát, — kérdé tőle, — azért, mert nem minden arany és gyémánt benne? — Ituriel megértette a célzást s elhatározta, hogy nem is gondol Persepolis megjavitására s rábizta a világra, haladjon a maga utján. — Mert, — mondá, — ha minden nem is jó, minden türhető benne. — Igy hát Persepolis megmaradt s Babuk távolról sem sajnálkozott ezen, nem ugy, mint Jónás, aki fájlalta, hogy nem pusztitották el Ninivét. De hát ha valaki három napig egy cethal gyomrában élt, nem olyan jókedvü, mint az, aki az operában volt, vigjátékokban gyönyörködött s jó társaságban vacsorázott.



A munkásfaló Dies Committee méregzacskóiból a politikai bigottság mérge lövel ki.

KOZMA ANDOR

KARÁCSONYI MEGLEPETÉS

EDUS ur, aki igen takarékos, rendes hivatalnok-ember, az imént elmult karácsonyi ünnepek előtt azt mondta csinos feleségecskéjének, hogy egy okos szót akar vele szólani.

— Asszony! A mi házi budgetünket minden esztendőben megzavarják a kölcsönös karácsonyi ajándékozgatások. Nem hagynók végre el ezt a bolond szokást?

— Dehogynem, lelkem. Már én is gondoltam erre, de nem mertem szólni. Mert hiába, nekem mégis jól esett, hogy karácsonyra mindig meglephettelek valami csekélységgel, csak azt rösteltem, hogy te meg ilyenkor rendesen nagy költségbe verted magadat miattam. Jobb lesz, igazán jobb, ha végét vetjük ennek.

Persze. A nélkül is tudjuk, hogy szeretjük egymást.

— Világos. És végre sem vagyunk már holmi mézes-heteket élő gyerek házaspár.

— Tehát karácsonyi programmunk. semmi ajándék!

— Semmi ajándék!

— S ha lenne is felesleges pénzünk, amint hogy nem szokott lenni: azt inkább félretesszük a takarékpénztárba.

— Igen okos gondolat! Tehát ne haragudjál Eduskám, ha én neked az idén semmi karácsonyi ajándékot nem veszek.

— Bolondos asszony, hát hogy haragudnám, mikor magam kérlek rá? Csak azután neked se fájjon, ha karácsonyestén üres kézzel jövök haza.

És ezzel teljes volt az egyezmény. Meg is pecsételték egy édes, okos, takarékos csókkal.

A mint azonban a karácsony mindinkább közeledett s a kirakatok fénye, a reklám zaja s a vásárló tömegek hullámzása mind jobban kezdték izgatni az embert, Edus urat meglepte az érzelgés.

— Szegény kis feleségem! — sóhajtozá magában — hát ezen a világon minden asszonyt érjen valami kedves karácsonyi meglepetés, csak éppen téged ne? Önzés, csunya fukarság volt tőlem az az inditvány, amelyet ő olyan önzetlenül szavazott meg, pedig az uj családi törvénnyel csak ő veszit sokat. Én, a blazirt férfi, vajmi könnyen viselem el, ha karácsonyra nem kapok három uj selyemnyakkendőt, mert hiszen amennyi nyakkendőre nekem szükségem van, annyit ugy is veszek. De ő, a szegény asszonyka, mikor jut valami kis ékszerhez, ha karácsonykor nem?

A sok érzelgő tünődésnek természetesen az lett a vége, hogy Edus ur, már három nappal karácsony előtt, elszántan betoppant egy ékszerész boltba. Ott ugy kezdte, hogy csak valami csekély emléket akar vásárolni s ugy végezte, hogy rajta maradt egy gyémántos arany nyaktü 150 forintért.

Mikor kijött a boltból, kissé meg volt illetődve. Ilyen drága karácsonya még nem igen volt. De vigasztalta s felderitette az a gondolat, hogy ez alkalommal igazán nagy meglepetést szerez a karácsonyfiával feleségének. Mert máskor mindig tudta az asszony, hogy kap valamit, de most a bölcs megegyezés után épen semmit sem vár.

Mivel pedig a szent estéig az asszonynak sejteni sem szabad, hogy immár kutba esett az egyezmény, Edus ur hazaérve, ki sem merte zsebéből venni a tüt, hanem szépen beletüzte s megkapcsolta azt kabátja belső zsebének selyem bélésébe. Azután, nehogy az elvesztés veszedelmének tegye ki a drága ajándékot, szépen levetette a kabátját s beakasztotta szekrénye belső sarkába. Más kabátot vett, a szekrényt becsukta s a kulcsot zsebre tette, mint rendesen.

Feleségének feltünt a kabát-váltás. Edus ur ugy magyarázta meg neki, hogy rösteli már amazt a kabátot viselni, annyira kopott és ócska.

A karácsony szent este még le sem

szállt mikor Edus ur már délutáni hivatalából is haza ment. Majd kifurta az oldalát a drága tü, bárha a szekrényben lógó kabát zsebébe volt is az beszurva. Alig várta, hogy elsüsse a nagy meglepetést, amelyen végtelen fog örvendezni az asszony, mialatt azt tételi majd, mintha az egyezség megtöréséért haragudnék.

De Edus ur, amint otthon a szobájába lépett, rögtön észrevette, hogy az asszony megelőzte és lefőzte őt.

Iróasztala előtt ugyanis fényes világitásban ott állott már egy gyönyörü faragott karosszék. Amolyan remeke a székipari leleményességnek: elől csucsba sarkal ki az ülődeszkája, karjait felmeredő hegyes kis piramisok czifrázzák, támlája pedig ijedt hirtelenséggel homoruan huzódik vissza az egész diszbutordarabtól. Szóval igazi karácsonyi ajándékszék: igen célszerü, csak éppen ülni nem lehet rajta.

—Ne haragudjál édes Eduskám — szólt a kedves asszony, férje nyakába omolva — én nem tudtam megállani, hogy ezzel a csekélységgel meg ne lepjelek.

— Ej, ej szivem, hát a megegyezésünk?

— Biz azt megszegtem, de ugy-e tudod, hogy szeretetből tettem? S ne félj, nem zavarja ám meg ez a csekélység a budgetemet.

Edus ur ezt ugyan nem vette egész komolyan, mert azt a csekélységet becsülte vagy negyven-ötven forintra. De persze, eszébe sem volt most a dolog prózai odalát szóvá tenni. Sőt inkább — tudván, hogy az egyezményszegésben ő maga még inkább ludas — hamiskodni kezdett.

— No szegény asszonykám, te ugyan rosszul jártál ez idén. Mert én nem szegtem ám meg az egyezményt. Igy én most kaptam karácsonyfiát tőled, te meg nem kapsz tőlem semmit.

— Nem baj az, csak szeress.

— Azért, nehogy tulságosan elszomorodjál, hát . . . hát . . . én mindenekelőtt hadd váltsak kabátot.

És Edus ur, levetette kabátját, kinyitotta a szekrényt, mely korántsem volt olyan tömött, mint három nappal azelőtt.

Edus ur idegesen, szinte remegve kutatott a ruhadarabok között.

— Hol az én sötétkék régi kabátom?

— Azt vennéd fel? Hiszen az már olyan ócska, hogy nem viselheted.

— Mindegy, hol van?

— Ugyan, miért keresed éppen azt?

— Add ide rögtön! . . . Meg nem foghatom, én magam akasztottam ide be, a kulcs nálam volt s most még sincs itt . . . Hogyan van ez?

— Aranyos Eduskám ne neheztelj érte: én tegnap reggel, mig aludtál, a kulcsoddal kinyitottam a szekrényt s a leviselt ócska ruháidat . . .

— Mit? Mit tettél az ócska ruháimmal?

— Eladtam egy handlénak.

— Jaj nekem! . . . Csakugyan? A kék kabátot is?

— Azt is. Az árukból vettem neked a karácsonyi meglepetést.

— Szerencsétlen asszony! S a zsebeket nem kutattad ki?

— De igen.

— S nem találtál egy gyémántos arany nyaktüt?

— Nem.

— Borzasztó! S mit kaptál a kék kabátért?

— 3 forint 75 krajcárt.

— Rettenes! Maga a tü, ami bele volt tüzve a belső zsebébe, 150 forintot ért.

— Jézus Máriám! Igazán?

— Igazán. Neked vettem karácsonyi meglepetésül. No, ez aztán szép meglepetés!

— Eduskám bocsáss meg, nem tehetek róla.

— Ne beszélj már, mondd meg legalább a handléd nevét?

— Nem tudom.

— A formáját.

— Vörös haja volt s nagy kampós orra. Rosszul volt öltözve, fején egy puha kalap felette egy kemény kalapot s még felette egy czilindert is viselt.

— Ebből nem igazodom utána. Legalább a lakását mondd meg.

— Várj csak, — azt megmondta, hogy érte küldhessek, ha megint kedvem lenne valami üzletre. Hanem azt is elfeledtem. Hadd gondolkozzam csak . . . Ah, tudom már: az ucca neve "r"-el kezdődik.

— Rombach ucca?

— Nem.

— Révay ucca?

— Nem.

— Rottenbiller ucca?

— Nem, nem . . . Igaz, megvan már: Szerecsen ucca.

— És ez kezdődik neked "r"-el? Ó, asszony, asszony!

— Tudtam, hogy van benne "r" betü és csakugyan van is.

— Számot, házszámot!

— Az vagy 3, vagy 13, vagy 53.

— Vedd a bundádat, hamar! Kocsiba ülünk s felhajtjuk a tüt, ha még lehetséges.

A házaspár fiákerba vetette magát s lóhalálban hajtatott Szerecsen ucca 3, 13 és 53 szám alá. Mindenütt, amerre és ahová csak mentek, karácsonyfák ragyogtak már az ablakokban. Amint beléptek egy-egy házba, ezzel a kérdéssel rohanták meg a házmestert:

Nem lakik itt egy handlé?

Mind a három házban lakott átlag három s ők benyitottak mind a kilenczhez. Mind a kilencz a gyermekserege közepén örvendezett a karácsonynak, nagy szemet meresztett a berohanó urra és hölgyre.

— Nem ez, ujra nem ez!

Aztán sorra vettek a Szerecsen uccában minden olyan házat, amelynek számában utolsónak volt benn a "3" számjegy. A keresett handlé nem volt meg.

Reményeikben csüggedten, megpróbálták megforditani a szám-spekulációt. Most azokat a házakat fogják még végig ostromolni, amelyek számában az első számjegy volt a "3".

S ime, amint a 31-ik számu házban a második handlé lakásába nyitottak be, a karácsonyfa előtt ujjongó kis vöröshaju gyermekek közül boldogan meredt ki az apa: a kampós orru, vörös haju handlé. S mi több — ünneplő gyanánt rajta volt Edus ur ócska kék kabátja.

— Ez az, ez az!

Edus ur, nagy ámulatára a karácsonyt ünneplő családnak, egyetlen szó nélkül, mint valami szerető rokon rohant a családapára s átölelve kezét a kék kabát belső zsebébe mélyesztette.

— Mit akar az ur? Mindjárt rendőrért kiáltok.

— Ne kiáltson, édes barátom, megvan már!

És diadalmasan huzta ki a zseb bélésébe rejtett gyémántos aranytüt.

Néhány perc mulva mindenki mindent megértett s mindenki örvendezett azon, hogy a derék handlé még nem adott tul a kabáton, hanem "mint valódi uraságtól levetett" csinos darabot, magának tartotta meg azt.

Edusék még soha sehol sem töltöttek vigabb karácsonyestét, mint a vörös handlééknál a Szerecsen ucca 31-ik szám alatt.

De az is bizonyos, hogy soha még annyi pénzükbe nem került a karácsonyi meglepetés, mint most, mikor előre megegyeztek volt abban, hogy ki nem adnak a karácsonyi meglepetésre egy fillért sem.

FALU—VÁROS

Vén világváros kavargó zajában
Örülni, élni mennyi sziv akar!

Vásári bódék eresze árnyában
Sok kopottbundás szomoru magyar
Talyigákkal a jó szerencsét várja,
Hogy valahol tán Munka is akad,
S nem kell gyujtani szortyogó pipára
és tétlenkedni szabad ég alatt!

Pereg az óra, repülnek a napok;
A hit, reménység egyre kevesebb:
Szent munka napja föl nem ragyog,
Több már a rongy, szivünkben a seb.

Szemünkben csodásan lobban a láng,
Ahogy cammognak szénásszekerek,
Egyszerre mind földéhes, falánk..
Az öregjének könnye is pereg.

Keserüség kél a futó örömből —
Tisza tájékán jár a gondolat..
Ott késnek, hol a drága anyaföldből
A sors nekik tán sohasem is ad!
Pedig, ó hányszor esenkedve kérték,
Ó, érte mennyi ember lelke fáj!
De — mint a hold — betelik majd a
mérték
S nem sir többé a falu, rög, a táj.

Tuba Károly

AMBRUS ZOLTÁN

RUHA TESZI AZ EMBERT

MAGÁBA mélyedve ült és egy levele felett gondolkodott a tanár. Z. Virág Ella! — ki lehet ez a Z.? És ujra elolvasta a levelet, lassan tagolva, hogy talán talál benne valamit, ami emlékeztetni fogja, a levél igy szólt:

> “Igen tisztelt Tanár Ur, nagyon lekötelezne, ha sulyosan beteg férjemet meglátogatni kegyeskednék. Egyes egyedül önben van bizalmam. Kérem ne fosszon meg attól, ami egyetlen reménységem.
>
> Z. Virág Ella, Kárpát-szálló.”

Ebből persze nem derült ki, hogy ki rejtőzik a Z. betü alatt.

Az asszonyra emlékezett egy kevéssé, abból az időből, amikor Z. Virág Ellát még K. vagy I. Virág Ellának nevezték. Virág Ella tudniillik volt már A. Virág Ella, B. Virág Ella, C. Virág Ella és igy tovább, végig az ábéczé minden betüjén. Ahány szinházi szezón, annyiszor cserélt névbetüt és férjet. Néha, szezón közepén, ugy választotta meg férjét, hogy a névbetüt azért ne kellessen megváltoztatnia. Kiss például ennek köszönhette, hogy Kovács után éppen ő következett. Néha meg egyáltalán nem ment férjhez, csakhogy névbetüjét megtarthassa; ennek tuljadonitható például, hogy mikor Bajort otthagyta, Margitházyval csak ugynevezett müvész-házasságot kötött. Mégis, az idők folyamán, kihasználta az egész ábéczét.

— Szép szokás, jó szokás — merengett a tanár.

Arra a szokásra gondolt, hogy a müvésznők a férj nevének rendszerint csak az első betüjét nyomtatják ki a szinlapra. Ennek az az előnye, hogy ha az ember elválik a férjétől, nem kénytelen boldogságával egyszersmind a müvészi nevét is feláldozni. Az ember férjhez megy máshoz és elhagyja a névbetüt, amint leveti az ingét és másikat vesz magára.

A Virág Ella név — hála a régi, jó szokásnak — ismeretes volt Kárpátoktól Adriáig. Remeteként a környékben kellett élnie annak, aki ennek a névnek a viselőjét Postás Milkában nem látta. De a tanár, mikor még ifju és bohó volt, a magánéletben is többször találkozott Virág Ellával. Ezek a találkozások nem igen hagytak mélyebb nyomot a komoly férfiu lelkében, s meglehet, a müvésznőt végképpen elfelejtette volna, ha nem vésődik emlékezetébe egy vidám kis eset, mely a Virág Ella hirnevének bizonyos maradandóságot biztositott. Egy kirándulás alkalmával ugyanis valami tréfás ur leveli békát dugott a müvésznő kivágott ruhájában, s akik látták, milyen ijedten, milyen hosszasan s milyen gyermeteg bájjal kereste meg a müvésznő a békát: Virág Ellát többé nem felejthették el. Olyan egyszerü volt, mint maga a természet.

— Ki lehet ez a Z.? — ismételte a tanár magában. — Szinész vagy civil?

Ez a kérdés azért érdekelte, mert a szinészek — tisztelet a kivételnek — nem nagy hitelnek örvendtek előtte. És egy darabig habozott, hogy ne az asszisztensét küldje-e a Kárpát-szállóba? De aztán felébredt benne a kiváncsiság: vajjon hogyan fest pár év multán ez az egészséges nő, aki, ha a tanár ur névbetüjét nem is nyomathatta ki a szinlapra, ezt vele annak idején egy cseppet se éreztette?! . . .

S végre elhatározta, hogy majd ő maga megy el. Személyesen, mintha egy biboroshoz hivnák.

Előbb persze ebédelni ment a Portugál király-ba s minthogy éppen ez az emlék járt a fejében, részletesen elmesélte társaságának a béka-históriát. Valaki tudta, hogy Virág Ella utóljára egy kövérségéről ismeretes komikushoz ment férjhez, s mások is elmondtak néhány béka-élményt. Három órakor aztán a tanár megkezdte körjáratát; sorra látogatta a beteg zászlósurakat s félhat tájban megérkezett a Kárpát-szállodába.

A Kárpát-szálló vidékén a tanár hintója méltó feltünést keltett. Mialatt fenn járt, egész csődület támadt a két nyönyörü fekete ló körül, amelyeket a tanár Oroszországból hozatott. A borotvált arcu, cilinderes, fekete libériás kocsis egy egyiptomi isten fenségével ült a bakon; keresztbe font két karja meg se moccant. A levegőbe nézett és nem látta meg a körülötte őgyelgő, bámész csőcseléket.

A tanár ezalatt mesés bundájában, melyet a walesi herczeg is megnézett volna, méltósággal haladt a lift felé, az alázatosan hajlongó szálló-személyzet kettős sorfala között. Arcza komoly volt, de nem szigoru. Homlokán ott ült annak tudata, hogy ahol ő megjelenik, a halál ijedten menekül le a lépcsőn, s ki a hátulsó kapun.

Virág Ella egy olyan kis előszobában fogadta, hogy a csodálatos bunda számára alig találtak helyet.

— Milyen szerencsétlenség! — siránkozott a müvésznő. — És éppen most! Vendégszerepelni hivták vidékre; az igazgató négy estét biztosit, s mind a négy este a Kis Kadét-ot kellene játszanom. Ó, kedves tanár ur, gyógyitsa meg az uramat, s mondja meg-hogy elutazhatom-e?!

A bánat határozottan igen kövérré tette.

— Nem lesz baj, nem lesz baj — vigasztalta a tanár.

A hangja olyan volt, mint a szelid orgonaszó; tömjénillatnak könnyü, finom parfőn terjengett körülötte. Ella szeretett volna kezet csókolni neki.

— Első ijedtségünkben — mentegetőzött — elhivattuk azt az orvost, akit a legközelebb kaptunk. Az illető éppen itt van. A szomszédból hozták s nem nagyon bizom a tudományában.

— Nem baj, nem baj — szólt kegyesen a tanár. — Majd utasitásokat adok neki és jelentést fog tenni nekem.

Benyitott a beteg szobájába; valaki az ágy mellől felállt és köszöntötte. A tanár biccentett, de nem nézett oda. Tekintetét az ágyra irányozta s arca felöltötte azt a felsőbbséges, de egyszersmind jóságos kifejezést, mely a magasztosabb pillanatokban Paulai Szent Vinczéhez tette hasonlóvá.

Mikor az ágyhoz ért, majdnem elnevette magát, Zengei feküdt előtte az ismert komikus, a bohózatok alakjainak legvidámabb személyesitője, azzal a kacagtatóan siralmas ábrázattal, mely a tanár urat minden szinpadi látványosság közül a legjobban mulattatta.

Zengeinek tudniillik a rémült arc volt a különlegessége; ebben a tekintetben egy szinész se versengett vele. Ha komoly akart lenni: nem lehetett ránézni mosoly nélkül; ha tekintélyes, zord, tragikus arcot vágott: senki se állhatta meg, hogy el ne nevesse magát; de ha telihold formáju husos arcán az aggodalom, ijedtség vagy éppen a rémület kifejezése jelent meg: az egész nézőtér rengett a kacagástól. Ennek az ijedelemnek a gyermekessége és a nevettetően vén arc között olyan sajátosságos, meglepő és furcsa ellentét volt, mely soha se téveszthette el hatását.

Most, isszonyu halálfélelmében, nevetségesebb volt, mint valaha.

— Végem van, tanár ur, végem van! — rikoltozott, mint a szinpadon szokta.

— Ej, akinek nagy baja van, az nincs igy a hangjánál! — enyelgett a tanár, s ezekből a nyugtató szavakból mintha balzsam csepegett volna.

— De, ugy-e, nem hagyhatom magára? — aggódott az ágy körül szorgoskodó müvésznő.

A tanár hozzáfogott a vizsgálathoz, és amint munkájában előrehaladt, az apostoli szelidség egyre fokozódott az arcán. Egy kicsit messziről és egy kicsit röviden tanulmányozta a beteget de azzal a biztonság-érzettel, mely az intuicióval megáldottaknál szinte megkettőzi az éleslátást és pótolja a részletekbe való tulságos elmélyedést. Nem időzött sokáig egyes külsőségeknél, ellenben gondosan figyelte meg a beteg érverését.

A gyönyörü óra, melyet kezében tartott, csodálatos remeke volt az iparmüvészetnek. A briliántokkal kirakott kis ékszer egy zsebóra alaku üvegburkolat felső részében rejtőzött; mutatólapját belehetett volna fedni egy körmöczi arannyal. Inkább herczegnők kezébe való játékszernek látszott, és mégis minta-pontossággal mutatta az időt. Nyilván fejedelmi óragyüjtők számára készült és párja nem volt sehol a világon.

Ezt az órát a nagylelküség egy rohamában Törköly gróf ajándékozta a tanárnak; Törköly gróf maga kétezer forintért szerezte meg a müvész-óriások egyik utolsó mohikánjától. A gróf másnap már megbánta a nagylelküséget; s visszaváltotta volna az órát háromezer forintért.

— Kilencvenkilenc, száz, százegy, számlálta a tanár az érütést magában, és észrevette, hogy Virág Ella nem tudja levenni a szemét az ezeregyéji drágaságról. Ez a néma hódolat határozottan megjavitotta a müvésznőről táplált véleményét.

De egyszersmind elhatározta, hogy a bucsuzás alkalmával kimértebb hangon fog beszélni a régi ismerőssel. A régi ismerős még készpénznek veheti az udvariasságot s talán ábrándokba ringatja magát. Már pedig a felesleges bizalmasságot annyival inkább el kell háritania, mert ime, a Z. betü is veszendőben van . . .

— Nem lesz baj, nem lesz baj — bátoritotta a beteget, miután a vizsgálatot befejezte. — Egy hét mulva már nem lesz semmi baj.

Kezet fogott a beteggel és félreszólitotta a kartárs urat.

Szép, meleg tekintetével csak most tisztelte meg az uccáról hozott kollegát. Ezzel ugyan aligha fog találkozni még egyszer: a zászlósurak betegszobajában. Középkoru, szürke ember volt; szürke a haja, bajusza, szakálla, s szürke a ruhája. Erről a ruháról lerítt, hogy készen vásárolták, valamelyik nagy ruharaktárban, hamincz forintért.

— Hát kérem, kartárs ur — szólt halkan, hogy a szoba másik részében ne hallják — ez: meningitis basilaris tuberculosa. Az embernek menthetetlenül vége. Alkalmazza, kérem, a szokásos szereket.

— Hogyan méltóztatott mondani tanár ur? — . . . szólt meglepetten a kartárs ur és fölemelte a szemüvegét.

Mintha mondani akart volna valamit. A tanár ur azonban, akinek már ez a kérdés se tetszett, egy mozdulattal, mely nem türt semmi fölösleges megjegyzést, véget vetett az orvosi tanácskozásnak. A kartárs ur visszament a beteg ágyához. Virág Ella pedig kikisérte a tanár urat.

— Nos? . . . — szepegett a müvésznő, a mikor kiértek az előszobába.

— Édes asszonyom, nem titkolhatom el, hogy a baj felette sulyos. A beteg azonban erős szervezetü s igy nem kell felhagynunk minden reménynyel.

— E szerint nem utazhatom el? — kérdezte Virág Ella lesujtottan.

A tanár ur egyet nyelt, mint aki nem akarja kimondani az egész gondolatát.

— Egyelőre nem ajánlom, hogy elutazzék. Ellenkezőleg, jó lesz, ha ápolónőt is hivat, mert — sajnos — kinos éjszakák következhetnek, amikor egyedül nem igen fogja birni az ápolást. Különben, minthogy a kezelést a kolléga urra kell biznom, elláttam őt a szükséges utasitásokkal . . . Megbizhatik benne.

— Istenem, ez a sörszagu ember! — kétségeskedett Virág Ella.

— Ó, igen értelmes orvosnak ismerjük! Mi is a neve? . . .

— Én bizony nem tudom . . .

— Mindegy. Szóval, ha a kolléga urnak kétségei volnának, csak forduljanak hozzám bizalommal. Én ez esetben, ha Budapesten leszek, mindenesetre eljövök.

A tanár ur hazahajtatott, átöltözött, és elnézett az Operába. A harmadik felvonás után a Portugál király-ba ment vacsorázni, osztrigát evett és végképpen elfelejtette a Zengei-párt.

A sörszagu ember, mint a sokgyermekes családfők általában, módfelett tisztelte a tekintélyeket, de nem utálta közelebbről is megnézni a beteget.

— Hát biz ez tifusz, — szólt magában, — de a tifuszból meg lehet gyógyulni.

És nem törődött többé a tanár ur utasitásával, hanem végezte dolgát, ugy, ahogy legjobbnak gondolta.

Virág Ella öt napig maga volt a némakétségbeesés . A hatodik napon azonban már megszokta az állapotot és ettől fogva nagyon kezdte nyugtalanitani, hogy mi lesz a Kis Kadét-tal?

— Édes doktor ur, — szólt egy

este a szürke emberhez, aki naponta háromszor ment fel a Kárpát-szállóba, — még most sem utazhatom el?! . . . Nem hallgathatom el ön előtt, hogy a mi anyagi viszonyaink nem a legjobbak. Mind a kettőnk fizetését lefoglalták, a szállóban alig van maradásunk, az ápolónőt is fizetnünk kell. Ez a vendégszereplés olyan szükséges, mint a falat kenyér. Mit csináljak?

— Utazzék el — felelte a szürke ember. — Napról-napra jobban bizom benne, hogy nem lesz baj. Ha szükség lenne rá: hazasürgönyözhetjük. Aztán itt van az ápolónő, és itt leszek én is.

— Ó, be aranyos ember ön, doktorkám! — örvendezett a müvésznő s a nyakába ugrott volna a szürke embernek, de hirtelen eszébe jutott, hogy ez a mozdulat nem volna éppen alkalomszerü ezekben a szomoru napokban. Hogy mégis némi jelét nyujtsa hálájának, megigérte, hogy képes levelezőlapot fog küldeni a doktor kis lányának.

Másnap elutazott, és önfeláldozását, hogy férje jólétéért hősiesen legyőzte kétségbeesését, megjutalmazta a kegyes ég. Nem négyszer, hanem tizenötször kellett eljátszania a Kis Kadét-ot, három különböző városban.

A szürke ember ezalatt szorgalmasan járogatott fel a Kárpát-szálló harmadik emeletére: naponként háromszor. Néha, mikor este hazament a gyermekei közé, el-elfogta a rémlátás: vajjon nem viszi-e magával az Eberth-féle bacilust? . . . — de jó csillaga megóvta ettől, s hogy meg ne bánja a tekintéllyel szemben tanusitott engedetlenséget: Zengei hat hét multán meggyógyult.

Szilveszter éjszakán Zengei Ödön és Z. Virág Ella rózsás hanglatban tértek haza a szállásukra. Az estét kitünően töltötték; malacot ettek, pezsgőt ittak rá, s a kollégák, akikkel lakomáztak, sokat beszéltek arról a nagy sikerről, amelyet Zengei Falstaff szerepében ért el, pár nappal előbb.

Az uj szezonban jobb napok virradtak rájok. Zengei igen jó szerződéshez jutott; Z. Virág Elláért pedig, mint egykor Homéroszért, hét város versengett. Már nem kellett a Kárpát-szálló másfél szobájában szoronganiok; éves szállást tartottak, saját butorokkal.

És jobban szerették egymást, mint valaha. Ujra élték mézes heteiket s boldogabbak voltak, mint az első alkalommal. Ezt a rájok nézve is meglepő másodvirágzást annak köszönhették, hogy néhány hónapig különváltan éltek. Zengei ugyanis, abban a téves hitben, hogy neje egy vidéki igazgatóval, akinél sürün vendégszerepelt, ugynevezett müvészházasságot akar kötni, nemcsak szóval hanem tettel is bántalmazta a feleségét. Virág Ella viszont ezt a gyöngédtelenséget azzal torolta meg, hogy otthagyta Othellóját és Cassiónál keresett menedéket. Sajnos, rövid idő multán Cassió is megverte, s Ella rájött, hogy ha már a szegény asszonyt okvetlenül verik, akkor jobb, ha a fővárosban verik meg. És minthogy tulajdonképpen csak egy kis félreértés választotta el őket, a félreértés kiderülvén, könnyü és édes volt megbékülniök. Tudvalevő, hogy egy kis vihar mindig javára válik a házasélet levegőjének. A Zengei-pár tehát Szilveszter éjszakáján igen jókedvüen sietett haza.

— Tudod-e, kedves — szólt Ella, akit a pezsgő igen gyöngédé tett — hogy a Párisi orvos-ban talán még remekebb voltál, mint Falstaffban?!

— Igaz — a Párisi orvos-ról jut eszembe . . . — vágott felesége szavába Zengei — még nem is mondtam neked, hogy micsoda kellemetlenség ért ma délelőtt, amikor a próbára mentem. Képzeld, találkoztam a volt háziorvosunkkal . . . tudod, aki a tifuszomban kezelt . . . Keményen rám támadt, hogy mért csufoltam őt ki a Párisi orvos-ban?! . . . Azt mondja: hozzá van szokva, hogy a müvészek gőzfürdőjegyekkel fizetik ki az orvost, de ahhoz nincs, hogy őt, hálából, nevetségessé tegyék. Halottál ilyet?! Hogy én nevetségessé teszem őt azzal, ha az ő maszkjában jelenek meg a szinpadon, s ha a jellemzetesség kedvéért utánzom a járását és a hanghordozását. De hát ki ismerné őt? Hogy az alakon nevettek?! Persze, hogy nevetnek rajta, ha az alakot én játszom! De ha kifiguráztam is, kérdém: ki előtt tettem nevetségessé? Ki ismert rá? . . .

— És ha ráismertek is! Köszönje meg, hogy reklámot csinálsz neki! . . .

— Hát persze. Egy ilyen senki!

— Hanem, ha már az orvosokról beszélünk . . . mondd, édesem . .. de ne haragudjál . . . gondoltál-e arra, hogy ránk virradt január elseje s hogy legfőbb ideje volna a tanárt . . .

— A tanárt?! . . . Biz erre nem gondoltam.

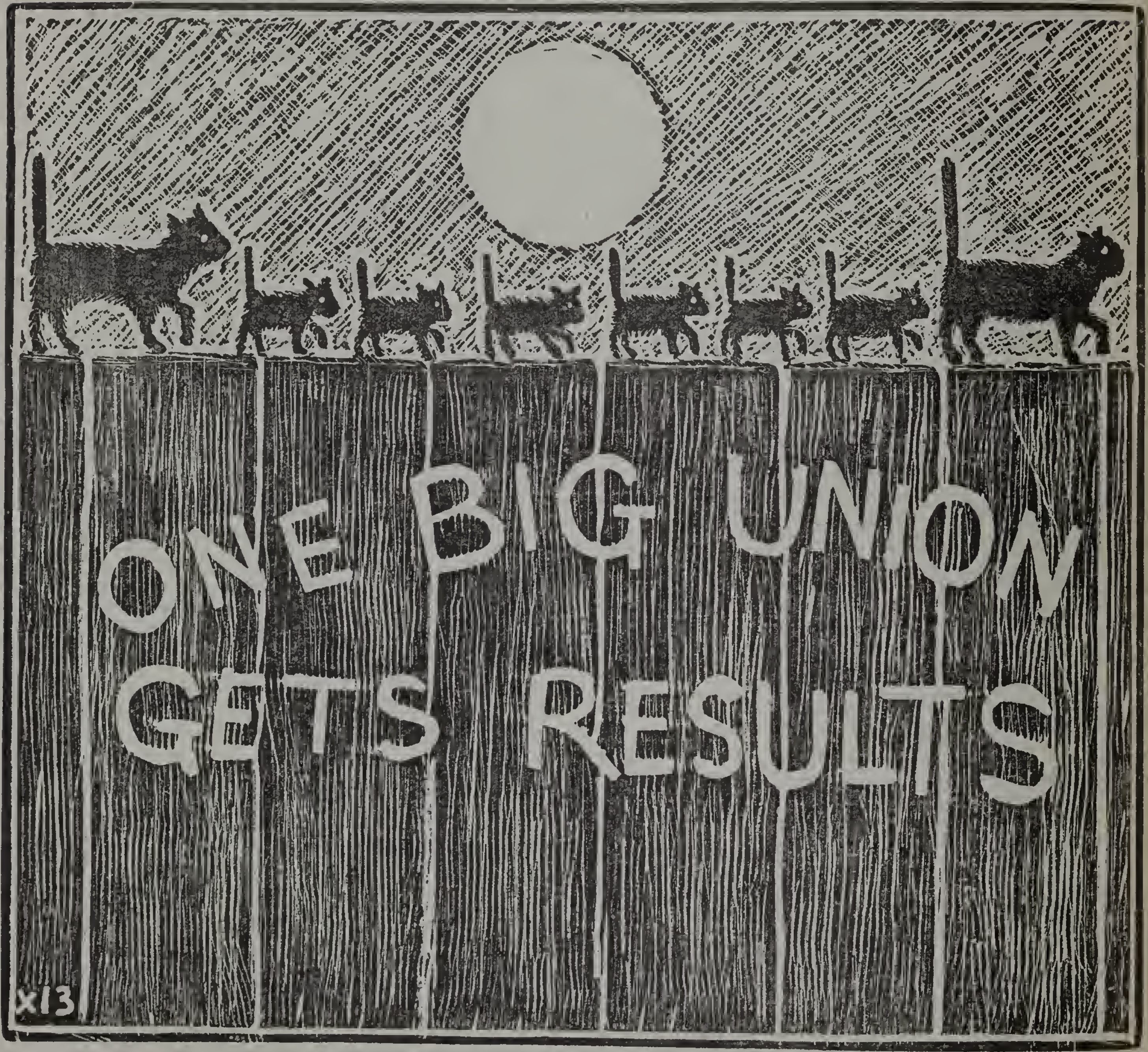
— Baj, baj.

— Annak pedig nem maradhatunk adósok.

— Mit gondolna rólunk ez az előkelő ember?! . . .

— Igen, okvetlenül meg kell fizetnünk a látogatását. Ha a föld alól is, elő kell teremtenünk, ami neki jár.

— Mert, ha nem fizetünk neki: kihez fordulunk, ha valami bajunk van?! . . .



Csak az Egy Nagy Szervezet eredményes!

NYERSANYAGOK

AZ ALÁBBI nyersanyagokra vonatkozó adatokat a második világháborut megelőző legutolsó statisztikai kimutatások alapján közöljük. Természetesen a háborus viszonyok nagyon megváltoztatták a termelést és mig ezen nyersanyagok némelyikéből most sokkal többet késziteneк, addig másokból a termelés csökkent. Mindazonáltal az alábbi adatok fogalmat nyujtanak ezen nyersanyagok mennyiségéről és arról, hogy a világ melyik részének képezik legfontosabb iparait.

A réz.

A réz csaknem olyan fontos nyersanyaga a nehézipari termelésnek, mint a vas. A réz alkalmazása az elektromosságban alapvető jelentőségü. A hadiipar pedig éppenséggel nem nélkülözheti. Ez a magyarázata annak, hogy a világ réztermő vidékeiért vagy az egyes gazdasági területeken kitermelt rézmennyiségért oly éles versenyfutás jelentkezik az egyes hatalmak részéről. A réz akárcsak a vas, aranyat ér és birtoklásától vagy hiányától egyes politikai területek (országok, nemzetek) gazdasági fejlődésének iránya függ.

A fontosabb réztermelő országok termelése ezer métermázsákban a következő volt:

USA	570
Chile	337.5
Kanada (angol)	222.7
Rhodézia (angol)	213
Belga Kongó	124
Japán	100
Szovjet-Unió	95.5
Németország	70
Jugoszlávia	42
Mexikó	40.6
Peru	36
Spanyolország	12
Svédország	10.7
Anglia	7.2
Brit-India	5.4

Ezen statisztikai adatok az Egyesült Államok nagy gazdagságát mutatják. Hasonló, sőt még kedvezőbb arányt mutat a U.S.A.-ra a vas, a kőolaj, szén, arany és sok más anyagra szóló statisztikai adatok is.

A kávé.

A dolog természeténél fogva, pusztán "észszerü" meggondolások alapján, minden munkatermék legeredetibb és legtermészetesebb rendeltetése az, hogy emberi szükségletet elégitsen ki. Sajnos, az uralkodó termelési viszonyok között ennek éppen az ellenkezője történik. A munkatermék kizárólag a profit varázsigéjére táncol elő a munka birodalmából. Ha a munkatermék nem lényegülhet át profittá, vagy csak részben teheti meg ezt, akkor a munkatermék tulajdonosa inkább megsemmisiti, de mégsem engedi, hogy a termék betöltse "természetes" hivatását, azt, hogy elfogyasszák.

Az 1935-ös esztendőben — bevallottan, hivatalos adatok szerint — 30 millió métermázsa kávét semmisitettek meg. A tengerbe dobták, kazánt fütöttek vele stb.

A fontosabb államok kávétermelése ezer métermázsákban a következő volt:

Brazilia	14.000
Kolumbia	2.500
Holland-India	1.040
Salvador	600
Guatemala	540
Mexikó	370
Kuba	307
Venezuela	300
Madagaszkár	295
Belga-Kingó	260
Haiti	250
Santo Domingo	215
Costa-Rica	210

Az esztelen termelés jellemzésére ennél a statisztikánál jobb példát alig lehet találnunk. Az 1938-39. évi kávétermelés főösszege (ideszámitva a föl nem sorolt területek kávétermelését is) 24,431.000 métermásza volt. Ezt megelőzően, 1937-38-ban mindössze

21,920.000 métermázsa kávét termeltek. Sem az 1937-38, sem pedig az 1938-39. évi terméseredmény nem éri el azt a mennyiséget (30 millió métermázsa), amelyet 1935-ben megsemmisitettek.

Országok szerint a legtöbb kávé a délamerikai államokban terem. Nagy tévedés lenne azonban azt hinni, hogy ez a termelés független az angol vagy az USA-tőkétől. Sőt, délamerikai viszonylatban a német tőke szerepléséről is beszélgettünk. Mégis főleg az angol és USA-tőke helyezkedett el legnagyobb mértékben a délamerikai kávéültetvényeken és a rendkivül alacsonybérü ültetvényesmunkás rovására igen magas profitot élvez.

A cukor.

Nincs olyan ember, aki közvetlen tapasztalatból ne tudná, hogy a cukor milyen fontos és sok tekintetben nélkülözhetetlen tápszere az embernek. Főként a zsenge gyermek szervezete nem nélkülözheti. Ezért azokban az országokban, ahol nincs elég cukor, vagy a cukor nem juthat el a közösség minden egyes tagjához, — az átlagos egészségügyi viszonyok megközelitőleg sem olyan kielégitőek, mint a cukorban gazdag országokban. Persze, a nemzetközi cukortőke, mint nagyhatalom, minden körülmények között iparkodik megóvni érdekeit, amelyek igen gyakran keresztezik a fogyasztók érdekeit.

A fontosabb államok répacukor termelése ezer métermázsákban a következő volt:

Szovjet-Unió	22.000
Németország	19.000
USA	15.286
Franciaország	8.100
Lengyelország	4.900
Cseh-Szlovákia	4.609
Olaszország	3.620
Anglia	2.942
Svédország	2.630
Hollandia	1.928
Románia	1.292
Spanyolország	1.150

Amint az itt föltüntetett statisztika mutatja, répacukortermeléssel főként az európai államok foglalkoznak. A tengerentuli gazdasági területek a nádcukor termelésével értek el kiváló eredményeket. A fontosabb államok nádcukortermelése ezer métermázsákban a következő volt:

Brit-India	27.500
Kuba	26.400
Holland-India	15.500
Formoza	14.610
Brazilia	12.000
Puerto-Rico	8.270
Hawai	8.250
Ausztrália	7.832
USA	4.918
Délafrikai Unió	4.601
Argentina	4.000

A felsorolt területeken kivül néhány angol gyarmaton, illetőleg mandátumos területen termelnek még számottevő nádcukrot. A nádcukornak összehasonlithatatlanul kisebb a termelőköltsége, mint a répacukornak. A nemzetközi cukorszindikátus annakidején egyezményben szabályozta a nád- és répacukor árának egymáshoz való viszonyát és a piacokat bizonyos kulcs alapján felosztották egymás között. A répacukor tőkései épugy nem fizettek rá erre az "egyezményre", mint a nádcukor tőkései. Ez utóbbiak, különben is nagy kivitelprofitra dolgoznak, amit az olcsó szines munkaerő, a gyarmati területek különleges viszonyai tesznek érthetővé.

A gyapot.

Nemcsak Bert Brecht remek verse és a gyapotültetvények pokla jut eszünkbe a "gyapot" szó használatakor, hanem azok a gyárak is, amelyekben világszerte éjjel-nappal dolgoznak a munkások és munkásnők milliói, hogy a gyapottermést, ezt az értékes nyersanyagot nélkülözhetetlen árucikké alakitsák át. Ruhánk, a kórházak kötszere, a hadiipar egyes termékei — mind gyapotból, vagy gyapot fölhasználásával készülnek. Az emberiség ma még nem nélkülözheti a gyapotot.

A gyapotban szegény, vagy a gyapot megszerzésében korlátozott országok bámulatos furfanggal, az alkimistákat megszégyenitő leleményességgel mindent elkövetnek a mügyapot létrehozására. Fontos élelmiszereket alakitanak át gyapottá, de, persze, a termelőköltségek sehogyan sem állanak arányban a végső eredménnyel. Mégis folytatják munkájukat, mert a gyapotra szükség van, a gyapot nélkülözhetetlen.

A fontosabb államok évi gyapottermelése ezer tonnákban a következő volt:

USA	25.897
Brit-India	9.290
Szovjet-Unió	8.350
Brazilia	4.059
Egyiptom	3.747
Törökország	663
Argentina	650
Szudán	574
Uganda	553
Korea	406
Belga Kongó	350
Birmánia	193
Görögország	146
Olaszország	95
Sziria	84
Bulgária	70

Ólom és horgany.

Az ólom rendkivül fontosságu nyersanyag ugy a béke- mint a hadiiparban, sőt, ez utóbbi csaknem teljesen megbénulna nélküle. Alkalmazása a nyomdák betüjétől, a vizvezetékek csövétől egészen a töltények gyilkos magjáig — széles területen történik. Becses és nélkülözhetetlen fém. Tudták már ezt az orosz cárok is, akik az egészségtelen ólombányákban gátlás nélkül használták föl a társadalomból kivetett munkaerőt, a politikai és nem politikai "bünösök" egész légióját.

A fontosabb államok ólomtermelése ezer tonnákban a következő volt:

USA	348.1
Ausztrália	227.3
Németország	185.3
Kanada	181.9
Belgium	84.6
Birmánia	81.4
Franciaország	43.6
Olaszország	43.3
Peru	28.5
Lengyelország	13.1
Jugoszlávia	8.6
Rhodézia	0.3

A Szovjet-Unió nem tette közzé az ólomtermelésre vonatkozó adatait, de a megelőző három év átlaga alapján termelése mintegy 50.8 ezer tonnára tehető. Ezek az adatok, természetesen, korántsem jelentik a bányák teljes termelőképességét.

A fontosabb államok horganytermelése ezer tonnákban a következő volt:

USA	406.3
Belgium	210.1
Németország	194.6
Kanada	156.1
Lengyelország	107.4
Franciaország	60.6
Olaszország	34.1
Hollandia	25.3
Rhodézia	10.4
Spanyolország	7.7
Jugoszlávia	4.1

Anglia és a Szovjet adatai hiányoznak. Anglia 1937-ben 63.1, a Szovjet pedig 70.1 ezer tonna horganyt termelt. Az USA 1937. évi horganytermelése viszont 505.2 ezer tonna volt. Az 1938. évi termelés általánosságban, megközeliti a bányák évi termelőképességét, mert hiszen ekkor már világszerte érezni lehetett a mai események előszelét. Németország 1935-ben 124.2, 1936-ban 136.4 és 1937-ben már 163.3 ezer tonna horganyt termelt. A termelt mennyiség fokozatos emelkedése jelzi a termelés iramának állandó növelését és a bányák valószinü teljesitőképességét.

Az olaj.

Egy közgazdasági tanulmány kimutatja, hogy az orosz nyersolajkutak milyen szerepet játszanak egyrészt az orosz, másrészt a világ gazdasági életében. Megállapitja, hogy eddig tulnyomórészt a bakukörnyéki nyersolajforrások látták el Szovjet-Oroszországot ezzel a fontos ipari- és hadi nyersanyaggal. A bakui kőolajforrások azonban közgazdasági és stratégiai szempontból egyaránt előnytelen helyen, az ország nehezen védhető határvidékén fekszenek. Éppen ezért a szovjet kormányzat különös gonddal kutatott ujabb kőolajforrások után, amelyeket a Volga és az Ural folyók által határolt területen meg is találtak. Ezt a vidéket elnevezték "második Baku"-nak.

A kutatásokat 1931-ben kezdték meg. Az 1933-as esztendőben már két kut állott üzemben. Ezután egyre-másra állitották üzembe az ujabb és ujabb kutakat a megfelelő olajfinomitókkal és feldolgozó üzemekkel együtt. A harmadik ötéves terv előirányzata szerint 1942-ben ez a terület az egész ország kőolajtermésének 40 százalékát szolgáltatja majd, ami feltünő eredmény. Nem kétséges, hogy az oroszok ezt az előirást valóban el is érik, mert 1938-ban már a következő arányban termelték a nyersolajat a második Baku vidékén (számok ezer tonnákban):

Syszran	55.129
Sztavropol	10.400
Buguruszlan	2.246
Tujmaszy	20.843
Isimbajevo	376.651
Kusjapkulovo	21.583
Krasznokamszk	55.900

A termelés iramának fejlesztésére jellemző, hogy ezen a vidéken 1932-ben még csak 10.600 tonna kőolajat termeltek, 1938-ban azonban már 1,300.000 tonnát.

Ami a feldolgozás hasznossági fokát illeti, erről a következő adatok beszélnek. Az isimbajevoi az uj olajvidék központja, kőolajának benzintartalma a legnagyobb a Szovjetben termelt összes olajfajták között. Összetétele:

Szén	83.95%
Hidrogén	12.65%
Kén	2.95%
Nitrogén	0.45%

A második Baku gazdasági és katonai jelentősége tehát rendkivül nagy sőt ennek révén Oroszország kőolajkészletének jelenleg a felét teszik. Sőt ez az arány nyilván javul is még, hiszen az orosz kőolajkutatás ügye még nem ért véget és a következő idők uj meglepetéseket hozhatnak.

● ● ● ● ●

Az első halottégető krematóriumot 1816-ban épitették az Egyesült Államokban.

VERSEK A MÉLYBŐL

Irta: Lukács Imre

Munkások

Dolgos milliók vagytok a világban,
munkátok nélkül semmi sem lehet,
hatalmas, alkotó sokaságban
betöltitek a földeket.
Szenvedéstek a testetekbe vágnak,
mégis vagytok, bátrak, nagyok,
teremtői egy emberi világnak..
Én is közületek való vagyok!

Csillagok

Ezrek, százezrek és milliók vagytok,
számlálni titeket nem lehet,
a föld körül, a mindenségben
átragyogjátok a kék eget.
Nézek felétek, féllek és csodállak,
szédülök, ha arra gondolok,
hogy nincs vége a végtelen világnak.
Ragyogjatok csak csillagok!

Mint testvéreim . . .

Az vagyok én, aki vagyok —
dolgozók és munkátlanok
között élek rozskenyéren,
nehéz munkán, olcsó béren.

Munkás vagyok nem szégyellem.
Küzdelem, harc az életem
mindennapi kenyerünkért,
aratásért, termőföldért
az éhesnek, mindenkinek,
henye életet senkinek

s mig két szemem lát és tekint,
ugy küzdök, mint testvéreim.

A szabadsághoz

Most, hogy kőfalakon belül a tanyám
s rácsok ugrálnak bus szemeim elé,
most vágyom csak utánad igazán,
drága szabadság. Bő termő televény

áldott földed. Második édesanyam
vagy te nekem pillantásod fény.
Nélküled élek most, mert csak tavaszán
az uj esztendőnek lész ujra enyém.

Fényed nélkül tengődök és a serény
hü napokat kérem, bármerre kerül
tőlem mosolyod, tartson meg erején

régi magamnak. S igy bizton sikerül
emberként hagyni el a kőfalakat
s megmaradok testbe' s lélekbe' szabad!

DR. KOVÁCS RICHÁRD

A SZIVBÁNTALMAKRÓL

NEMCSAK a próféták és szerelmesek származtatják hevitő érzelmeiket a szivből, hanem a mindennapi életben is minden nemes, fontos indulatot a szivbe helyezünk, ami csak azt bizonyitja, hogy a köztudat mily nagy fontosságot tulajdonit a “legnemesebb” szervünknek. Bár tény az, hogy szivünkben érzések és gondolatok nincsenek, sziv és sziv müködése nélkül mégis rögtön megszünnék az élet és annak mindenféle megnyilvánulása. A sziv lényegében egy izmos központi szivattyu, mely az agyból és gerincvelőből eredő idegbehatás folytán rendes időközökben összehuzódik és kitágul és igy szivja magába és löki ki a testben keringő vért.

Mint tudjuk, a sziv két félből áll, mindegyik ismét egy-egy pitvarból és egy kamrából. A pitvarok és kamrák, illetőleg a velük vagy a belőlük szájadozó nagy erek között finom, de erős hártyák, az u. n. billentyük vannak, ezek a szivösszehuzódásnál, illetőleg elernyedésnél különbözőkép záródnak és helyes müködésük azt eredményezi, hogy a véráram a rendes irányban halad, a vérkeringés zavartalanul folyik le.

Szivbántalmaknak azt nevezzük, ha a szivmüködés, ezen bonyolult és csodás berendezés bármely zavara áll fenn. Az ily zavarok két nagy csoportba oszthatók és pedig vannak u. n. organikus vagy szerves szivbajok, ezeknél a szivizomzat vagy a szivbillentyük valamely szemmel, illetőleg kórbonctanilag látható elváltozás áll fenn; azután vannak u.n. funkcionális vagy ideges szivbajok, melyeknél a sziv beidegzése zavart, a sziv rendetlenül müködik, fájdalmas érzéseket okoz, anélkül, hogy bonctani szerkezete bármiféle elváltozást szenvedett volna. Hogy a szivbántalmak a szervezetre mily káros következményekkel jár, az a bántalom keletkezési módjától és fokától függ. Sok egyén szenved hosszu időn át valamely szivbajban, rendszerint billentyübajban anélkül, hogy tudomással birna arról és csak egy véletlen vizsgálat állapitja meg a tényt.

Hogyan keletkeznek a szivbántalmak? Már a meg nem születetett magzat szervezetében támadhatnak káros befolyások a fejlődő szivre és ezek folytán a pitvarok és kamrák, vagy a két szivfél között rendellenes nyilások állnak fenn és lehetetlenné teszik a rendes vérkerigést. Az ily veleszületett szivbántalommal világra jövő gyermekek ezért szederjes (“blue baby ”-k) és pár hét alatt rendszerint elpusztulnak, bár a legujabb sebészet merész eljárásaival már ezen állapot meggyógyitását is megpróbálta a rendellenes nyilások villámgyors összevarrásával.

Mig az ily veleszületett szerves szivbajok száma szerencsére elég ritka, annál gyakoribb az örökölt szibajoknak az a faja, mikor a szivben bonctani elváltozás nincs, a sziv azonban mégsem oly erős és ellenálló, mint más egészséges embereké. Nem nehéz ezt megértenünk, ha meggondoljuk, hogy mily különböző erejü izomzattal, hajzattal fejlődnek az egyes emberek. Az ily vele született “gyenge sziv” rendszerint családi örökség és sok családban hallunk a gyermekek, szülők és nagyszülők szivbajáról. Az ilyen gyenge szivvel biró gyermekek azután keresztül mennek a gyermekkor fertőző betegségein: vörhenyen, diftérián, torokgyulladáson és ami a legveszedelmesebb, az izületi csuzon (rheumán). Mindezen fertőző betegségeknél a kórokozó mérgek és baktériumok belekerülnek a vérkeringésbe és ezzel a szivbe. Ugylátszik, különösen a veleszületett gyenge szivvel biró gyermekeknél a sziv belseje kevésbbé ellentálló; a bacillusok letelepednek a szivbillentyük felületére, ott felrakodásokat vagy sebeket okoznak, mely állapot kórbonctani neve szivbelhártyagyulladás és ennek eredménye azután, hogy a finom szivbillentyük egyes helyeken megvastagodnak vagy hegesen sorvadnak és

APÁM

Apám is volt nekem. Volt és beszélt.
Sirt és mosolygott. Nem ismert veszélyt.
Élt, dolgozott, csókolt, káromkodott.
És egyszer a szó ajkán megfagyott.

Meghalt. A földbe süllyedt drága teste,
De valami megbolygat minden este.
A hangját egyre hallom: felnevet,
s egy dalt dudolgat a falak megett.

A levegőben is őt keresem.
A négy fal közt a lépését lesem.
Tudom, hogy itt van. Mégse látom!

De él! A lelke lelkemig hatol.
Ha sirok, könnyem az ő könnye tán,
Nem hiszem, hogy meghalt az apám.

Nechanszky Lajos

ezért már most a szivösszehuzódásoknál többé nem zárnak jól, a véráram egy része ellenkező irányban folyik, hallgatódzásnál a sziven mindenféle rendetlen zörejek hallhatók és létrejön a szivbillentyü bántalom. Ezért halljuk minden szivbetegségre gyanus egyén vizsgálatánál mindig az orvos kérdését: Mily gyermekkori betegségben szenvedett? Volt-e izületi rheumája? Mert az ilyenek után mindig fennáll a lehetősége a billentyübajnak.

A fiatal korban támadó szivbajok más csoportja az ideges (funkcionális) szivbajoké. Az iskolában való tulerőltetés, rendetlen táplálkozás, sok család szerencsétlen házi élete, fiuknál a korai dohányélvezet és a szülők által tudatlanságból adott szeszes tialok megzavarják a sziv finom idegszervezetét. Serdülő leányoknál az ugynevezett vérszegénység, melynek lényege nem a vér kevés volta, hanem annak rossz összetétele, a vastartalmu fehérje alkatrészek hiánya, hoz létre ideges szivzavarokat. Sok ilyen leánynál a sziv és véredényrendszer nincs kellőkép kifejlődve, a sziv gyenge a véredények szükek és ezért persze a nehéz házi munkát, gyári munkát nem képesek elvégezni és náluk a szivizom tulerőltetései, ideges zavarok, ájulások mindennaposak, addig, mig kellő nyugalom, a vérszegénységet javitó gyógyszerek az egyensulyt helyre nem állitják. Serdülő korban lévő fiatal embereknél kellemetlen szivzavarok támadhatnak a tulsok sportolás folytán, mely a szivizomzat kifáradására, később elfajulására vezet. Már az egyszeri tulságos megerőltetés egy kevésbbé ellentálló szivben tartós következményekkel járhat.

A felnőtt korban a szivbajok létrehozatalánál, főként a létért való küzdelem és a kinálkozó élvezetek tulzásba vitele szerepel. Üzletemberek, kiket sok üzleti gond bánt, zenészek, kik állandóan ideges izgalmakon mennek keresztül, orvosok kiken nagy felelősség nyugszik és akik éjjel-nappal uton vannak és emeleteket járnak, munkások, kik nem alusznak eleget, mind kivannak téve azon veszélynek, hogy egy idő mulva a sziv beidegzésében, vagy ami még veszedelmesebb: a sziv izomzatában oly elváltozások állanak be, melyek az eddigi foglalkozás folytatását és magát az életet is komolyan fenyegetik.

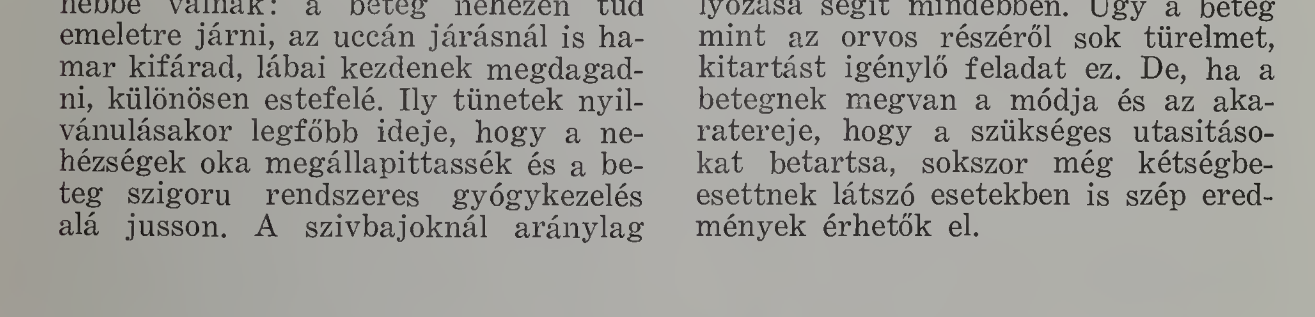
Igen nagy szerep jut a szivbajok létrehozatalában mindenféle szeszélvezésnek. Épp ugy, mint a gyomrot, májat, vesét és agyat, előbb-utóbb a szivet is megtámadja a mértéktelen alkoholfogyasztás; különösen a tulzott sörivás okoz szivbajt. Továbbá méreg a szivre a tulzott dohányzás, mely beidegzési zavarokat, rendetlen szivmüködést okoz. Végre nagy mértékben szerepel még az emberiség egyik legnagyobb nyavalyája: a vérbaj vagy syphilis. Csak az utolsó évtizedek kutatásai mutatták ki, hogy a szivizomzat, a nagy vérerek eddig ismeretlen oku bajainak, különösen a korai érelmeszesedésnek legtöbb esetében ki nem gyógyult syphilis az alapok. A nemi élet kicsapongásai pedig főleg az ideges szivbajok létrehozatalában szerepelnek.

A szivbajok létrejöhetnek minden olyan esetben is, ahol a szervezet általába beteg. Igy nagyfoku vérszegénység, idült gyomorbélzavarok, köszvény okozhatnak szivbajt. Tulságos elhizás sok esetben hoz létre szivizomelfajulást ,erőltetett fogyasztó kurák pedig szivgyengeségi állapotokat eredményeznek. A testet ért sulyos balesetek, ideg zavarok a szivmüködést időlegesen vagy tartósan megzavarhatják.

Az elsoroltakban, legalább főbb vonásokban, láttuk azon okokat, melyek az emberi test életfontos szervének, a szivnek zavarait okozhatják. — Miben nyilvánulnak mármost e zavarok, más szóval, mik a szivbántalmak tünetei? A betegnek mindegy lehet, hogy miféle szivbántalom áll fenn nála, ideges baja, billentyü bántalom vagy a szivizom megbetegedése, mert az ezek által okozott tünetek csaknem minden esetben egyformák és csak az orvosi vizsgálat képes a szivbaj milyenségét eldönteni. És ilyenkor sokszor kiderül, hogy a betegnek legtöbb aggodalmat okozó szivtünetek csak ideges zavaron alapulnak és nem veszedelmesek, mig más esetben, ahol csak kevés a fájdalom és a légszomj, a beteg kilátásai igen rosszak.

A szivbántalmak főtünetei: szivdobogás, nyomás a szivtájon, kisfoku fájdalom a szivcsucs tájékán, szorulás érzete a mellkasban, légzési nehézségek. — Ezek szoktak első jelei lenni annak, hogy a szivvel vagy annak idegeivel valami baj van. Máskor a test általános gyöngesége, a munkaképesség csökkenése mutatkozik először. A lélegzési nehézségek mind kellemetlenebbé válnak: a beteg nehezen tud emeletre járni, az uccán járásnál is hamar kifárad, lábai kezdenek megdagadni, különösen estefelé. Ily tünetek nyilvánulásakor legfőbb ideje, hogy a nehézségek oka megállapittassék és a beteg szigoru rendszeres gyógykezelés alá jusson. A szivbajoknál aránylag egyszerü gyógyintézkedésekkel és kevés gyógyszerrel néha csodákat lehet müvelni és még sulyos esetekben is a beteg életét évekkel meghosszabbitani, ha a kellő orvosi segély idején jön és az orvos rendelései lelkiismeretesen betartatnak. A szivizomnak csodás rezerv és regeneráló (magát felujitó) ereje van, ha kellő nyugalommal, további ártalmak elkerülésével alkalmat adunk neki ennek kifejtésére.

Csak néhány szóval emlitjük meg, hogy minden szivbaj gyógykezelésének mik az alapelvei. A kellő gyógykezelés alapfeltétele a szivbaj minőségének és okának pontos megállapitása. Szükséges erre a sziv gondos vizsgálata, esetleg X-sugaras vizsgálat, a vér és vesék állapotának megitélése. Ha megtaláltuk a szivbajt okozó ártalmat és az még mindig fennáll, az első dolog annak káros behatását egyszersmindenkorra megszüntetni. A szivbillentyük elváltozásait többé megszüntetni nem lehet, de kellő ágy-nyugalommal vissza lehet a vérkeringés egyensulyát és a szivizom müködőképességét állitani. A következő dolog megtalálni a helyes mértékét annak, hogy a megbetegedett egyén szive mennyi munkát bir el és mennyi kimélést szükségel. Óvatos testgyakorlat, az életmód, táplálkozás, folyadék felvétel gondos szabályozása segit mindebben. Ugy a beteg mint az orvos részéről sok türelmet, kitartást igénylő feladat ez. De, ha a betegnek megvan a módja és az akaratereje, hogy a szükséges utasitásokat betartsa, sokszor még kétségbeesettnek látszó esetekben is szép eredmények érhetők el.


DON'T STICK YOUR NECK OUT
RESIST REGIMENTATION!

AJÁNLATOS-E A KÁVÉ HASZNÁLATA

EURÓPA népei a kávéval a XV. század körül ismerkedtek meg, de használatának kezdetét teljesen homály födi. Kinai kutforrások szerint Kinában már Krisztus születése előtt 3000 évvel ismerték a kávét és üditő ital gyanánt használták.

Az európai népekhez az araboktól jutott el a kávé-ivás szokása. Egy ismeretlen eredetü legenda szerint a kávét abessziniai juhászok fedezték fel, akik észrevették, hogy azok a juhok, amelyek kávébabot ettek, egész éjjel nyugtalankodtak. A juhászok között aztán általános lett az a nézet, hogy a kávétól a juhok megbetegednek és épen azért vigyáztak arra, hogy juhaik a kávébokrokhoz ne menjenek. Igy a kávécserjét mindannyian ismerték s a kávét lassanként ők maguk is használni kezdték izgató szer gyanánt. Az abessziniai népektől az arabok tanulták el a kávéivást és azt Mohamed próféta idejében már oly nagy mértékben üzték, hogy a nagy próféta eltiltotta annak használatát.

Kávét és teát ma világszerte mindenütt használnak. A világháborut megelőzőleg csaknem pontos adataink voltak arra nézve, hogy az egyes országok mennyi kávét és teát használtak el évenként. A legutolsó statisztikai adat szerint legnagyobb kávé és tea fogyasztók az Egyesült Államok népei, majd Norvégia, Svédország, stb. következnek.

A kávé és tea legfontosabb része a “kaffein” nevü bóditó szer. Ugyanazon sulyu tea kétszer annyi kaffeint tartalmaz, mint a kávé. 1914-es statisztikai adatok szerint Hollandiában minden személy 17 font kávét, használt el évenkint. A többi európai országok nem sokkal különböznek ettől s Amerika talán még valamivel felül is mulja.

A kaffein bóditó szer lévén, ily nagymennyiségü használatánál fogva rendkivül fontos annak megállapitása, hogy milyen hatást gyakorol a használójára. Sajnos, erre egészen pontos és egyöntetü adataink még manapság sincsenek. Történtek ugyan többször kisérletek a kaffein hatásának pontos megállapitására, de ez oly nehézségekbe ütközik, hogy a kisérletek csak részben nevezhetők sikerülteknek.

A legfontosabb kisérletek egyikét Hollingworth tanár végezte 1912-ben. Ugyancsak sok adatot szolgáltattak a Rivers-féle kisérletek is. Hollingworth tanár kisérleténél 16 egyént figyeltek meg, akiknek naponként, a napnak bizonyos órájában megszabott mennyiségü kávét kellett inni. Hogy a kávé mindig ugyanazon erősségü legyen vegyi uton kivonatolt kaffeint használtak fel egy csésze meleg vizben.

A kisérleteknél a legnagyobb nehézséget az okozta, hogy szinte lehetetlen volt annak megállapitása, vajjon a kisérleti személyen tapasztalt változást a kaffein okozta-e, vagy valami más? Élő emberekkel kellett kisérletezni, akik nagyon természetesen rendesen táplálkoztak és pihentek. Mármost ha valamelyiknél — mondjuk — fejfájás mutatkozott, lehetetlen volt annak eldöntése, hogy az a kaffeintól, avagy valamilyen emészthetetlen ételtől, stb. származik-e.

A Hollingworth kisérletek különben azt a kérdést igyekeztek tisztázni, hogy mérsékelt kaffein élvezet után a munkabirás és az agy ébersége fokozódik-e? A kisérletek azt látszottak bizonyitani, hogy naponkénti kis adag élvezete után a kisérleti személyek jobban birták a munkát és azt nagyobb figyelemmel végezték. Igy pl. a gépiró-leány ugyanazon idő alatt többet és hibátlanabbul irt egy órával a kávé ivása után, mint a nap többi részében, vagy a kisérletet megelőző időben. Hollingworth professzor azonban maga megjegyzi, hogy a több munkabirás oka az is lehet, hogy a kisérletezők ezalatt a 40 nap alatt nagyon rendes életet éltek. Ezzel lehet megmagyarázni azt is, hogy a kisérlet végén csaknem mindegyik szaporodott testsulyban és izomzatuk is erősebbé lett.

Az azonban kétségtelenül kitünt, hogy ha tulságos nagy adagokat használtak, akkor az káros hatással volt a használóra. Munkaereje csökkent, étvágyát elvesztette és éjjelenként nem tudott aludni. A Rivers-féle kisérletek az állapitották meg, hogy a naponként kis mennyiségben használt kaffein semmi utóhatással sincs a szervezetre.

Hollingworth vizsgálatai szerint az átlagos csésze tea másfél grain kaffeint tartalmaz. Ugyanennyi kaffein van egy csésze fekete kávéban is. Az u. n. erős kávéban jóval több a kaffein. Egy átlagos csésze erős kávéban 3 grain kaffeint találunk. A kiserletek szerint 4 grainre tehető az a mennyiség, amelyet naponként elfogyaszthatunk anélkül, hogy megártana. Természetesen ez nem lehet egészen pontos adat, mert hiszen ez alá van vetve az egyéni természetnek és életkörülményeknek.

A kávé vegyi vizsgálatánál kétségtelenül kitünik, hogy mint tápanyag semmit sem számit. A cukornak, fehérjének és olajnak a nyomait találjuk meg benne, de csak olyan kis mennyiségben, hogy egyáltalában nem vehető számitásba. A kávé tehát erőt nem adhat, csak a más tápanyagokból nyert erőt izgatás révén fokozhatja, vagy gyengitheti.

Amnenyire meg lehetett állapitani, a kávé azonnal hat, mig a tea csak ugy félóra multán. Ez a hatás előbb bágyasztó, de gyorsan fokozottabb éberségbe megy át. Rövid időre gyenge kellemes érzés fogja el az embert, amely hasonlit a szesz élvezete utáni érzéshez, csak annál valamivel finomabb. Az emésztésre is jó hatással van s azt inkább elősegiti, mint akadályozza.

Dr. W. A. Evans amerikai orvos a kávéról irva, azt az ostorral hasonlitja össze. Szerinte a kávé és a tea az agy ostora, amellyel erősebb müködésre ösztökélhetjük. Arra kérdésre, hogy a kávé ártalmas-e, Dr. Evans igy felelt. "Csak ugy mint a lónak az ostorozás. Ha néha-néha meglegyintjük nem ártalmas, de a lovat sem verhetjük mindennap éveken keresztül anélkül, hogy kárt ne okoznánk benne. Agyunkat se lehet éveken keresztül erősebb munkára serkenti naponként bevett izgató szerrel anélkül, hogy az káros hatást ne gyakorolna ránk." Dr. Evans szerint reggel még csak megengedhető egy csésze gyenge kávé, hogy az éjjeli nyugalomtól még bágyadt testet energikussá tegye, de napközben, vagy este annak használata teljesen fölösleges. Még reggel is ajánlatosabb a hideg fürdő, vagy korai sétával való felfrissülés. De mindenek fölött ügyeljünk arra, hogy az erős kávézás rabjaivá ne tegyük magunkat.

IFJU SZIVEKBEN ÉLEK

ADY ENDRE

Ifju szivekben s mindig tovább,
Hiába törnek életemre
Vén huncutok és gonosz ostobák
Mert életem millió gyökerü.

Szent lázadások és ifju hitek
örökös urának maradni:
Nem adatik meg ez mindenkinek
Csak aki véres, igaz életü.

Igen, én élni és hóditani fogok
Egy fájdalmas, nagy élet jussán
Nem ér föl már szitkozódás,
piszok:
Lányok és ifjak szivvel védenek.

örök virágzás sorsa már enyém
Hiába törnek életemre,
Szent, mint a szent sir s mint
koporsó, kemény,
De virágzás, de Élet és örök.

KARIKÁS FRIGYES

PETRI KOCZKA PÉTER

AHOGY a Tiszán átvertek bennünket, egy negyvenkedő szekeres paraszt állt elém Poroszlón. Ránéztem de ismeretlen volt. Egyszer csak megszólalt.

— Elvtárs, én Petri Koczka Péter vagyok, mondja félig szemrehányó félig tanácskérő hangon. A telefonistákat hoztam ide Füredről most aztán összelőtték a hidat, a románok meg behurcolkodtak Füredre, én meg ittrekedtem lovastul. Mi legyen velem kérem?

— Itt marad kend, — mondom kurtán.

— Heszen nem nagy dolog ittmaradni kérem. De mi legyen a családdal, instálom?

— Hát mi volt a családdal, mikor kend Ferenc Jóskát szolgálta?

— Hát kérem az se vót valami hires dolog.

— Én nem tudok most kendel semmit se csinálni, menjen kend a gazdasági főnökhöz, az majd csinál valamit.

Vagy két hét mulva Koczka Péter megint elébem állt, de most már katonásabban.

— Biztos elvtárs nagyon szépen kérem, tessék engem beosztani az 1-39-be.

— Hát kend ki fia, atyja?

— Én kérem Petri Koczka Péter vagyok, a fuvaros, aki ideát rekedt a dandárnál.

— Hát a lovakkal mi lesz Petri Koczka Péter?

— Az unokatestvérem ott szolgál a trénnél, az majd gondjukat viseli.

— Na és kend mit fog csinálni a zászlóaljnál, Petri Koczka Péter?

— Amit a többi kérem. Mert hogy mindég frontkatona voltam kérem azért restelkedem kérem. Igen restelkedem kérem a földieim előtt.

— A földiei az 1-39-ben vannak?

— Igen kérem. A második századba a második és a harmadik szakasz az mind az én földim kérem. Csegeiek. Ott van a Dinnye-gyerek, mind a kettő az én regrutám vót a 39-eseknél. Ott van a Pikler-gyerek, az is az én regrutám, meg a zászlóalj parancsnok elvtársat, a Pájnik főhadnagy urat is igen jól ismerem még fenrik korából.

— Na?

— Abbizony. Majdnem mindig együtt voltunk szolgálatba. Merthogy én káplár voltam, kérem, korporál Petri Koczka kérem.

— Hát civilbe mi kend?

— Én kérem civilbe igen kis ember vagyok. Fuvaros ember vagyok evvel a két lóval kérem.

Irtam egy szolgálati jegyet a Peinlichnak és Petri Koczka Péternek ettől a naptól kezdve mindég hire járt felénk. Petri Koczka hires járőrparancsnok, ugyan olyan hires rajtaütő, őkelme a puska mester, meg a géppuskás, meg a zászlóaljfelcser, meg a kursmid, meg a fene tudja még, hogy micsoda. Egy alkalommal Peinlichtől egy értelmes embert kértem akit fontos megbízással a hadtesthez akartam küldeni. Peinlich minden gondolkodás nélkül odaszól az ordonáncnak:

— Eredj fiam, küld ide a Petri Koczka Pétert.

— Hallod, Peinlichkém, kérdem a mi ügyes zászlóaljparancsnokunkat, kid neked ez a Koczka?

— Miért tetszik kérdezni?

— Valahogy különösnek tartom, hogy te is ennek a hátuljába látod forogni a világ tengelyét.

— Kérem, a Petri Koczka nagyon ügyes ember. Szavamra mondom a legügyesebb ember. Majd meg tetszik látni.

És igazán megláttam. Értelmesebb embert a mi vidékünkön keveset láttam. Nem is vesztettem többé szem elől.

Valahol Rimaszombaton tul jártunk, az egész törzzsel terepet szemléltem. Ott ültünk a vasuti töltésen sokan. Ott volt a Sárai, a Peinlich, az öreg Korbély, meg egy egész csomó más ember. Arról volt szó köztünk, hogy milyen nagy munkát lehetne itt végezni, ha volna valamelyes páncélvonatféle. Két-három gépfegyverrel, egy ágyuval de nagy ribilliót lehetne csinálni!

— Nagy foga van annak kérem — mondja a vén Korbély.

— Nem olyan nagy János bátyám, — szólalt meg a hátunk megett a Petri Koczka Péter.

— Elég nagy foga van annak öcsém, elég nagy, — mondja bölcselkedve az öreg Korbély.

A Peinlich nevetni kezd s hangos röhögéssel jegyzi meg:

— Szavamra ez a Péter még ezt is megcsinálja.

— Hát mér ne csinálnám meg? nem kell ahoz kérem, csak egy irás a Karikás levtárstól az állomásfőnökhöz, hogy adjék egy mozdonyt két vaggónnal. Gépuska az van kérem nálunk elég nó meg ágyu is akad amennyi kell, ha akarják, én három nap mulva ideállitok vele, — mondja Péter nagy meggyőződéssel.

— Aztán, hogy csinálná meg kend, Koczka elvtárs, — kérdem nagy kiváncsisággal.

— Hát kérem nem olyan nagy dolog az. Két nyitott vaggon kell hozzá, belülről az ember dupla falat csinál neki. A két fal közé homokot hány az ember. A vaggon két sarkára egy-egy géppuskát, a közepére meg egy fakerékre egy ágyut, hogy forgatni lehessék, aztán nekiállit az ember hátuljával egy mozdony és kész a páncélvonat kérem.

— De honnan vennénk most hamarjában annyi rengeteg mesterembert meg páncélvonathoz értő embert? — kérdem erősen kacérkodva a kitünő gondolattal.

— Megcsinálom én kérem, csak tessék adni hozzá, ami kell, ember meg van rogyásig. A Nagy Jóska öcscse az olyan masinisztaféle, az igazitaná a masinát, az én földieimből meg kitelik a mancsaft rá. Mind igen jól értenek hozzá.

És a Petri Koczka Péter csakugyan csinált egy olyan páncélvonatot, hogy nekünk szemünk-szánk elállott. Harmadnap déltájban ott csudálta már a fél város a rimaszombati pályaudvaron a különös masinát. Péter meg ott sétált fel és alá, hogy és sokáig alig mertem megszóllitani. Végre aztán megembereltem magam.

— No Petri Koczka elvtárs, hát mégis megcsinálta kend a vonatot?

— Heszen meg mondtam kérem, hogy meg csinálom. Hát meg is csináltam.

— A legénység meg van már hozzá?

— Már régen kérem. És Péter elővette a fütyülőjét és cifrázza belefuvott. Erre a két vaggonról, meg a mozdonyról szaporán emberek ugráltak le s rang szerint sorakoztak a vonat előtt. Péter odaállott az első ember elé.

— Ez itt kérem a Nagy Lajos, a masinista. Emmeg a Dinnye Ádám, a főtüzér. Emmeg itt a Baja István, a főgéppuskamester. És igy szép sorjába bemutatta az egész mancsaftot, legutóljára meg saját magát, mint a "páncélvonat" parancsnokát.

— Mondja Péter, honnan a fészkes fenéből tanult maga ennyi mesterséget?

— Ej elvtárs, nagy mester a szegénység, megtanitja az az embert mindenre.

— Tán a világháboruban látott kend ilyesfélét?

— Nem láttam én kérem. Még csak hirét sem hallottam nékie. A fejem se törtem rajta soha. Csak ugy hallottam róla egyet-mást. Aztán, amikor hallottam, hogy az elvtársak szeretnének egy ilyen masinát, hát, mondok csinálok én a dandárnak páncélvonatot is. Tessék elhinni, hogy nem rosszabb ez, mint az igazi, csak egy kicsit szegényesebb. De a cseléd dandárnak ez is jó kérem. A fő az, hogy a puska szóljék rajta értelmesen.

— Aztán a puska értelmesen fog szólni rajta?

— Azám. Aztán mért ne szólna értelmesen, ha jó mancsaft van mellette?

Megérkezett a Sárai Szabó, azt mondja, hogy a páncélvonattól igen sokat vár. Bele is van kombinálva a ma esti támadási programmba, generális szereppel. Ugy szólt a parancs, hogy a vonat fél hatkor indul, hatra a vonalhoz ér és megütközik. Mi egy közeli templomból akartuk végignézni a vonat munkáját. Autóval előrementünk, erős tüzérségi látcsőkkel felszerelve állást foglaltunk a toronyban. Nagyon erős, meleg nyári zivatar volt, amely sokáig tartott, de arra elég volt, hogy ugy a mi, mint az ellenség fedezékéből kiöntse a katonákat, mint az ürgéket. A torony egész közel volt a rajvonalhoz, ugy hogy látcső nélkül is jól láttuk a fedezékek mentén ide-oda sétálgató ellenséges katonákat, sőt a nótájukat is egész tisztán hallottuk:

"Papicská, tü moj milii"

Vártunk vagy tiz percet, mikor egyszerre csak hallhatóvá vált a vonat zakatolása és a kanyarulatból hirtelen ott terem kegyetlen méltósággal az én Petri Koczka Péter komám tehervonatformáju páncélvonatja. Egy néhány pillanat müve volt az egész. Ugy néztek rá az ellenséges oldalon, mint a borju az ujkapura. Valószinüleg azt gondolhatták, hogy valamilyen eltévedt vonat. Sokáig a mi Petri Koczka Péterünk nem hagyta tévedésbe őket. Hirtelen megállott az ellenséges rajvonal közepébe és kegyetlenül lövöldözni kezdett. Most esztendők mulva, ha ugy visszagondolok erre a dologra, ma se fér bele sehogyse a fejembe, hogy hogyan tudott tizenhat ember olyan irtóztató zenebonát csapni. Tisztára pokol volt, amit csináltak. Az ágyuk, a géppuskák lehetetlen sebességgel okádták magukból a tüzet, a kézigránátok meg olyan szaporán röpültek, mint a zápor eső. A szó szoros értelmében hátbavagdalták az ellenséget kézigránáttal. A csehek az első pillanatban földbe gyökeredzett lábbal tátották a szájukat a vonatra. Ez a hirtelen tüzzápor annyira előkészületlenül találta őket, hogy alig tudtak a futáshoz fogni. Jó tiz percig lövöldöztek, eleinte kartáccsal, majd srapnelra fogták a dolgot. Aztán mikor kilométerekre se volt már kire lőni, a masina tüzet szüntetett, sipolt. A vasut mentén őrült nagy rés támadt. Nem volt ott nyoma se az ellenségnek ha csak a visszahagyott fegyverek, géppuskák s üres konzervdobozokat nem számitjuk nyomnak. Ezen a részen pedig vagy öt zászlóalj gyalogság vonult be dalolva és meg se állott Tiszolcig.

Mire odaértem a vonathoz, a mancsaft idősebb része, köztük Petri Koczkával, ott ültek már a vaggon szélén, lógatva a lábukat pipáztak és csöndesen beszélgettek. A fiatalabbja pedig birkózott a töltés oldalán egymással, térdig érő füben, mint akik igen jól végezték dolgukat.

— Pihennek, pihennek? — kérdem mosolyogva a fiukat.

Petri Koczka Péter leugrott a vonatról s katonásan jelentkezett:

— Biztos elvtárs! Petri Koczka Péter páncélvonatparancsnok tisztelettel jelentkezik tizenhat emberrel, négy géppuskával, két ágyuval a további rendelkezésre.

— Pihenj! — mondom csendesen. Nincs-e sebesültjük? kérdem a már pihenj-ben álló Petri Koczkát.

Petri Koczka Péter igen sértődött ábrázattal nézett rám és hallgatott.

— Azt kérdem, Péter, — ismétlem, — hogy nem sebesült-e meg valaki?

— Hol? — kérdi Péter, majdnem indulattal.

— A páncélvonaton, mondom.

— A dandár páncélvonatján?

— Azon, azon.

— Ugyan kérem, ne tessék már tréfálni — mondja a vérig sértett Koczka, kimondhatatlan büszkeséggel. Hát ki az isten mer puskát emelni egy ilyen vonatra kérem?

És Péter jóleső nagy büszkeséggel nézett végig csendesen füstölgő vonatján, az ő nagy müvén.

Én is . . .

Vagy két hét mulva megint Peinlichnél jártam. A mindig mosolygó Peinlich nagyon borus ábrázattal fogadott.

— Mi az öcsém? — kérdem a fiatal zászlóaljparancsnokot. Bicskát ettél, hogy olyan keserü ábrázatot vágsz hozzá?

Peinlich erőltetett mosolyt vett fel arcára és szomoruan nézett végig a minket körülvevő vöröskatonákon.

— Na mi a baj fiu?

— Tegnap délben kiküldtem Koczka Pétert járőrbe és még nem jött vissza.

— No. Aztán hová küldted!

— Ide vagy ezer lépésre a hámorhoz.

(Folytatás a 106-ik oldalon)

AZ ÁLMATLANSÁG OKAI ÉS LEKÜZDÉSE

ANNAK, hogy valaki nem tud rendesen aludni, sok mindenféle oka lehet. És mert a legtöbb esetben magától megszünik az álmatlanság, ha sikerül elhárítani az okot, mely azt előidézte, azért nem tud az ember aludni, mert olyan valami baja van, ami fájdalmat okoz neki. Ebben az esetben tehát ezt a fájdalmat, mint az álmatlanság előidéző okát, kell megszüntetni s ha lehet, azt a betegséget meggyógyitani, amely a fájdalmat okozza. Álmatlanság szokta gyötörni azokat, kik vérszegénységben szenvednek, ezeknek tehát ezt az alapbajukat kell kigyógyitaniok. Nem tudnak aludni a legtöbbször azok sem, akiknek a gyomruk és a beleik nem müködnek normálisan. Ha az ilyenek jól bevacsoráznak, ugy felfuvódnak s olyan kellemetlen teltségi érzésük támad, hogy e miatt el nem tudnak aludni. Ezeknek tehát azon kell lenniök, hogy a gyomor-bélmüködésük rendben legyen. Ez egynéhány ama sok ok közül, mely álmatlanságot von maga után. A leggyakoribb oka azonban az álmatlanságnak manapság az idegesség és ideggyöngeség, még pedig azért, mert ez a két baj is rendkivül módon el van most terjedve. A létért való nehéz küzdelemmel járó szellemi és testi tulerőltetés egyre növeli az idegesség és ideggyöngék számát s minthogy ennek a két bajnak elválhatatlan kisérő társa az álmatlanság, azért olyan ijesztő nagy azoknak a száma is, akiket álmatlanság gyötör. Itt is az alapbaj gyógyitására, tehát az idegek edzésére és erősitésére kell fektetni a fősulyt. A különféle álomhozó szerek használata csak orvosi rendeletre és ellenőrzés mellett ajánlatos, mert bár legtöbbje kitünően megfelel céljának, huzamosabb használatra egy sem ajánlaható, lévén mindegyiknek valamilyen kellemetlen és nem egyszer igen veszedelmes utóhatása is.

Sokféle módja van az álom természetes uton való előidézésének, aki türelmesen próbát tesz egyikkel vagy másikkal, az idővel nem fog rászorulni az álmot hozó mérgekre. A nyugodt alvásnak egyik főfeltétele, hogy a test olyan helyzetet foglaljon el az ágyban, amely a legtermészetesebb. A háton való fekvés például nem természetes, s aki megszokta a fekvésnek ezt a nemét, annak az álma rendesen nyugtalan. Háton való fekvéskor ugyanis a belső szervek ráfeküsznek azokra a nagy idegekre, melyek a gerincoszlop két oldalán vonulnak végig s nyomást gyakorolnak azokra. Ennek a nyomásnak a következménye az a sokféle kellemetlen érzés, mely a háton fekvőket alvás ideje alatt gyötörni szokta s mely álmukat megzavarja. Legmegfelelőbb a jobb oldalon való fekvés oly módon, hogy a térdek gyöngén meg legyenek hajlitva. A balodalon való fekvés azért nem jó, mert a telt gyomor ily fekvés mellett összenyomódik s az emésztés nem folyhat le rendesen, ami zavarja az álmot. A fej tartására nézve szabály az, hogy vérszegény, ideges emberek a fejüket valamivel mélyebben helyezzék el mint a lábukat, olyanok pedig, akiknek valami szivbántalmuk van, épp ellenkezőleg a fejüket magasabbra tartják, mint a lábukat. — Ilyen fekvés mellett sokkal nyugodtabb az álom s hamarább áll be, mint a fekvésnek egyébb módja mellett. Gyakori oka az álmatlanságnak különösen szellemi munkával foglalkozó embereknél az, hogy ezek fiatal korukban önként megröviditették alvási idejüket azzal, hogy a fél éjszakát is szellemi munka végzésére forditották. A szervezet végre annyira megszokja az éjjelezést, hogy akkor, amikor már szivesen aludnék az ember akár tiz órán át, nem képes korábban elaludni, mint a megszokott órában. Ezen csak ugy lehet segiteni, ha egy darab ideig teljesen félre teszi a szellemi munkát s testileg fárasztja ki magát, mielőtt lefekszik. — Különösen figyelmet kell forditani a fekvőhelyre, mert sokszor ennek a célszerütlensége oka az álmatlanságnak. A legcélszerübb a ruganyos matraccal biró vaságy, melyen a lepedőnek ugy kell kifeszitve lenni, hogy semmi ráncot ne vessen. A legkisebb ránc nyomást gyakorolhat az ilyen álmatlanságban szenvedő s azért rendszerint könnyen izgalomba hozható ember szerfelett érzékeny bőrére és ez már elegendő arra, hogy megzavarja álmában. A meleg pelyhes dunna nem célszerü, legjobb egy nem tulságosan nehéz gyapjutakaróval takarózni. Izgató ételeket, italokat természetesen nem szabad lefekvés előtt bekebelezni.

Az álmatlanságnak a legtöbb esetben a végső oka az, hogy az agyvelőben tulságosan sok a vér. A sok vér izgalmat okoz s azért kerüli az embert az álom. Mindenek előtt tehát arra kell törekedni, hogy az agyból a fölösleges vért elvonjuk a test más része felé. Az álomhozó szereknek, köztük az opiumnak is a hatása épp az, hogy tágitják az ereket, minek következtében a test külső részeiben folyik a vér az agyból. Ezt az értágitó hatást azonban el lehet érni másképpen is, mindenek előtt az által, hogy lefekvés előtt meleg lábvizet vesz az ember. A meleg viz kitágitja a lábak és az egész altest ereit, a kitágult erekbe több vér folyik, a felső testrész s igy az agy is ennélfogva kevesebb vért fog tartalmazni, ami megint az alvást elősegiti. Éppen igy hat a testmozgás is és a mély lélekzetvétel. Mozgáskor a vér a lábakba, mély lélekzéskor a tüdőbe száll és mindkét esetben megszabadul az agy a sok vértől.

Elősegiti az alvást az is, ha az ember lefekvés előtt egy pohár tejet vagy cukros vizet iszik, vagy pedig a nem nagyon bőséges vacsorához egy-két pohár sört fogyaszt. Sietteti az elalvást a gyomorra rakott hideg borogatás vagy a lábikra begöngyölitése nedves ruhával. Álmot hoz az ember szemére sokszor az is, ha komlóval töltött párnát tesz a feje alá. Dohányos emberek könnyebben alszanak el, ha lefekvéskor egy szivart vagy egy pipa dohányt elszivnak.

● ● ● ● ●

PETRI KOCZKA PÉTER

(Folytatás a 104-ik oldalról)

— Puska ropogást nem hallottatok utána?

— Nem.

— Elfogták őket. Hányan voltak?

— Tiz emberrel volt oda.

— Tudja, hogy ő mást nem visz magával soha.

Affene, ez már baj, mondom nagy aggodalommal. Szótlanul ültünk az árok partján, mint akik igen nagy halottat gyászolnak. Ettől a naptól kezdve mindenki Petri Koczkát kereste. Minden járőr, minden támadás a Petri Koczka jegyében folyt. Sárai Szabó minden nap vagy maga jött ki Peinlichhez, vagy ha mással volt elfoglalva, telefonon kérdezte meg, hogy nincse valami hir Petri Koczka Péterről.

Igy mullott el kilenc nap nagy szomoruságban. A kilencedik napon korán reggel Peinlichez értem s együtt reggeliztünk. Reggelizés közben beront a lovászom s jelenti, hogy megkerült a Petri Koczka Péter. Kiszaladtun az udvarra és tényleg ott feküdt a lépcső alatt, tizenegyedmagával bakancstalan véres lábbal, Petri Koczka Péter, akit alig tudtam visszatartani attól, hogy ne vágja vigyázz-ba véres bokáját.

Autóba ültettem az egész járőrt, beszállitottam őket a dandárkórházba. S szigoruan meghagytam Beretvás doktornak, hogy mint a két szemére, ugy vigyázzon ezekre az emberekre s hogy az én engedelmem nélkül ki ne eressze őket. Estefelé meglátogattam őket a kórházban. Tizenegy ágy állott egy sorban. Az ágyakban kiborotváltan szép tiszta fehér ingekben, kipödrött bajusszal feküdtek az én atyafiaim. Mindegyiknek a szájában az elmaradhatatlan, egyenes száru cseréppipa, az ágy támlájára pedig az erősen befáslizott lábukat tették ki, katonás sorban.

Csendesen beszélgettek. Egy széket tettem a Petri Koczka ágya elé s elmondattam vele, hogy merre jártak.

IRTA: OMEGA

A FÖLDI AZ EGYLETBE LÉP TAGNAK

ELMEGY a "földi" az orvoshoz "egyleti felülvizsgálás céljából" s már jó magyar szokás szerint nem felel meg egyenesen a hozzá intézett kérdésekre. Közte és az orvos között a következő párbeszéd folyik:

Orvos: Hogy hivják?

Jelölt: Már mint engem?

Orvos: Természetes.

Jelölt: Kis Pipás Endi, mert tetszik tudni, nálunk a faluban van egy nagy Pipás Endi is, meg egy rücskös Pipás . . .

Orvos: Elég, elég. Tehát akkor angolul magát Andrew Pipás-nak hivják.

Jelölt: Hát angolba már ugy jönne ki.

Orvos: Hány éves?

Jelölt: Azt bizony nehéz megmondani; tudja doktor ur, mikor nálunk a villám beleütött a luteránus toronyba, akkor öt éves vótam, annak pedig már van huszonöt éve.

Orvos: Akkor maga most harminc éves.

Jelölt: A harmincegyedikbe, ha összeszámoljuk.

Orvos: Nős?

Jelölt: Kicsoda?

Orvos: Hát maga. Van-e felsége?

Jelölt: Van az ó-kontriba, ha még él, mert ebbe a háborus időben, ahol levelet se kapni, ki tudja mi történik.

Orvos: Hol lakik?

Jelölt: Mező-Pájon, Csongrád megye, vasut állomás.

Orvos: Dehogy lakik maga ott. Maga csak oda való.

Jelölt: Ja ugy; itt a kis Holtonyon lakok.

Orvos: Az uccán lakik vagy egy házban?

Jelöt: Igaz, a házinumera is kell. Hát várjon csak kérem, mert én a numerát csak angolul tudom tontiét tontifór.

Orvos: Mi a foglalkozása?

Jelölt: Hát csak olyan szegény földmives ember.

Orvos: Hiszen itt csak nem foglalkozik ezzel?

Jelölt: Itt Klivlandban nem. Itt helper napszámos vagyok az öreg gyárban.

Orvos: Mi a vallása?

Jelölt: Én római katholikus, de a feleségem az . . .

Orvos: Hagyjuk csak azt. Iszákos ember maga?

Jelölt: Hászen már megiszom, mint aféle munkás ember, de azért nem sokat, mert ebben a drága világban nem is igen telik.

Orvos: Volt már kórházban?

Jelölt: Vótam, kétszer.

Orvos: Mi volt a baja?

Jelölt: Nekem hálistennek semmi. Beteglátogató vótam az egyletünknél, oszt ott feküdt egy fődi, hát azt látogattam meg.

Orvos: Operálva volt?

Jelölt: Operálva? az valami szinház ugy-e? nem vótam én soha.

Orvos: Dehogy; volt-e már orvos által vágva?

Jelölt: Nem vótam én orvos keze alatt még soha, nemhogy még vágva; ha már arra kerül a dolog, akkor inkább meghalok.

Orvos: Sérve van?

Jelölt: Nincs, pedig ettül a nehéz munkától, ami itten Amerikában járja . . .

Orvos: Édes apja él?

Jelölt: Dehogy, az már rég meghalt.

Orvos: Hány éves volt mikor meghalt?

Jelölt: Három éves.

Orvos: Az apját gondolom, nem magát.

Jelölt: Hja ugy; az vót . . . bizony már az öreg ember vót, azt se tudom, hogy hány éves lehetett, mert hát elkerültem a háztól, oszt édes anyám nem igen tudott irni, meg ha tudott vóna is, hát nem igen vót ideje, mert . .

Orvos: Körülbelül hány éves lehetett mégis?

Jelölt: Mibe halt meg?

Jelölt: Hát eljött az ideje, hát meghalt. Valami természetes halállal halt meg.

Orvos: De mégis mi volt a baja, meddig volt beteg?

Jelölt: Nem vót annak semmi baja, mig a háztetőről a fejire nem esett és szörnyet nem halt.

Orvos: Ezt maga természetes halálnak hivja?

Jelölt: Hát természetes, hogy ha valaki a fejire esik, hogy az meghal.

Orvos: Melyik évben halt meg az édes apja?

Jelölt: Hej, ugy vallatják itt az embert, mint nálunk a törvényszéken. Akkor én már Amerikában vótam vagy tiz éve és most vagyok már jövő gyertyaszenteléskor tizenöt éve itten.

Orvos: Édes anyja él?

Jelölt: Ha még az isten eddig megtartotta, hát él az ó-kontriban a feleségemmel együtt, mert már a második férje is elhalt, ő ugyan . . .

Orvos: Jól van, menjünk tovább. Hány éves az édes anyja?

Jelölt: No még azt is tudjam; 8 évvel fiatalabb vót az apámnál.

Orvos: Nincs időm azt kiszámitani, mégis mennyi idős lehet körülbelül?

Jelölt: Édes apám ötven vót, mikor meghót, most tizenöt éve annak, tehát akkor lenne hatvanöt . . . az édes anyám nyolc évvel fiatalabb.

Orvos: Hány fiu testvére van?

Jelölt: Hát vagyunk öten.

Orvos: Fiuk?

Jelölt: Nem, már a nők is beleszámitva.

Orvos: Én a fiukat kérdeztem.

Jelölt: Hárman vagyunk fiuk.

Orvos: Akkor még két fitestvére van.

Jelölt: Hát ugy jön ki.

Orvos: Hány évesek azok?

Jelölt: A János az öregebbik, azután jövök én, hát évvel fiatalabb . . .

Orvos: Hány éves a János

Jelölt: Hat évvel öregebb nálamnál.

Orvos: Tehát harminchat. Hát a másik fiu?

Jelölt: Az mán meghót a háboruban.

Orvos: Hiszen akkor csak ketten vannak, nem pedig hárman. Hány lánytestvére van?

Jelölt: Egy se, már mindakettő férjnél van. De az egyik nincs itt, az anyámnál van.

Orvos: Maga mindig egészséges volt?

Jelölt: Sose vótam beteg, mióta csak Amerikába vagyok.

Orvos: Hát odahaza?

Jelölt: Nem én, mig csak az eszemet birom.

Orvos: Nem szed most semmiféle orvosságot?

Jelölt: Szedi a fene; nem éltem én orvossággal soha.

Orvos: Mi a sulya?

Jelölt: Hogy mit vógolok? Itt Amerikában 165 fontot, már az amerikai métermázsálás szerint, de a hazai kilogrammos szerint . . .

Orvos: Az nem érdekel. Be van oltva?

Jelölt: De be ám, a fene vigye el. Egyszer a katonaságnál, meg kétszer a hajón, mert kétszer vótam Amerikában, oszt mindig beótottak, akkora karom vót, hogy . . .

Orvos: Jól van. Kire hagyja a halálozási összeget?

Jelölt: Hászen szeretném a feleségemre hagyni, ha isten őrizzen meghalok, de másrészt, tudja, hogy milyen az asszony, hátha a pénzt a második férjével elprédálja, oszt a gyermekek hoppon maradnak, mert az is előfordult ám már. Hát mondjuk csak felerészben a gyermekekre és felerészben az asszonyra, hogy ne mondja rám, hogy smucig vótam.

Orvos: Ez az egész. Irja alá a nevét.

Jelölt: Tyüh, az árgyélusát, hát még azt is kell. Tudja a kezem inkább a sufflihoz van szokva, mint a pennához, de azért már csak megpróbálom. Hát hova illesszem? Ugy ni. Ez is meg vóna. De rég nem irtam már. Ez az egész? De aztán nézze doktor ur, hogy valami hiba ne történjen és hogy felvegyenek ám, mert hát még is jó az egylet ha van. Jó napot kivánok.

HELTAI JENŐ

A GÉP-LEÁNY

AGENOR gróf üdén és sok pénzzel felszerelve a kaszinó felé tartott. Délben tizenkét órakor (ekkor jelentkeznek a lump-kisértetek, ellentétben az éjfélkor jelentkező becsületes kisértetekkel) megjelent neki a pikk-kilences, a káró-királlyal füszerezve. Ez az izgató jelentés annyira kihozta sodrából, hogy délután hat órakor már fel is kelt. Nem tudott tovább aludni és igy kissebb terjedelmü gyalogsétára indult, bár rendes körülmények között nem szeretett emberek közé keveredni.

És mintha ezen a napon a szerencse istenasszonya duplán is rámosolygott volna, ime egy előkelő karcsu nőalak lebegett előtte a sáros aszfalton. A ruháját azzal a merész biztonsággal emelte, amelyet csak a jó lelkiismeret és a kifogástalan cipő és harisnya ad meg a nőknek. A finom ismeretlen élénken érdekelte Agenort, minek következtében hevesen kisérni kezdte. Előbb tisztes távolságban lépkedett mögötte, majd közelebb jött és szakértő oldalpillantással igyekezett a karcsu hölgy arcvonásaiból egyet-mást ellesni. Mikor megpillantotta, hogy e rokonszenves teremtés minden kitüntetésre érdemes, még arra is, hogy egy előkelő grófi család utolsó sarja leereszkedjék hozzá, megszólitotta.

A fiatal hölgy nem felelt és némán tovább ment. Agenort e nem remélt kudarc még jobban lelkesitette. Állhatatosan és konokul haladt az ifju nő nyomán, még akkor is, amikor az már régen bekanyarodott a külső Ferenc-város rejtélyes uccáiba. És amikor az ifju nő eltünt egy kevés bizalmat érdemlő kapuba, Agenor hősies elhatározással tünt el utána. Az első emeleten utólérte. A fiatal nő egy ajtó előtt megállt és becsöngetett. Az ajtó nyomban kinyit, a fiatal nő besurrant, mire az ajtó ismét becsapódott. Agenor gróf ott maradt az ajtó előtt.

A lépcsőházban már eléggé sötét volt, Agenor gróf gyufát gyujtott és odavilágitott az ajtóra. Az ajtón egy táblácska volt, ezen pedig az a felirás: “Hobnoberry mester, órás.” Nézte a táblát.

— No, ha órás, — mondta magában Agenor gróf — akkor bemegyek!

Ezzel ő is becsöngetett. Az ajtó ujra kinyilt, Agenor gróf besurrant, mire az ajtó becsapódott. A gróf benn volt az előszobában, de nem látott senkit és semmit. Tőle sem kérdeztek semmit. Tapogatózva ment előre a sötétben.

Egyszerre egy hang megszólalt:

— Ki az?

A gróf megmondta nevét.

— Mi tetszik? — kérdezte ugyanaz a hang valamivel nyájasabban.

— A mesterrel szeretnék beszélni!

— Lépjen hármat előre, hármat balra, hármat ujra előre és hármat ujra balra — hangzott a sarokból.

A gróf hüségesen lelépte a hármakat.

— Most nyomja meg azt a gombot, amelyet balkézről találni fog . . .

A gróf kinyujtotta a kezét, megtapogatta a gombot és megnyomta. A nyomásra a gomb engedett, valami elkezdett csikorogni és a következő pillanatban a gróf egy nagy világos teremben volt.

Ebben a teremben, Hobnoberry mester, egy alacsony, furcsa emberke idegesen járkált föl-alá. Félelmetes pápaszem ült a horgas orrán, az egész figura inkább bagoly volt, mint ember.

— Mit akar? — förmedt rá a belépőre.

— Van-e valami szép órája? — kérdezte a gróf ártatlan arccal.

A mester gunyosan huhogott.

— Ugyan ne izéljen — mondta azután. — Ön nem az óra miatt jött ide. Ön Regia miatt jött ide . . .

— Regia? csodálkozott a gróf.

— Igen. Regia . . .

Ezzel a mester megnyomott egy gombot és a csöngetésre a szép ismeretlen bejött a terembe.

— Ez Regia — mondta a mester nevetve. — Ezért jött?

— Igen, — felelte a gróf bátran.

— Megveszi? — kérdezte a mester röviden.

— Hogyne!

— Nyolvanezer forint!

— Nyolcvanezer forint? . . . Kicsit sok.

— Nem adhatom olcsóbban. Hatvanezret már kaptam volna tegnap érte . . . de nem fizethetek rá. Négy évig dolgoztam rajta, amig meg tudtam szerkeszteni . . .

Agenor most már kissé nyugtalankodni kezdett. Vegyes érzésekkel nézett körül a teremben. Ez a terem mag is nagyon különös volt. Mindenféle-fajta álló és függő-óra volt a teremben, de egy se járt. Azután csodálatos és érthetetlen szerkezetü gépek, ezek is mind mozdulatlanul. A szép ismeretlen is hallgatott és nem moccant. Csak a mester ugrált ide-oda, a nagy pápaszem alól kisértetiesen villogott a szeme.

— Ne féljen, — mondta, amikor a gróf kutató pillantásával találkozott. — Nincs itt semmi baj . . . Regia, az én találmányom . . . a gép-leány . . . Nem él . . . de egészen olyan, mintha élne . . .

— Aha, — mondta Agenor megkönnyebülve, —e tehát olyan . . . hogy hivják azt az operettet, amit az Operában adnak? . . .

— Hoffmann? — nevetett a mester. Badarság! Az nem komoly dolog. Ez a komoly dolog . . . ez a leány! Ha elinditom, mindenki megesküszik rá, hogy él . . . Ez mindent tud, amit egy asszonynak tudnia kell. Ez él, nevet, beszél, csókol, énekel, szeret, kocsikázik, szinházba megy, vasal, főz, mos . . nincs a világon dolog, amire meg nem tanitottam! . . . És azután, ide vigyázzon, ennek nincsennek gépmozdulatai . . . ez kerek, gömbölyü, lágy, ez nem acél, nem vas, nem réz és nem bronz, ez hus és vér . . . Érti uram! . . . Ezért olyan drága! . . .

Agenor gróf feltette a monokliját és szótlanul nézte Regiát. A gépleány még mindig mozdulatlanul állt,, de csábitóan mosolygott. Csupa élet és igéret volt a mosolygása.

— Ez, hisz ez nem gép! Ez él — mondotta Agenor és odament hozzá.

A mester nevetett.

— Ugy-e? El sem hiszi, hogy gép! Pedig az! Tapogassa csak meg! . . .

— Bolond beszéd! — mondta ujra Agenor. — Él és él!

A mester erre odament Regiához és belefujt a fülébe. A következő pillanatban a leány nagy zuhanással a földre esett.

—Most emelje föl! — mondta a mester. Agenor ujra hozzányult a leányhoz, de remülten kapta el a kezét. A gépleány hideg és kemény volt, mint a vas és olyan nehéz, hogy a gróf meg se tudta mozditani.

— Most csak elhiszi? — nevetett a mester.

— A mesternek igaza van. Tényleg csak gép vagyok! . . .

— Vegye meg! — biztatta Agenort a mester. — Ilyesmit nem talál többé az életben. Csupa erény, csupa jó tulajdonság! Engedelmes, kedves, szelid, okos, hü . . .

— Hü? — kérdezte Agenor izgatottan.

—No hallja! — nevetett a mester. — Még hü se legyen? Igaz nő . . . Ha valaha valami hibát lel benne, visszaveszem . . . De nem fog benne találni! Mert ez a nő tökéletes! . . . Igazi nő!

Agenor nagy elhatározással állt a mester elé:

— Tudja mit? Adja ide nekem tiz napi próbaidőre tizezer forintért. Ha tiz nap alatt semmi hibát nem látok benne, megadom a többi hetvenezret is.

— Top! — mondta a mester. — Áll az alku! Nekem tiz nap mulva is jó a hetvenezer forintja . . .

És Agenor elvitte magával a gépleányt.

Tiz nap mulva visszahozta.

— Nos? — kérdezte a mester izgatottan.

— Visszahozom . . . Nagyon édes, nagyon bájos, nagyon elragadó! . . . de nem igazi nő!

— Nem igazi nő? Hogy mondhat ilyent? Mi baja van?

— Tiz napja van nálam . . . és még egyetlenegyszer sem kért tőlem pénzt . . . És erre meri maga azt mondani, hogy igazi nő?

A mester megsemmisülten roskadt össze, Agenor gróf pedig könnyü lépésekkel távozott a kaszinó felé.

MAGYAR FÜGGELÉK AZ IWW ALAPSZABÁLYHOZ

AZ INDUSTRIAL Workers of the World az ipari unionizmust képviselő s tanitó munkásszervezet, amely a munkásokat ipari foglalkozásuk szerint szervezi aból a célból, hogy a termelési eszközöket kisajátitsa, a bérrendszert megszüntesse, miáltal egyenlő jogokat teremt a társadalom minden egyes tagja részére.

Ezt a célt csak ugy érheti el a munkásosztály, ha EGY szervezetben tömörül. Az IWW minden nyelvü és minden szinü bérmunkást az Egy Nagy Szervezetbe tömöriti. Ezért szükségtelennek tartja a külön nyelvi vagy faji csoportokat, mert ahogy az iparban együtt dolgozik minden nemzetiségü, vagy szinü munkás, ugy a munkán történő kizsákmányolás ellen is együtt kell a harcot fölvenni és megküzdeni.

Ehhez a tanitáshoz egyik legalkalmasabb eszköz a sajtó. És mivel minden bérmunkás az anyanyelvén jobban megérti az IWW tanitását, az IWW különböző nyelvü lapjaiban hirdeti az Egy Nagy Szervezet szükségességét.

Az IWW magyar sajtója, bár szorosan az Egyetemes Központ ellenőrzése alatt áll, annak terjesztése és fenntartása a magyar bérmunkások kötelessége.

Ebből a célból agitációs bizottságokat létesitenek, ahol a magyar lap fejlesztését szolgáló ügyeket beszélik meg.

Az agitáció sikeresebb kifejtése céljából legalább egyszer évente értekezleteket tartanak és ha szükségét látják, országos értekezletre jönnek össze. Ugy a kerületek, valamint az országos értekezletek határozatait a magyarajku agitációt végző IWW tagok hagyják jóvá vagy vetik el.

A magyar lap ügyeinek intézésére az agitációs csoportok egy szerkesztőt, egy titkár-pénztárnokot s egy hét tagból álló bizottságot választanak egy évi időtartamára, mely bizottságnak föladata őrködni, hogy a lap IWW szellemben iródjék, hogy a lap körüli munkák elintézést nyerjenek, hogy a lap s igy az ipari unionizmus eszméjének terjesztése a magyar munkások között a legszélesebb körben történjék. E célból odatörekszik, hogy a magyar lap állandó tanitómunkája mellett szervezők is fölkeressék a magyarlakta területeket.

A magyar lap bevételeiről és kiadásairól, valamint a nevelést elősegitő céljairól havonta jelentést készit a lapbizottság és azt az agitációs bizottságok titkárainak, a delegátusoknak s a Bérmunkás lapkezelőinek megküldi.

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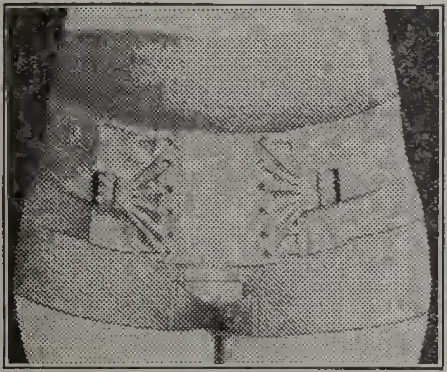

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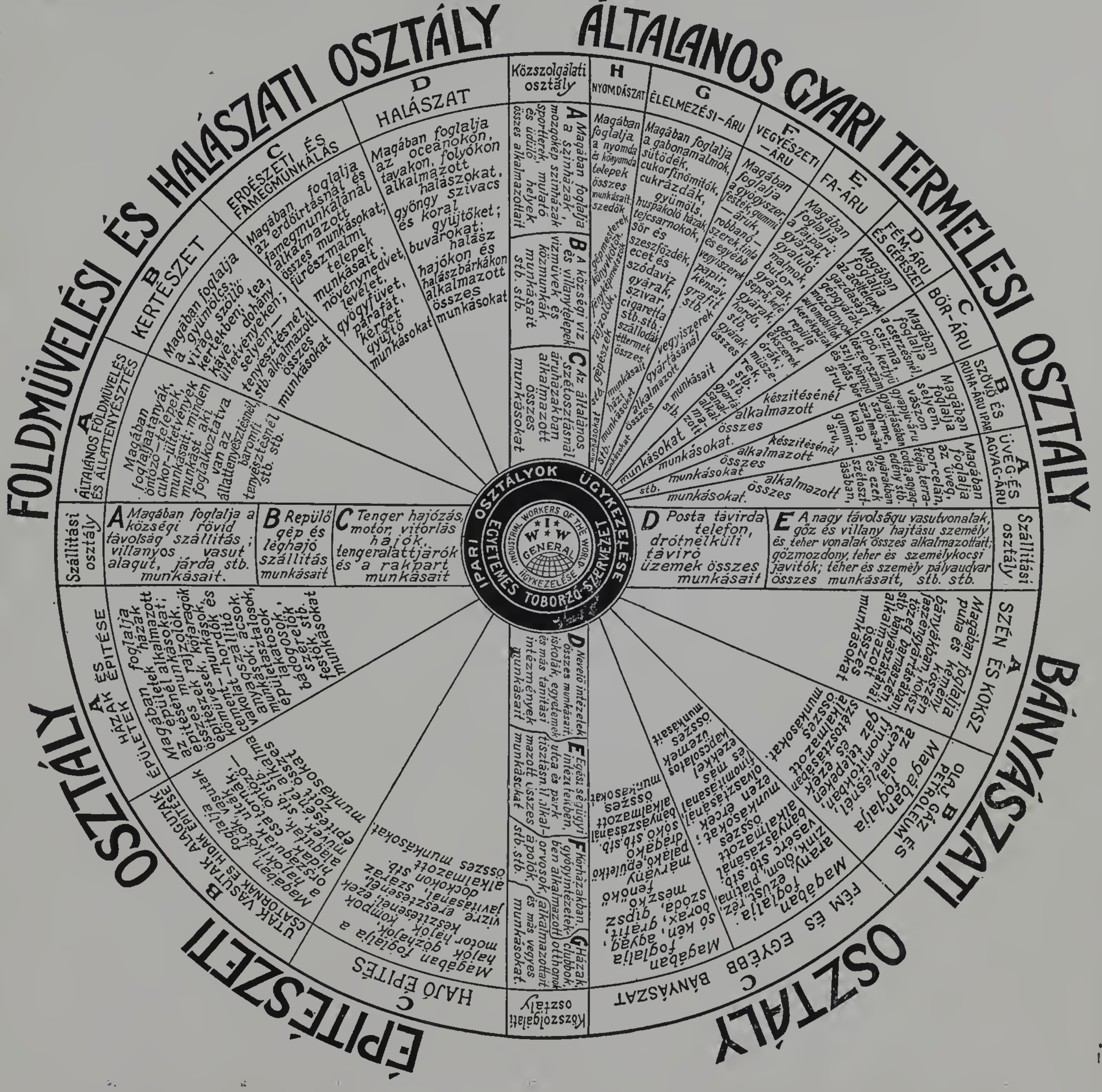
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E FA-ÁRU
Magában foglalja a faipari gyárak, gyaluló malmok, butor gyárak, sepró, kefe gyárak, hordó, stb. gyárak összes gyártásánál alkalmazott munkásokat
D FÉM-ÁRU ÉS GÉPÉSZET
Magában foglalja az acéltelepek gazdasági gépgyárak, mozdonyok automobilok kerékpárak repülö gépek ékszerek órák; müszerek stb. készitésénél alkalmazott összes munkásokat.
C BÖR-ÁRU
Magában foglalja a cserzésnél, a csizma, cipö, keztyü, lószerszám szij, böröná és más bör áruk készitésénél alkalmazott összes munkásokat
B SZÖVÖ ÉS RUHA-ÁRU IPAR
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A Magában foglalja a szinházak, mozgókép szinházak, sporttelepek, mulató és üdülö helyek összes alkalmazottait
B A községi viz és villanytelepek vizmüvek és közmunkák munkásait stb. stb.
C Az általános szétosztásnál áruházakban alkalmazott összes munkásokat
Szállitási osztály
A Magában foglalja a községi rövid távolság szállitás; villanyos vasut alagut, járda stb. munkásait.
B Repülö gép és léghajó szállitás munkásait
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A SZÉN ÉS KOKSZ
Magában foglalja puha és kemény köszén bányákban, koksz faszéngyártásában; tözeg barnaszén, stb. bányászásánál alkalmazott összes munkásokat
B OLAJ, GÁZ ÉS PETROLEUM
Magában foglalja az olaj termelésnél, finomitókban, gáz telepeken és ezek szétosztásában alkalmazott összes munkásokat.
C FÉM ÉS EGYÉBB BÁNYÁSZAT
Magában foglalja: arany, ezüst, réz, zink, ólom, platina, vasérc stb. stb. bányászásánál alkalmazott összes munkásokat; ezen ércek olvasztásánál, finomitásánál és más ezekkel kapcsolatos üzemek összes munkásait
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Közszolgálati osztály
D Nevelö intézetek összes munkásait, iskolák, egyetemek és más tanitási intézmények munkásait
E Egészségügyi intézetekben, utca és park tisztásn. ll. alkalmazott összes munkásokat
F Kórházakban, gyógyintézetekben alkalmazott orvosok, ápolók, stb. stb.
G Házak, clubbok, otthonok alkalmazottait és más vegyes munkásokat.
ÉPITÉSZETI OSZTÁLY
A HÁZAK ÉS ÉPÜLETEK ÉPITÉSE
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B UTAK VASUTAK ALAGUTAK CSATORNÁK ÉS HIDAK ÉPITÉSE
Magában foglalja a hajókikötök, vasutak országutak, utcák, hidak, csatornák, alagutak, öntözö— müvek, stb. stb. épitésénél alkalmazott összes munkásokat
C HAJÓ ÉPITÉS
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NAPTÁRA

1945-IK ÉVRE

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OLVASÓINKHOZ

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A Bérmunkás Lapbizottsága.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1945

Január

1	Hétfő
2	Kedd
3	Szerda
4	Csütörtök
5	Péntek
6	Szombat
7	**Vasárnap**
8	Hétfő
9	Kedd
10	Szerda
11	Csütörtök
12	Péntek
13	Szombat
14	**Vasárnap**
15	Hétfő
16	Kedd
17	Szerda
18	Csütörtök
19	Péntek
20	Szombat
21	**Vasárnap**
22	Hétfő
23	Kedd
24	Szerda
25	Csütörtök
26	Péntek
27	Szombat
28	**Vasárnap**
29	Hétfő
30	Kedd
31	Szerda

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

1936 — Január 1. Az Egyesült Államokban érvénybe lépett a munkanélküli biztositás, ami sok millió munkásnak hozott anyagi segélyt.

— Február 16. Spanyolországban a képviselő választásokat nagy többséggel a szocialisták, szindikalisták és anarchisták egységfrontja nyerte meg. A választásnak azonban a főpapok, főurak, professzionális katonatisztek, stb. nem vetették magukat alá és az afrikai mórokat fellázitva forradalmat inditottak Francisco Franco generális vezetése alatt. Francot, Mussolini és Hitler támogatták, valamint a világ összes reakciós elemei, különösen a katholikus egyház a pápával előtérben. Viszont a kormány — loyalisták — oldalán felsorakoztak a liberálisok és radikálisok világszerte.

1937 — Január 23. A második moszkvai "áruló" tárgyalás, amelyen 13 vádlottat itéltek halálra, köztük több ismert bolshevik forradalmárt. Karl Radek 10 évet kapott.

— Japánnak Kina elleni háboruja, amelyet a japánok csak "incidens" névvel jelölnek, kezdetét veszi.

— Január 30. Hitler bejelenti, hogy Németország többé nem tekinti kötelezőnek a Versaillesi békét.

— Május 21. Szovjet repülők leszálltak a North Pole-on és időjelző állomást létesitettek .

— December 11. Olaszország kilép a Nemzetek Ligájából.

1938 — Máricus 2. Ausztria Németországhoz csatlakozik és megvalósitják a nácik által követelt "Anshluss"-t.

— Március 13. A harmadik moszkvai tárgyalásnál 21 vádlottat itéltek el, köztük 18-at halálra .Ezek között a legismertebbek voltak

— Buckharin, Yagoda, Rykoff, Grinko és Rosengoltz. Rakovszky 20 évet Pletnev nagyhirü sebész pedig 25 évet kaptak.

— Szeptember 30. Konferencia Münich városban ahol Chamberlain angol miniszterelnök, Deladier francia miniszniszterelnök behódoltak Hitler és Mussolininek. A második világháboru valóban ezzel a konferenciával vette kezdetét.

— Október 1. Német csapatok bevonulnak Csehszlovákiába.

1939 — Január. 26. Spa-

1945

Február

1	Csütörtök
2	Péntek
3	Szombat
4	**Vasárnap**
5	Hétfő
6	Kedd
7	Szerda
8	Csütörtök
9	Péntek
10	Szombat
11	**Vasárnap**
12	Hétfő
13	Kedd
14	Szerda
15	Csütörtök
16	Péntek
17	Szombat
18	**Vasárnap**
19	Hétfő
20	Kedd
21	Szerda
22	Csütörtök
23	Péntek
24	Szombat
25	**Vasárnap**
26	Hétfő
27	Kedd
28	Szerda

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

nyolországban a loyalista kormány feladta a harcot. Több százezer spanyol loyalista Franciaországba és Portugáliába menekült, akik később óriási szenvedéseken mentek át és jó részük elpusztult.

— Március 14. A csehszlovák köztársaságot Hitler felosztja.

— Április 7. Mussolini olasz csapatai behatolnak Albániába és elfoglalják az országot.

— Május 7. Németország és Olaszország katonai szövetségre lépnek.

— Augusztus 21. A Szovjet kormány "meg nem támadási paktumot" köt Németországgal.

— Augusztus 28. A németek elfoglalják Slovákiát.

— Szeptember 1. Német seregek átlépik a lengyel határt.

— Szeptember 3. Anglia és Franciaország hadat üzennek Németországnak.

— November 30. Orosz csapatok megkezdték a finnek elleni háborut.

— December 17. A német csatahajót, Graf Speet a saját kapitánya elsülyeszti Montevideo közelében.

1940 — Április 9. Német csapatok betörnek Norvégiába.

— Május 13. Wilhelmina királynő és a holland kormány Londonba menekülnek a németek elől.

— Május 28. Leopold belga király megadta magát a németeknek.

— Junius 10. Olaszország hadat üzen Franciaországnak.

— Junius 14. A németek bevonultak Párisba.

— Junius 21. Franciaország békét kér Hitlertől.

— Julius 5. A francia Petain kormány megszakitja a diplomáciai összeköttetést Angliával.

— Augusztus 20. Mexico városban Leon Trotsky orgyilkosság áldozatává esett.

— Szeptember 27. Németország, Olaszország és Japán 10 évre szóló katonai szövetségre léptek.

— Október 27. Olasz csapatok megtámadják Görögországot.

Október 29. Az Egyesült Államokban bevezetik a kötelező sorozást.

— November 5. Franklin D. Roosevelt-et harmadszor választották elnökké az Egyesült Államokban, amivel megtörték azt a szokást, hogy csak kétszer választható meg az elnök.

1945

Március

1	Csütörtök
2	Péntek
3	Szombat
4	**Vasárnap**
5	Hétfő
6	Kedd
7	Szerda
8	Csütörtök
9	Péntek
10	Szombat
11	**Vasárnap**
12	Hétfő
13	Kedd
14	Szerda
15	Csütörtök
16	Péntek
17	Szombat
18	**Vasárnap**
19	Hétfő
20	Kedd
21	Szerda
22	Csütörtök
23	Péntek
24	Szombat
25	**Vasárnap**
26	Hétfő
27	Kedd
28	Szerda
29	Csütörtök
30	Péntek
31	Szombat

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

— November 20. Magyarország csatlakozott a Tengelyhatalmakhoz.

1941 — április 6. A németek megtámadják Jugoszláviat és az olaszok segitésére mennek a görögök ellen.

— május 1. Az angolokat a németek kiverik Görögországból.

— május 10. Rudolf Hess Angliába repül, hogy az angolokat rábirja az oroszok elleni szövetségre.

— junius 1. A németek elfoglalják Kréta szigetet.

— junius 22. A németek megtámadják az oroszokat.

— augusztus 14. Roosevelt és Churchill aláirja az Atlantic Chartert.

— szeptember 11. Miután a németek támadást intéztek egy amerikai csatahajó ellen, Roosevelt elnök elrendelte, hogy a német tengeralatti hajókra lőni kell, mihelyt feltünnek.

— december 7. A japánok támadást intéznek az amerikai flotta ellen Pearl Harborban.

— december 8. Amerika hadat üzent a tengelyhatalmaknak.

— december 13. Magyarország és Bulgária hadat üzentek az Egyesült Államoknak.

— december 25. Hong Kong várost elfoglalják a japánok.

1942 — január 2. A japánok elfoglalják Manilát, a Phillippinei szogetek fővárosát.

— január 12. Az Egyesült Államok legfelsőbb birósága alkotmány ellenesnek nyilvánitotta Georgia állam "Contract Labor" törvényeit, amelyeket a négerek kizsákmányolására hozták.

— január 26. Megkezdik az amerikai csapatoknak Európába való küldését.

— február 9. A japánok elfoglalják Bataviát, megkezdik New Británia sziget invázióját.

— február 23. Ellenséges szubmarin néhány lövést adott le a californiai partokra. Ez volt az egyetlen támadás, amely az amerikai kontinenst érte.

— március 13. A japánok elfoglalják Rangoon kikötőt, megkezdik a Salamon szigetek invázióját, pár nap mulva elfoglalták Sumatra szigetet is.

— április 18. Amerikai repülők James H. Doolittle vezetése alatt bombázták Tokiót.

— május 6. Corregidor erőd védői feladták a harcot és ezzel a Phil-

BÉRMUNKÁS

1945

Április

1	**Vasárnap**
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	**Vasárnap**
9	Hétfő
10	Kedd
11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
15	**Vasárnap**
16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
18	Szerda
19	Csütörtök
20	Péntek
21	Szombat
22	**Vasárnap**
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat
29	**Vasárnap**
30	Hétfő

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

lippine szigetek teljesen a japánok kezeibe kerültek.

— május 8. Az első jelentékeny tengeri csata a japán és az amerikai flotta között, amelynél a japánok 11 hajót veszitettek, mig az amerikaiak egyet sem.

— A németek elfoglalták az oroszoktól Kerch félszigetet és megnyitották az utat a Kaukázushoz.

— május 27. Bombával megölték Reinhardt Heydrick, Csehország náci "protektorát", amiért később Lidice város összes lakóit kiirtották.

— május 31. Az angolok megkezdik a németek elleni repülő hadjáratot.

— junius 7. Japánok megszállták Kiska szigetet, ezzel jutottak a legközelebb az amerikai kontinenshez.

— junius 27. A németek Rommel parancsnoksága alatt elfoglalták Tobruk várost Afrikában, két nap mulva eljutottak Matruh városba, maguk előtt hajtva az angolokat.

— julius 1. A németek elfoglalták Sevastopol erődöt. Afrikában eljutottak El Alamein városhoz, közel Alexandriához.

— augusztus 7. Amerikai csapatok támadásba mennek Guadalcanalnál, a Salamon szigeteken.

— augusztus 8. Washingtonban kivégezték a hat német szabotőrt, kiket a németek szubmarinon küldtek ide.

— augusztus 19. Angol, amerikai, kanadai és francia csapatok "commando" támadást intéztek a francia partvidék ellen Dieppe városnál, amely azonban igen nagy kudarccal végződött. A támadóknak több mint a fele elveszett.

— augusztus 23. Brazilia háborut üzent Németországnak.

— szeptember 23. Az angolok és amerikaiak okupálták az Amerikához közel fekvő Madagascar francia szigetet.

— október 2. Az amerikai kongresszus felhatalamazta az elnököt a bérek és az árak szabályozására az infláció ellenes törvénnyel

— október 17. United States a sorozási évet 20-ról 18-ra szállitotta le.

— november 7. Amerikai csapatok partra szállnak Afrikában D. D. Eisenhower generális parancsnoksága alatt.

— november 11. Hitler

1945

Május

1	Kedd
2	Szerda
3	Csütörtök
4	Péntek
5	Szombat
6	**Vasárnap**
7	Hétfő
8	Kedd
9	Szerda
10	Csütörtök
11	Péntek
12	Szombat
13	**Vasárnap**
14	Hétfő
15	Kedd
16	Szerda
17	Csütörtök
18	Péntek
19	Szombat
20	**Vasárnap**
21	Hétfő
22	Kedd
23	Szerda
24	Csütörtök
25	Péntek
26	Szombat
27	**Vasárnap**
28	Hétfő
29	Kedd
30	Szerda
31	Csütörtök

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

elrendeli az egész Franciaország megszállását.

— november 12-15. A Salamon szigetek körüli nagy tengeri ütközetben a japánok ujból sulyos veszteséget szenvedtek.

— november 23. — Darlan francia tábornok vezérlete alatt az afrikai francia gyarmatok a szövetségesekhez csatlakoztak.

— november 28. Boston városban a "Coconaut Grove" nevü mulató leégésénél 492 ember veszitette életét.

1943 — január 1. Az oroszok téli hadjárata teljes erővel megindul, visszafoglalják Velikye Luki várost.

— január 4. Az oroszok a Stalingradtól 100 kilométerrel keletre eső Chernishkovsky városnál megverik a németeket. Ez volt a legtávolabbi pont, ameddig a nácik behatoltak orosz tereületre.

— január 7. A francia csapatokat ujjászervezték és Libyaban támadásba mentek az olaszok ellen.

— január 12. A francia csapatok elfoglalják Fezan várost Afrikában.

— január 17. Angol repülőgépek első nagy támadása Berlin város ellen.

— január 18. Az oroszok felszabaditják Leningrad várost a 17 hónapig tartó ostrom alól.

— január 19. Az orosz hadijelentés szerint a német csapatok nagy vereséget szenvedtek Voronezh vidékén. Az elfogott 52,000 ember között 27,500 magyarra akadtak.

—január 22. Libyat megtisztitják az összes németektől.

— január 24. A francia Moroccoban fekvő Casablanca városban Roosevelt elnök és Churchhill miniszterelnök 10 napos konferenciát tartottak.

— január 30. Moszkva jelenti, hogy visszafoglalták a kaukazusi olajmezők központját, Maikop várost.

— január 31. A Vörös Hadsereg óriási győzelmet arat Stalingrad várrosnál még az orstromló sereg főparancsnokát, Paulus generálist is elfogták.

— február 8. Az oroszok visszafoglalják Kursk várost.

— február 9. Roosevelt elnök kiadja a 48 órás munkahétre vonatkozó rendeletét, amelyből 8 óra tulórázásnak számit.

— február 11. Dwight D. Eisenhower generá-

BÉRMUNKÁS

1945

Junius

1	Péntek
2	Szombat
3	**Vasárnap**
4	Hétfő
5	Kedd
6	Szerda
7	Csütörtök
8	Péntek
9	Szombat
10	**Vasárnap**
11	Hétfő
12	Kedd
13	Szerda
14	Csütörtök
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22	Péntek
23	Szombat
24	**Vasárnap**
25	Hétfő
26	Kedd
27	Szerda
28	Csütörtök
29	Péntek
30	Szombat

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

list az összes afrikai csapatok főparancsnokává nevezik ki.

— .február 14. Az oroszok visszafoglalják Rostov várost.

— február 17. Kharkov az oroszok kezébe kerül.

— február 25. Amerikai csapatok Tunisban elfoglalták a Kasserina hágót.

— március 3. Az oroszok visszafoglalják Rzhev várost.

— máricus 9. A japánok Kinában átkeltek a Yangtze folyón.

— március 10. A németek visszafoglalták Kharkov várost.

— március 17. Amerikai csapatok visszafoglalták Gafsa várost Tunisiaban.

— április 10. Az angolok elfoglalták Sfax várost Észak-Afrikában.

— április 25. A szovjet kormány megszakitotta a menekült lengyel kormánnyal az összeköttetést, mert ez a kormány elhitte és továbbitotta a németek azon hazugságát, hogy az oroszok leméászároltak 10,000 fogoly lengyel tisztet.

— április 28. A kinai kormány jelenti, hogy a japánok lemészárolták azon terület összes lakóit, ahol segitséget nyujtottak a Tokiot bombázó amerikai repülők leszállásánál.

— május 3. Amerikai csapatok elfoglalják Mateur várost Tunisban.

— május 7. Szövetséges csapatok megszállják Tunis és Bizerta városokat.

— május 9. Tunisaban körülbelül 25.000 emberből álló német csapat adta meg magát a szövetségeseknek

— május 11. Churchill Washingtonba érkezett tanácskozásra Roosevelt elnökkel.

— május 12. Az afrikai hadjárat végetért a német csapatok fővezérének Arnim generálisnak az elfogásával.

— május 21. Attu szigetet az amerikaiak kitisztitják a japánoktól.

— május 29. Az Egyesült Államok megszervezik a háborus mobilizáló irodát James F. Byrness vezetése alatt. Ennek az irodának rendeltek alá minden más háborus (nem katonai) intézményt.

— junius 1. Mexico hadat üzen a tengelyhatalmaknak.

— junius 2. Algierban megalakitják a francia Nemzeti Felszabadító Tanácsot, amelynek De Gaulle és Giraud tábor-

1945

Julius

1	**Vasárnap**
2	Hétfő
3	Kedd
4	Szerda
5	Csütörtök
6	Péntek
7	Szombat
8	**Vasárnap**
9	Hétfő
10	Kedd
11	Szerda
12	Csütörtök
13	Péntek
14	Szombat
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16	Hétfő
17	Kedd
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21	Szombat
22	**Vasárnap**
23	Hétfő
24	Kedd
25	Szerda
26	Csütörtök
27	Péntek
28	Szombat
29	**Vasárnap**
30	Hétfő
31	Kedd

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

nokok társelnökei lettek.

— junius 12. A szövetségesek elfoglalják az olasz Lampedusa szigetet.

— junius 22. A francia Nemzeti Felszabadító Tanács csak De Gaullera bizza az elnöki tisztséget és Giraud tábornokot katonai főparancsnoknak nevezik ki.

— junius 30. Amerikai csapatok megszállják a New Georgia szigeteket.

— julius 9. Szövetséges csapatok partra szállnak Siciliában.

— julius 18. A csaknem teljesen elfoglalt Sicilia kormányzójává Herold R.L.G. angol tábornokot nevezik ki.

— julius 25. Emmanuel olasz király bejelenti Mussolini lemondását és hogy helyébe Badoglio marshalt nevezték ki. A hir szerint az uj kormány fogságba vetette Mussolinit és hadnagyait.

— julius 30. Roosevelt elnök először hangoztatja, hogy a szövetséges hatalmak nem fogják megengedni egy semleges hatalomnak sem, hogy Hitler, Mussolini és a többi tengelyhatalmi vezéreknek menedékhelyet adjanak.

— augusztus 15. Amerikai csapatok partra szálltak Kiska szigeten, hogy az Alaskához tartozó szigetekről kiüzzék a japánokat.

— augusztus 17. Roosevelt és Churchill nagy táborkarral 10 napos konferenciát tartottak Quebec, canadai városban.

— augusztus 23. — Az oroszok ujból visszafoglalták Kharkov várost. Oroszországnak ez a harmadik legnagyobb városa, most már negyedszer cserélt uralmat.

— augusztus 28. Boris bolgár király, Hitlertől való látogatása után visszatérve hirtelen meghalt Bulgária fölött az uralmat a német befolyás alatt álló Bogdan Philoff vette át.

— szeptember 3. Az egyesült nemzetek megkezdték Olaszország invázióját.

— szeptember 5. Mac Arthur generális Ausztráliából New Guinea szigetre teszi át főhadiszállását.

— szeptember 8. A Badoglio olasz kormány feladja a harcot, elfogadja az egyesült nemzetek feltételeit.

— szeptember 9. Iran (Persia) háborut üzen Németországnak.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1945
Augusztus

1	Szerda
2	Csütörtök
3	Péntek
4	Szombat
5	**Vasárnap**
6	Hétfő
7	Kedd
8	Szerda
9	Csütörtök
10	Péntek
11	Szombat
12	**Vasárnap**
13	Hétfő
14	Kedd
15	Szerda
16	Csütörtök
17	Péntek
18	Szombat
19	**Vasárnap**
20	Hétfő
21	Kedd
22	Szerda
23	Csütörtök
24	Péntek
25	Szombat
26	**Vasárnap**
27	Hétfő
28	Kedd
29	Szerda
30	Csütörtök
31	Péntek

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

— szeptember 10. A németek megszállják Romát és Olaszország legnagyobb részét, lefegyverzik az olasz csapatokat. Romából kiszabaditják Mussolinit, aki uj olasz kormányt szervez. Badoglio és a király a szövetségesek által megszállt területekre menekülnek.

— szeptember 25. Az oroszok visszafoglalták Smolensk várost.

— szeptember 28. Az angolok elfoglalták Foggia várost s ezzel kezükbe került Olaszország legjobb repülőtere.

— október 1. Szövetséges csapatok bevonulnak Nápoly városba.

— október 4. Francia csapatok visszafoglalják Corsica szigetét.

— október 7. A szövetséges csapatok elérik a Volturno folyót Olaszországban.

— október 8. Jugoszláv partizánok első sikeres csatájukat jelentik.

— október 13. Olaszország (a Badoglio kormány) hadat üzent Németországnak.

— október 18. Cordell Hull, Anthony Eden és Molotov külügyminiszterek tanácskoznak Moszkvában.

— október 25. Moszkva Dniepropetrovsk város visszafoglalását jelenti.

— november 2. Jugoszláv partizánok jelentik, hogy a németekkel együtt harcoló csetnikeket (Mihajlovics embereit) fogták el.

— november 20. Amerikai tengerészkatonák megszállták a Gilbert szigeteket.

— november 22. Roosevelt elnök, Churchill miniszterelnök és Chiang Kai-shek kinai elnök ötnapos konferenciát tartottak Cairo városban.

— december 1. A Teheran konferencia ideje, amelyen Churchill, Roosevelt és Stalin először találkoztak.

— december 4. Bolivia hadat üzent a tengelyhatalmaknak.

— december 12. Eduard Benes a Csehszlovák köztársaság elnöke 20 éves szerződést kötött a Szovjet kormánnyal.

— december 15. A németek váratlan támadást intéztek a szövetségeseknek Bari kikötőben időző szállitó flottája ellen és igen sulyos károkat okoztak.

1944 — január 3. Az oroszok elérik a lengyel határt.

— január 6. U.S. Deparment of Justice

BÉRMUNKÁS

1945

Szeptember

1	Szombat
2	**Vasárnap**
3	Hétfő
4	Kedd
5	Szerda
6	Csütörtök
7	Péntek
8	Szombat
9	**Vasárnap**
10	Hétfő
11	Kedd
12	Szerda
13	Csütörtök
14	Péntek
15	Szombat
16	**Vasárnap**
17	Hétfő
18	Kedd
19	Szerda
20	Csütörtök
21	Péntek
22	Szombat
23	**Vasárnap**
24	Hétfő
25	Kedd
26	Szerda
27	Csütörtök
28	Péntek
29	Szombat
30	**Vasárnap**

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

megkezdi az első pörét a kartelek ellen.

— január 8. A Vörös Hadsereg elfoglalja Kivograd várost.

— január 11. Veronában Ciano grófot, Mussolini vejét és 17 társát kivégezték, mert őket okozták Mussolini bukásáért.

— január 22. Amerikai és angol seregek partra szállnak Italiában, Rómától délre, Anzio városnál.

— január 24. Az oroszok felszabaditják Leningrád várost a 17 hónapig tartó ostrom alól.

— február 1. Az amerikaiak megkezdik a Marshall szigetek invázióját.

— február 5. Amerikai csapatok visszafoglalják Kwayalein szigetet a japánoktól.

— február 8. Az oroszok visszaveszik Nikopol várost.

— február 15. Egyesültek seregei bombázzák Mt. Cassino hegyen a benediktine kolostort, amit a németek megerősitettek.

— február 22. Az oroszok visszaveszik Krivoi Rog erődöt.

— március 3. Az oroszok megkapják az elfogott olasz flotta harmad részét.

— máricus 15. Cassino városra 3,500 tonna bombát ejtenek, de még sem tudják kiüzni onnan a németeket.

— március 19. Az oroszok benyomulnak Bessarabiába.

— március 20. Náci csapatok megszállják Magyarországot.

— április 2. A Vörös Hadsereg átlépi a román határt.

— április 10. Odessa visszakerül az oroszokhoz.

— április 14. A francia National Liberation Committee nyugdijba küldi Giraud tábornokot és ezzel a hatalom teljesen De Gaulle kezébe kerül.

— április 18. Dániában a munkások nagy általános sztrájkot kezdtek.

— április 26. Az állam átveszi a Montgomery és Ward üzletét Chicagoban és két tengerészkatonával kivitetik Sewell Avery igazgatót az irodából.

— május 9. Sevastopol várost visszafoglalják az oroszok.

— május 16. Egyesültek áttörik a Cassino vonalat Olaszországban és megkezdik az előnyomulást Róma felé.

— május 20. Az amerikai kommunista párt feloszlik, mint politikai párt.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1945

Október

1	Hétfő
2	Kedd
3	Szerda
4	Csütörtök
5	Péntek
6	Szombat
7	**Vasárnap**
8	Hétfő
9	Kedd
10	Szerda
11	Csütörtök
12	Péntek
13	Szombat
14	**Vasárnap**
15	Hétfő
16	Kedd
17	Szerda
18	Csütörtök
19	Péntek
20	Szombat
21	**Vasárnap**
22	Hétfő
23	Kedd
24	Szerda
25	Csütörtök
26	Péntek
27	Szombat
28	**Vasárnap**
29	Hétfő
30	Kedd
31	Szerda

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

— junius 2. Az egyesültek megkezdik német területek 'shuttle' bombázását, vagyis átrepülnek Oroszországba és itt ujabb bombákat vesznek fel és ejtik le hazafelé utjukban.

— junius 4. Róma az egyesültek kezébe kerül.

— junius 5. Az olasz király lemond, helyét a fia foglalja el. Ugyancsak lemond a Badoglio kormány is és megalakul a Bononi koaliciós kormány.

— junius 6. A nagy invázió napja. Az egyesültek hadseregei betörnek Franciaországba.

— junius 15. U.S. csapatok megszállják a Marinas szigeteket.

— junius 16. A németek megkezdik a robot bombák használatát.

— junius 20. Az oroszok visszafoglalják Viborg várost.

— junius 22. Nagy tengeri csata az amerikai és a japán flotta között a Marianas szigeteknél, ahol a japánok nagy vereséget szenvedtek.

— junius 26. Cherbourg kikötő az egyesültek kezébe kerül.

— junius 26. Az oroszok visszafoglalják Vitebsk várost.

— julius 3. Minsk visszakerül az oroszokhoz.

— julius 13. Az oroszok elfoglalják Vilna várost.

— julius 18. Tojo és a japán kormány bukása. julius 19. Olaszországban az egyesültek elfoglalják Leghorn várost.

— julius 21. Amerikai csapatok megkezdik a Guam sziget invázióját.

— julius 23. Lublint elfoglalják az oroszok.

— julius 23. Pisa az egyesültek kezébe kerül.

— julius 23. Moszkvában megalakul a Lengyel Nemzeti Tanács.

— julius 28. Brest-Litovsk ujra orosz kézre kerül.

— augusztus 2. Rommel, Hitler legügyesebb vezére halálosan megsebesül.

— aguszutus 2. Katonaság átveszi a villamos közlekedést Philadelphiaban.

— augusztus 6. Egyesültek elfoglalják Florence várost Itáliában.

— augusztus 8. A japánok elfoglalják Hengyang várost Kinában.

— augusztus 10. Hitler kivégezteti az őt ellenző generálisokat.

— augusztus 15. Dél-Franciaország inváziója Marseille és Nice városok között.

BÉRMUNKÁS

1945

November

1	Csütörtök
2	Péntek
3	Szombat
4	**Vasárnap**
5	Hétfő
6	Kedd
7	Szerda
8	Csütörtök
9	Péntek
10	Szombat
11	**Vasárnap**
12	Hétfő
13	Kedd
14	Szerda
15	Csütörtök
16	Péntek
17	Szombat
18	**Vasárnap**
19	Hétfő
20	Kedd
21	Szerda
22	Csütörtök
23	Péntek
24	Szombat
25	**Vasárnap**
26	Hétfő
27	Kedd
28	Szerda
29	Csütörtök
30	Péntek

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

— augusztus 17. Amerika és Anglia hajlandók beengedni azon zsidókat, akiket Magyarországból kiengednek.

— augusztus 17. Finnország hadat üzen Németországnak.

— augusztus 18. Az oroszok fogságba vetik Ion Antonescu, volt román diktátort és 9 társát.

— augusztus 18. Calais kikötő az egyesültek kezébe kerül.

— augusztus 19. Az oroszok elfoglalják Temesvárt.

— augusztus 21. Amerika és Anglia elismerik a De Gaulle kormányt.

— augusztus 22. Tallinin, Esztonia fővárosa orosz kézre kerül.

— augusztus 22. Jassy várost elfoglalják az oroszok.

— augusztus 23. Románia megadja magát.

— augusztus 24. Kishenev orosz kézre kerül.

— augusztus 25. Egyesültek bevonulnak Párisba.

— augusztus 25. Románia hadat üzen a németeknek.

— augusztus 28. Az oroszok betörnek Erdélybe.

— augusztus 30. Az oroszok elfoglalják Ploestit és ezzel a román olajmezők kezükbe kerülnek.

— augusztus 31. Az oroszok bevonulnak Bukarestbe.

— szeptember 2. Az oroszok megkezdik a Magyarország elleni offenzivát.

— szeptember 4. Megkezdik Görögország felszabaditását.

— szeptember 5. Az oroszok megtámadják Bulgáriát.

— szeptember 6. Magyarország és Románia hadat üzennek egymásnak.

— szeptember 9. Bulgária teljesiti az oroszok követelését, hadat üzen Németországnak.

— szeptember 11. Roosevelt és Churchill megkezdik a tanácskozást Quebeck, canadai városban.

— szeptember 12. Havre kikötő az egyesültek kezébe kerül.

— szeptember 16. Az oroszok bevonulnak Sofiába.

— szeptember 27. Albániában partra szállnak az egyesült csapatok.

— szeptember 30. Az oroszok elfoglalják Makó várost, bevonulnak Jugoszláviába.

— október 5. Warsoban a lengyel guerilla csapat Bor generálissal

BÉRMUNKÁS

1945

December

1	Szombat
2	**Vasárnap**
3	Hétfő
4	Kedd
5	Szerda
6	Csütörtök
7	Péntek
8	Szombat
9	**Vasárnap**
10	Hétfő
11	Kedd
12	Szerda
13	Csütörtök
14	Péntek
15	Szombat
16	**Vasárnap**
17	Hétfő
18	Kedd
19	Szerda
20	Csütörtök
21	Péntek
22	Szombat
23	**Vasárnap**
24	Hétfő
25	Kedd
26	Szerda
27	Csütörtök
28	Péntek
29	Szombat
30	**Vasárnap**
31	Hétfő

A háborus évek fontosabb eseményei

együtt megadja magát a németeknek.

— október 7. Az oroszok elfoglalják Gyula és Gyom városokat Magyarországon.

— október 10. Churchill és Stalin tanácskoznak Moszkvában.

— október 10. Kolozsvár és Szeged az oroszok kezébe kerül.

— október 10. Spanyol guerillák megkezdik támadásaikat Franco ellen.

— október 13. Athen város felszabadul a német megszállás alól.

— október 13. Riga az oroszok kezére kerül.

— október 13. Nagy tengeri csata a Formoza szigeteknél, ahol a japánok több mint 100 hajót veszitettek.

— október 15. Horthy Miklós állitólagos beszéde, amelyben fegyverszünetet kért az egyesültektől.

— október 15. Achen, az első jelentékeny német város az egyesültek kezébe kerül.

— október 18. Mac Arthur megkezdi a Philliphine szigetek invázióját.

— október 18. Az oroszok elfoglalják Debrecent.

— október 19. Belgrád felszabadul a németek uralma alól.

— október 20. Cleveland városban óriási gázrobbanás elpusztit egész városrészt, igen nagy emberélet veszteséggel.

— október 30. Gen. Joseph W. Stilwellt visszahivják Kinából, ami a kinai kormány ujjászervezéséhez vezetett.

— október 30. Az oroszok elfoglalják Kecskemétet.

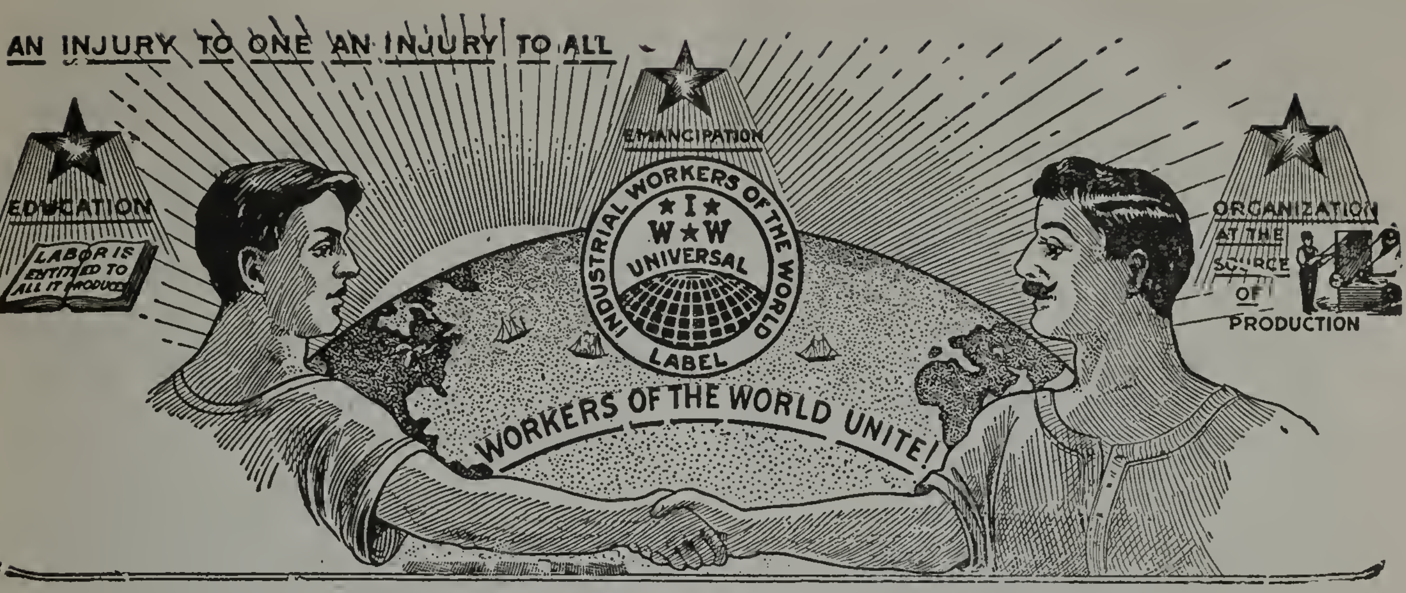
— november 5. Stalin jelentése szerint az összes orosz területeket megtisztitották a németektől.

— november 7. Soha eddig nem tapasztalt izgalmas választási kampány után az Egyesült Államok népe ujból Roosevelt elnököt választja meg most már negyedszeri időtartamra

— november 15. Az oroszok Miskolc, Eger és Hatvan vonal elfoglalását jelentik.

— december 1. A magyar népet a náci uralom alól felszabadító orosz hadsereg egyre közelebb ér céljához.

— december 12. Az önmagát kinevezett magyar kormány elmenekült. Budapest lángokban áll. Az orosz hadsereg Budapest uccáin van. A város elfoglalása a jelentések szerint rövid idő kérdése.


AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL
EDUCATION
LABOR IS ENTITLED TO ALL IT PRODUCES
EMANCIPATION
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
I W W
UNIVERSAL
LABEL
ORGANIZATION AT THE SOURCE OF PRODUCTION
WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

A NEGYVEN ÉVES I.W.W.

Irta: WAGNER JÓZSEF

PÁR hónappal ezen sorok irása után, — 1945 junius vagy julius havában, az Industrial Workers of the World szervezet születésének negyvenedik évfordulóját fogja ünnepelni. Negyven év csak egy rövid pillanat a történelemben és nem tul hosszu idő a munkásmozgalomban sem, azonban nagyon is tiszteletre méltó időköz egy proletár életében.

Amikor erre a közelgő évfordulóra gondolok, eszembe jutnak az I. W.W. születését megelőző idők, mert ez a születés nem véletlen müve volt, éveken át tartó fárasztó készülődés hozta létre ezt az eseményt. Jól emlékszem azon lázas aktivitásra, amit a még meg nem született forradalmi ipari unionizmus érdekében kifejtettünk, amelynek eljöttében rendületlenül biztunk. Eszembe jutnak most azon érvek, amelyeket az uj szervezet érdekében felszinre vetettünk és terjesztettünk szóban, levelekben és nyomtatásban az Atlanti oceántól a Csendes tengerig és Kanada északi fagyos mezőitől le Mexiko forró határáig. Sőt azokon is tul, mert harcias szellemü, agressziv müködésre képzett szociálista munkások voltunk, akik nagyban reméltük, hogy az életre hivandó uj szervezet a munkásság számára jobb világot fog teremteni nemcsak Amerikában, hanem az egész világon.

Ennek az országnak a munkásai abban az időben már nagyon megelégelték a régi módu, osztályok közötti összmüködést hirdető szakszervezkedést, amelyekben sztrájkot sztrájk után veszitettek. A Gompers féle vezéreik becsapták, vagy egyenest alárulták őket. Az American Federation of Labor szervezetnek akkor körülbelül egy milliónyi tagja volt, amelynek többségét nagyon bátortalanná tette és demoralizálta az A.F. of L. által nyujtott szervezkedés. Valami uj és jobb utáni vágy érzete szinte a levegőben volt és annak megérkeztét minden pillanatra várták.

Mi, az uj eszme hivei, szorgoskodtunk a munkások között a forradalmi ipari unionizmus eszméjének propagandájával. Hirdettük mindenhol, — a szakszervezetekben és a

Szocialista Párt gyülésein. A Szocialista Párt abban az időben még nem volt oly kimondottan a középosztály szervezete, mint később. És nehogy az olvasók némelyike mosolyogjon a Szocialista Párt emlitésén, meg kell jegyeznem, hogy abban az időben ez a párt minden hibái dacára is igen nagy aktivitást fejtett ki. Igy például csak Chicagoban több mint 40 müködő osztálya volt; a St. Louis lokal 26 osztállyal rendelkezett. És igy volt ez a többi városokban is az egész országban.

A szindikalista mozgalmak

Ugyanezen időben a külföldi viszonyok is ugy alakultak, hogy kedvezővé tették a talajt a forradalmi ipari unionizmus megteremtésére. Oroszországban a cári deszpoaizmus elleni véres politikai harcok elégtelennek bizonyultak. Az orosz munkások ráeszméltek arra, hogy ipari erejük nagy hatalmat ád nekik és az orosz birodalom hamarosan hatalmas sztrájkok szinhelye lett.

Franciaország is az Egyesült Államokhoz hasonló folyamaton ment keresztül. Hosszu időn át a francia munkások mozgalmait is féltucat különböző szocálista vagy munkáspárt őrölte fel. A politikai pártok vezérei uralták a munkások gazdasági szervezeteit és igyekeztek azokat a saját pártérdekeiknek megfelelőleg kihasználni. Végre a francia munkások is rájöttek erre a tényre és megalakitották a világhirüvé vált francia szindikalista mozgalmat, — a Confederation Generale du Travail-uniont, amely kizárt minden politikai szervezetet. Megalakulása után, — közvetlenül az I.W.W. megszületése előtt, — hamarosan lángbetükkel irta nevét a munkásmozgalom történetébe.

Ugyanebben a korban Spanyolországban, Portugáliában és Olaszországban is erős szindikalista mozgalmak keletkeztek. Igy midőn lelkesülten dolgoztunk az uj szervezet érdekében, jogosult volt a nagy reményünk, noha tulságosan optimisták voltunk az azonnali eredményekre vonatkozólag. Azonban mindezek dacára még ma is büszke vagyok arra, hogy résztvettem abban az előkészitő munkában, amely nem csak nagy befolyással volt, hanem valóban meggyorsitotta az egész munkásosztály előretörését.

A megszületendő Industrial Workers of the World érdekében aktivan dolgozó munkások 1905 január havában összejöttek Chicago városban. Gondosan megtárgyalták az ügyet, számbavették azon erőket, amelyekre számithatnak és azokat is, amelyek ellenezni fogják az uj mozgalmat s ezek alapján egy kiáltványt, (Manifesto) adtak ki. Ez a Manifesto felsorakoztatta azon okokat, amelyek most az amerikai munkásság számára szükségessé teszik az uj szervezetet és felhivta az amerikai munkásságot, hogy jöjjenek el a Chicagoba, 1905 junius 27-ére összehivott alakuló gyülésre.

Mint ismeretes, ezen a gyülésen hivatalosan is megalakult az Industrial Workers of the World szervezet és elindult arra az utjára, amelyen mély nyomokkal irta be nevét a munkásosztály történetébe. A negyven éves életében az I.W.W.-nak is voltak bajai, hol virágzott, vagy lejebb esett, de soha egy percre sem adta fel a munkásosztálynak kompromisszumot nem ismerő forradalmi zászlaját.

A politikai párt szerepe

Sokan közülünk, akik már hónapok óta dolgoztunk a szervezet megalakitásán, nem tudtunk elmenni az alakuló gyülésre. Többek között nem lehetett ott Vincent St. John sem, aki Idaho állam fémbánya vidékén fontos szervező munkát végzett. Többen azok közül ,akik később nagyon fontos szerepet vittek az I.W.W.-ban, sőt vérüket és életüket áldozták a szervezetért, nem voltak jelen. Biztunk abban, hogy a jelenlevők mindent a legjobban fognak elintézni. Később rájöttünk, hogy ez nagy hiba volt. Jobb lett volna minden fontos munka otthagyásával résztvenni az alakuló gyülésen, amelyre eljöttek olyanok, akiknek nem kellett volna ott helyet adni. És eljöttek olyan kalandorok, akiket nem is láttunk azelőtt a mozgalomban. Ezen felelőtlen elemek aztán a tárgyhoz nem tartozó beszédeket tartottak, vagy hasonló inditványokat tettek a delegátusok megzavarására.

És természetesen ott volt a De Leon banda is, maga az öreg "Dan" (Daniel) vezetése alatt, akiknek kihagyása szintén nagyon hasznos lett volna. Ezeknek a konferencián való jelenléte, valamint a szervezetben való müködésük az első évben mindjárt ellentétekre és az első szakadáshoz vezettek. Az a politikai kontraverzia, amit De Leonék magukkal hoztak, három éven keresztül forrongásban tartotta az I.W.W.-t, mig végre is 1908-ban sikerült kidobni őket az I.W.W.-ból. A De Leon elemeknek az I.W.W.-ban való szereplése annyira elidegenitette tőlünk az amerikai munkásságot, hogy csak évek multán lehetett visszaszerezni azoknak a szimpátiáját, akik az alakuló konvenció előtt a legnagyobb érdeklődést mutatták az uj forradalmi szervezet iránt.

Vannak ,akik azt állitják, hogy az SLP volt egyike azon csoportnak, amelyek az I.W.W.-t életre hivták. Ez az állitás nem felel meg a valóságnak. Az SLP már évekkel az I.W.W. megalakulása előtt mindenkit támadott, akinek bármi köze is volt az ipari szervezkedés eszméjéhez. Ezeket elnevezték árulóknak, munkásfékereknek, stb. Még az Industrial Manifestot is, amely csak pár hónappal előbb jelent meg az 1905-iki alakuló gyülésnél — élesen támadta az SLP lapja, a Daily People és Haywoodot, Hagertyt, St. Johnt s általában a Manifesztó aláiróit a munkásosztály árulóinak bélyegezte. A Daily People ujságban napokon át rovat jelent meg ezzel a cimmel: "As to that Manifesto-', amelyben bünösen támadták az ipari szervezkedés eszméjét és azokat, akik azt hirdették. Ezen támadásokat a De Leon vezércikkei által felizgatott olvasók irták.

Természetesen De Leon és pártja az AFL-t is élesen támadta, amelyet "a kapitalista osztály munkáshadnagyai" irányitottak. Azonban a támadás lényege mindig az volt, hogy egyetlen munkásszervezet sem szolgálhatja hüségesen a munkásosztályt, ha nem csatlakozik a Socialist Labor Party-hoz, nem fizet annak fejadót, nem választja tisztviselőit ezen párt tagjai közül és végre ha nem engedelmeskedik a párt rendeleteinek akár sztrájkok, vagy más ügyekben is. Az SLP-nek volt ugyan egy ilyen szervezete, de csak papiron, a Trade and Labor Alliance. Mint a név is mutatja, szakmai és nem ipari szervezetet hirdettek. Az SLP nem hirdette az ipari unionizmust egészen 1905 április haváig, amikor De Leon egy egész oldalra terjedő és általa aláirt cikkben elrendelte követőinek, hogy hagyjanak fel az ipari unionizmus támadásával és vegyenek részt a chicagoi konvención azoknak a kidobására, akik ellenzik az unionnak a politikai párttal való közösségét.

A vándor munkások harcai

Az I.W.W. valójában a Nyugaton hajtotta mélyebbre gyökereit. A Nyugaton, ahol a trösztök kombinációi láttak hozzá a még gyér lakosságu nyugati államok gazdag érctelepeinek kiaknázásához. A bérrabszolgák jelentékeny része valóságosan nomád életet élt, vándoroltak egyik munkahelytől a másikra. Többnyire nőtlen emberek voltak, akik a szabadság vágytól hajtva hagyták el a sürübb lakosságu vidékeket s folyvást lázongva az elnyomás ellen, otthagyták az ércbányák elnyomó munkaalkalmait, átmentek az erdőirtó telepekre ,ahol azonban hasonló munkaviszonyokra találtak. Egyforma elnyomó, kizsákmányoló munkaviszonyokat találtak mindenhol, ami nem volt csoda, hiszen sokszor még a munkaadó is azonos volt.

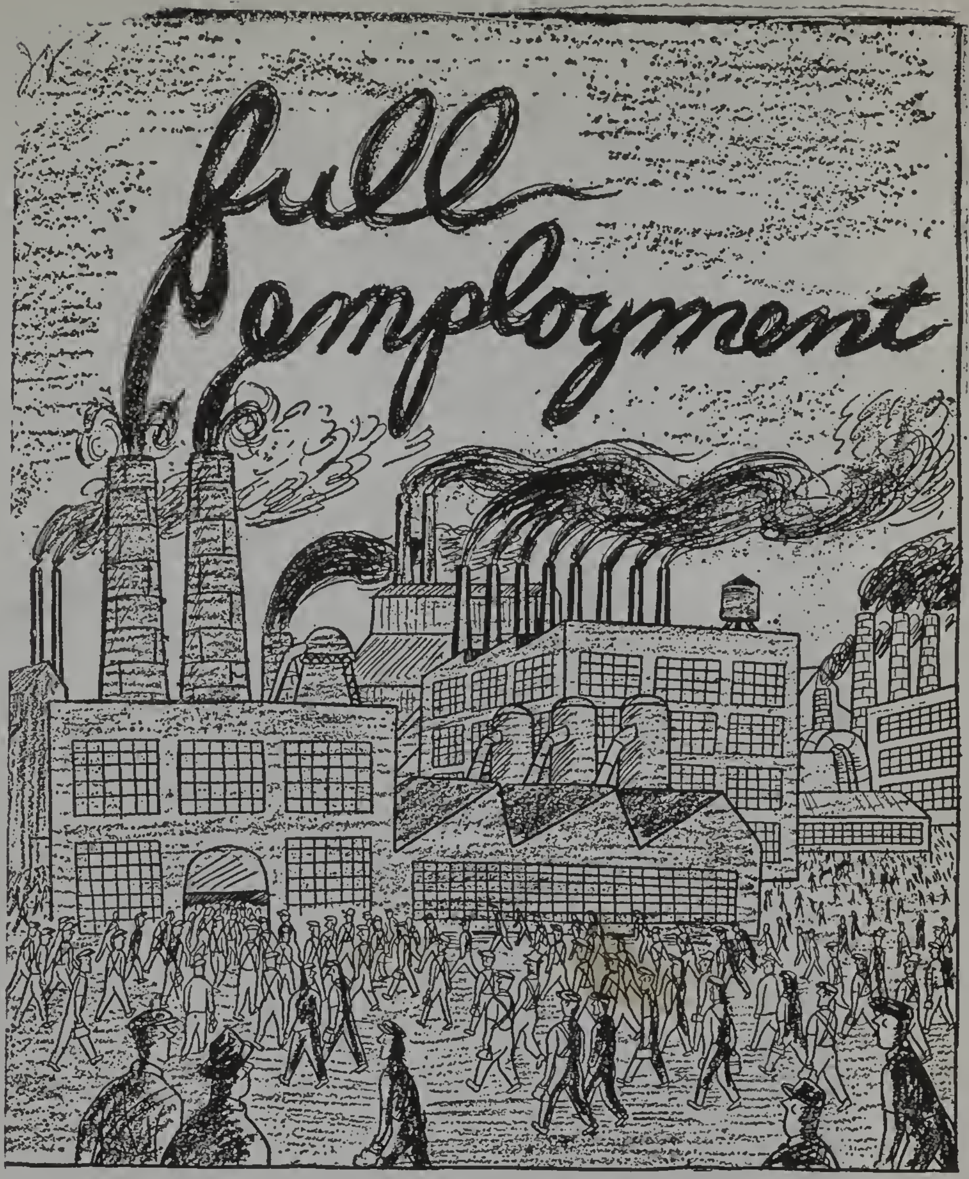
Szórványosan, itt-ott alakitottak helyi szervezeteket s valamit javitottak helyzetükön. A következő lépés természetesen az volt, hogy ezen helyi szervezetek között valamilyen összeköttetést teremtettek. Ez hozta életre a Western Federation of Miners nevü szervezetet, amelynek célja a munkásharcoknak az egész Nyugatra való kiterjesztése volt.

És harcoltak is, bámulatosan. A "vad" Nyugatot kifosztó korporációk akkoriban "thugs, plug-uglies, gunmen" név alatt ismert terroristákat alkalmazták a munkások megfélemlitésére. De a bányászok, — mint a nyugatiak általában, szintén kemény legények, elszánt emberek voltak, akiknél a fegyverhasználat általános és normális dolog volt. A sztrájkok gyakran lövöldözéshez vezettek, amelyekben emberélet esett áldozatul. Az akkori ujságok olyan rovatot vezettek a bányászok és a tulajdonosok szolgálatában álló terroristák közötti harcokról, mint akárcsak a mai lapok a jelenlegi háboruról.

Mint emlitettem a bányamunkások gyakran változtatták nemcsak a munkahelyüket, hanem a munkakörüket is. Egyszer mint bányászok dolgoztak, majd erdőt irtottak, máskor pedig valamelyik ut épitésén dolgoztak. Mindezen helyeken igyekeztek a Western Federation of Miners keretein belül helyi szervezeteket alakitani. Évi közgyüléseiken állandóan felmerült a kérdés, hogy csatlakozzanak az ország nagy munkásszervezetéhez, de az AFL által képviselt unionizmust nem tudták elfogadni, hiszen a saját tapasztalataikból tudták, hogy szakmák szerint ők nem szervezkedhetnek, hiszen egyik nap bányászok, másnap lumberjackek, harmadnap utépitő munkások voltak, a következő héten pedig már a farmeroknak segitettek az aratásnál, vagy pedig valamelyik vendéglőben mosták az edényeket. Igy elhatározták, hogy egy egészen független munkásszervezetet alakitanak, amelynek a Western Federation of Labor nevet adták.

Ezideig a vad és gyér lakosságu West, — két-három tengerparti város kivételével, elkerülte az American Federation of Labor figyelmét. Most azonban, hogy a Western Federation of Labor megkezdte a nyugati munkások szervezését, az AFL néhány International szervezete magának követelte bizonyos munkások fölött a juriszdikciót, szervezőket küldtek tehát az oly helyekre és sikerült nekik egyes esetekben, rendesen a munkáltató segélyével, rivális szervezeteket alakitani. Erre azonban a Western Federation of Labor azzal válaszolt, hogy a nevét American Labor Unionra változtatta és a Keletre küldött szervezőket olyan munkások megszervezésére, akiket az AFL általában eddig elhanyagolt, mert nem tartotta elég szakmunkásoknak őket. Ez a harc igy tartott pár éven át, mig végre az American Labor Union tagjai rájöttek, hogy a "szövetség" eszméje már idejét multa és ahelyett a munkásokat EGY NAGY SZERVEZETBEN kell csoportositani. Éveken át tartó nagy publicitást adtak ennek az eszmének, mig végre ugy találták, hogy annak megvalósitására elérkezett az idő. Ez hivta életre negyven évvel ezelőtt a chicagoi alakuló konvenciót.

Haywood, Moyer, St. John, Al-



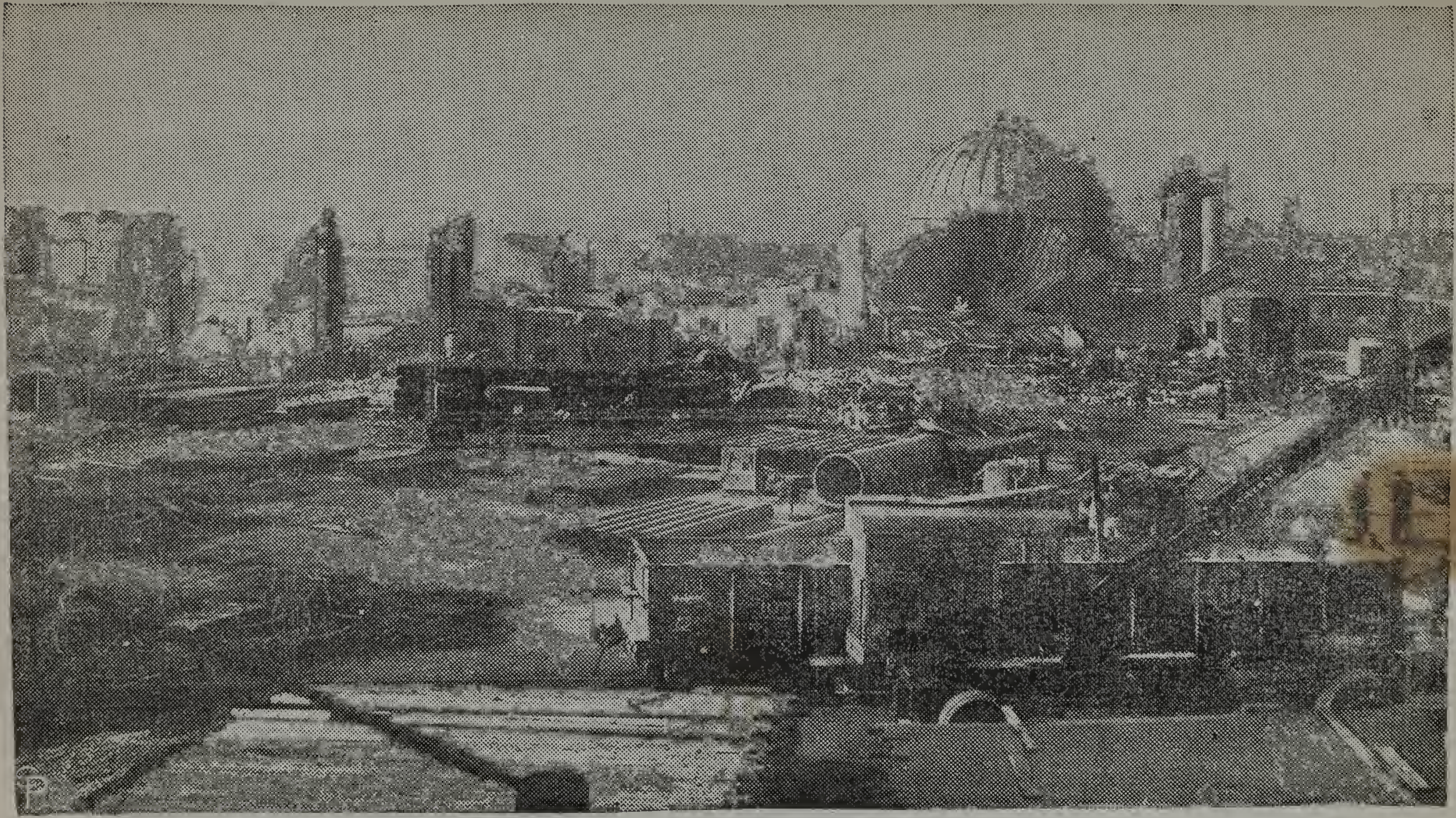
Az iparok zavartalan müködését, tehát az összes munkások foglalkoztatását csak az IPARI DEMOKRÁCIA biztositja.

bert Ryan és mások a Western Federation of Miners szervezetből. Hagerty, Hall és mások az Amerisan Labor Union részéről, akik vezérszerepet vittek az 'Industrial Union Manifesto' aláirói között és voltak egyben nevesebb delegátusai az első I.W.W. konvenciónak.

Munkástársaim azon tömegéből, akikkel negyven évvel ezelőtt együtt müködtem az Industrial Workers of the World megteremtésén és akik négy évtized alatt a szervezettel maradtak, tudomásom szerint ezen sorok iróján kivül már csak James P. Thompson marart meg. A régiek legtöbbje eltávozott oda, ahonnan már többé nincs viszszatérés; mások éveken át tartó odaadó munka után otthagyták a szervezetet, hogy más téren müködjenek; voltak aztán olyanok, akiknek látáskörük megváltozott és más eszmék szolgálatába kerültek. Én azonban valahogyan csak az elismerés hálájával gondolok mindazokra, akik hosszabb vagy révidebb időn át a mi csapatunkban szolgálták a munkásosztály felszabaditásáért folyó harcot.

Negyven éve, hogy az I.W.W. megszületett! Rövid időköz a történelem lapjain, de felöleli teljesen egy proletár életét. Az I.W.W. számos brilliáns oldalt ir a munkásmozgalom történetébe, még ma sincs oly szervezet, amely helyettesithetné. A magam részéről azt mondhatom, hogy ha az elmult évtizedeket ujra átélhetném, nem kivánnám másképpen élni, mint ahogyan átéltem azokat.

Az Industrial Workers of the World még nem hozta meg a világ munkásságának teljes gazdasági és társadalmi felszabaditását, de határozottan mondhatjuk, hogy amit haladtunk ebben az irányban, abban az I.W.W.-nak igen nagy érdemei vannak.



A clevelandi folyékony-gáz tartályok környéke az 1944 október 20-iki nagy robbanás után, amlynél egész városrész pusztult el.

Óda Egy Magyar Parasztasszonyhoz

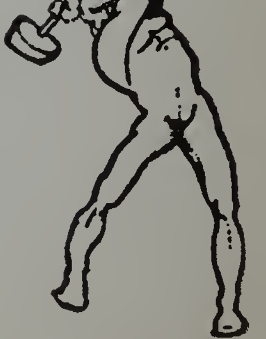
Irta: FALUDY GYÖRGY

Alkonytájt történt, Chalons-nál a Marne-on,
mikor hazulról elvitt a vonat,
hogy ujra néztem, félig álmodóra
csukott szememmel sárga arcodat.
Mellém szegődtél vándorul azóta,
s az éjszakákban gyakran láttalak,
Párisban, a Vincennes-i vár alatt,
germán bombák zaján a zöld Garonne
vizén és kinn az óceán-habon;
ott, hol kerestem s nem leltem hazát
az Alkazár előtt s Uarzazát
lapos tetői közt az atlaszon,
a Bermudáknál, beril utakon,
s itt is, ha földalattin utazom,
hol az ajtónál ácsorog, mig rut
homályba visz a fülledt alagut,
arcom hevét a vashoz nyomva hőn:
látlak, nyanya, mint akkor őszidőn,
mély ráncaiddal, mikbe a kemény
vénség ugy ült, mint barna televény,
látom kontyodat, macskátok agát
szemét és urad véres ludnyakát,
ahogy titeket akkor láttalak,
a kert előtt, a törpe fák alatt,
a vadszöllő pirjával vállatok
fölött, mikor megszálltam nálatok.
Igy nézlek most s a hosszu éjjelek
során elillott, régi éltedet
ugy pergetem, mint tünő képeket:
és látlak, lábtól alvó kisleányt,
reggel ,mikor legyek fulánkja bánt,
szedres szájja s pislogva szaporán,
avagy tovább, az országut porán,
az árokparti dönghalak között,
hol kis bokádra réce köpdösött,
s amerre kancán, tyukon, vereben
lovagló szörnyként jött a szerelem.
Aztán dolgozni látlak a halál
ölén s mig csuklód izzad és kapál,
gyomlál, arat, kévét köt vagy kaszál
a dombtetőn már ugy ül a Aszály,
mint győztes koldus, leskelő halál,
vagy árviz jön vagy fagy vagy jégverés
és ibolyanyiláskor éhezés,
mert szétvervén munkád csekély javát,
pusztitva, ölve ugy rohan reád
a természet, mint megvadult bika,
melyet legyőzni nem akadt iga:
irgalmas állam, könyv, csatorna, sem
testvéri kéz, sem égi kegyelem.
A kép fordul tovább: előttem áll
nászod s az asztal deszkáján a tál,
hová ugy nyulnak az éhes kezek,
mint folyópartra vörös gyökerek: —
vigadtak durva tréfáik szavával,
majd megnémultak s ez kedvükre rávall
s ülnek — harangszó szól az esten által
ritkán telt gyomruk néma bánatával
mig eltüntél uraddal a setét
s izzadt szobán, amelyben mécs sem ég,
s hol vágyatok betelt az ágyderék
festett fagömbje fényén, mely a holt
szobán az árva nászi fáklya volt.
S megint látlak dolgozni untalan
a gróf földjén s a dülő uttalan
sarán s azon töprengeni fénytelen
estéken, hogy a lét reménytelen,
mert nem lesz jószó, kedv, csak könnyre könny,
csak munka, bánat, nyomor és közöny,
a kocsmában kinyilnak a kések,
egymásra nyilnak s az aratás
azé maradt, aki mulat s agarász,
és mindörökre igy lesz már az élet,
s e földön, jobbágyföldön, hova nem
hullott, csak véred ezer éven át,
elpusztulsz te s elpusztul unokád
s nem lesz a tiéd soha, sohasem.
Aztán látlak a hosszu tél után
sétálgatni vasárnap délután
a sirkertnél, hol a tavaszi ár
széthordta a sok roskatag keresztet,
s az öreg csősz mig kurta keze reszket,
a sordombok közt meggörnyedve jár,
s a fejfákat unottan visszahordja,

nem nézve, hogy melyik volt ki felett,
mert holt szolgának ugyis egyremegy;
s látom fiad a kis Janit, fakó
szemével őt kit megrugott a ló,
s téged, mikor a temetés után
megálsz a kék tükörnél a szobán,
majd fel-lejárva a halott gyerek
emlékét keresed, de nem leled,
mert egy ingét elföldelték vele,
s nem volt cipője, sem játékszere,
sem könyve ,sem nyakában ékszere,
és igy bolyongsz, zokogva, nyugtalan,
mig feltünik az alkony szinarany
fényén a tükör sarkán egy kis folt,
lekváros nyom, hol egykoron a holt
játékos öt kis ujja ottragadt,
szétkent, sárgás és száradó maszat,
mit könnyen mosna le egy rongydarab,
de te állsz, nézed, mert ez a vigasz,
a hagyaték, az emlék: — ennyi az,
ami fiadból földi nyom maradt.
S látlak tovább, amint a vén időt
vevén öledbe, elfelejted őt,
árnyat sem üzve már, mely elrohan,
és látlak néha-néha boldogan,
ha ének száll az estveli falun,
s te udvarodban ,mozdulatlanul
s hallgatva állsz a végső, sárga csik
napfényben s néma-feketén, amig
a dalba — fájó, őszi üzenet —
a hulló alma kopog ütemet.

Nem ennyi az, amit rólad tudok,
de százszor többet tudunk rólatok,
s amikor a régi, elmerült napok
mélyén megláttam és hallottam ezt:
arcom veres lett s ugy tévelyegtem
Pétervására avagy Budapest
uccáin, lázas, szikkadó torokkal
jártam szobámban fel-alá, porokkal
aludtam s irtam lázadó sorokkal,
hogy e gyalázat ezer éve tart.
Ezért esküdtünk fel, hogy a világ
nem élhet igy, ha türjük ezt tovább,
ezért küzdöttünk, sápadt csillag alján,
szakadt ruhában és az isten balján
ezért bujdostunk szárazon s habon,
s most köztünk viz van, melyben mély a gázló,
magunk állunk: s mégse félts nagyon,
mert velünk van az Igazság s a Zászló,
Tavaszi szelek kelnek lassu-lassan
s habár soká fog folyni még a vér:
ha majd a füst eltünik a magasban
s talán a sors csak addig el nem ér —
ha oszlik majd a tél fekete gyásza,
s hozza a zsarnokgyilkoló tavaszt,
s a sovány magyar gebe is lerázza
az ezeréves, felpüffedt lovast:
a háboru zaján még, ha lehet
s feléd tárván a testvéri kezet,
nyugodt lélekkel és nem kérve bérünk
alázatosan egy nap hazaérünk,
s vállunk felett az örök magyar éggel,
felosztott földön, hogy igaz igékkel
járjunk, oktatva szünös-szüntelen,
s frigyet kötvén mindennel, ki büntelen,
s dolgozván bármi terhet ró is ránk
a föld, mely csak lesz és nem volt hazánk, —
hogy majd, ha ránk az örök béke int
ugy nőjjenek fel siremlékeink
az uj ország fölé, mint égmagas fák,
nem hogy nevünk tünő hirét marasszak,
de hogy bimbóid száz rügyét fakasszák
tizszer megölt, százszor feltámadó,
nem fáradó, folyóként áradó,
utolsó nyertes, végső számadó,
legyőzhetetlen, százszor szent Szabadság!

(New York, 1942 március hó)



THOMAS PAINE
A DEMOKRÁCIA APOSTOLA

Irta: VISI ISTVÁN

"A világ az én hazám:
Jót csinálni az én vallásom."
Paine.

MAJDNEM hihetetlen, hogy az amerikai függetlenség az az igazi demokrácia legnagyobb mesterét, teljesen agyonhallgatják ugy az iskolákban, valamint az irodalomban és politikai szónoklatoknál is. Mi nagyon jól tudjuk, hogy a tanitást, az iskolákat, a sajtót irányitó elemek gazdasági érdekeik megvédése szempontjából, nem látják tanácsosnak Thomas Paine gondolatait, tanitását hirdetni, nehogy valami ráragadjon a népre és esetleg követelje azoknak a megvalósitását, mászóval visszatérni a forradalmi eszmékhez, ahol az emberi jogokat a tulajdon jogok fölé helyezték; amely tanitás szerint minden ember egyforma jogokkal született és kellene, hogy egyformán élvezze azokat.

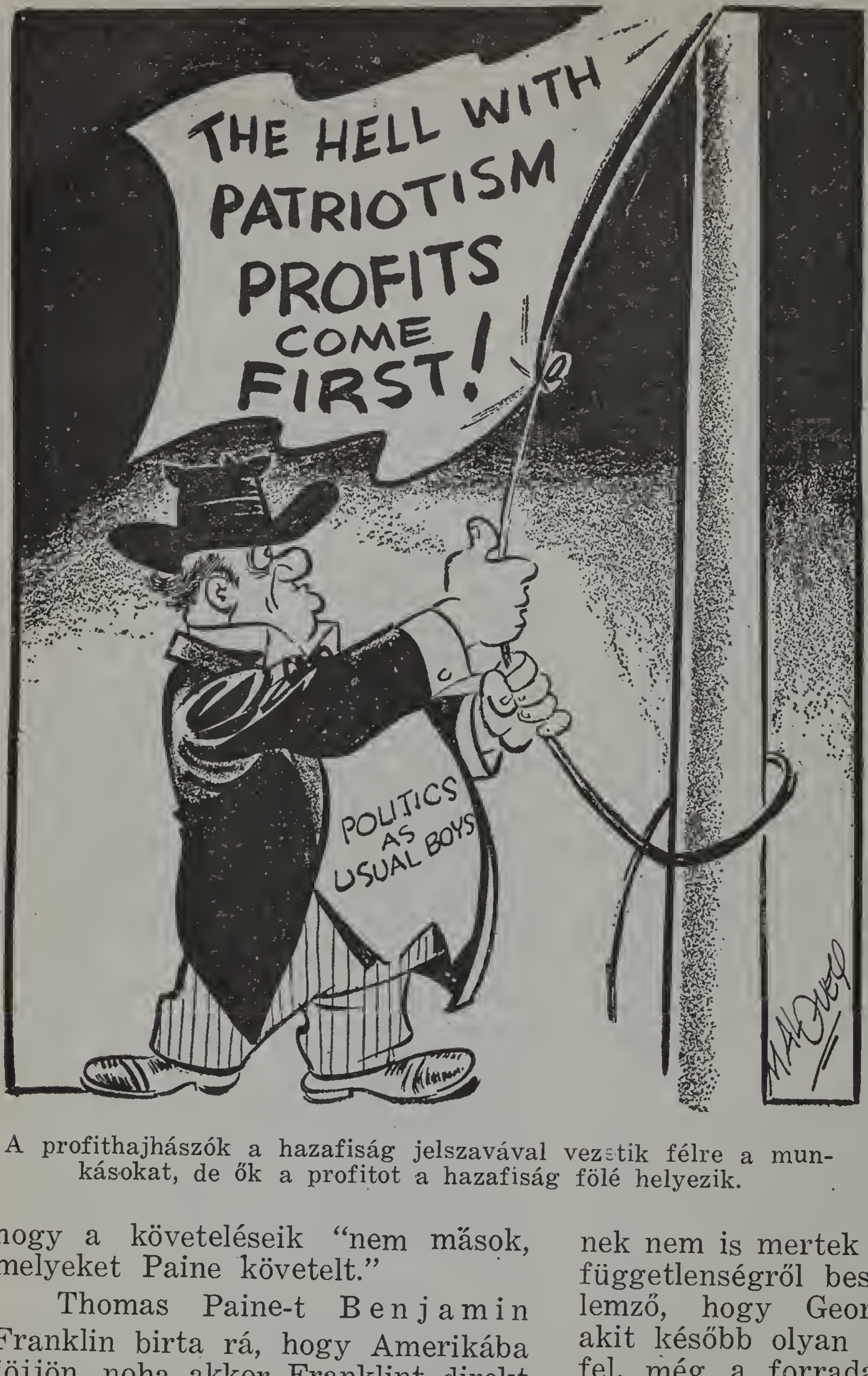
Igy nagy hiányt pótolunk, amikor Thomas Paine munkáiról irunk, és tanácsoljuk, hogy mindenki aki csa kaz angol nyelvet megérti, igyekezzen legalább a könyvtárakból megszerezni és olvasni a munkáit. Hogy miért nem magasztalják és hirdetik Paine munkáit, leginkább a forradalmi eszmék és a modern fejlődés utjának a kinyitása még a vallási téren is, ami ma ha nem is a tiltott könyvek, de az agyonhallgatottak közé sorozzák Thomas Paine iratait.

De még a legreakciósabb John Adams korabeli politikus is azt mondotta: "A történelem Paine részére fogja a forradalmat elkönyvelni". Valamint az amerikai függetlenségért harcoló Marquis de Laffayette mondta, hogy "Szerintem Amerika Thomas Paine nélkül elképzelhetetlen."

Thomas Edison, Amerika egyik nagy feltalálója mondta: "Szerintem Paine volt a mi legnagyobb gondolkozónk politikai téren."

George Washington, aki eleinte királypárti volt Thomas Paine "Common Sense" cimü füzetére mondta: "Logikája és érvelései meggyőzőek." De mindezen elismerések ellenére és az amerikai politikai és függetlenség kialakulására olyan nagy fontosságu, talán a legnagyobb müről és emberről munkahelyemen száz közül egyetlen egyet sem találtam, még a középiskolát végzettek között sem, aki tudta volna, vagy ismerte volna Paine irásait és a forradalomra gyakorolt hatását. Egy néhány akadt, aki csak mint istentagadót ismerte Painet és müveit a máglyára itélte, anélkül, hogy valaha is olvasta volna.

Paine nem csak mondta és érezte, hogy az egész világ az ő hazája, hanem legalább is három nagy országot, Angliát, Amerikát és Franciaországot tényleges hazájának mondhatta és nagyon is aktiv résztvett a szellemi és politikai fejlődésében. Maga Disraeli, az angol tory politikai vezér odavágta Gladstonenak, a liberális mogzalom vezérének,


THE HELL WITH PATRIOTISM PROFITS COME FIRST!
POLITICS AS USUAL BOYS

A profithajhászók a hazafiság jelszavával vezetik félre a munkásokat, de ők a profitot a hazafiság fölé helyezik.

hogy a követeléseik "nem mások, melyeket Paine követelt."

Thomas Paine-t Benjamin Franklin birta rá, hogy Amerikába jöjjön, noha akkor Franklint direkt azon szándékkal küldték Angliába, hogy a gyarmat és a trón között békét helyreállitsa. Ugyanis 1774-ben, már nagy elégedetlenség volt a gyarmati tartományok között, de még akkor csak azt követelték, hogy képviseltetést engedjenek nekik az anyaországban. Paine hidászati mérnök volt, de leginkább vitatkozással és irással szeretett foglalkozni, melyekben nagyon logikus érveket használt. Igy Franklin megkedvelte s rábirta, hogy átjöjjön Amerikába és itt beajánlotta oly körökbe, akik folyóiratot adtak ki azon időben. Philadelphiaban, az akkor Amerika kultur központjában telepedett le. Itt a Pennsylvania Magazint adta ki, közben a trón és telepesek között a viszony jobban elmérgesedett és a nép között a forradalmi hangulat kezdett kialakulni. De a nagyobb és gazdagabb egyének nem is mertek volna még akkor függetlenségről beszélni. Erre jellemző, hogy George Washington, akit később olyan naggyá épitettek fel, még a forradalom megkezdése előtt is nagyon hü királypárti volt. Egy esetet megörökitettek, hogy amikor a Potomac folyón találkozott lelkipásztorával, aki királypárti lévén, kérdezte tőle, hogy melyik oldalon áll? Washington azt mondta a papjának, hogy ha meghallja, hogy ő a forradalmárokhoz csatlakozik, akkor minden rosszat mondhat róla.

De hat hónapra ezen találkozás és vallomás után, megjelent Paine “Common Sense” müve s meggyőzte Washingtont, hogy csak a forradalom és a függetlenség tudja a helyzetet megoldani. És ezen füzet nemcsak Washingtont, hanem Thomas Jeffersont és Franklint is meggyőzte, meg sok százezret, hogy a forradalom mellé álljanak és azt segitsék győzelemre vinni. A füzet megjelenése előtt csak zugolódások, lázadások voltak minden cél nélkül és szervezet, vagy nagyobb tömeg nélkül. Öt hónap alatt egy és fél millió példányt terjesztettek széjjel és alig akadt valaki ugy a forradalmárok ,mint a királypártiak között, aki nem olvasta, vagy nem hallotta volna a “Common Sense” érveit a forradalom mellett. Igy ez a füzet volt az, mely a lázadásnak célt adott, melyért érdemesnek találták a harcot és esetleg a halált is.

Mi tudjuk, hogy a vezérférfiakat az idők szülik meg, azonban az időket meg az eszmék, melyet könnyen megérthető formában a nép elé tudnak terjeszteni. Igy az amerikai forradalom megszülte Washingtont, Jeffersont és a többi vezérférfiakat. A forradalmat, minden gondolkozó ember elismeri ,hogy az eszmének a tömegek köztudatában való átvitelének a sikere idézte elő, melyet semmi irás ,szónoklat, vagy érvelés nem segitett annyira, mint Paine “Common Sense” füzete.

Amint az 1848-as magyar forradalomnak is leginkább Petőfi irásai, versei adták meg a lüktető hatást, ugy az amerikai forradalomnak Paine irásai. Ezt a hasonlatot tovább is vihetjük. Megemlitjük, hogy ahogyan Petőfi, ugy Paine is ott volt a harcoló katonákkal, ott lelkesitette őket a harcra és amikor már, minden remény kezdett elszállingózni, amikor Washington csapatai az éhség, nélkülözés és vereségek miatt kezdtek felbomlani ,akkor Paine megint előjött és “A Krizis” cimü füzetével megmentette a helyzetet és ujabb erőt öntött a csüggedő katonaságba, a népbe, mely Washingtont is képessé tette, vagy éppen fellelkesitette, hogy télnek idején átkeljen a Delaware folyón. Paine ezen irását, hadiparancsban olvasták fel minden csapat előtt amellett, hogy sok millió példányban a civil lakósság között is terjesztették. Ez ugy a népet, mint a csapatokat ujabb erőfeszitésre és végső győzelemre vitte. Ezt a részt többször idézik, anélkül, hogy kellően ismertetnék az iróját, igy mivel ugy a forradalom, mint Paine történetében nagyon fényes pont, mi is közlünk kivonatot belőle.

“Ezek azon idők, melyek próbára teszik az emberek lelkét. A nyári katonák és hazafiak ezen krizisben visszariadnak hazájuk szolgálatától. De akik ma is megállják a helyüket, megérdemlik az emberiség háláját és szeretetét.”

“A zsarnokság, mint a pokol nem győzhető le könnyen, mégis meg van az a vigasz, hogy mentől nehezebb a harc, annál dicsőbb a győzelem. Amit könnyen megnyerünk kevésbé értékesnek tartjuk, az ár amit fizetünk adja meg mindendennek az értékét.”

“Krizis” cimen többször irt Paine, az utolsót 1783. április 19-én irta ,mely napon Cornwallis, az angol királyi generális megadta magát.

Az amerikai forradalom sikeres befejezése után Paine visszament Angliába, ahol megirta a “Rights of Men” müvét, melyben a francia forradalmat védte és az emberi jogok értékét magyarázta, melyet a francia forradalom az “Egyenlőség, Szabadság és Testvériség” jelszavakkal akkor porondra vetett. Paine szerint a francia forradalom csak folyamata volt az amerikai forradalomnak és igy teljes szivvel és lélekkel kapcsolódott bele. Egyenlőre Angliában védte az emberi jogokat,

Montneyan városban, Franciaországban, népfelkelők kisérik az elfogott és megsebesült német katonát.

melyekért a franciák akkor megindították a harcot. Később Paine is átment Franciaországba, ahol képviselőnek választották be a callaisi kerületből.

Robespiere terror uralma alatt őt is börtönbe vetették és mint sok sok más forradalmárt őt is kivégzésre szánták ,mert az emberi jogok védelmére, szembeszállt még Robespiere-vel is. Azonban amig igy börtönben várta a sorsa fordulását, nem volt tétlen, hanem megirta az “Age of Reason” cimü munkáját, amiért sok egyház eretneknek nyilvánitotta, holott, csak logikus magyarázatot adott sok olyan kérdésre, amit a vallás nem válaszolt meg. Bár Paine hitvallást tett, hogy hisz istenben, de ugyan akkor azt mondta: “Én nem hiszek a zsidó, római és görög katholikus, török, vagy protestáns egyházakban melyet ismerek. Az én eszem az én templomom.”

“Az egyházak nemzeti intézményei, akár zsidó, keresztény, vagy török, nekem ugy tünnek fel, mint emberi intézmények megijeszteni, rabságban tartani az emberiséget és lefoglalni az erőt és a hasznot.”

Ezen kijelentések nagyon merészek voltak az 1780-as években ,ámbár a francia forradalom részben az egyház ellen is irányult, de csak mint a király fegyvertársa ellen. Azt a tudományt, melyet Paine a vallással akart összeegyeztetni, a vallás nem akarta elfogadni. És igy Painet mint eretneket átkoztak ki minden egyházból. Az akkori egyházak, éppen ugy mint a mostaniak, nem akarták azt elfogadni, hogy “jót cselekedni elegendő vallásnak”. Akkor még a jócselekedet is csak egyházi jóváhagyással volt lehetséges. És ez a kijelentés, hogy minden egyház csak arra törekszik, hogy az erőt és hasznot maga részére lefoglalja, monopolizálja, ma is nagyon megállja a helyét és nem csoda, hogy ezt a bátor kijelentést nem tudják megbocsájtani neki, dacára, hogy “Age of Reason” elterjedése még jobban érthetővé és elfogadhatóvá tette volna azt az isteni eszmét, melyet Paine szerint éppen az egyházak rombolnak le az emberiség között.

Ne legyen elég, csak ezen korlátozott ismertetés Paine irásairól. Mind a négy értékes füzete, Common Sense”, “Rights of Men”, “Crisis” és a vallási dolgokkal foglalkozó “Age of Reason” egy könyvben van összefoglalva és nagyon érdemes tanulmányozni. Amint Clarence Darrom mondta: “ő (Paine) oly messze volt az időszakától, hogy százötven év nem elég hosszu idő a világnak utólérni. Valamikor ugy fogják ismerni, mint a szabadság legokosabb, legigazibb, legbátrabb barátját Amerika földjén.”

ISMERETEK A FÖLDRŐL

DACÁRA annak, hogy a Föld az emberiség lakóhelye, amelyhez száz és százezer éves fejlődés köti, amelyet elhagyni képtelen, egész az utóbbi időkig az emberek csak nagyon felületesen ismerték a földgolyót. A Földre vonatkozó első adatokat az ókori görögöknél találjuk. A görög hősi és vallási legendák legnagyobb irója Homer, aki körülbelül a mai időszámitást 900 évvel megelőzőleg élt, emliti hőskölteményeiben, hogy a Föld nagy, kerek alaku tányér, amelyet az Oceán nevü folyoviz vesz körül.

Az ókorban sokáig igy képzelték a Földet. Ha akadtak is olyanok, akik nagyobb távolságra mentek, rendesen valamilyen vizre bukkantak ,ami utjuk végét jelentette. Voltak aztán olyanok, akik a nagy viz helyébe egy nagy halat képzeltek. Valószinü, hogy a phoeniciaktól származott ez a felfogás, miután ez a nép merészkedett először a tengerre, amelyen természetesen nagyon sokáig nem mentek keresztül, hanem csak a partok mentén hajóztak.

Az első hosszabb utazásról szintén a phoeniciai hagyományok számolnak be. Ezek szerint Necho egyiptomi király rendeletére phoeniciak körülhajózták Afrikát körülbelül 600 évvel a mai időszámitás előtt. Azonban ebben az időben már akadt egy egyén, Aristotle, a görög tudós (384 B. C. —322 B. C.) aki gyanitotta, hogy a Föld gömb alaku. Erre ugy jött rá, hogy megfigyelt egy holdfogyatkozást és látta, hogy a Föld árnyéka kör alakot mutatott. Azonkivül tudta azt, hogy a láthatár éppen ugy távolodik, mint ahogyan közeledünk feléje. Mindazonáltal a Földről alkotott felfogás csak abban változott, hogy az Oceán folyóvizből nagy tengert csináltak. Az “oceán” szóval ma is a nagy tengereket jelöljük.

Egy másik tudós, Eratosthenes (276 B. C. — 196 B.C.) volt az első, aki megmérte a Föld tengelyének az elhajlását, amit 23 fok, 51 elsőperc és 20 másodpercnek talált. Ez nagyon pontosnak nevezhető, tekintve az akkori kezdetleges müszereket. Ugyancsak Eratosthenes volt az első, aki a térképen való eligazodás megkönnyebbitésére széltében s hosszában, egymásra merőleges vonalakat huzott. Hipparchusnak (körülbelül 160 és 125 B.C. években müködött, születés és halálának éve ismeretlen) ez adta az eszmét a szélességi és hosszusági körök megalkotására.

A nagy felfedezések.

A földrajzi és asztronómiai tudományt első izben az Alexandria városban élő, görög származásu Ptolemy (körülbelül 139 és 161 között élt) foglalta össze, az "Almagest" cimü munkájában. Ptolemy természetesen azt hitte ,hogy a világegyetem központját a Föld képezi és körülötte forognak a Nap és az összes csillagok. Miután ezt a világnézetet a katholikus egyház is magáévá tette, fennállt egészen addig, amig Copernikus (1473-1543), továbbá Kepler (1571-1630), Gàlilei (1654-1642) és Newton (1642-1727) számitásaikkal kimutatták a naprendszer törvényeit.

A Föld legnagyobb része azonban még igen sokáig ismeretlen maradt. A Föld megismerésére nagy felfedező utazásokra volt szükség. Ily utazásokat már a rómaiak idejében is tettek és irásos emlékeket hagytak, amelyek nagyban hozzájárultak a Föld megismeréséhez, noha a cél a katonai hatalom kiterjesztése volt. Igy körülbelül 60-ban Nero császár expediciót küldött a Nilus folyó eredetének kikutatására. A hatodik században Justianus császár két barátot küldött Kinába, akik állitólag selyemhernyó tojásokat hoztak onnan és ezzel bevezették Európba a selyemtermelést.

A legfontosabb felfedezések kora azonban a 15 és a 16-ik századdok voltak. A portugálok felfedezték Madeira szigetét 1482-ben, Vasco de Gama 1486-ban elérte a Jóreménység fokát és Columbus 1942-ben eljutott az Amerikához közel fekvő Nyugat Indiai szigetek egyikére, San Salvadorra. Miután ez már valójában az "Uj Világhoz" tartozik, ezt a dátumot veszik Amerika felfedezésének, noha magára a kontinensre csak pár évvel később léptek. A következő 30 év alatt azonban az egész keleti partvonalat felfedezték.

A következő két században a sarkvidékek kivételével csaknem az összes szigeteket felfedezték. A sarkokra való eljutást azonban igen sok sikertelen kisérlet előzte meg, mig végre 1909. április 7-én az amerikai Peary admirális eljutott az Északi sarokra. A Déli sarokra a norvég Amundsen jutott el 1911. december 14-én. Később mindkét saroknak több látogatója is volt. Ezek közül legnevezetesebb Richard E. Bird admirális, aki több expediciót vezetett a déli sarkvidékre, repülőgép segélyével óriási területeket néztek át s rájöttek, hogy a Déli sarok körül óriási föld terület fekszik, amely azonban csaknem teljesen mindig jéggel van boritva.

A Föld méretei.

A modern földrajzi tudomány szerint a Föld a Naprendszer kilenc bolygóinak egyike, ami azt jelenti, hogy kering a Nap körül. Keringési pályája nem kör, hanem elipszis, amelynek egyik fókuszában van a Nap. Legnagyobb távolsága a Naptól 94,452,000 mérföld, a legkisebb távolsága pedig 91,342,000 mérföld, — igy az átlagos távolsága 92,897,-000 mérföld.

A Föld nem szabályos gömb, amennyiben a két saroknál egy kicsit be van horpadva. Igy a két sarkon keresztülmenő tengely kisebb, mint az arra merőleges tengely. Ha a Földet a két sarok közötti tengelyre merőlegesen elvágva képzeljük, akkor a földet északi és déli félre osztjuk. Az osztást végző körnek a neve Egyenlitő. Az Egyenlitő átmérője 7,926 és hat-tized mérföld, mig a sarki tengelyé 7,899 és kilenc-tized mérföld.

Az Egyenlitő kerülete 24,901.7 mérföld ,a sarkokon átmenő köröké 24,859.4 mérföld. A Föld felületének területet 197,000,000 négyzet mérföld (átlagban), köbtartalma pedig 259,900,000,000 köb mérföld.

A viz sürüségéhez hasonlitva a Föld átlagos sürüsége 5.53. A Föld középpontjában a nyomás 22,500 tonna négyzet incsenként. A Föld sulya 6,592,000,000,000,000,000,000 (hat sextillió és 592 kvintillió) tonna. A Föld felületén körülbelül 54,000,000 szárazföld 143,000,000 négyzetmérföld pedig viz.

A Kontinensek.

A Földön ma a következő kontinenseket különböztetünk meg:

Kontinens	Négyzet mérföld	Lakóinak száma
Északamerika	8,500,000	170,000,000
Délamerika	7,500,000	65,000,000
Európa	3,900,000	510,000,000
Ázsia	17,200,000	1,117,000,000
Afrika	11,500,000	130,000,000
Ausztrália (New Zealanddal)	3,000,000	8,000,000
Antarctika (Délsarkvidék)	2,400,000	Lakatlan
Összesen:	54,000,000	2,000,000,000

A tengerek között nincs éles elválasztó vonal, azért azok területei csak átlagosak. A legnagyobb tengerek a következők:

Csendes óceán	71,000,000
Atlanti óceán	34,000,000
Indiai óceán	28,000,000
Déli jegestenger	6,000,000
Északi jegestenger	4,000,000

(négyzet mérföld)

A tengerek átlagos mélysége 12,350 láb. A legmélyebb pontra Mindano sziget közelében (A Philippin sziget csoportban) akadtak, ahol 35,400 láb mélységet mértek.

A Föld felszinen a tavak és folyók körülbelül 1,000,000 négyzetmérföld területet foglalnak le. A szárazföldből körülbelül 33,000,000 négyzetmérföld termőföld, 19,000,000 legelő és erdő, 5,000,000 négyzetmérföld pedig sivatag.

A Föld legmagasabb pontja a Mount Everest csucs Ázsiában, mely 29,141 láb magas; a legalacsonyabb pedig a Palesztinában fekvő Holt Tenger nevet viselő tó felszine, ami 1290 lábbal mélyebben fekszik a Földközi Tenger szinénél.

Geológusok a Föld korát 1,500,000,000 évre becsülik, de csak két millió éve érte el a fejlődés azon fokát, hogy az ember megjelenhetett rajta.

Nagy csillagok.

A Mexico városban nemrégiben épitett uj Nemzeti Astrophysikai Observatorium kurátora, Dr. Guillermo Haro vörös szinü ujfajta lemezekkel fotografálja a csillagokat. Haro jelentése szerint az ilyen vörös lemezeken egyes csillagok jóval nagyobbaknak, illetőleg fényesebbeknek mutatkoznak, mint az addig használt közönséges lemezeken és teleszkópon keresztül.

A csillagokat fényességük szerint első, másod, harmad, stb. rendü osztályokba sorozzák. A Tonanzittla csillagot eddig 14-ed rendünek tartották ,Haro vörös lemeze azonban 8-ik rendünek mutatja.

Ezen csillagok milliószorta nagyobbak a Napnál, folyékony, vagy gáz állapotban lévő buborékot alkotnak. Hőfokuk általában 1,500 Celzius fok körül van.

EMLÉKEZÉS FÉNYES LÁSZLÓRA

(A Londonban élő magyarok Fényes László émlékünnepélyén felolvasta Károlyi Katinka.

Irta: KÁROLYI MIHÁLY

FÉNYES LÁSZLÓ neve örökre elválaszthatatlan az októberi forradalomtól. Mint minden forradalomnak, Októbernek is voltak ideológiai előfutárja: Szabó Ervin, Jászi, Ady. Fényes a forradalom gyakorlati előfutárja volt. Ő volt az, aki jóval október 31 előtt a cselekvés terére lépett és mindent megtett, hogy a magyar nép felébredjen aléltságából. Leleplezett, nyomozott, beszélt, utazott és ahol az igazságtalanság, az uri Magyarország ezerfejü igazságtalansága sebeket ejtett ott termett és egyrészt enyhitett a szenvedésen, másrészt védelmébe vette az elesetteket, a kisemmizetteket. Ő volt az, aki a háboruban a legjobban megértette a harcoló katonákat és otthonmaradtakat. Ő volt az, aki hangot adott szenvedéseiknek, vágyaiknak, akarásaiknak. Empirikus ember volt. Hihetetlen energiával verekedte át magát az apró-cseprő dolgoktól, a mindennapok kis ügyétől a nagy problémákig. Az élet minden-napos igazságtalanságai felett való felháborodása vitte harcról-harcra, a nagy októberi harcig s végül az emigrációig. Ő teregette ki az uri Magyarország minden szennyesét és amit mások számokban, adatokban, politikai perspektivákban láttak, azt ő tényekben ismerte fel. "Le superflu, chose si nécessaire" — irja valahol Voltaire. Ezt az egyszerü igazságot kevesen ismerték fel olyan biztos szimattal, mint Fényes László. "Az annyira szükséges fölösleges", amivel a legtöbben nem törődnek, Fényesnek fontosabb volt minden másnál. Ebből a fölöslegesből, az istenhátamögötti faluk szolgabiráinak bakafántoskodásai és igazságtalanságai ellen vivott kis harcokból keletkezett nála a lényeg: a forradalom, majd a szocializmus.

Az elmult háboru alatt rövid idő után az ország legnépszerübb emberévé vált. És nem a sznobok, a hatalmasok csináltak belőle hires embert, hanem a nép. Ha valamely kisemberen sérelem esett, "majd megirom a Fényesnek" fenyegetéssel válaszolt és ezzel meg is rettentette a "packázó hivatalnokot". Igy nem csoda, hogy a szegények legendás szószólója, a katonák ujságirója és az ország lelkiismerete lett.

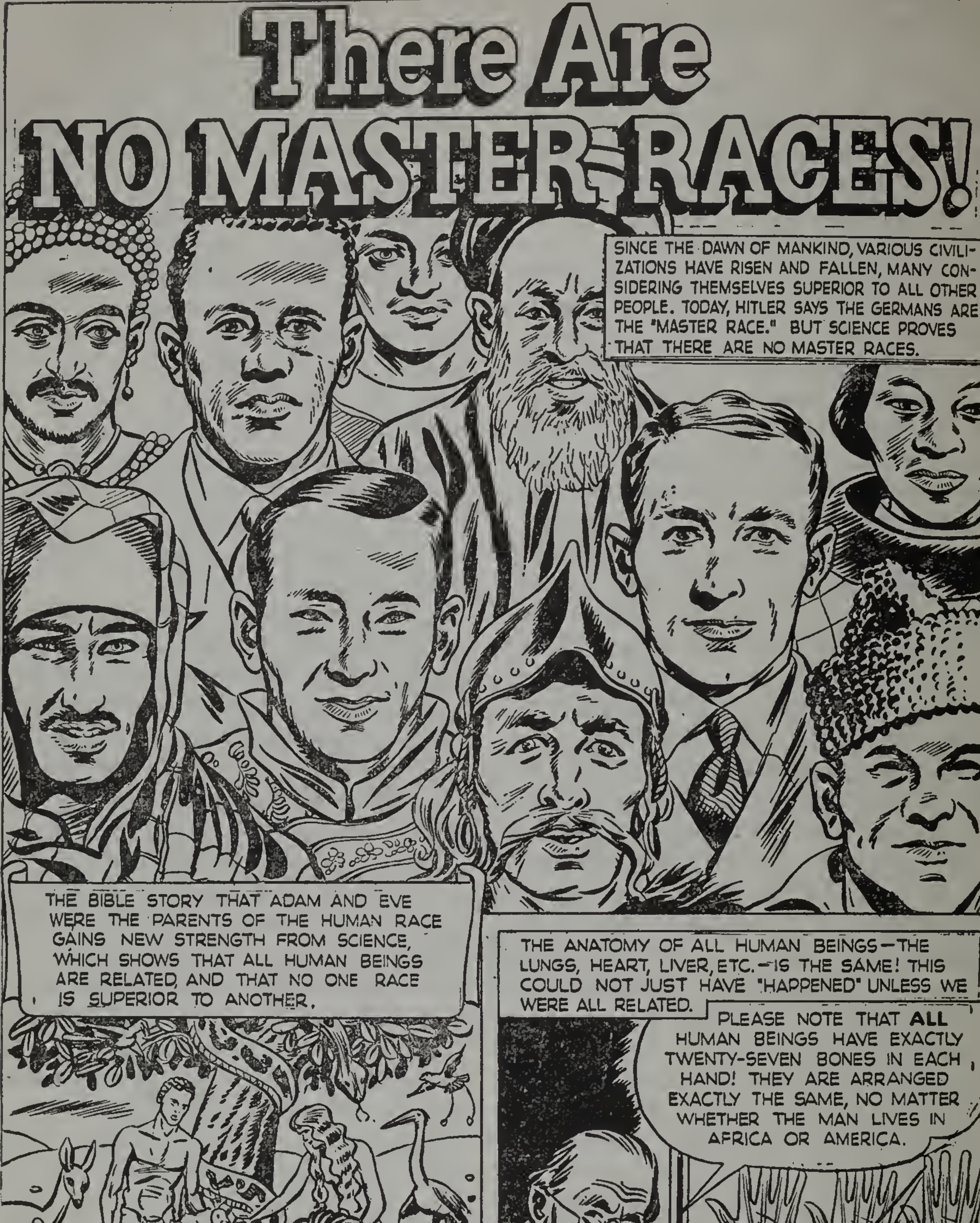
Fényes ,aki külsejére nézve inkább csunya ember volt és arcán a dzsentri korában vivott párbajokban kapott sebek éktelenkedtek, megjelenésének igénytelensége ellenére: mint parlamenti képviselő is óriási hatást váltott ki. Mert az igénytelen külsejü embert az igazság megszépitette, a nehézkes szónokot kitünő megfigyelő képessége és bátorsága ellenállhatatlanná tette, abban a képviselőházban, amelyben 90 százalékban ellenségek vették körül s ahol az uralkodó osztály kitenyészett nagy szónokai álltak vele szemben, minden külső hibája ellenére parancsolóan hatottak szavai. Mintha csak az igazság elevenedett volna meg benne, félelmet nem ismerve, határozottan, pontosan és keményen olvasta az urak fejére gazságaikat. A mágnásokat vékony hangjával is tulharsogta és nem törődött azzal, hogy süket fülekre talál, mert ő nem a mameluk képviselőkhöz beszélt, hanem azok feje fölött a lövészárok katonáihoz, a boltok előtt sorbanálló asszonyokhoz, a falu népéhez. A született ujságiró istenáldotta tehetségével adta hirül az országnak, hogy a hatalmasok hazudnak, becsapnak, félrevezetnek és vészt hoznak az országra. Példátlan személyes bátorsággal és erkölcsi erővel rendelkezett. Ez tette képessé arra, hogy felvegye a harcot saját osztálya ellen és a kevesekkel együtt küzdjön Tisza, Wekerle, és a többi országrontó eltávolitásáért. Nem félt felvenni a harcot a képviselőház legjobb szónoka, Vázsonyi Vilmos ellen sem. Vázsonyi, a választójogi blokk minisztere ugyanis nem tudott ellenállni a kegyelmes s méltóságos urak charmejának és egymásután adta fel progressziv állásait az urakkal szemben. Fényesnek, aki sajátos módján, jó értelemben mindig megőrizte uri mivoltát és ezt jellegzetes fényesi félszegséggel olykor ki is hangsulyozta, nem imponáltak az urak. Ezért nem tántorodott meg Vázsonyi retorikájától és ezért talált utat a nép szivéhez.

Fényes Lászlónak mindenki deferált. Az ellenségei s a barátai egyaránt féltek tőle, de mig az ellenségei robespierrei megvesztegethetetlenségétől, szókimondásától, vizsla szimatától féltek, barátai saját lelkiismeretüknek megelevenedését látták benne: a munkára ,elvhüségre, becsületességre, kitartásra ostorozót. Mert ő a barátainak is mindenkor kiméletlenül megmondta a véleményét és soha nem hizelgett senkinek. Mindenki pontosan tudhatta, hogy hányadán áll vele. Lehettek vele sulyos véleménykülönbségeink, de biztosak lehettünk afelől, hogy sohasem fog hátbadöfni bennünket. Barátai elviselték kellemetlenkedéseit ,meghajoltak előtte, mert mindenki érezte, hogy a magyar nép iránt érzett végtelen szeretete vezeti és nincs más gondja, mint népének megmentése.

Tartozom az igazságnak azzal, hogy megmondjam: sokszor ellentétben álltam vele. Ezek az ellentétek ideológiai természetüek voltak és ezen a téren Fényes László nem volt olyan határozott, mint a gyakorlati politikában. Azonban minden ellentét ellenére tudtam, hogy azt védi, amit igaznak hisz és azt támadja, amit nem tud a magáévá tenni. Soha senki nem vádolhatta megalkuvással, soha senki nem mondhatta, hogy személyi érdekeket követ. Puritánsága közismert volt. S ez a puritánság, amely egyaránt jellemző volt az októberi forradalom valamennyi nagy alakjára: Jászira, Kunfira, Szendére, adták meg a rezsim makulátlan jellegét ,olyannyira, hogy még az ellenségeink sem mertek ilyen tekintetben bemocskolni. Ebben a tisztajellemü társaságban még Nagyatádi Szabó István sem mert panamázni.

Valamennyien szegényen mentek az emigrációba. Szende Pál a bécsi népkonyhán étkezett, Fényes kis szobáiban maga készitette magának az ételt. A nép nagy barátai még a szegénységbe is követték népüket.

Most bucsuzunk Fényes Lászlótól. Lassanként elhullnak a forradalom vezetői. Valamennyien öregek vagyunk. Senki nem támadhat ránk azzal, hogy személyi ambiciók fütenek, amikor a végső harcot vivjuk. A l'honneur de drapeau-ról, a zászló becsületéről van szó. De, amikor elbucsuzunk Fényes Lászlótól, aki az utolsó pillanatig hü maradt önmagához és harcolt a Horthy Magyarországa ellen, azt kivánjuk, hogy a mai Magyarországon is akadjanak olyan bátor emberek, mint ő, mert ilyenekre van szükség. Kurta az időnk, de még tartjuk az égő fáklyát, hogy átadhassuk az utánunk következőknek — amint Fényes is átadta —, hiszen mi is másoktól kaptuk. Fényes nem érhette meg a magyar nép feltámadását, de látta már a fasizmusok bukását. És ez az egyetlen elégtétel azoknak, akik a zászló becsületén nem ejtettek foltot.


There Are NO MASTER RACES!
SINCE THE DAWN OF MANKIND, VARIOUS CIVILIZATIONS HAVE RISEN AND FALLEN, MANY CONSIDERING THEMSELVES SUPERIOR TO ALL OTHER PEOPLE. TODAY, HITLER SAYS THE GERMANS ARE THE "MASTER RACE." BUT SCIENCE PROVES THAT THERE ARE NO MASTER RACES.
THE BIBLE STORY THAT ADAM AND EVE WERE THE PARENTS OF THE HUMAN RACE GAINS NEW STRENGTH FROM SCIENCE, WHICH SHOWS THAT ALL HUMAN BEINGS ARE RELATED, AND THAT NO ONE RACE IS SUPERIOR TO ANOTHER.
THE ANATOMY OF ALL HUMAN BEINGS—THE LUNGS, HEART, LIVER, ETC.—IS THE SAME! THIS COULD NOT JUST HAVE "HAPPENED" UNLESS WE WERE ALL RELATED.
PLEASE NOTE THAT ALL HUMAN BEINGS HAVE EXACTLY TWENTY-SEVEN BONES IN EACH HAND! THEY ARE ARRANGED EXACTLY THE SAME, NO MATTER WHETHER THE MAN LIVES IN AFRICA OR AMERICA.

A civilizáció hajnala óta számos nép eltünt, akik éppen ugy, mint Hitler a németekről, azt állitották, hogy felsőbbrendü népek. Az Ádám és Éváról szóló bibliai mesének igaza van annyiban, hogy az összes emberek anatomiája ugyanaz. A tüdő, a sziv, a máj, stb. azonosak és egyformán müködnek. Ez nem a véletlen müve. Avagy nézzük a kezet, amelyben 27 csont van, akár európai, akár ázsiai, vagy afrikai ember kezét vizsgáljuk is.

NINCSENEK FELSŐBBRENDÜ EMBERFAJOK

A NÉMET nemzeti szocialisták (názi párt) a világ többi népei ellen intézett támadásuk igazolására azt hozták fel, hogy a németek (árják) felsőbbrendüek más népeknél és ezért a többi népek feletti uralomra hivatottak.

Ez a filozófiai felfogás különben csak szükebbkörü értelmezése annak az általános és a gyakorlatban is alkalmazott felfogásnak, hogy az ember az állatvilág felsőbbrendü képviselője és mint ilyen, joga van az állatvilág többi tagjainak a saját céljaira való felhasználásához. A kérdés csupán az, hogy vajjon emberfaj és emberfaj között megtaláljuk-e azt a felsőbbséget bizonyitó tényezőket ,mint amit kétségtelenül kimutathatunk az emberek és állatok között.

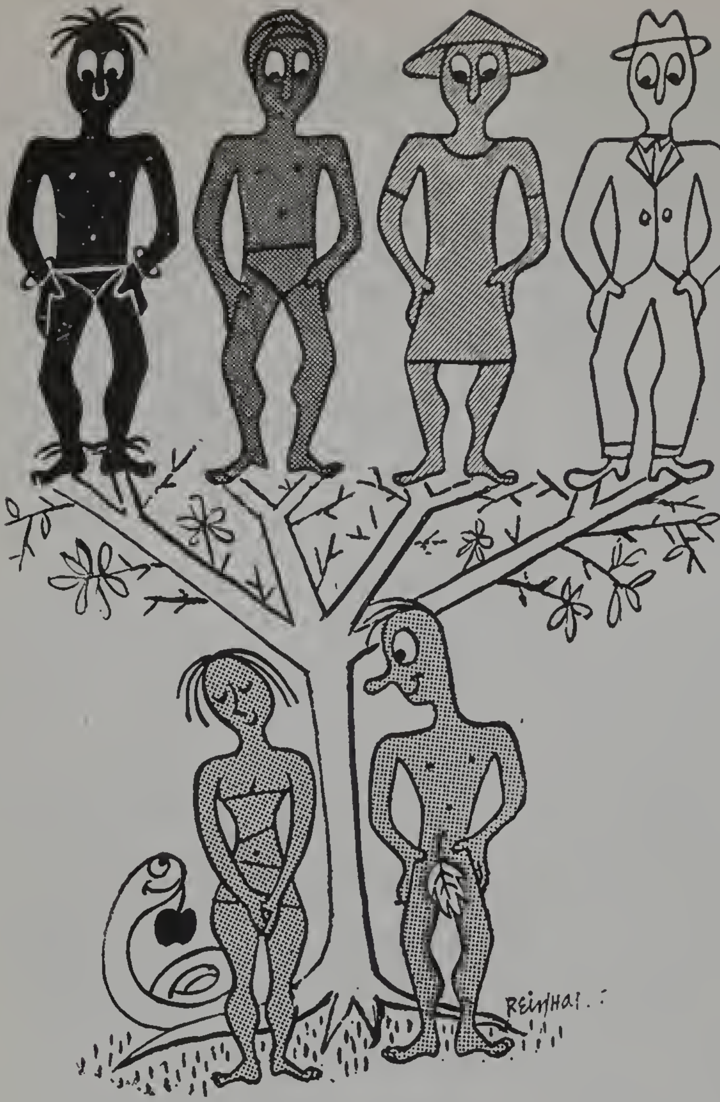
Az ember származására vonatkozólag ma már általánosan elfogadták a fokozott fejlődés elméletét. Ezen elmélet szerint amint a földön a hőmérsékleti és egyéb viszonyok alkalmasakká lettek az élet fentartásához ,kifejlődött az egysejtü legegyszerübb élőtest. Ez a nagyon primitiv, kezdetleges valami aztán szétesett két részre. Az eredeti volt a szülő ,az uj testek az utódok. Ezek megint uj ,több és több utódnak adtak helyet.

A modern tudomány állitása szerint a fejlődést két nagy természeti erő hajtja és irányitja. 1) Az utód hasonlitani akar a szülőhöz. 2) Az utód uj tulajdonságot igyekszik felvenni, vagyis különbözni akar a szülőtől. Ezen két törvény értelmében az utód, — noha hasonlit a szülőhöz, bizonyos tekintetben már attól különbözik is; ez a különbözet képezi a fejlődés alapját, mert évszázadokon, évezredeken vagy évmilliókon keresztül ezen különbözetek révén egészen más tipusu lények jöttek létre.

Nagyon messze esne tárgyunktól annak részletes tárgyalása, hogy az évmilliókig tartó fejlődés hosszu folyamata alatt mikor jelentkezett a földön az a lény, akit mi az EMBER szóval illetünk. Szabályként csak azt mondhatjuk ki, hogy emberré lett az a magasrendü ősállat, amelyik először használt tudatosan valamilyen szerszámot. A szerszám tudatos használata az, ami az embert az állattól megkülönbözteti.

Ádám és Éva meséje

Vita tárgyát képezi az, hogy vajjon csak egy ősember volt-e? Jobban mondva, hogy csak egy környezetben fejlődött-e ki az ember és azután szórodott szét a földön, vagy a szétszóródás megkezdődött már jóval előbb? Igy több helyen, tehát több fajtáju ősember fejlődött. Azonban ebben az esetben is mindegyiket vissza lehet vezetni a közös eredethez. Ezért mondják, hogy manapság a tudomány támogatja azt a bibliai mesét, hogy mindannyian Ádámtól és Évától, — vagyis közös szülőktől származunk. Amig azonban ezen felfogás szerint a közös ős vagyis Ádám és Éva már emberek voltak, az előbbi felfogás, amely a szétszóródást előbbre helyezi, azt tartja, hogy Ádám és Éva csak ősállatok voltak.



A föld összes népei egy családhoz tartoznak.

De bámilyen időtávolságban és állapotban találjuk is meg Ádám és Éva őseinket, annyi bizonyos, hogy azon lények között, akiket ma az EMBER fogalmával jelölünk, nincsenek olyan különbségek, amelyek azt bizonyitanák, hogy egyik felsőbbrendübb a másiknál.

Különösen nem igaz a felsőbbrendü fajokra vonatkozó állitás oly értelemben, mint a nácik tartják, akiknek ily meghatározásukat teljesen a politikai és gazdasági felfogásuk irányitotta. A felsőbbrendü fajok elméletét meghazudtolja maga Amerika, ahol a különböző fajok nagy száma él együtt és csupán az alkalom szükséges ahoz, hogy ezen fajok bármelyike is magasfoku intelligenciáról tegyen tanuságot.

A fajelméletről a "Public Affairs Committee" kiadásában igen érdekes könyvecske jelent meg Dr. Gene Weltfisch és Ruth Benedict szerzők tollából. Az értékes kis münek 'Az emberi fajok' cimet adták. Ezen cikkünknek további részei a Common Council által az emlitett munkából vett adatok felsorakoztatása. Ennél fogva ugy ezért a munkáért, valamint a szöveget illusztráló képekért ezen intézményeknek tartozunk elismeréssel.

Dr. Weltfisch és Ruth Benedict "Az emberi fajok" cimü munkájukban rámutatnak arra, hogy az emberek vérei egyformák, dacára annak, hogy orvosi szempontból többféle vértipust különböztetünk meg. Azonban ezen vértipusok mindegyikét megtaláljuk mindenféle emberfajnál. A megkülönböztetés csakis az orvostudomány, vagyis a gyógyitás szempontjából fontos, amennyiben vérátömlesztéseknél az orvosoknak arra figyelemmel kell lenni.

Az orvosok rájöttek arra, hogy a vért igénylő beteg részére nem mindenkinek a vére alkalmas. Ennek okát vizsgálva rájöttek, hogy az embereknek négy különböző tipusu vérük van, ezen tipusokat O, A, B és AB jelzésekkel látták el. Az O tipusu vér minden más vérrel keveredik. A másik három tipust azonban csak hasonló tipusu vérü emberbe lehet átömleszteni, mert a más tipusu vérben a vörös vérsejtek megalszanak.

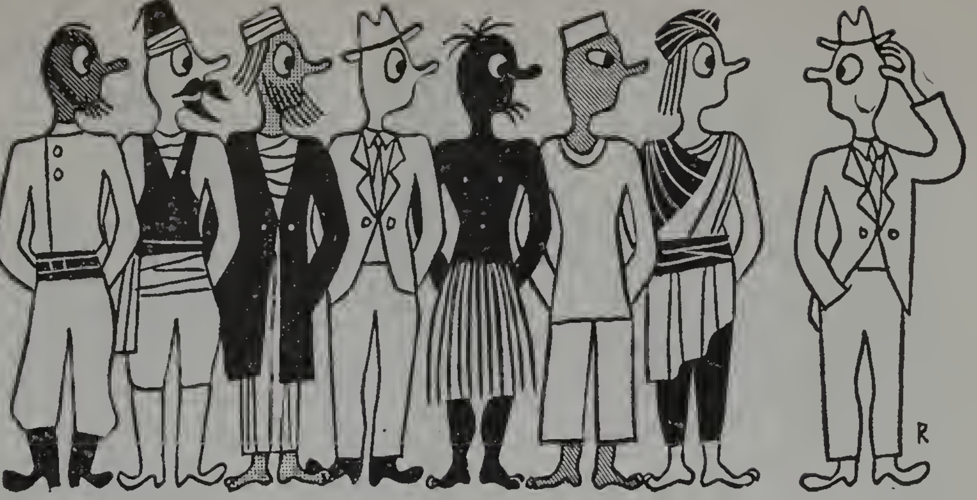
Természetesen mindenki az őseitől örökli a vérét. De melyik ösétől, az a nagy kérdés, mert ugy a fehér, mint a fekete vagy a sárga emberfajoknál megtaláljuk mind a négy tipusu vért. Sőt az is gyakori, hogy a gyermek vértipusa egészen más, mint a szüleié, tehát még egy családban is megtaláljuk a különböző vértipusokat, ami azt bizonyitja, hogy a vértipust valami nagyon régi ősünktől örököljük. A vér tehát ellentmond annak az állitásnak, hogy vannak felsőbbrendü emberfajok.

A bőr szine.

Térjünk át az emberek közötti külömbségek legkönnyebben észlelhető sajátosságára: a bőr szinére. A népek osztályozásánál ezt a külömbséget hangsulyozzuk a leggyakrabban. Fehér ,fekete és sárga emberfajokról beszélünk.

A legsötétebb bőrü emberek ma Nyugatafrikában élnek, a legvilágosabbak Európa északnyugati részén, délkeleti Ázsiában pedig ságabőrü emberek laknak. A legtöbb ember bőrének szine azonban nem követi a szélsőségeket, hanem átmeneti. Ezek az átmenetek azok, amelyek valaha általánosak lehettek, a fehér, a sárga és a sötétbarna szinek pedig végleti szélsőségek.

A tudósok ujabban megállapitották, hogy a bőr szinkülömbségeit két speciális vegyi anyag okozza. Az egyik a carotene: sárga árnyalatot idéz elő, a másik, a melanin: a barna szin okozója. Minden ember bőrében, akármilyen világos vagy sötét legyen is az, feltalálható mind a két anyag. Az egyetlen kivétel az u. n. albino esete, akinek a bőréből hiányzanak a festőanyagok. De ilyen albinok egyaránt előfordulnak a fehérek és a sötétebb bőrüek között is.

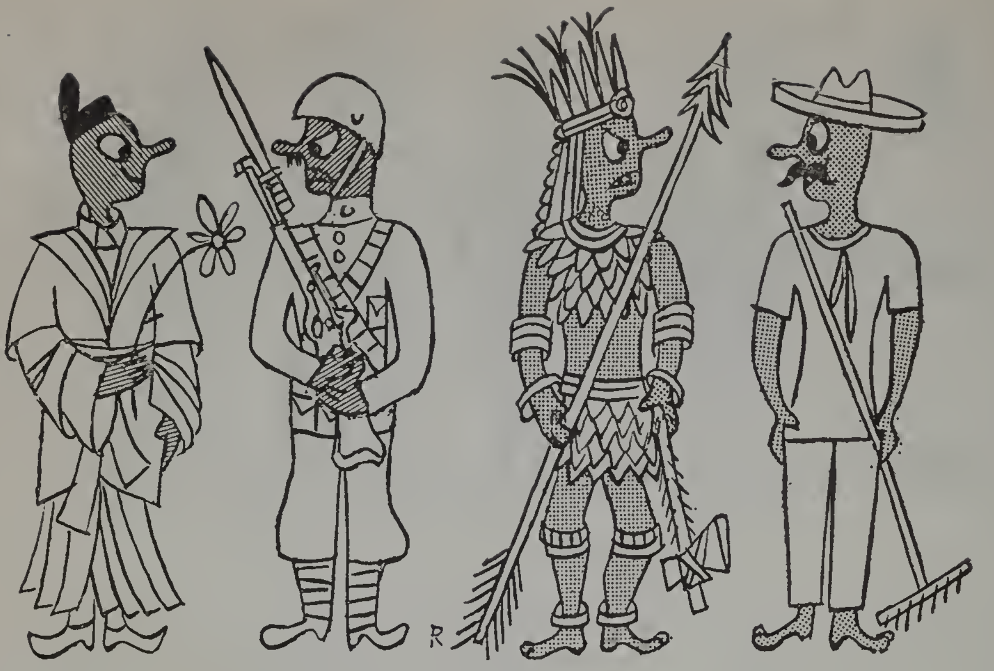


Nincs zsidó faj.

Az általánosan ismert emberfajok a kaukázusi, a mongol és a néger.

Az árja, zsidó vagy olasz — nem faj. Árják azok, akik indoeurópai: "árja" nyelveket beszélnek. Hitler maga is különféle értelemben használja az "árja" megjelölést. Néha szőke európaiakat ért alatta s ilyenkor beleérti a skandinávokat is; néha csak németeket, akár szőkék, vagy barnák legyenek is, néha olyanokat, akik politikailag egy véleményen vannak vele, beleértve a japánokat is. Ahogyan Hitler alkalmazza, az árja megjelölésnek sem faji, sem nyelvi, sem semmiféle értelme nincsen.

Zsidók azok ,akik a zsidó vallást követik. A zsidó vallásuak mindenféle fajhoz tartoznak, mert néger és mongol zsidók is vannak. Az európai zsidók igen sokféle tipust



Az emberek szelidek, vagy harcosak aszerint ahogyan nevelik őket

képviselnek; fizikailag azokhoz hasonlitanak, akiknek körében élnek. Az u. n. “zsidó” tipus tulajdonképen tengeri tipus és nem “zsidósabb”, mint a délolasz. Ahol a zsidókat üldözték és elnyomták, visszahuzódtak, régi életmódjukhoz ragaszkodtak és nem keveredtek a népesség többi részével. Igy alakultak ki “zsidós” jellegzetességek. De ezek nem faj, vagy “zsidós” vonások, mert eltünnek ismét, mihelyt az asszimilációt nem akadályozzák mesterségesen.

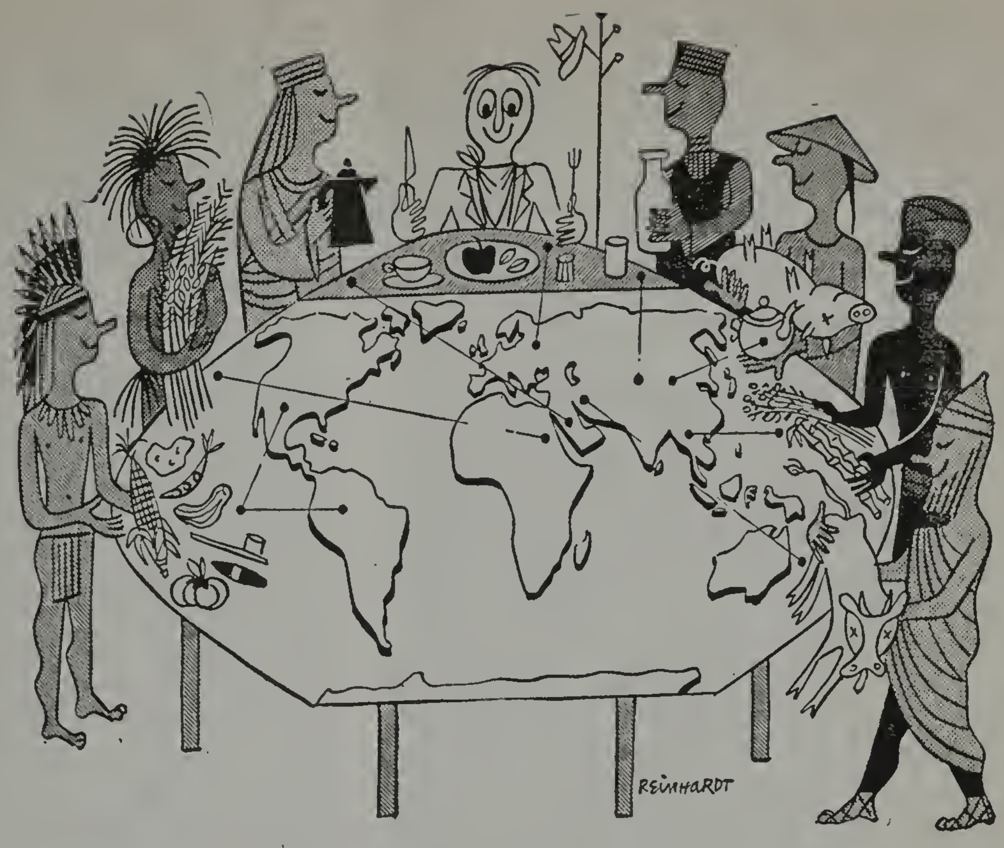
Az olasz név — nemzetiségi megjelölés. Az olaszok szintén különféle fajokra jellemző vonásokat tudnak felmutatni. Az olasz szó nemzetet jelöl meg, mint a német, az orosz, vagy a többi európai nemzet neve. Összetartanak — nem a fejük hasonló alakjából, vagy a bőrük szinéből kifolyólag, hanem nemzeti büszkeségük, földjükhöz való ragaszkodásuk, helyi szokásaik, közös nyelvük, stb. alapján.

Az amerikai nép vegyes eredetü, őseink, vagy mi magunk, a világ minden részéből származunk. De az angolokat angoloknak, a franciákat franciáknak nevezzük. Ez a nemzetiségre vonatkozik, ugy ahogy mi az amerikai nemzethez tartozunk. Ez nem jelent faji meghatározást. A németek azt állitják magukról, hogy ők a tiszta német faj képviselői. De semmiféle európai sem képvisel semmiféle tiszta fajt. Mert a keveredés más népekkel ott sem volt elkerülhető a különböző népek vándorlásai folytán.

Faji felsőbbségek és alárendeltségek.

A tudósok megállapitották, hogy milyen mértékben öröklik a gyermekek szülőik faji jellegzetességeit. Megmérték a fejformákat és osztályozták a bőr szinezetét. Megállapitották, hogy milyenféle orrok vannak a világon és egyes fajoknak mennyi az átlagos szőrzete. De a tudósok azt is megállapitották, hogy ezek a tulajdonságok nem járnak azzal, hogy egyes népek jobbak, vagy rosszabbak másoknál, ugy ahogy a fehér ló nem külömb a feketénél.

A fajoknak egymáshoz való viszonyában azonban igen fontos volna megállapitani, hogy egyes fajok külömbek-e mint mások. Alá kell támasztaniok, vagy meg kell hazudtolniok annak az embernek a büszkélkedését, aki azt állitja: “Ilyennek születtem, fajom bizonyitja, hogy külömb vagyok, mint más.” A kutatásoknak ki kell arra terjeszkedniök, hogy milyen örökölt jellegzetességek jobbak, vagy rosszabbak másokénál. Ehhez szükséges azonban elsősorban az, hogy a tudomány segitségével megállapitsuk, milyen jellegzetességekkel született valaki és mi történt vele születése után. Mert ha szerencséje volt, akkor elég élelemben, lelkiismetes gondozásban, jó nevelésben és szerencsés foglalkozásban volt része; mindezek jó hatással voltak szervezetére; de ezekről nem mondhatja senki, hogy "ilyennek születtem".



Élelmiszereinket sok néptől kapjuk.

Amerikában alapos kutatásokat végeztek a négerek és a fehérek intelligenciájának összehasonlitására. De valahányszor az egyén intelligenciáját biráljuk el, — legyen az fehér, vagy fekete — az intelligencia foka nemcsak azt fogja mutatni, hogy milyennek született, hanem azt is, hogy mi történt vele a születése után. A tudománynak megvannak erre a bizonyitékai.

Az első világháboruban például intelligencia vizsgáknak vetették alá az Európába kiküldött amerikai katonákat. Az eredmény azt mutatta, hogy a négerek átlagos intelligenciája alacsonyabb volt mint a fehéreké. De a vizsgák arról is bizonyságot tettek, hogy az északiak, — fehérek és feketék — az intelligencia magasabb fokán állottak, mint a déliek, — fehérek és feketék. Mindenki előtt ismeretes, hogy a déliek épen olyanoknak születnek, mint az északiak, de 1917-ben sok déli állam közoktatási kiadásai az északi államok hasonló kiadásainak csak kis töredékére rugtak; a lakásügy, az élelmezés és a jövedelem átlaga szintén mélyen az északi szinvonal alatt állottak.

Minthogy a négerek tulnyomó többsége a déli államokból származott, intelligenciájuk mértéke nemcsak a néger faj intelligenciáját fejezte ki, hanem valamenyi amerikaiét is, akik a déli szükös körülmények között nevelkedtek fel. A tudósok tehát a déli fehérek és az északi négerek értelmiségét is összehasonlitották:

Déli fehérek

Mississippi	41.65
Kentucky	41.50
Arkansas	41.55

Északi négerek

New York	45.02
Illinois	47.35
Ohio	49.50

ami azt mutatja, hogy a szerencsésebb körülmények között felnőtt négerek intelligensebbek, mint a kevesbé szerencsésebb fehérek.

A jellem nem velünk születik.

Igy senki sem büszkélkedhetik, hogy külömb a jelleme. A nácik fitogtatják "fenkölt fajelméletüket". De amikor az uj generációt nácivá akarták nevelni, nem biztak a "fenkölt fajelméletükben", hanem bizonyos tanok kötelező oktatását rendelték el az iskolákban és megkövetelték, hogy az ifjak náci szervezetekhez csatlakozzanak. Ilyen eszközökkel tudták csak azt a fajta nemzeti lelkületet kifejleszteni, amelyre törekedtek. A Hitler ifjak tehát előre kitervelt és betanitott jellemvonásokat vettek fel és nem örökölték születésük alkalmával nemzeti jellegüket.

Ugyanilyen eszközökkel a japánok is könyörtelenül harcoló generációt neveltek ki. Pedig alig van ötven éve, hogy azok az európaiak, akik Japánban éltek, ugy jellemezték őket, mint "pillangókat, akik virágról-virágra szállnak" és nem alkalmasak a nyugati civilizáció komoly megpróbáltatásaira.

1900 óta a "pillangók" hatszor harcoltak idegen területeken, vad és könyörtelen harcosoknak bizonyultak. Csak egy generáció kellett ahhoz, hogy a pillangóból pulykakakas váljék. Pedig a fajuk nem változott meg. Ugyanyolyan szinüek maradtak és ugyanolyan vér folyik az ereikben.

Az ellenkezőre is van példa. 1520-ban a mexicóiak épen ugy viselkedtek, mint a mai nácik. Gyermekeiket háborura nevelték, a fiaik állami iskolába jártak, ahol alig tanitottak egyebet. Ők is azt hirdették magukról, hogy verhetetlenek és a kicsiny védtelen falvak lakósaival szemben, azok is voltak. De már a spanyolok legyőzték őket. Vezéreiket megölték, templomaikat elpusztitották, kincseiket elkobozták és hatalmukat megtörték .

A mexicói paraszt ,aki még mindig az aztec nyelvet beszéli és akinek ereiben még mindig az aztec hóditók vére csörgedez, nem álmododozik többé a harctéri hősi halálról. Alázatos paraszt, akinek csak az a kivánsága, hogy békében müvelhesse kis birtokát, templomba járhasson, táncoljon, énekeljen és szeretkezhessen. Ezek a természetes, ösztönszerü kivánságok megmaradnak.

A faji előitélet célja csak az, hogy egy másik népet leigázzanak vele és az "alacsonyabb rendüség" cimkéje csupán az igazságtalanság és méltánytalanság leplezésére szolgál.

* * *

ADDAMS Janes (1860-1935). Amerikai társadalmi reformer, az amerikai "settlement house" név alatt ismert mozgalom megalapitója. Az első ilyen settlement házat Chicagoban nyitotta, amely a "Hull-house" név alatt lett ismertté. Társadalmi müködése elismeréséül a Nobel békedijat kapta.

ADLER Alfred (1870-1937). Osztrák orvos, aki a lelki betegségek után kutatott. Folytatta Freud orvos tanulmányait, de amig Freud a lelki rendellenességek okait leginkább a nemi rendellenességekkel magyarázta, Adler ujabb irányt jelölt ki a mások fölötti uralomvágyás és a másoktól való félelemben. Adlertól származnak az "inferior complex" (magát másoknál alantasabbnak tartó) és a "superior complex" (magát mások felülállónak tartó) kifejezések.

EGÉSZSÉGÜGY

A HOSSZU ÉLET TITKA

Dr. E. J. MURPHY

HA idős embereket megkérdeznek, hogy minek tulajdonitják hosszu életüket, a legtöbbször egymásnak ellentmondó, semmi értékes tanácsot nem tartalmazó válaszokat adnak. Igy nem csoda, hogy vannak, akik szerint a hosszu élet eléréséhez még fiatal korunkban valamilyen krónikus betegséget kell szerezni, amit aztán ha számos évtizeden át ápoltunk, hát megöregszünk. Jobban mondva, akinek valami betegsége van, az jobban vigyáz magára, mint az egészséges ember és sok esetben a betegség miatti gondos, tartózkodó élettel tul lehet élni az egészségeseket is.

Azonban mégis csak jobb, ha minden krónikus betegség nélkül érjük el az aggkort. Az előrelátó ember tehát vigyáz az egészségére, oly életet él, amellyel elejét veszi a betegségeknek; szóval gondol arra, hogy hosszu életet kiván. Különösen ajánlatos a 40 évet elért embereknek bizonyos egészségügyi szabályok betartása, mert az idősebb test nem birja el azon megerőltetéseket, amiket a fiatal fel sem vesz. Egy amerikai szállóige szerint az élet a 40 évnél kezdődik. Egészségügyi vonatkozásban ezt igy kell értelmeznünk: 40 évtől kezdve már nagyobb gonddal vigyázzunk magunkra.

Noha a hosszu élet eléréséhez nem lehet szabályokat adni, mindazonáltal az alábbi tanácsok betartása segiti a középkoru egyéneket abban, hogy egészséggel menjenek át az öreg korba.

1. Lassan járj, tovább érsz! — mondja a közmondás. Lassulj le mindenben, ha elérted a 40 évet. Az embernek ugyan nincs fékelő készüléke, mint a jármüveknek, de a középkort elért egyén helyesen teszi, ha ugy a munkájában, mint a mozgásban, sőt még a gondolkozásban is féket alkalmaz, lassabban csinálja, mint azelőtt. Fékelő készülék hiányában az embernek tudatosan kell magát rászoktatni erre a lassubb munkára és mozgásra. Egy ideig mindig gondolni kell rá. Később aztán már megszokja az ember ezt a lelassitott tempót. A gyors munka, gyors mozgás, izgatott élet a korai s rendesen csak rövid ideig tartó öregséghez vezetnek, a lassubb tempóju élet pedig megnyujtja az aggsághoz vezető időt.

2. Kerülni kell a kimerülést. A nagymérvü kimerülés gyilkosa a középkoru embernek. A nagy fáradtság nagymennyiségü mérgező anyagokat vált ki a testből, amelyek aztán megrongálják az idegrendszert. A kimerültségig tartó munka katasztrófa felé hajtja az embereket.

3. Tanuld meg, hogy időközönként szükséged van a pihenésre, méghozzá olyan pihenésre, amelyben nemcsak az izmok, de az idegek is pihennek. Aki megteheti, annak ajánlatos, ha napközben is ledül 20-30 percre.

4. Ne engedd idegrendszered megzavarni érzelmeid által. Az érzelmi világból eredő támadások megzavarják az emésztést, elősegitik a magas vérnyomást és szivbajokat okoznak. Ilyen érzelmi dolgok például a féltékenység, bosszankodás, rosszakarat, bosszuvágy, stb.

5. Gyakorold a türelmességet

A mai időkben arra mindenkinek szüksége van. A külesemények folyása felett nem rendelkezünk, de igen is szabályozhatjuk érzelmeinket, amelyeket a külvilági események kiváltanak belőlünk. Legyünk tehát nyugodtak, biráljunk minden dolgot óvatosan s ne hagyjuk, hogy nagy izgatottságot váltsanak ki belőlünk.

6. Keress magadnak valamilyen rendszeres szórakozást, kedvtelést, “hobby”-t, mint az amerikaiak mondják; valami olyasmit, ami különbözik napi foglalkozásodtól. Ilyesmik például valaminek a gyüjtése, fényképezés, olvasás, zene, stb. Az ilyen “hobby” rendkivül alkalmas a napi fáradalmak kipihenésére.

7. Legyél saját egészségügyi felügyelőd. Vigyázz arra, hogy az emésztésed rendes legyen. Szoktasd magad ahoz, hogy a nap azonos óráiban legyen székleted.

8. Kisérd figyelemmel a sulyod és öv vastagságod. Elhizás a 40 éven felül nagyon káros hatásu, mert akadályozza a sziv, a máj és a vesék normális müködését.

9. Vigyázz a vészjelekre. Krónikus szorulások, gyakori fejfájás, állandó fáradtság olyan jelek, amik mutatják, hogy valami baj van és ilyenkor orvoshoz kell fordulnod.

10. Határozd el, hogy nem leszel, “aggastyán”, ha nagy időt érsz is el. Aggastyán az, aki a multban él, akit a jelen már nem érdekel. Ne sóhajtozz a letünt “jó napok” után. Ne veszitsd el a napi események utáni érdeklődésedet. Igyekezz szellemileg fiatal maradni. Ne zugolódj ha körülötted uj világot látol kifejlődni. Próbáld beleélni magad, legyél részese és nem a mult távolából szemlélője környezetednek. Ez teszi az öreg kort nemcsak türhetővé, de sokszor boldoggá is.

(Labor)

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Uj ojtószerek.

Az orvosi tudomány nagymértékben alkalmazza az ojtásokkal való gyógyitást, illetőleg betegségek elleni védekezést. A gyógyászat ezen nemét a francia Louis Pasteur fedezte fel, aki rájött, hogy az ember (vagy állat) teste automatikusan védekezik a testbe került korcsirok ellen. A test bizonyos mérgeket fejleszt a korcsirok megölésére. Ezen mérgek amelyeknek a “toxin” nevet adták, képesek a testbe került baktériumok elölésére bizonyos körülmények között.

Ilyen körülmények egyike az, hogy a toxinok gyorsabban szaporodjanak, mint a baktériumok, vagy egyéb korcsirok. Ezért Pasteur a meggyengitett baktériumokból szérumokat készitett, amelyekkel ha beojtanak embert vagy állatot, akkor azokban a toxinok gyorsabban fejlődnek, mint a baktériumok és a testet a betegség ellen semlegesitik.

Pasteur fellépése óta nagyon sokféle szérumot készitettek, mert a különböző baktériumok ellen mindig csak a megfelelő szérum használható. Vannak azonban olyan járványos betegségek, amiket nem baktériumok, hanem az azoknál jóval kisebb “virus” okoz. Amig a baktériumok százait választották már ki és tenyésztik zselatin, leves vagy egyéb más, ugynevezett “kulturában”, igy aztán lehet szérumot is késziteni, addig a virus kiválasztása még nem sikerült. A virus olyan kicsi, hogy átmegy a legfinomabb filtrálb készüléken is. Jelenlétéről azonban tudnak és tudják, hogy a fertőzött vér milliószoros higitásából vett cseppel még továbbitani lehet a betegséget.

Az orvosi tudomány arra is rájött, hogy amig a baktéria él és szaporodik zselatin, vagy más holt anyagon, virus csakis az élő testen él és szaporodik. Ez okozta a legnagyobb nehézséget arra, hogy vele kisérletezzenek. Pár évtizeddel ezelőtt azonban nagyon nekifeküdtek a csikebetegségek tanulmányozásának és látták, hogy bizonyos betegségek már a tojásban jelen vannak és a tojásból kibuvó csirkében azonnal tovább fejlődnek. Ekkor kisérletezni kezdtek a tojás beojtásával. A tojás kérgén pici nyilást vágtak, befecskendezték a szérumot és aztán visszahelyezték a kivágott kérget.

Két amerikai orvos, névszerint Dr. Ernest Goodpasture és Dr. Alice Hiles Woodruff a Nanshville városban fekvő Vanderbilt Egyetemen a virusok tovább fejlesztésére próbálták ki ezt a módszert. A megtermékenyitett tojásban élő sejt van, amely elég olcsó ily kisérletek számára. Az előbbi módszeren csak annyit változtattak, hogy a tojás kérgén vágott nyilást átlátszó plasztik lemezzel fedték be és igy figyelhették, hogy mi megy végbe a tojásban, amint az inkubatorba az embrio fejlődésnek indult. A siker minden várakozást felülmult.

Mindazonáltal amikor 1931-ben először jelentették kisérleteik eredményét az "American Journal of Pathology" cimü folyóiratban, nem keltett nagyobb feltünést. Csak később, mikor már többféle virust sikerült igy tenyészteni és azokból szérumot késziteni, ismerték fel a felfedezés óriási jelentőségét, mert már számos olyan virus betegséget sikeresen lehet gyógyitani, ami ellen addig semmit, vagy csak nagyon kevest tudtak védekezni.

A háboru természetesen meggyorsitotta az ily irányu kutatásokat és szérumok készitését. Most egyenlőre az összes szérumok a haderő részére készülnek, a háboru után azonban sok félelmes betegség kiirtására fognak vezetni.

Hogy milyen nagyfontosságu szerep jutott ezen uj ojtóanyagoknak, mutatja az, hogy a tropikus vidékekre küldött száz és százezer katona közül egy sem esett az azelőtt annyira félelmes sárga láz áldozatául. Az emberi nemnek ezt a kegyetlen gyilkosát az ujfajta ojtószerekkel ki fogják irtani a föld szinéről.

Egy másik nagyon veszedelmes járvány, amely ellen az uj módszer segélyével szérumot készitettek, a hirhedt influenza, amely az első világháboru után csaknem annyi emberéletet ragadott el, mint maga a véres küzdelem. Ma számos helyen nagymennyiségü influenza ellenes szérumot halmoztak fel arra az esetre, ha a járvány bárhol is felütné a fejét, azt azonnal lokalizálják és kiirtsák.

De nemcsak az emberek, hanem az állatok részére is készitenek szérumokat ezzel a módszerrel. Igy például ilyen szérummal vetettek véget a lovak között kitört nagy járványnak, amelyet az "enceohalomyelitis" (álomkór) virusza okozott és amely több mint 80,000 lónak az életét oltotta ki.

Legujabban azon kisérleteznek, hogy hasonló módon szérumot késziteenek a gyermek paralizis elleni védekezésre is, ami azonban eddig még nem sikerült.

* * *

Ha a Nap felrobbanna

Midőn egy csillag felrobban, akkor "nóva", vagy gázbuborékok tömege lesz, amely tömegben minden ilyen buborék egy-egy gőz állapotban levő égitest.

Dr. Dean B. McLaughlin (Michigan egyetem) számitásai szerint, ha a Nap ilyen nóva lenne és csak 10 napon át a mai meleg kisugárzását százezerszeresen emelné, akkor elég meleget küldene a földre, hogy itt minden anyag, még a kövek is megolvadnának egész 7 vagy 8 mérföldnyire. A tudós professzor szerint ezen tiz nap alatt a nap 3,800 trilliószor trillió kalória meleget küldene a földre. Ez jókora meleg lehet, ha meggondoljuk, hogy az átlagos munkásembernek a nap 24 órájában körülbelül 2000 kalória melegre van szüksége.

AKÁRMELYIK UTON

IRTA: O. HENRY

A "SUNSET EXPRESS" Tucson várostól mintegy husz mérföldnyire megállt, hogy a vonal melletti nagy viztartályból kielégitsék a gőzgép szomját. De a vizen kivül valami mást is kaptak, amit már nem igen köszöntek meg.

Mialatt a gépész és a segitője a nagy gummincső elhelyezésével voltak elfoglalva, a szeneskocsira felmásztak Bob Tidball, Shark Dodson és John Big Dog, egy félvér indián, — mindannyian szerencselovagok. John Big Dog előre mászott és valamit tartott a gépész és a fütő szemei elé. Ezek csak kis kerek nyilásokat láttak, de azok oly hatással voltak rájuk, hogy kezeiket egyszerre levegőbe emelték, mintha csak ezt mondták volna: "Engedelmeskedünk!"

Ekkor már a rablócsapat vezére, Shark Dodson is odaért. Az ő kezében is ott volt a revolver, amelyet mutogatott, miközben parancsait osztogatta. Ráparancsolt a gépészre, hogy oldja el a mozdonyt és vigye arébb, mintegy 50 yardnyira. A gépész és a fütő engedelmeskedtek. John Big Dog elhelyezkedett a szén tetején és puskáját lövésre készen tartva ügyelt a gépészre és fütőre.

Shark Dodson és Bob Tindball nem voltak közönséges tolvajok. A vonat utasaival nem igen törődtek, azok kiabálását lealacsonyitónak tartották. Ezért egyenesen a postakocsi felé mentek. A postás nyugodtan elszendergett, azt hivén, hogy a vonat a tiszta vizen kivül más veszedelmesebb anyagot nem vesz fel ezen a helyen. Bob azonban a revolvere agyával hamar kiverte ezt a gondolatot a szegény postás fejéből. Dodson pedig egy-kettőre elhelyezte a dinamitot a kassza alatt, felgyujtotta a kanócot, a kocsi másik végébe huzódtak és a kassza felrobbant.

A robbanás 30,000 dollárt hozott aranyban. Az utasok némelyike kinézett az ablakon és nézték, hogy honnan jön a zivatar .Menydörgésnek vélték a robbanást. A konduktor gyanitott valamit, meghuzta a csengő zsinórját, amely azonban a szabadba lógott az első kocsi végén. Dodson és Tindball kézitáskába rakták az aranyakat, kiugrottak a postakocsiból és a mozdonyhoz szaladladtak.

A gépész dühös volt ugyan, de azért jónak látta az engedelmességet és gyorsan meginditotta a gépet az elhagyott vonattal ellenkezőleges irányba. Mielőtt azonban megindulhattak volna, a postás, akit előbb a revolvere agyával megkenegetett Bob Tindball, kiugrott a kocsiból és részt kért magának a játékból. John Big Dog még mindig a szén tetején ült s előre nézett, ügyelt a gépészre és a fütőre. A postás célbavette és mert kitünő lövő volt, éppen a két válla között találta. A félvér indián szerencselovag egyet hördült aztán lefordult a szénrakásról. Ezzel egyhatoddal emelte két társának a 30,000 dollárból rájuk eső részt.

Mintegy két mértföldnyire Dodson ráparancsolt a gépészre, hogy álljon meg. Leszálltak, bucsut intettek a gépésznek és a fütőnek, akiknek gyorsan tovább kellett menni a géppel, majd a környező sürü erdő-nek vágtak neki. Körülbelül öt percig törtettek a sürü bozóton keresztül, amikor kis tisztásra akadtak. itt három felnyergelt ló várt rájuk. Az egyik ugyan John Big Dogra várt, aki azonban már nem igen fog többet lovagolni sem nappal, sem éjjel. Ezt a lovat megszabaditották a nyeregtől a kantárjaitól s azután szabadon engedték. A két rabló lóra kapott és a keskeny, kanyargós ösvényen gyorsan tovaügettek.

A rablott aranyat zsákba tették és a Dodson nyerge előtt keresztbe fektették a lovon. Rövid futam után a Tidball lova megcsuszott a vizes mohán ,elesett és kitörte az egyik első lábát. Azonnal fejbelőtték a szegény állatot, aztán letelepedtek tanácskozni. Egyelőre biztonságban érezték magukat. Már jó utat megtettek és reggelnél előbb nem igen indulnak üldözésükre. Akkor is jó időt fog igénybe venni, amig nyomukra akadnak. Közöttük és az üldözőik között tehát sok óra és sok mértföldnyi ut feküdt.

Dodson leeresztette a lova kantárát, kötelet erősitett rá és legelni engedte. A ló jóizüen ette a kis csermely mentén nőtt kövér füvet. Tindball kinyitotta a zsákot és kivett egy marék aranyat. Szinte gyerekes örömet érzett az arany látásán.

— Hallod, mégis csak nagy gazember vagy te, — mondotta hizelegve Dodsonnak, — én nem hittem, hogy igy fog sikerülni. Ezzel lepipáltunk mindenkit Arizonában.

— De honnan veszünk most lovat neked, Bob? — kérdezte Dodson, aki nem osztozott a Tindball örömében. Itt nem várhatunk valami sokáig. Nap felkeltekor már a nyomunkban lesznek.

— Oh, én ugy hiszem, hogy a te "szárnyasod" elvisz mind a kettőnket — mondta Tindball. — Elcsipjük az első lovat ,amellyel találkozunk . . . A teremfáját, ezt jó csináltuk, ugy-e? Az irás szerint itt 30,000 dollár van, 15,000 jut mindegyikünknek.

— Jóval kevesebb, mint ahogy számitottam, — válaszolta Dodson, gyengén megrugva csizmája orrával az arannyal telitett zsákot. Aztán gyanakodólag nézte a kifáradt lovat. — Bolivar igen fáradtnak látszik. Bárcsak baja ne esett volna a lovadnak.

— Engem is aggaszt egy kicsit — mondta Tindball, — de Bolivar erős ló, elvisz bennünket annyira, hogy uj lovakat szerezhetünk, Hanem nekem az a legfurcsább, hogy egy ilyen ember, aki a Keletről jön, mint te, hogyan ért ilyen jól az ilyen dolgokhoz. Még mi is tanulhatunk tőled, pedig azt tartják, hogy igazi deszperádók csak a Nyugaton teremnek. Az ország mely részében nevelkedtél, hogy ilyesmihez is értesz?

— New York államban, — szólt Dodson, majd beleharapott a rágódohányba és aztán folytatta. — Ulster megyében születtem egy kis farmon, de megszöktem amikor 17 éves voltam. Egészen véletlen, hogy idekerültem. Kis podgyászommal a kezemben New York irányába tartottam. Ugy gondoltam, hogy New Yorkba megyek és sok pénzt fogok keresni. Azt képzeltem, hogy szerencsés leszek, aki nagy vagyont fog szerezni a világvárosban. Valami belső ösztön azt sugta, hogy nagy vagyon vár reám. Az egyik este aztán keresztuthoz értem. Nem tudtam melyiken folytassam tovább az utamat. Félóráig is tanakodtam, hogy melyiket válasszam. Végre is a baloldalit választottam. Másnap ezen az uton vándor cirkuszra akadtam és csatlakoztam hozzájuk, igy jutottam a Nyugatra. Sokszor eszembe jut, hogy mi lett volna belőlem, ha akkor nem a bal, hanem a jobb oldali utat választom?

— Azt hiszem, hogy éppen igy végezted volna, — mondta Tindball derülten. — Nem az a fontos, hogy melyik utat választjuk, hanem az, hogy mi lakik bennünk és ez érvényre jut, akármelyik utra lépünk is.

Bob Tindball visszahelyezte az aranyakat a zsákba, bekötötte jó erősen nehogy utközben megoldódjon. Mikor ezzel a munkával elkészült és fejét felemelte, rámeredt Shark Dodson hatlövetü revolver csövének a nyilása.

— Ne bolondozz — mondta Bob nevetve, — jó lesz ha készülsz és indulunk!

— Maradj nyugodtan, — parancsolta Dodson, — te már nem fogsz indulni innen. Nehezemre esik bár, de meg kell mondanom, hogy csak egyikünk menekülhet. Bolivar ki van fáradva és nem birná el a kettős terhet.

— Három éve már a legobb bajtársak vagyunk, Shark Dodson, — mondotta Bob elhalványodva. — Három év óta osztozunk jóban rosszban, most csak nem hagysz itt?

Dodson arckifeezése egyszerre hideg, kegyetlenné lett, mely azonban nem tudta palástolni a pénz utáni sóvárgását. Ebben a pillanatban ördögi lelkének képe teljes borzalmasságában ült ki az arcára.

És igaza volt. Bob Tindball nem indult el ujra. Az áruló barát meghuzta a fegyver ravaszát és a fegyver dördülését, Tindball halálorditását elnyelte az erdő rengetegje. Bolivár nem sokat törődött az egész dologgal. Engedelmeskedett a parancsnak és gyorsan tovább vitte a "Sunset Express" rablóinak utolsóját, a rablott zsákmánnyal együtt. De ha értette volna is, hogy milyen eseménynek volt tanuja, akkor csak annak örült volna, hogy nem kellett kettős terhet szállitania.

Amint Shark Dodson tovább galoppolt az erdőben, sürü ködbe ért, amelynek oszlása után a kezében levő revolver mahagoni szék karjává változott, a nyeregből gyönyörüen párnázott fotel lett és amint felnyitotta a szemét, a lába nem a kengyelben, hanem a mahagoni irodaasztal sarkán nyugodott.

—

Mondom, hogy Mr. Dodson, a Dodson és Decker new yorki bankcég tuladonosa kinyitotta a szemét. Peabody ,a bizalmas titkár állt asztala előtt és habozott, vajjon szóljon-e? A szobában gyenge, altató morajt tartott fenn a villamos legyező.

— Hm! Peabody, — mondotta Dodson, szemét dörzsölve, — ugy látszik, hogy elaludtam. És milyen érdekes álmom volt! Jól elszundithattam . . . Nos, mi baj, Peabody?

— Mr. Williams van itt uram, a Tracy és Williams cég feje. Eljött, hogy halasztást nyerjen öntől az X. Y. kötvényekre vonatkozólag. Az árak nagyon magasra szöktek. Képtelen mind kiegyenliteni . . .

— Igen, igen, emlékszem már. Mi most az X. Y. árfolyama?

— Száznyolcvanöt, uram.

— Akkor ezzel az árral kell neki kiegyenliteni.

— Bocsánat uram, — szólt Peabody reszketve, — talán mégis meghallgatná Williams urat. Régi barátja önnek, sokat segitett önön annak idején. Ön teljesen ura most az X. Y. kötvényeknek. Önnek 98-ért adta ezeket a részvényeket. Ha most kiegyeliti a különbözetet, rámegy minden centje, még az otthona, a butorai is. Talán lehetne . . .

Dodson arckifejezése egyszerre hideg, kegyetlenné lett, amely azonban nem tudta palástolni a pénz utáni sóvárgását. Ebben a pillanatban ördögi lelkének képe teljes borzalmasságában ült ki az arcára.

— Fizetni fog száznyolcvanötével! — mondotta. — Bolivar nem bir el kettős terhet.

Geréb József forditása.

HOGYAN BESZÉLJÜNK

GYAKORLATI TANÁCSOK MUNKÁS ELŐADÓK SZÁMÁRA.

(A Bérmunkás multévi Naptárában “Hogyan irjunk a munkáslap részére” cimmel terjedelmes cikket közöltünk Morris Watson munkás lapszerkesztőnek “How to write for your Union Paper” cimü füzetének alapján. A munkásmozgalom aktiv tagjainak azonban az iráson kivül igen nagy szükségük van arra, hogy kisebb vagy nagyobb tömegekhez beszélni tudjanak. Jelen irásunkkal, amelyet a CIO által kiadott “Adivces to the inexperienced Speaker” (Tanácsok gyakorlattal nem biró szónokok számára) cimü füzet alapján állitottuk össze, gyakorlati tanácsokat kivánunk adni azon munkástársainknak, akik a forradalmi ipari unionizmus, — avagy általában a munkásmozgalom szolgálatában gyüléseken beszélnek. De nagy hasznát veszik az itt felsorolt tanácsoknak és adatoknak még a személyes vitatkozások, a háziagitációk alkalmával is. A füzet, valamint a szöveget kisérő tréfás illusztráció átengedéséért a CIO szervezetnek tartozunk köszönettel, — Szerk.)

NAGYON sok munkásembert alaposan megijeszt, ha felkérik, hogy valamely gyülésen tartson egy rövid előadást.

— Nem értek én ahoz,, — szabadkozik az a munkástárs, aki máskülönben igen értelmesen el tud beszélgetni a közönséget érdeklő problémákról.

Pedig kevés gyakorlat után minden értelmes ember képes rövidebb beszédek hatásos elmondására. Természetesen nem lesz belőlük professzionális szónok, aki éveken át tartó tanulás és gyakorlat után jól érti a szónoklat minden csinját-binját; aki tudja nemcsak azt, hogyan lehet a közönséget felvilágositani, de azt is, hogyan lehet hallgatóit félrevezetni. Mi olyan munkás szónokokra gondolunk, akik valóban hisznek valamilyen eszmében és ezen eszme iránt meggyőződésüknek szavakban kifejezést tudnak adni. Mert arra, hogy valaki jó és megnyerő szónok legyen, nem nagy tudás és előképzettség, hanem őszinte meggyőződés kell. Nagyon nehéz másokkal elhitetni az olyan dolgot, amiben magunk nem hiszünk.

A munkás szónoknak az a nagy előnye, hogy nem kell alakoskodnia, mert hisz abban, amit hirdet és aminek támogatására meg akarja nyerni a hallgatóit. Igy minden munkásember őszintén beszélhet a munkásság szervezkedési jogainak fentartásáról és további kiterjesztéséről. Avagy arról, hogy olyan társadalmi rendszert akarunk, amelyben minden hasznos munkát végző egyénnek az élete biztos legyen, ne kelljen félnie a munkanélküliség rémétől. Ilyen tárgy például a társadalmi biztositás, a faji egyenlőség, a sajtó és a szólás szabadság, stb. problémái.

És végre a forradalmi ipari unionizmus hiveinek kimerithetlen anyagot szolgáltat a szervezkedés helyes voltának magyarázata, melyre vonatkozólag részletes adatokat nyujtunk jelen Naptárunk “Egy Nagy Szervezet” cimü cikkében.

Készülni kell a beszédre.

Kezdő szónok nem számithat arra, hogy kellő előkészület nélkül hatásos beszédet tudjon tartani. Ne tévesszen meg senkit az, hogy gyakorlott szónokok csak egy kancsó vizet és egy poharat tesznek az asztalra. Egy korty viz néha szükséges, de sokkal fontosabb az, hogy a beszédet napokkal, vagy hetekkel előbb **megirjuk és betanuljuk.**

Igen, ez fontos! Ha nincs elég gyakorlatod a szónoklásban, akkor készitsd el a beszédedet irásban. És fogjál hozzá idejében, ne hagyd az utolsó percre.

De hogyan kell egy beszédet elkésziteni? — bizonnyal kérdezed. Igen egyszerü. 1. Csak olyan tárgyról beszélj amit jól imersz. 2. Ha nem vagy járatos a tárgyban, amiről beszélned kell, gyüjtsd össze az adatokat. Végre is csak nem gondolod, hogy valami kitünő beszédet leszel képes kivágni olyan tárgyról, amiben nem vagy járatos?

Ha már megvannak az adataid, akkor el kell rendezni azokat, az az bizonyos sorrendbe igyekezz felsorakoztatni. Erre vonatkozólag az a szokás a legáltalánosabb, hogy először is megmondod, hogy miről fogsz beszélni; azután elmondod, mondani akarsz és végül megmondod, hogy már elmondottad a mondókádat. Ennek megfelelőleg minden beszéd három főrészből áll: bevezetés, tárgyalás és befejezés (konkluzió).

BERNARDA BRYSON

Egy kancsó viz még nem elegendő a jó beszédhez.

A bevezetés legyen rövid. Ennek a célja nemcsak az, hogy bejelented miről fogsz beszélni, de egyben olyannak is kell lennie, hogy megnyerjed vele a közönség rokonszenvét, mert csak igy tudod elérni, hogy figyelemmel kisérjék további fejtegetéseidet.

A tárgyalás a beszéd tulajdonképeni teste. Ebben sorakoztasd fel a tárgyra vonatkozó összes érvedet meg hozzá ugy, hogy azok egymást támogassák és szugerálják azt a konkluziót, amit a beszéd utolsó részében fogsz bejelenteni.

A befejezés rövid legyen. Az érveket összegezd és mutass rá a konkluzióra és ha szükséges, hivd fel hallgatóidat, hogy álljanak a szóbanforgó eszme szolgálatába.

Mikor a beszédedet igy irásban összeállitottad, olvasd el azt gondosan, aztán vedd elő az ollót és vágd ki a nem fontos részeket. A rövid, de tartalmas beszéd mindig nagyobb hatást ér el mint a hosszu szónoklat, amely tele van jelentéktelen érvekkel. Gondolj erre a közmondásra: Hosszu lének hig a leve!

A beszéd elmondása

Persze a beszéd elkészitése még nem elégséges, mert hiába tudod, hogy mit akarsz mondani, ha nem tudod, hogyan kell azt elmondani. Itt tehát megint elérkeztünk ahoz a kérdéshez, hogyan kell a beszédet elmondani?

Beszédek elmondásánál általában három módszert alkalmaznak:

1. Fel lehet olvasni az elkészitett irásból. Ez nem valami jó módszer. Valójában csak a tudományos előadásoknál, vagy az olyan beszédeknél hatásos ez a módszer, ahol sok számadat, képlet vagy idézetet tartalmaz a beszéd és igy természetes, hogy azokat jegyzetből olvassuk fel.

Idejében fogj hozzá beszéded megirásához.

2. Jegyzetek nélküli beszéd. Erre csak a gyakorlott szónokok képesek. Azoknak természetesen nincs szükségük a mi tanácsainkra. Másokat azonban óva intünk az ilyen kisérlettől.

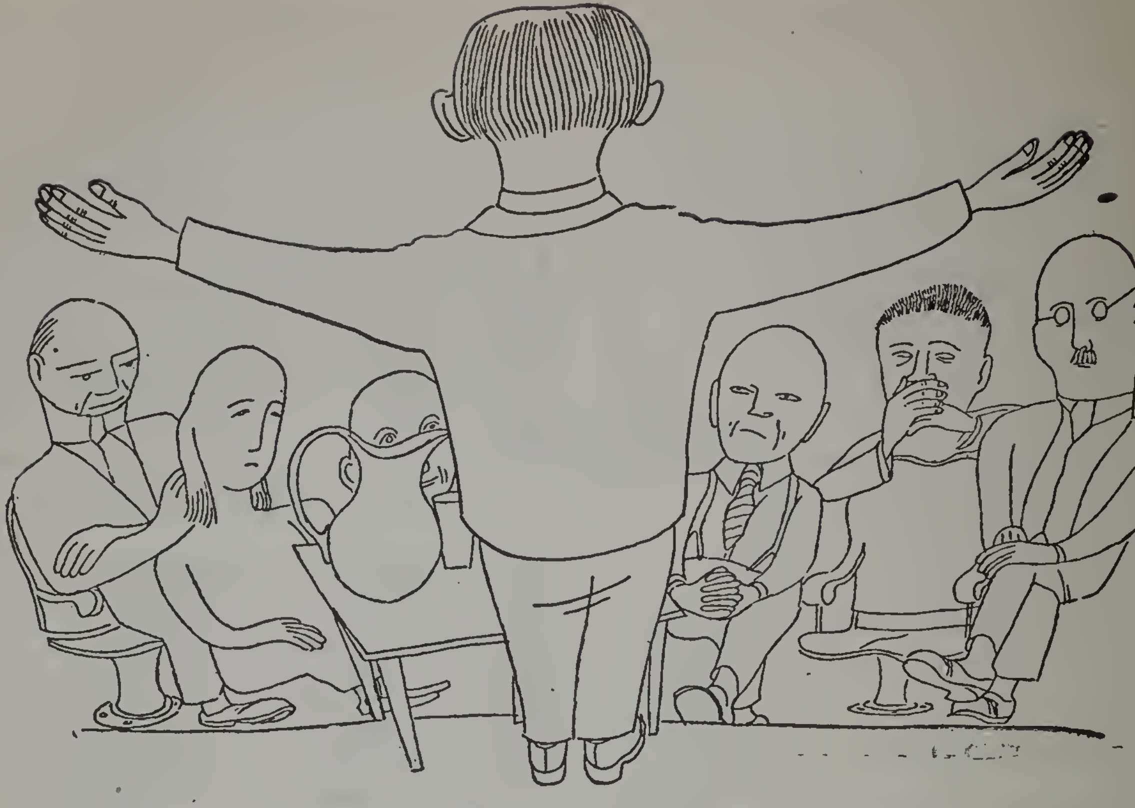
3. Be kell tanulni a beszédet, még hozzá alaposan és még annak dacára is magunk elé tesszük az irást, ami a biztonság érzetét kölcsönzi.

Ezt a módszert ajánljuk minden kezdő szónoknak. Itt is gyakorlat teszi az embert mesterré. Demostenes görög szónok a patakhoz ment és a vizharsogását tulkiabálva gyakorolta beszédeit. Mi nem ajánljuk most senkinek ezt a módszert, de igenis ajánljuk, hogy tanuld be a mondanivalódat és otthon a tükröd előtt mond el nem is egyszer, hanem többször. Igy egyben megfigyelheted, hogy mennyi ideig tart elmondani a beszédet és ragaszkodhatol a számodra engedélyezett időhöz.

Félsz, hogy ideges leszel? Hát nem tudod, hogy minden szónok ideges volt először? Szerencsésen keresztülesel rajta éppen ugy, mint mások. Azért ajánlatos, hogy a beszéded jól betanuld .Ha nem is mégy a patakhoz, mint Demostenes, de elharsoghatod beszéded munkaközben a géped mellett, hiszen a gépek is csinálnak olyan zajt, mint a patak. Szóval gyakorold a beszéd elmondását ott, ahol csak lehet.

Gondolj arra, hogy hallgatóidnak másnap munkába kell menni, ne nyujtsd beszéded tul hosszura.

Kezd valamilyen megszóllitással a beszédet. Megszokott megszóllitás munkás gyüléseken: Munkástársak! Munkástestvérek! Kedves hallgatóim! stb. Munkás hallgatóságnak tulságos hizelgő megszóllitása, nem ajánlatos. A megszóllitásnál nézz végig a közönségen. Addj pár pillanatot arra, hogy mindenki rád nézzen. Aztán kezdj hozzá a be-



Oly tárgyról beszélj, amely érdekli közönségedet.

szédedhez. Beszélj tisztán és ne gyorsan és ne tulságos emelkedett hangon, vagyis kiabálva mindjárt a kezdetben, igy megnyerheted a hallgatóid szimpátiáját, amit később már könnyebb megtartani.

Beszéd közben nézz végig a közönségen. Lehetőleg a legtávolabbi soroknak és ne az előtted ülőkhöz beszélj. Ne feledd, hogy amit az utolsó sorok meghallanak és megértenek, azt hallják az első sorban is, forditva azonban már nem áll ez a dolog.

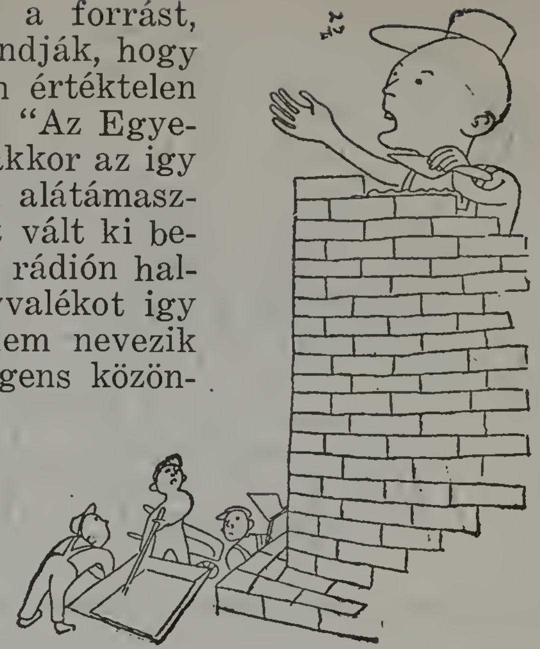
Ne zavarjon az, ha valaki ásit vagy köhög. Ezek olyan emberi tulajdonságok, amelyeket nem lehet kiküszöbölni olyan helyekről, ahol többen vannak együtt. Sőt még azt is el kell türnöd, ha valaki felkel és kimegy beszéded alatt. Csak a nagyon gyakorlott szónokok tudnak ilyen esetekben olyan megjegyzéseket tenni, amik nem vetik ki a beszéd sodrából.

A tények beszélnek.

A jó beszéd valójában nem más, mint választ valamilyen fontos kérdésre. Miután minden kérdést számos oldalról meg lehet világitani, igy a beszédben is hasonló módon fel kell sorakoztatni a tárgyra vonatkozó összes fontos érveket, a tényeket, hiszen tudott dolog, hogy a **tények beszélnek,** az az bizonyitanak. A tények hiányát nem lehet eltakarni kiabálással, vagy suttogással, mások kiejtésének kigunyolásával, stb.

Egy ismert politikus mindig széljegyzeteket irt az előre elkészitett beszédére, jelezte magának, hogyan mondja el a jelzett részt, ilyenformán: "Ezt lágyan, érzelmesen"; "Meg kell ismételni nyomatékosan s időt engedni, hogy jól megjegyezzék", stb. Az egyik szakaszhoz aztán ezt a megjegyzést füzte: "Ezt a részt erősen harsogni kell, mert az érvelés nagyon gyönge". Nos, mi ugy tartjuk, hogy az érvek gyöngeségét nem lehet takarni kiabálással.

Az adatok felsorolásánál nevezd meg a forrást, ahonnan vetted. Sohase használd az "azt mondják, hogy . . . ." formát. Az "azt mondják" teljesen értéktelen authoritás. Ellenben ha például ezt mondod: "Az Egyesült Államok 1940-es cenzusa szerint . . . ", akkor az igy felsorolt tényt már a forrás megnevezésével alátámasztod. De ne feledd, hogy milyen rossz érzést vált ki belőled, amikor az ujságokban olvasod, vagy a rádión hallod, amint valamilyen patent medicina kotyvalékot igy hirdetnek: "Orvosok ajánlják . . . ", de nem nevezik meg az ajánló orvosokat. Ilyesmit az intelligens közönség már nem tür el.


Gyakorold beszédeded elmondását mindenütt ahol csak lehet.

Azonkivül ügyelned kell arra, hogy minden adat, — különösen a szám és a dátumok, amiket idézel, helyesek legyenek. Ha a beszéd után hozzászólások következnek a helytelenül idézett dátumok vagy számadatok megemlitésével teljesen leronthatják beszéded sikerét.

Munkásgyüléseken rendesen a közönség is hozzászól a tárgyhoz a szónok beszédének befejezte után, azaz szokásos kérdéseket feltenni. A szónoknak el kell készülni arra, hogy minden árnyalatu kérdésre, ami a tárgyat érinti, feleni tudjon.

Mindig ismételd meg a kérdést, amelyre válaszolsz. Ezzel elejét veszed annak, hogy másról beszélsz, mint a kérdező óhajtotta. Ha a kérdés nem tartozik a tárgyhoz, azt udvariasan megmondhatod. Pár szóval meg lehet magyarázni, hogy a felvetett kérdés igen érdekes, de kiesik a jelenleg tárgyalás alatt álló probléma keretéből és az idő nem engedi, hogy annyira eltérjünk a tárgytól, de majd más alkalommal arról is lehet beszélni. Nem kell kigunyolni a kérdezőt még akkor sem, ha rosszakaratu kérdést tesz fel. Ily esetben csak rá kell mutatni, hogy az ilyen kérdéssel való foglalkozás eltériti a gyülés figyelmét az eredeti tárgytól.

És végre nem kell szégyenleni azt sem, ha valamelyik kérdésre, amelyik a tárgyhoz tartozik ugyan, de még sem tudsz választ adni. Ilyenkor leghelyesebb, ha nyiltan megmondod, hogy a kérdésnek ily szempontból való vizsgálatával még nem foglalkoztál és köszönd meg a kérdezőnek, hogy erre is felhivta a figyelmedet. Az ily őszinteség jobban biztositja a sikert, mintha "hasból" bluffolva válaszolnál a kérdezőnek.

Kezdő szónok részére általában a következőket ajánljuk:

1. Ne feledd, hogy hallgatóidat valamilyen eszme szolgálatába akarod állitani.

2. Ragaszkodj tehát szorosan a tárgyhoz, ne kalandozz el attól beszéd közben.

3. Inkább legyen egy kicsit rövid, mint egy kicsit tulhosszu a beszéded.

4. Csak arról beszélj, amiben magad is hiszel, akkor őszinteséged segit hallgatóid meggyőződésében.

5. Beszéded tárgyát korlátold. Ne igyekezz a világtörténelem összes fontos eseményeivel foglalokzni félórás beszéd keretében. Minél szükebb körre korlátozod a beszéded, annál kimeritőbb képet tudsz arról adni.

6. Adatokkal, érvekkel győzd

Üres, vagy semmitmondó frázisok nem elégitik ki a hallgatókat.

meg hallgatóidat.

7. Harsogás, kiabálás vagy másféle "bluff" ellenszenves a csak valamennyire is intelligens közönségnek.

8. Alkalmazd beszéded közönséged értelmi fokához.

9. Igyekezz megnyerni közönséged rokonszenvét ugy, hogy ne csak a szónokot, de a barátot is lássák benned.

10. Kerüld a személyeskedést. Személyeskedésnek nincs érvelő ereje.

11. Összegezd az érveidet ugy, hogy azok szugerálják a kivánt konkluziót.

12. Ne csak helyes érveket sorolj fel, de mond el azokat **helyesen** is.

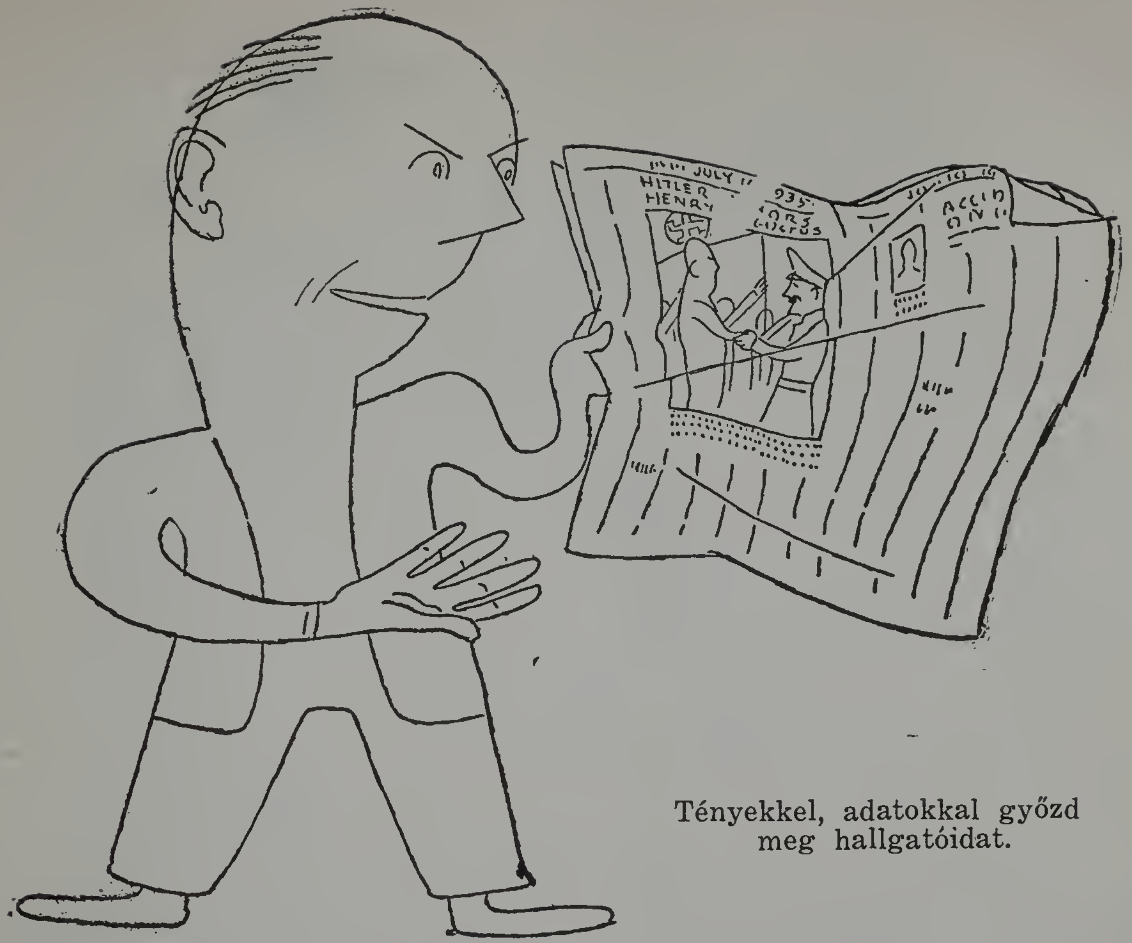
A közeljövőben még a mainál is jobban előtérbe nyomulnak az alábbi problémák:

1. Védekezés a munkanélküliség ellen.
2. A nagy drágaság és a bérek.
3. Adózás és infláció.
4. Munkásjóléti intézkedések.
5. Az agrár kérdés.
6. A néger kérdés.
7. Antiszemitizmus.
8. A szervezkedés helyes módja.
9. A sztrájk, mint a munkások leghathatósabb fegyvere.
10. Politikai akció.

Az alábbiakban a fenti problémákra vonatkozó adatokat sorolunk fel, melyeket nem csak előadások alkalmával, hanem házi agitációknál és indiferens munkásokkal való beszélgetés közben is sikeresen használhatunk.

MUNKÁSOK: A United States munkaügyi minisztérium statisztikája szerint 1939-ben az Egyesült Államoknak 39 millió ipari és agrár munkás volt. Ez a szám 1943-ban már 44 millióra emelkedett és a legutóbbi kimutatás szerint most 57 millió, dacára annak, hogy 11 millió egyént a haderő foglal le. Ha ezeket is számitjuk, akkor jelenleg 68 millió ember nyert foglalkozást. Igy ez a háboru bebizonyitotta, hogy **meg van a lehetőség arra, hogy mindenki, aki csak akar dolgozhasson.** A kérdés tehát ez. Miért nem lehet éppen ugy foglalkoztatni a munkásokat a nép jólétének az emelésére, mint ahogyan lehetett a háboru vagyis a pusztitás céljaira?

TERMELÉS: Ugyancsak a statisztikai hivatal kimutatása szerint az Egyesült Államok árutermelése 1932-ben 47 és fél billió dollárt tett ki, ami 1939-ben már 88 és fél billióra emelkedett fel, 1943-ban, pedig már elérte a 186 billiós számot. Ezen számok mutatják, hogy amig a munkások száma 1939-től 1943-ig csak 25 százalékkal emelkedett, addig az általuk termelt érték emelke-



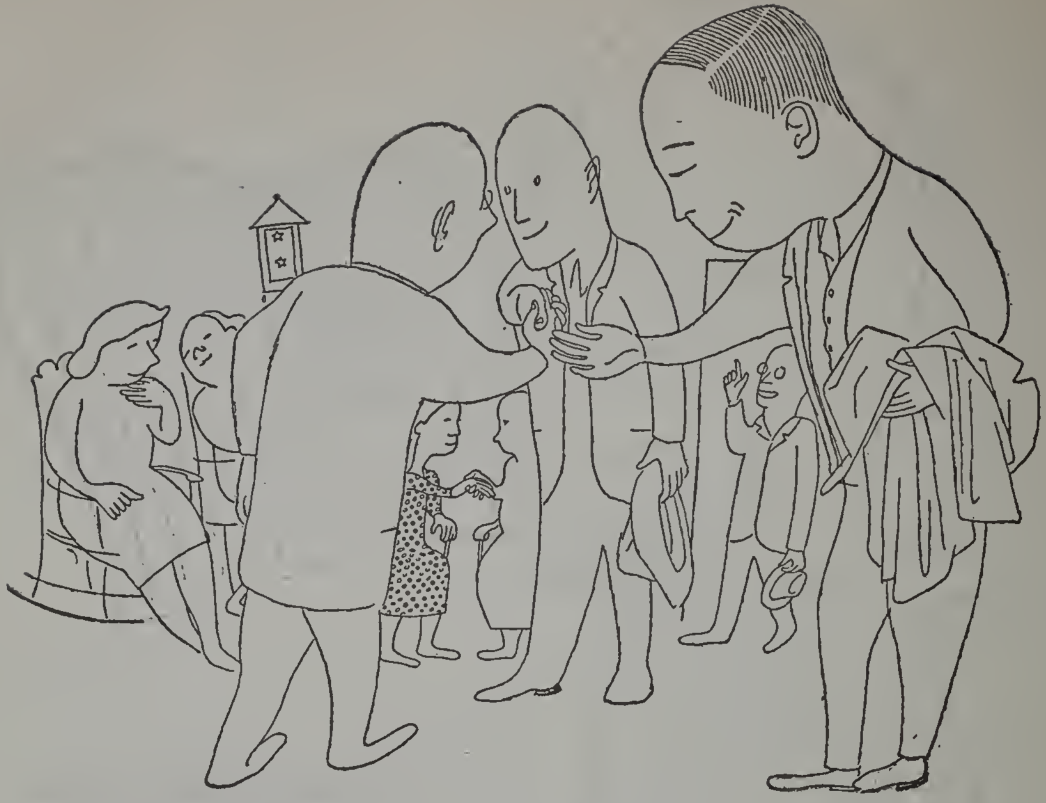
Tényekkel, adatokkal győzd meg hallgatóidat.

dése több mint 100 százalékot mutat, vagyis a munkások számának egy-negyeddel való szaporitása a termelést megkétszerezte.

MUNKABÉREK: A Department of Labor kimutatása szerint 1939-ben az iparok, vagyis a munkások és tulajdonosok összjövedelme 70.8 billió volt, 1943-ban pedig már 147.9 billió. Igy a munkások számának egy-negyeddel való megnövesztése az iparok jövedelmét több mint kétszeressére emelte. Vagyis az általgos munkás majdnem kétszer annyit termelt 1943-ban, mint 1939-ben. De kétszer akkora fizetést kapott-e? Dehogy is kapott! Ugyanazon statisztikai forrás szerint 1939-től 1944-ig a munkabérek csak 37 százalékkal emelkedtek, a "management", vagyis a tulajdonosok jövedelmei ellenben 281 százalékos ugrást mutatnak. Ezt aligha lehet **igazságos** elosztásnak nevezni.

DRÁGASÁG: California Egyetemének Heller Bizottsága a megélhetési árak emelkedését figyelve az alábbi adatokat tette közzé: A négy tagu család **tisztességes** megélhetéséhez 1943-ban 2900 dollárra volt szükség minimálisan. A bizottság szerint minden **három munkáscsalád közül kettőnek nincs meg ez a jövedelme.** A háborut megelőzőleg a viszonyok még rosszabbak voltak és a hadiiparok beszüntetése után megint a munkáscsaládok jövedelmének esése várható. Ezen bizottság állitása szerint 1936-ban például az ipari munkások negyven százaléka, a földmüves munkásoknak pedig 79 százaléka nem érte el az évi 1000 dolláros keresetet.

Ezzel szemben a drágaság emelkedésére vonatkozólag a következő adatokat kaptuk részben a Department of Labor irodájától, részben pedig az unionok által kinevezett bi-



Ahol csak lehet, már a gyülés előtt ismerkedj a közönségeddel.

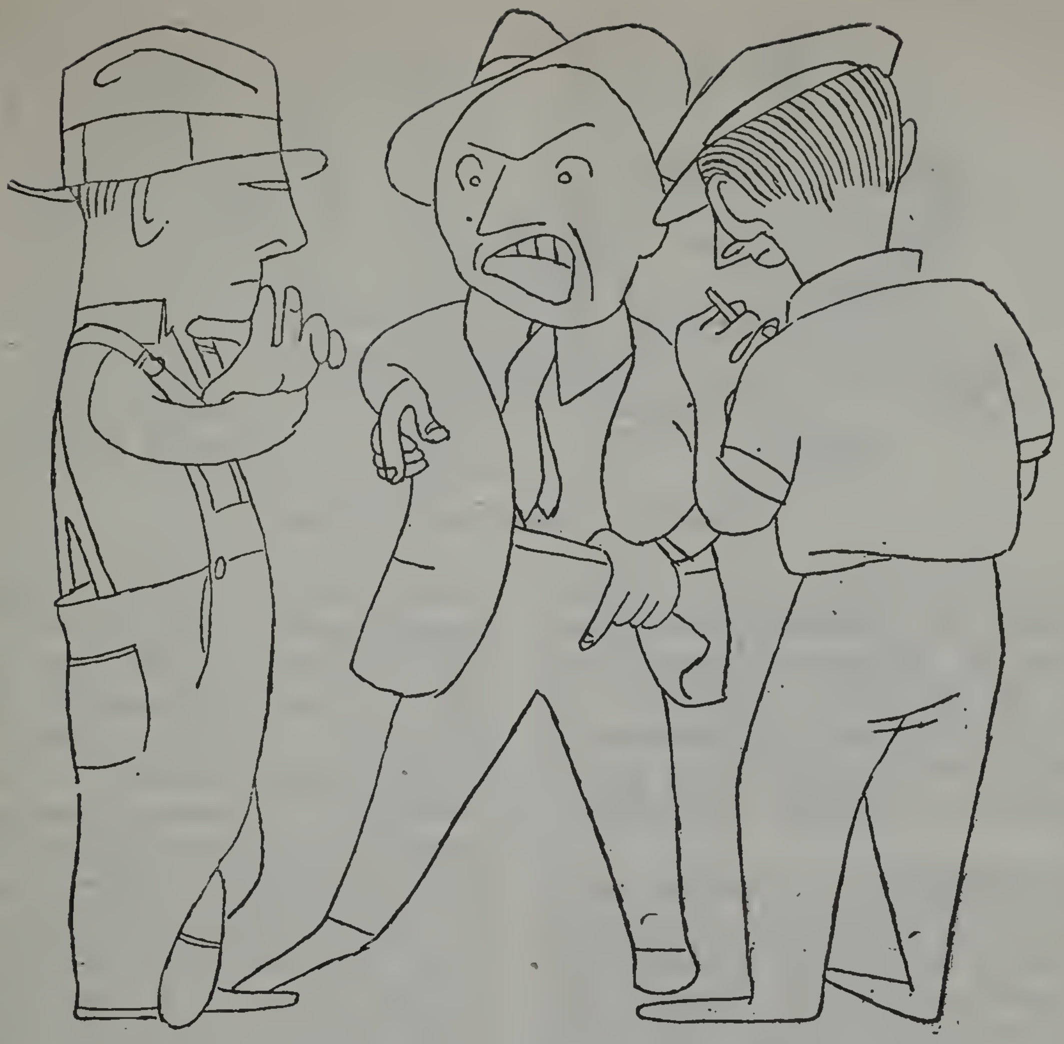
zottságoktól: A megélhetéshez szükséges anyagok árai 1941 január elseje és 1944 március elseje között 45.3 százalékkal emelkedtek. Ezzel szemben a béreket megfagyasztották és csak 15 százalékos emelkedést engedélyeztek a Little Steel Formula értelmében.

A háborus foglalkoztatás tehát bebizonyitotta, hogy lehet mindenkit foglalkoztatni az ipari termelésben. A háboru utáni egyetlen nagy probléma tehát, hogyan lehet felhasználni a termelt javakat, ha nem áldozzuk fel azokat Mars isten oltárán, vagyis nem pusztitjuk el a háboruban. Mi, munkások jól tudjuk, ha a termelésnek szabad menetet engednek, lesz elég helye a termelt javaknak, mert hisz még az annyira magasztalt amerikai életszinvonal is messze a kivánaton alul maradt. Nézzük csak a következő adatokat:

ÉLELMEZÉS: Az amerikai munkásság három-negyed részének élelmezése hiányos és messze a kivánalmakon alul áll. A depressziós években minden három amerikai lakos közül kettőnek nem jutott elegendő táplálék, jobban mondva nem volt képes a megfelelő tápszerek beszerzésére. Ez azt jelenti, hogy 95 millió ember nem kapta meg azt az eledelt, amit az egészségi szinvonal fentartása megkövetel. A viszonyok ebben a tekintetben nem igen javultak a háboru alatt, amennyiben most az adagolás és a drágaság állja utját a bőséges táplálkozásnak.

Az élelmiszer fogyasztásra vonatkozó adatok azonban azt mutatják, hogy a háboru utáni időkben az élelmiszerek termelését nem leejteni, hanem éppen ellenkezőleg, sokszorosan fokozni kell. Ez viszont csak ugy érhető el, ha a nagy néptömegeknek lesz vásárló képességük, meg tudják fizetni a farmeroknak az élelmiszerek termelésébe fektetett munkát.

LAKÁSOK: Az Egyesült Államok lakóházainak fele lényeges javitásra szorul. Igen sok olyan lakóház van még, amelyben nincs viz-



Kiabálás nem erősbiti az érvelést.

vezeték, tehát nincs fürdő és toilet sem; hiányzik ugy a villany, mint a gáz. Milliókra megy azon lakások száma, amelyek nem méltók arra, hogy emberi lakásoknak nevezzük· Az Egyesült Államokban legalább 16 millió uj lakást kellene épiteni. Természetesen most, a háboru alatt a lakások épitkezését is csaknem beszüntették. Azonban a békekötés utáni idők programjának a lakások épitését kell legjobban hangsulyozni. Nagymérvü épitkezés igen sok munkaalkalmat nyujt, amivel erősbödik a munkásság vásárló képessége is.

EGÉSZSÉG: Midőn az Egyesült Államokban 1940-ben megkezdték a kötelező sorozást, kitünt, hogy a sorkötelesek negyven százaléka nem üti meg a mértéket.

Más statisztikai adatok szerint itt, Amerikában még mindig oly nagy az orvoshiány, hogy évenként 275,000 gyermekszülésnél nincs orvos. Az évenkénti csecsemő halálozás eléri a negyedmilliót. Ezeknek legalább a felét meg lehetne menteni, ha az anya a gyermekszülésnél, aztán a csecsemő kellő orvosi felügyeletet kapnának. Az egész országot nézve azt látjuk, hogy minden három megye közül kettőben semmiféle kórház nincs. Természetesen a szegényebb néposztály szenved legjobban. Az egészségügyi hivatalok szerint az Egyesült Államoknak még legalább 300,000 orvosra lenne szüksége· A "Committee of Cost of Medical Care" név alatt müködő bizottság szerint legalább 500 uj nagy kórházat kell épiteni, amelyekben fél

Figyeld hallgatóid arckifejezését.

millió beteget lehet kezelni. (Körülbelül 1000 ágy kórházanként.) Ezen kórházak és klinikák nemcsak sok orvost, de igen sok ápolót és más személyzetet fognak foglalkoztatni. A nemzet jövője megköveteli az ily egészségügyi program keresztülvitelét.

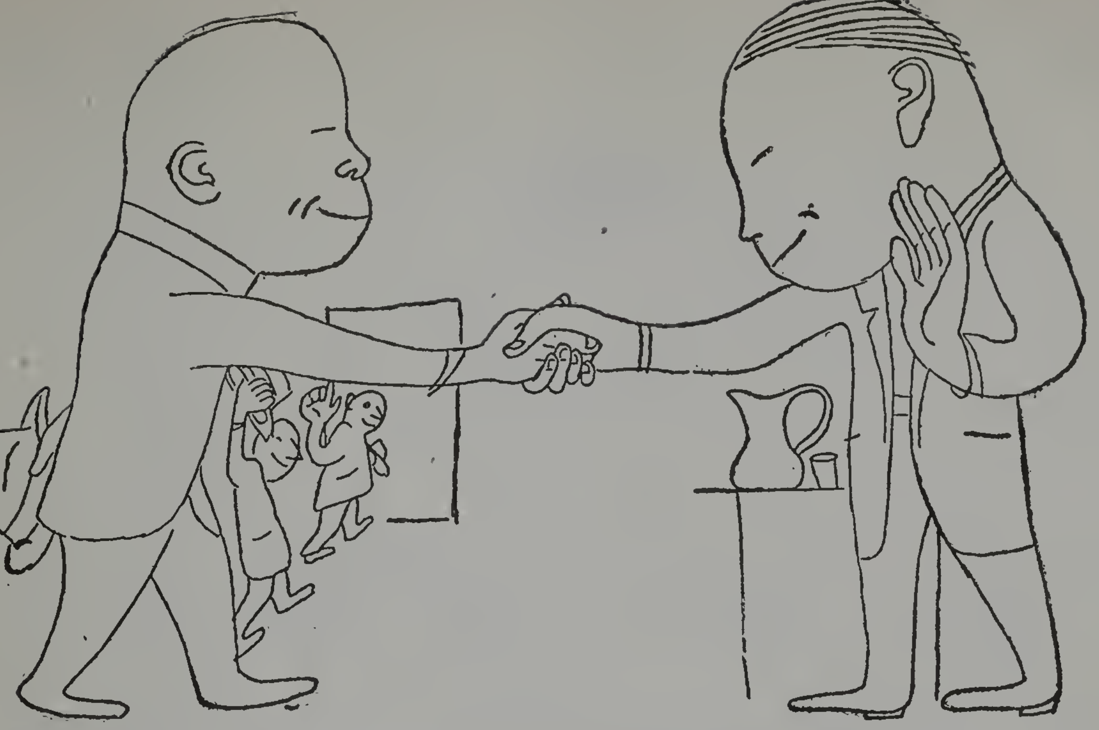
NEVELÉS: Az 1940-es népszámlálás adatai szerint az Egyesült Államokban az 5 és 19 évesek közül 25 százalék nem járt iskolába. Ez azt jelenti, hogy minden négy iskolaköteles gyermek közül egy nem járt iskolába. Az iskolába járóknak 25 évről vett statisztikája szerint az átlagos iskolázottság 8 és két-tized osztályt tesz ki, vagyis csak egy kicsit nagyobb, mint a nyolc osztályt képező elemi iskolázottság. Amerikai lakósok közül 75 millió nem jutott el high schoolba (középiskolába).

Az iskola épületeknek fele még mindig az egy teremből álló falusi iskola. Ilyen egytermü iskolában fejezi be iskoláztatását fél millió gyermek.

A városi iskolák tanitóinak átlagos fizetése az 1939-40-es tanévben 1,937 dollár volt, (heti $37·); a falusi tanitóké pedig csak 967 dollár (heti $18.60). A városokban minden iskolás gyermek tanitására abban az évben 180 dollárt, a falukban pedig csak 72 dollárt költöttek. Ez legmagasabb volt New Yorkban, ahol egy-egy tanulóra 169 dollár és 90 cent jutott és legalacsonyabb volt Mississippi államban, ahol egy-egy tanułóra csak 31 dollár és 23 centet költöttek. Alabama államban pedig amig a fehér gyermekekre 47 dollár 69 centet adtak ,a néger gyermekekre csak 14 dollár és 63 centet költöttek. Mississippiben még rosszabb volt az arány. Ott a fehér gyerekekre 62 dollár és 1 cent, a néger tanulókra pedig csak 7 dollár és 36 cent jutott.

Ezen számadatok mutatják azt, hogy a nevelés terén milyen nagymérvü javitásra van szükség. A nevelés, tanulás az alapköve minden nemzet jólétének. Nevelés hiánya nemcsak a nagyobb termelő képességtől fosztja meg a népet, hanem könnyebben a kizsákmányolás prédájává lesznek. Magasabb szinvonalu nevelés magasabb életszinvonalat jelent·

A MUNKÁSCSALÁD SZÜKSÉGLETE: Mindenki, aki megélhetésért dolgozik, a munkájáért kapott jövedelmet élelemre, ruházatra, lakásra, szórakozásra és kényelmi cikkekre költi. A munkácsaládnál az élelem kerül a legtöbbe. A négy tagból álló családnál, ahol a családfő heti 50 dollárt keres, az élelem a fizetésnek csaknem a felét felemész-



Beszéded utáni kongratulációkat szerényen fogadd.

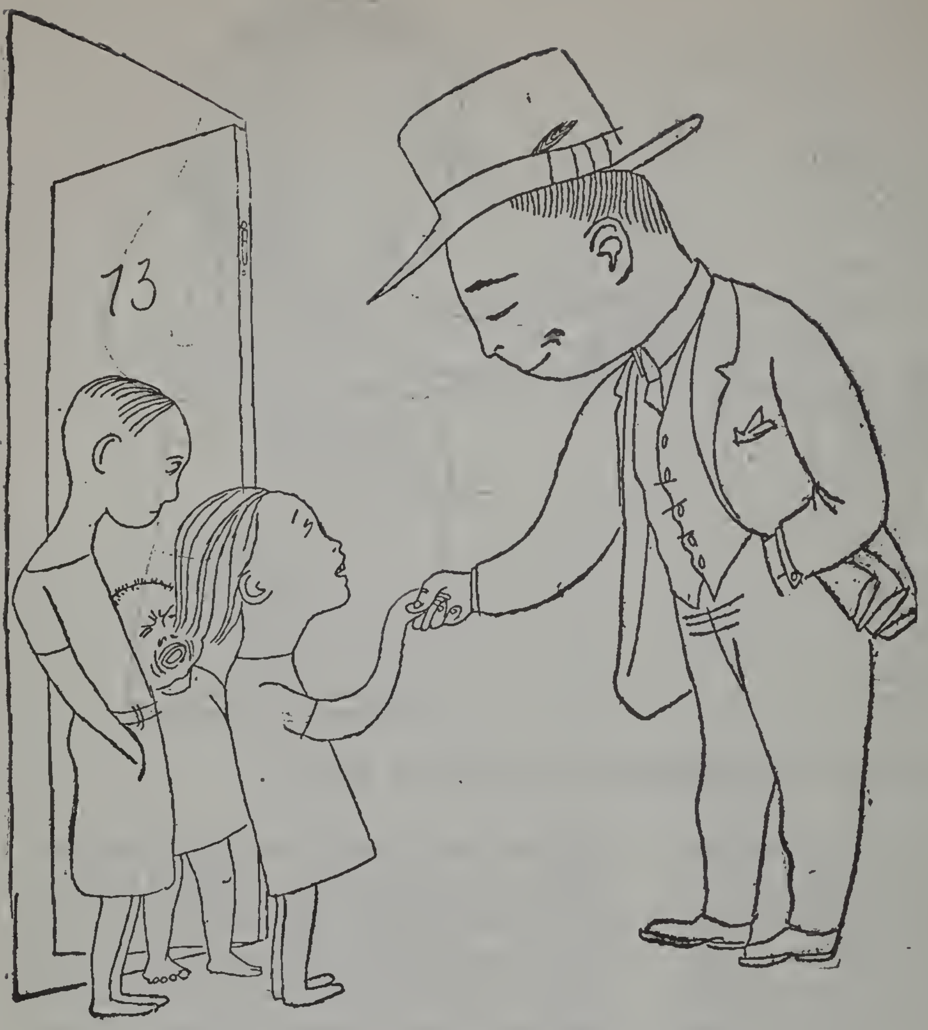
ti. A lakás megink közel egy-harmadát teszi a kerestnek. A ruházat elviszi a kereset tiz százalékát. A kereset fenmaradt részét fel kell osztani a biztositás, az orvos és kórház, a dohányzás, villamos költség, szórakozás és egyéb kiadások között.

A drágaság emelkedése elsősorban is az élelmiszereket érte. Az élemiszerek árai 1941. január elseje óta 71 százalékkal emelkedtek. A ruházat, ahol a minőség leszállitást is számitásba kell vennünk, 76 százalékkal emelkedett. A lakbérlet 15, a butorzat 63, fütőanyag 14 százalékos emelkedést mutatnak. Ilyen árak mellett a munkások csak a megfelelő módon felemelt bérekkel lesznek vásárló képesek.

ADÓZÁS: Az adózás csak akkor igazságos, ha az a fizető képességen alapul. Igy nem lehet nagyobb igazságtalanságot elképzelni a fogyasztási adónál. Fogyasztási adóból a sokgyermekes munkáscsalád többet fizet, mint az egy-két gyermekkel biró igen gazdag ember, mert a nagy család többet fogyaszt a kicsinél. Ugyancsak ilyen igazságtalanság a bérekre százalékban kivetett adózás is. Az adózásnak olyannak kell lenni, hogy ne terhelje azokat, akik a létminimumon alul keresnek és emelkedjen fokozatosan a nagy jövedelmeknél.

MUNKÁSJÓLÉTI INTÉZKEDÉSEK: A munkásság hosszas harcok árán számos olyan vivmányt ért el, amelyekhez nemcsak ragaszkodniok kell, hanem ki kell terjeszteniök azokat mindaddig, amig oly termelési rendszer lesz, amelyben munkájuk teljes gyümölcsét élvezhetik. A munkásjóléti intézmények, politikai és gazdasági szabadságjogok erősbitik a munkásosztályt a további harcokra. Már csak ezért is szükséges ezen jogok fölötti éber őrködés. Ilyen munkásjóléti intézkedések:

A szervezkedés szabadsága. A munkásságnak ezt a jogát az Egyesült Államokban törvényekbe iktatták. Az idevonatkozó törvényeket röviden "Wagner" törvényeknek ne-



Háziagitációnál légy barátságos mindenkihez.

vezik a törvény megalkotójáról, Wagner szenátorról.

A minimális munkabéreket és maximális munkaidőt megszabó törvények. A munkáltató osztály ezen törvények megsemmisitésére törekszik különös erőszakkal.

Aggkori és munkanélküli biztositás. Ez még nagyon kezdetleges, tovább kell fejleszteni. Egyrészről magasabbra kell emelni ugy az aggkori nyugdijat, mint a munkanélküli segélyezést, másrészről a jelenleg 65 évben megállapitott nyugdij jogosultság korát le kell szállitani.

Meg kell erősiteni és kitjeszteni a gyermekmunkát tiltó törvényeket is.

A mai privát jótékonysági üzletek helyett az állam gondoskodjon a vakokról, és mindazokról, akik képtelenek sajátmaguk eltartására.

A farmerok segélyzése is fontos problémája a közeljövőnek. A farmerok segitésénél valóban a szegény farmerokat kell segiteni és nem az óriási farmterületeket biró korporációkat és nagytőkéseket. A nemzet jövőjére olyan fontos ügyeket, mint például a termőföld elmosásának megakadályozása, letarolt hegyek befásitása, folyóvölgyek ármentesitése, stb., a jövőben sokkal nagyobb mértékben kell foganatositani, mint a multban tették.

Az amerikai agrár politigának az egyik legfontosabb pontja legyen, hogy a délvidékek bérlő farmerjai földhöz jussanak. Jelenleg az Egyesült Államok lakóinak körülbelül negyed része lakik farm területen. Ezeknek a jövedelme azonban nem éri el a nemzeti jövedelem egy-tizedét sem. Ennek következtében a farmerok házai dülledezőben vannak, gyermekeik nem nyernek megfelelő iskoláztatást, ők maguk nem élvezik azon kényelmi eszközöket, amihez a városi emberek könnyen hozzájutnak. Az amerikai farmok összes jövedelme 1939-től 1942-ig 86 százalékkal emelkedett. Ezzel szemben az amerikai korporációk jövedelme ugyanezen idő alatt 281 százalékkal emelkedett.

A farmeroknak is érdeke az,

Ne feledd el megdicsérni az asszonyokat, akik az általad nyujtott szellemi táplálkozást testi tápanyagokkal egészitik ki.

hogy az ipari munkások jól keressenek, mert akkor képesek nagyobb áron megvásárolni az agrár termékeket ,ami a farmerok részére fokozottabb jövedelmet jelent. De a farmerok javát szolgáló intézkedések egyben a munkásság érdekeit is szolgálják, vagyis a farmerok és az ipari munkások érdekei azonosak.

Az itt felsorolt adatok alapján meggyőző módon beszélhetünk ugy a gyüléseken, mint a háziagitációk alkalmával is. De egyben utmutatásul szolgál arra, hogyan kell az adatokat összeszedni és elrendezni, hogy akár beszélgetés, akár pedig gyülésen elmondott beszéd alkalmával kellő hatást érjünk el.

Ipari balesetek.

Az Office of War Information jelentése szerint az Egyesült Államokban 1943-ban csupán a hadiiparokban 58,800,000 munkanap veszett el ipari balesetek következtében. Ezen iroda statisztikai adatai szerint a balesetek aránya legkisebb volt a tankokat készitő ipartelepeken, a legmagasabb fokot pedig az erdőirtó iparban érte el, ahol minden munkásra 29 nap veszteség esett balesetek következtében.

Az Office of War Information az ipari balesetekre vonatkozó adatait a Labor Department, a War Manpower Commission és War Production Board statisztikai adataiból állitották össze. Ezen adatok szerint a hadiiparokban 1943-ban minden 500 munkásra 20 baleset esett.

Az ipari balesetek következtében a hadiiparokban abban az évben minden férfi munkásra 11, mig minden női munkásra 13 munkanap veszteség esett.

A TUDOMÁNY VILÁGÁBÓL

MÉG nem is olyan régen igen jól mulattunk azon a mesén, amelyben azt kérdezik a mezőn heverésző pásztorembertől, hogy mit csinál, amire ezt a választ adja: "Hallgatom a fü növését." Ez a válasz ma már nem vezet a mesék világába, mert a fü növése valóban zajjal jár és most már vannak oly tudományos készülékek ,amelyekkel ezt a zajt felfoghatjuk. Igy ha most ugyanezt a választ nyernénk a mezőn heverésző egyéntől, körülnéznénk, hogy hol vannak a készülékei, mert rögtön arra gondolnánk, hogy valami tudományos kutatást végző egyetemi tanárra bukkantunk.

Olyan kort élünk, amelyben a régi világ sok meséje ténnyé lett, vagy még a mesénél is fantasztikusabb dolgokat fedeztek fel. Ezek között vezetőhelyen kell emlitenünk az ELEKTRONICS nevü valamit, amivel hallgathatjuk a fü növését, megláthatunk olyan tárgyakat, amiket máskülönben csak százezres nagyitással látnánk, megvizsgálhatjuk a legkeményebb acél belső szerkezetét, stb. Mindezek olyan dolgok, amikről még nem is olyan régen csak a mesékben esett szó. Mi az a csodás valami, aminek segélyével ezen mesebeli képzelődést megvalósithatjuk s amelynek az ELEKTRONIC nevet adták?

Ennek megértésére elsősorban az "electron" szóval kell tisztába jönnünk. A tudomány fejlődésének lényege abban áll, hogy az ember felfogó képességét minden irányban fejleszti. Igy például mindinkább jobb és jobb teleszkópokat készitenek, amelyekkel nagyobb és nagyobb távolságokra látunk; jobb és jobb mikroszkóppal kisebb és kisebb tárgyakat vizsgálhatunk, stb. Ennek megfelelőleg a régi elméleteken változtatni kell. Ilyen régi általános elmélet volt az, hogy az anyagok elemekből állnak és az elemek legkisebb részei az atomok. Az elemekből az egyes atomot ugyan még a mai fejlett müszereinkkel sem tudjuk kiválasztani, de képesek vagyunk sulyaik megmérésére és sok más tulajdonságaik szabatos meghatározására.

Végre elérkezett az az idő, amikor felvetődött a kérdés, hogy miből áll az atom? Arra már rájöttek, hogy minden atomnak van egy magja, amely körül a többi részek elhelyezkednek. Ezen többi részecskéknek a "particle" (részecske) nevet adták. Aztán rájöttek arra is, hogy minden partikle valamilyen villamos áramot tartalmaz, amelyek egyik része negativ, a másik része pedig pozitiv feszültségü. Ezen ellentétes felszültségü áramok vonzák egymást és ennek következtében az atomon belül egyensulyban vannak. A negativ feszültségü részecske az "elktron", mig a pozitiv feszültségü a "proton" nevet kapta.

Az atom szerkezete.

A legujabb teória szerint tehát minden atom a magból (neucle) és a körülötte egyensulyban elhelyezkedett elektronok és protonokból áll. Az utóbbiak oly kicsik, hogy egynek-egynek az elválasztása és megmérése a mai müszerekkel még lehetetlen. Azok, akik az idevágó tudománnyal foglalkoznak azt állitják, hogy az elektron olyan kicsi, hogy

Aachen német város a bombázások után.

egy incs távolságban 25,000,000,000,000-t (25 trilliót) lehetne egymásmellé helyezni.

Ugyanssak ezen teória szerint a test szilárd részét csak az atommagok képezik, amelyek között ür van. Ezen ürt az eletkronok és a protonok töltik ki. Hogy némi fogalmat alkothassunk ezek mennyiségéről, azt a példát hozzák fel: Képzelj egy igen nagy épületet ,például a new yorki Empire State Buildinget. Ha ebből az épületből ki tudnánk vonni az össze elektronokat és protonokat ,akkor a megmaradó szilárd részt dió nagyságra lehetne összepréselni.

Mint ahogyan a villamos erőforrástól elindult áram képezi a villamosságot, ugy az **atomtól megszabaditott elektronok alkotják azt, amit elektronic névvel jelölnek.** Ennek az uj tudománynak a lényege tehát az elektronoknak az atomtól való kiszabaditása.

Noha ez a dolog már nem egészen uj keletü, mégis ma még csak a kezdet kezdetén tart. A végcél az atom teljes megsemmisitése, ami által olyan nagymennyiségü erő szabadulna fel, hogy — megint csak a tudósaink állitása szerint, — egy font kőszén elegendő energiát nyujtana a legnagyobb hajónak az Atlantic óceánon való átvitelére. Ma még ez éppen olyan mesének tetszik, mint pár évtizeddel ezelőtt a fü növésének a hallgatása.

Pedig az elektronic segélyével ma már valóban csoda dolgokat müvelnek. Elektronic a lényege a rádiónak, amely képessé tesz bennünket arra, hogy ezer meg ezer mérföldről nemcsak beszélgethetünk, hanem már láthatjuk is egymást. Ez a lényege a legujabb ugynevezett "fluorescent" világitásnak. Ez a lelke a "robot" név alatt ismert pilóta készülékeknek; a villamos szemnek s nagyon de nagyon sok modern tudományos eszköznek.

Az electronic feszültségégről a villamossággal kisérletező Franklin Benjaminnak is lehetett valami fogalma, amikor azt irta, hogy a villamos áram olyan végtelenül kicsiny részekből áll, hogy azok a legtömörebb anyagon is a legnagyobb könnyedséggel mennek keresztül. Azonban az igazi feltalálója mégis Thomas Edison, a nagynevü amerikai feltaláló volt. Edisonnak sok baja akadt az első villamos körtével, amelyek egyik oldalukon hamar elfeketültek. Edison már 1883-ban észrevette, hogy az elfeketülést az üvegre rakódott, méghozzá mindig pozitiv saroknál, amig a negativ oldal tiszta maradt. Ennek ellensulyozására egy másik negativ filamentet (lemezt) is tett a körtébe. Ezzel megszületett a mai mágikus "tube" atyja. Edison természetesen akkor még nem tudta, hogy mit hozott létre. Sokkal azután mások fejlesztették tovább ezt a körtét. A körtén belül keletkezett uj áramrá az angol G.S. Stoney fizikus adta az "elektronic" nevet 1891-ben. Az igazi elektronic tubusokat azonban csak az amerikai Lee De Forest találta fel 1907-ben. Ettől kezdve aztán rohamos fejlődésen ment keresztül s ma már száz és száz munkakörben, a tudományban és a müvészetekben nyer alkalmazást.

A legnagyobb 20 amerikai város

(1940-es cenzus)

		Lakósai	négyzetmérföld
1.	New York, N. Y.	7.454.995	365.4
2.	Chicago, Ill.	3,396.808	211.3
3.	Philadelphia, Pa.	1,931,334	135.2
4.	Detroit, Mich.	1,623,452	142.0
5.	Los Angeles, Cal.	1,504,277	452.2
6.	Cleveland, O.	878,336	73.1
7.	Baltimore, Md.	859,100	85.6
8.	St. Louis, Mo.	816,048	65.0
9.	Boston, Mass.	770,816	65.9
10.	Pittsburgh, Pa.	671,659	55.1
11.	Washington, D.C.	663,091	69.2
12.	San Francisco, Cal.	634.536	93.1
13.	Milwaukee, Wis.	587,472	43.4
14.	Buffalo, N.Y.	575,901	50.2
15.	New Orleans, La.	494,534	363.5
16.	Minneapolis, Min.	492,370	58.8
17.	Cincinnati, O.	455,610	72.4
18.	Newark, N.J.	429,760	26.8
19.	Kansas City, Mo.	399,178	59.4
20.	Indianapolis, Ind.	386,972	53.7

A MAGÁNKAPITALIZMUS UTÁN?

Irta: PIKA PÁL

A TÖTÉNELEM lapjai egymásután peregnek le. A természet törvénye szerint a fejlődést nem lehet teljesen megakadályozni, még akkor sem, ha az emberi társadalomba talán visszafejlődés vagy stagnálás észlelhető.

A közmondás szerint "Minden rossznak van esetleg egy jó oldala is." Beleértve a mai felkavart háborus társadalmi viszonyokat, azt tapasztalhatjuk, hogy a háboru leforgása alatt a technika fejlődése gyors léptekben halad előre, ugyszintén az orvosi tudomány terén is ugyanez áll fen. Nem azért, mintha bármilyenképen is szimpatizálnánk a háborus hisztériával, de a tény azt bizonyitja, hogy a technika fejlődése minden háboru alatt nagy haladást mutatott.

Az őstermelés, vagy az őskommunizmus korszakából fejlődött ki a mai kapitalista termelési rendszer. Ugyan nagyon sokan, akik soha a történelem lapjait nem tanulmányozták, vagy a jövőbe csak bárgyuan tekintenek bele, azt szokták egyszerüen mondani "mindig igy volt és igy is fog maradni". A közösségről való letérés hozta magával a magántulajdon rendszerét. A magántulajdon rendszere kapzsivá, szivtelenné tette az emberiséget. Az a rendszer, amely ugyszólván embertelenné fajultatja el az embereket, az nem lehet jó és nem is lehet örökké maradandó.

A magánvagyon na[illegible] révén jutottunk el oda, hogy azok, akik nagyobb magánvagyonra tettek szert, csak ugy tudták azt értékesiteni, ha másokat alkalmaztak annak gondviselésére, vagy még jobban való gyarapitására. Igy jutottunk el ebbe a rendszerbe, amelyben mi munkások csak létezünk és létkérdésünk csak azoktól függ, akik nagy magánvagyonnal vagy a jelen modern termelő eszközökkel rendelkeznek. A laikus ember szempontjából ugy tünik fel az egész dolog, mintha a gazdagok ,akik a természeti kincsek és a termelő eszközök felett rendelkeznek, azok az emberszeretet gyakorlása révén adnak megélhetési alkalmat a dolgozni kényszerülő szegényeknek. Hányszor de hányszor hallottuk már a tudatlanok ajkáról ezt a feljajdulást: "Mi történne a tömérdek szegény népekkel, ha a gazdagok nem adnának nekik munkát, hogy megélhessenek?" Ha azonban tényleg tüzetesen átvizsgáljuk a dolgokat, akkor éppen az ellenkezőjét foguk megállapitani. Azt kérdezem a tanulni vágyó olvasótól, nem-e gondolkozott még a felett, hogy mi lenne a gazdagokkal, ha a dolgozó munkás milliók egy szép napon, nem volnának tovább hajlandók a gazdagokat eltartani, értük dolgozni, hogy ők azután mit csinálhatnának ha mi munkások nem tartanánk el őket?

Ez a kapitalista társadalmi rendszer, amely a magántulajdon rendszerén épült, nem lete örökkévaló. Maga a technika fejlődése, amivel jár a gyors termelési mód és amint, hogy ma nem szükségletre, hanem profitra termelünk, nagyon könnyen és gyakran megtörténik az az eset, hogy a világpiac raktárai megtelnek felhalmozott árukkal, amit a sok milliók termelő munkások nem tudnak vissza vásárolni. A mai rendszer nem a logikus beosztáson alapszik, nem is a humaizmus képezi alapját, hanem a kizsákmányolásra alapozott profit.

Semilyen körülmények között a kapitalista rendszer nem lehet örökkévaló. Nagyon sokan, de különösen azok, akik a mai rendszerben bőségesen duskálnak az élet javaiban, azt szokták mondani, hogy ez a rendszer a legmegfelelőbb az emberiség számára. "A mai rendszer tette naggyá és hatalmassá ezt az országot."

Arról sohasem beszélnek, hogy a legutolsó száz év alatt ideözönlő szakképzett munkások voltak azok, akik munkaerejük révén tették ezt az országot naggyá. De nem csak itt, hanem az egész földtekén a technika fejlődése folytán a kapitalista termelési mód gyors fejlődést mutatott. Ez a fejlődés hozott el bennünket a mai időponthoz, amikor világosan láthatjuk, hogy a kapitalista rendszer befejezte hivatását és nem alkalmas tovább a társadalom irányitására.

A kapitalizmus védnökei

Mint minden társadalmi rendnek, ugy a mai kapitalizmusnak is megvannak a maga védnökei, amelyek osztályintézmény képpen szerepelnek. Ezek az osztályintézmények azok, amelyek ugyszólván fátyolt huznak az emberek látásköre elé, ugy, hogy az emberek legnagyobb része, nem is tudja elképzelni, hogy nem a politikai rendszer irányitja a társadalmat, hanem a létező gazdasági rendszer a saját rendszerének megfelelőleg irányitja a politikai osztályintézményeit.

A kapitalizmus kifejlődése óta, mindig ugy tudta befolyásolni az emberek tömegét, hogy politikai jogokat engedélyezett abból a célból, hogy gazdasági rendszerét háborithatatlanul fejleszthesse naggyá a tömegek rovására. El tudta hitetni és még ma is el tudja, hogy változás a politikai személyzetben gazdasági előnyöket fog biztositani a gazdaságilag bizonytalan tömegek részére. Ha most az emberi társadalom osztály viszonyait vesszük szemügyre, akkor megállapithatjuk, hogy az emberek legnagyobb része gazdasági bizonytalanságban él még akkor is, ha esetleg polgári politikai jogait zavartalanul gyakorolhatja.

Nem lehet semmi egyszerübb, mint azt megérteni, hogy a társadalom alapját csak a gazdasági berendezkedés képezheti. Ha ezt megtudjuk érteni, akkor arra a következtetésre kell, hogy jussunk, hogy magáért a gazdasági alap megváltoztatásáért folytassanak harcot mindazok, akik a mai kapitalista rendszerben bizonytalan gazdasági körülmények között tengetik életüket.

A kapitalista rendszer nem lehet maradandó

Nem lehet azért mert a technika fejlődése a termelést annyira fölfokozta ugyszólván az egész földtekén, hogy majdnem minden ország ki tudja termelni saját szükségletét ugy, hogy nagyon kevés alkalma lesz bármelyik ország iparilag fejlett kapitalista rendszerének ujabb világpiacokat szerezni a felhalmozott árui számára. Egy ország határain belül a kapitalizmus csak ideigóráig tud létezni, mert a termelő bérmunkások, akik a lakosságnak legnagyobb részét alkotják, munkabéreikből nem tudják visszavásárolni mindazt, amit termelnek és az a többlet, amit a kapitalista osztály profit képpen halmoz fel állandó ipari pangásnak képezheti csak alapját.

Amerikai és mexikói vasuti munkások együtt dolgoznak a vasutvonalakon.

Mindazok, akik még ma is hisznek abban, hogy a kapitalista társadalom továbbra is tud létezni, azok sohasem számolnak a fennálló igazi körülményekkel, hogy azután mi fog történni a társadalom gazdasági átalakulásával az csak attól függ, hogy hogyan tudjuk elképzelni és gyakorlatba érvényesiteni a szocializmusnak azt a gyakorlati kimenetelét, ami a társadalmi javak egyenletes elosztásán alapszik.

Állam kapitalizmus

A magánkapitalizmus, amely teljesen a szabad ipari versenyen alapszik, amiről fentebb leirtam, hogy létezése már csak rövid idő kérdése, még akkor is, ha sokan, akik jónak látják, szeretnék ugyan, de képtelenek megakadályozni azon rendszer változást, ami mindenfelé az egész földtekén ugyszólván folyamatban van. Az emberi társadalomban vannak olyan elemek, akik sem nem kapitalisták, sem nem termelő bérmunkások. Azonban tudatában vannak annak, hogy a jelen kapitalista rendszer, amely a magántulajdon és ezáltal a profit rendszeren alapszik, nem lehet alkalmas az emberek gazdasági igényeinek kielégitésére.

A társadalom alapvető tényezője

Ott van ahol az élet javait állitják elő. Ennek a termelési folyamatnak tényleges részesei kizárólag csakis a termelő munkások legyenek akár szellemi, vagy fizikai. Furcsa, de ugy van, hogy a termelő munkások legnagyobb része, még ma sem tudja, hogy ők a tényleges fentartói a társadalomnak rajtuk kivül mindenki csak a termelt javakat fogyasztja. Azok a haladó gondolkozásu egyének, akik felismerték már a magánkapitalizmus helytelenségét, sok esetben a bajok orvoslását politikai téren akarják elintézni. Mint ilyenek a politikai hatalom meghóditására törekednek.

Minden politikai párt, kivétel nélkül, uralkodási hatalomra törekszik. Az állami hatalom gépezetét fölé helyezi minden más erőcsoportnak, legyen az egyéni vagy megszervezett. Teljhatalmilag rendelkezik az iparok felett és ugyszintén a termelő erők felett. Minden vagyon és a munkaerő is az állam tulajdonát képezi. Ezáltal a termelt javak felett is az állam rendelkezik. Sokat irhatnánk az államkapitalizmus különböző válfajairól, annyi azonban egészen bizonyos, hogy addig amig a termelt javakkal nem kizárólag maguk a termelők rendelkeznek, addig mindig a munkaerő ki lesz zsákmányolva. A termelő munkások szempontjából nem az a fontos, hogy az állam legyen a kizsákmányoló, vagy a magántulajdon rendszerén történik az.

Mi nem tartjuk helyesnek magát az államkapitalizmust, vagy ha talán sokan államszocializmusnak nevezik is. A tény az, hogy mindaddig, amig a termelő munkások bérért dolgoznak, addig mindig ki lesznek zsákmányolva.

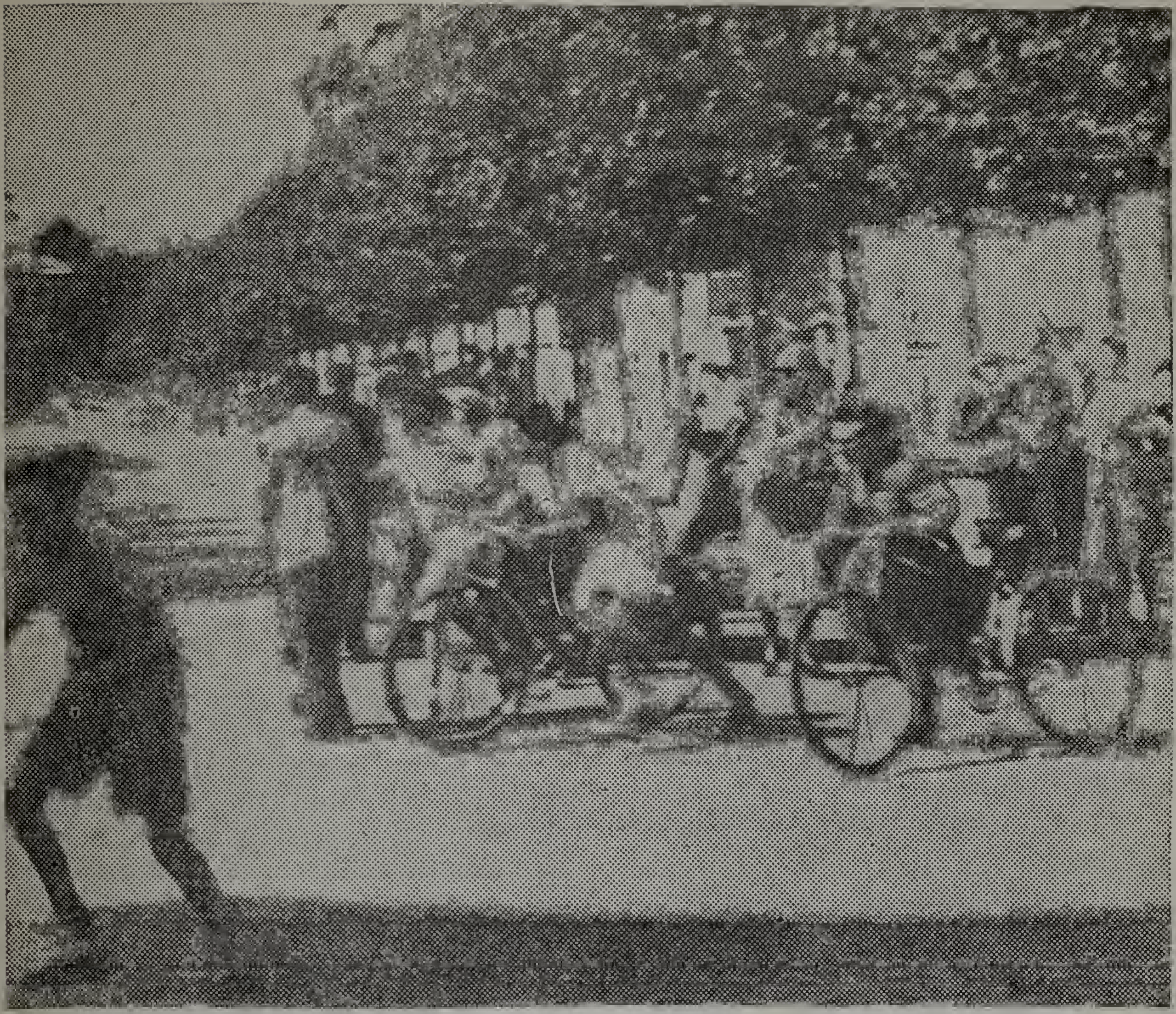
Éléslátásra van szükség

Maguk a munkástömegek, akik nem tudják teljesen megérteni a társadalom igazi összetételét, nagy tévedésbe vannak akkor, amikor azt hiszik, hogy szüksége lesz az emberiségnek minden országban politikai diktaturára, vagy a politikai diktatura, már igazi kommunizmust vagy szocializmust jelent. Az államkapitalizmus, vagy szocializmus nem jelenti a munkásosztály célkitüzését. Hogy azután miért van az, hogy mégis minden jelenlegi kapitalista állam ,az államkapitalizmus felé halad?

A liberális gondolkozásu államférfiak, nem szivesen látják a magánkapitalizmus összeomlását, reformokkal igyekeznek azt kifoltozni, ami lassu munka, de végeredményben mégis csak az államkapitalizmushoz vezet. Ezen az uton haladnak maguk a szocialista vagy kommunista pártok, csak azzal a különbséggel, hogy hatalomra jutásuk alkalmával a politikai gépezetet mindennél hatalmasabbá akarják tenni. Akarva nem akarva, diktaturájuk elkerülhetetlenül az államkapitalizmushoz vezet. Lehet, hogy ez a folyamat minden országban megismétlődik, hogy a magánkapitalizmus után az államkapitalizmus következik.

Ipari köztársaság

Vannak a társadalomban sokféle alakulatok és nagyon sokan azt gondolják, különösen azok, akik a kapitalista rendszerrel nincsennek megelégedve, hogy teljesen mindegy, hogy közvetve vagy közvetlen eszközökkel küzdjünk a munkásosztály tényleges felszabaditásáért. Azok az elemek, akik a közvetett cselekvésben hisznek, még nem ismerték fel azt a megdönthetetlen tényt, hogy a kapitalizmus minden erejét kizárólag a magántulajdon jogán tartja, mert tulajdonosai a ter-



Páris felszabaditásának első napján az ucca népe fedezék alá fut, amikor a lesből lövők (snipers) tüzelni kezdtek.

melt javaknak és termelő eszközöknek. Ennek megvédésére azután osztály intézményeket tartanak fen. Azért egészen bizonyos, hogy addig, amig csak az osztály intézménye ellen harcolunk, nem tettünk semmit a kizsákmányolás megszüntetésére. Hogy a munkásosztálynak van-e szüksége arra, hogy előbb államkapitalizmus, vagy ha talán sokaknak jobban hangzik államszocializmust létesitenek?

Ez lehet csak az eredménye ha tényleg el is érik amiért a küzdelem folyik. Igy tehát egész biztosan megállapithatjuk, hogy minden politikai pártnak teljesitménye nem lehet más, mint a politikai hatalom meghóditása.

Ipari szervezet — Ipari demokrácia

Amióta a tudományos szocializmus alapját lefektették, nem nyilvánult meg olyan tisztán egyetlen proletár mozgalom tanitásában sem a munkásosztály végleges célkitüzése, mint az I.W.W.-ban. Először a forradalmi ipari unionisták felismerték azt a tényt, hogy a társadalom alapját a gazdasági berendezkedés képezi és minden más ráépitett intézmény csak visszatükröződése a gazdasági rendszernek. Ezért ugy véljük, hogy a munkásosztály tényleges felszabadulása csak ugy jöhet létre, ha a kizsákmányolt termelő munkások termelő erejüket szervezik meg a gazdasági berendezkedés tényleges átvételére.

Politikai vagy ipari köztársaság?

Vannak oly elemek, akik nagyon sokszor hangoztatják, hogy végeredményben a szocialista vagy akár kommunista párt ugyan azt az eredményt kivánja elérni, mint amiért mi I.W.W.-isták küzdünk, csak taktikában különbözik egymástól. Megállapithassuk minden különösebb vita nélkül előre, hogy amilyen eszközökkel küzdünk csak olyan lehet az eredmény.

Egészen bizonyos, ha politikai hatalomért küzdünk, akkor az egész társadalomnak politikai visszatükröződése várható eredmény képen. Itten térünk mi el lényegében, mert mi nem politikai államot, hanem kizárólag ipari ügykezelést akarunk megvalósitani.

A kettő között nagyon lényeges különbség van. Az emberi társadalomba a legfontosabb tényező a létkérdés, hiszen e körül játszódik le az egész élet. Ha most már a létkérdés a legfontosabb, akkor természetesen ebben az irányban kell a gazdasági rendszert magát ugy irányitani, hogy minden embernek a társadalomban létkérdése egyformán biztositva legyen. Ennek a tényleges elérésére kell, hogy iparilag szervezkedjünk, hogy ugy a termelés és a szétosztás felett, maguk a termelők rendelkezzenek. A politikai állam lényegesen különbözik az ipari államtól. Amig a politikai állam beosztása teljesen a mai rendszer ferdeségein alapszik, ahogyan ma kerületenkinti képviseltetés a politikai pártok hatáskörén belül intéződik, addig az ipari ügykezelés ténylegesen a termelés szinteréről választja meg ipari ügykezelőit, akik tényleg értenek is magához a termeléshez és szétosztáshoz. Nem gyerekes felfogás az ha az iparok vezetésére nem szakembereket, hanem hozzá nem értő politikusokat állitanánk oda. Ennek ellenvetése képpen a politikai pártokban tömörült intellektueleknek az a kifogásuk, hogy maguk a munkások nem elég érettek arra, hogy az állam ügyeit intézzék. Ugy érezzük és tudjuk, hogy ma a kapitalista rendszerben is mérnökök, vegyészek és más mindenfajta szaktudósok irányitják a termelést és ha tudják irányitani a bonyolult kapitalista rendszerben, akkor miért ne tudnák irányitani egy közös társadalmi ipari rendszerben, ahol sokkal egyszerübb volna a számitás, mert nem a profitot, hanem csak az emberi szükségletet kellene számitásba venni.

Küzdjünk mindjárt a végcélért

A munkásosztály végleges felszabadulása kizárólag csak attól függ, hogy miért és milyen eszközökkel küzd annak megvalósitása érdekében. Egészen bizonyos, hogy a kapitalista rendszer a mai formájában teljesen befejezte létkérdését és hogy milyen rendszer fogja helyét betölteni az teljesen attól függ, hogy maga a munkásosztály a mai rendszer keretein belül mennyire lesz készen a saját társadalmát ténylegesen megformálni, ha sorsunkat a közvetett képviseltetésre bizzuk, akkor a jelen rendszer után nem lehet más, mint államkapitalizmus vagy szocializmus. És éppen ugy mint ma a munkásosztálynak harcot kell folytatni a létkérdéséért, ugy kell az államszocializmus idején küzdeni a kiépitett állami bürokrácia ellen, ha tényleg ipari köztársasággá akarják azt átformálni.

Mindazok, akik a tényleges ipari köztársaságért akarunk küzdeni, amit csak ugy érhetünk el, ha annak érdekében már mostan szervezkedünk iparilag. A termelés átvételére egy hatalmasan kiépitett ipari szervezeteinkben válasszuk meg magát az ipari társadalom tényleges ügykezelőit.

AKRON MARAD-E A GUMIIPAR KÖZPONTJA?

Irta: **BISCHOF JóZSEF**

NAGYON sok megállapitásban Akron és a gumiipar jövője ugyanaz ma, mint volt a New England és a textil ipara, félszázaddal ezelőtt. Igaz, hogy a szövő üzlet nem hagyta ott teljesen New Englandot, de tény ami tény, hogy az 1900. utáni időben nagyon megszaporodtak a szövőgyárak a napsütéses délen. New Englandnak még mindig van számottevő szövő üzlete és kereskedelme, de már a szövőipar dominálása nem New Englandé, mint ahogy volt éveken keresztül. A szövőgyárak a nyersanyag közelébe költöztek ujabb és tökéletesebb gyárakba, távol a magas munkabérektől, oly terepre ahol a bérek alacsonyak és elég bőven van alázatos munkás, aki kevesebbel is megelégszik.

A helyzet ugyan az, Akron gumiipara válasz ut előtt áll. A gumiipar tulajdonosok éppen ugy, mint a szövőipar tulajdonosok, kényszeritve vannak az egy városban összpontositott termelést az egész nemzetre kiterjeszteni. Igaz, hogy az utolsó negyed században több kisebb gyárak épültek az országban elszórtan, de mindez nem volt elég arra, hogy Akron ne szerepeljen még mindég jelentősen a gumi gyártásban, értve világméretben.

Mikor jut Akron, mint New England, amely ma csak a második hegedüs szerepét játsza a szövő áru gyártásban, második helyre a gumi gyártásban? Mert nincs még egy más ipar, amely annyira kivolna téve a verseny fejlesztő és romboló hatalmának, mint a gumiipar és éppen ennél az oknál fogva és a gyárivezetőségek ezirányu viselkedésüknek, a gyanu jogos és nem oknélküli. Mert készül valami.

Van még egy másik tényező, amiből ez a következtetés vonódik le, még pedig: az akroni gumi gyárak két irányu versenynek vannak kitéve, még pedig, először egymás ellen folytatnak versenyt és ennek tetejére amikor már kimerültek az egymásközti versenyben, ott van a United States Rubber Co. és számos kisebb társulat, amelyekkel az akroniaknak együttesen kell felvenni a versenyt.

Azután ott vannak a bérek. A gyárvezetők állitásaik szerint Akronkban ugy a darabszámos munka, mint az órabérek legmagasabbak — ezek tények és nem ráfogások. Az is tény, hogy magasabb bér, nehezebb fizetési boriték, magasabb életszinvonalat jelent és igy több családnak volt alkalma a sok évi munkálkodás után egy otthonra szert tenni. A nagy fizetésből arra is jutott, hogy egyesek gyermekeiket az egyetemre is küldhették. Az egyedüli gumi árut gyártó központ a nyugati partvidéken van, ahol a bérek az akroni bérekkel egyszinvonalon vannak. Se a középnyugat, se pedig a déli gyárakban fizetett bérek nem hasonlithatók össze a akroni gyárakban fizetett bérekkel, éppen ennél az oknál fogva, az országnak eme két részében, most arról beszélnek, hogy lesznek uj gyárak épitve. Többeknek azon reménye, hogy a gyárvezetők lemondanak a decentralizálás elhatározásáról ha az akroni munkások elfogadják a bér és munka mennyiség meghatározást, vagyis a bizonyos bérért bizonyos munka elméletet.

A termelés és kereset meghatározás nem is uj keletü az akroni gumi gyárakban, ezt monden gumi gyári munkás tudja és nem is próbálja senki sem letagadni. Ez tény, ez mindig is volt az akroni gyárakban. Persze ugy a kereset, mint a mennyiség meghatározása időközönként változott és ez nem is azóta létezik, mióta a gumi gyári munkások szervezve vannak, — mint mások állitják és hogy a szervezet kényszeritette ugy a társulatot, mint a munkásokat annak elfogadására és alkalmazására. A termelés mennyiség meghatározása meg volt olyan formán, hogy a munkások egymásközt megegyeztek ugy a bér, mint a munkamennyiségben. Tették ezt azért, legalább ez volt az elgondolás, hogy a béreket ne vágják, a munkát pedig ne gyorsitsák meg. És igy ezen balga elgondolás se fogja a társulatok vezetőit a decentralizálási szándékuktól visszatartani. A tisztán látó és a gazdasági törvényeket ismerő gyárvezetők tudják, hogy a munkásság bármily igénytelen is, még a jelenben, abba a pillanatban, amint ipari munkássá válik, az igényei megnövekednek. A megnövekedett igények kielégülést keresnek. Igy volt ez eddig és igy lesz ezután. Hisz az akroni gumi gyárak megszervezésében és azt követő harcaikban a déli államokból ide vándorolt munkásoknak oroszlán részük van és ezt a gyárvezetők tudják ,hisz volt szerencséjük a saját portájukon tapasztalni. És mégis költözködésről beszélnek, mikor nyilvánvaló, hogy az a három gazdasági tényező, ugy a bér, mint a termelés meghatározás vagy korlátozás és végül a szervezés, mint indok, minden alapot nélkülöz.

Igy hát a béke eljövetel kétes reményt tartogat Akron jövőjét illetőleg. Az itteni kereskedelmi kamara meglátásai szerint, akik az ördögöt festik a falra, nem tudni önmaguk megfélemlitésére, vagy csak a munkásság ijesztésére, akiket az ilyen és ehhez hasonló félemlitéssel próbálkoztak a multban, azért ez annyira megszokott valami, hogy fel sem figyelnek, teljesen hidegen hagyja őket. De nem minden jóslás vagy jövendölés félemlitő. Van amelyik vigasztaló és reménnyel telitett. A furcsa benne csak az, hogy ugyan onnan erednek. Számitva arra, hogy a béke eljövetele a gumiáru raktárarakat üresen találja a béke gumiáru szükségletekből és igy a kereslet nagy fog lenni, a kinálat pedig a nullával egyenlő és igy addig mig a kinálat a keresletet nem fogja megtetőzni és nem teremti meg az állapotoknak a megforditottját, addig a nagy fellendülésben, a piaci zavarban nem lesz idő a versenyre.

A harc a piacért akkor kezdődik majd megint, ha a raktárak kezdenek megtelni, amikor majd a kinálat megtetőzi a keresletet, amikor megint ideérkeztek a gumiáruk termelésével az akroni gyárak, fog a harc a piacért megujulni ott, ahol a háboru kitörése előtt abbahagyták, ugy a piacért, mint az olcsóbb munkaerőért. De vannak a fentieken kivül más elgondolások is a gumi gyárak elköltöztetését illetőleg. Azok a tervezgetések, amelyeket a kereskedelmi kamara és a város politikai vezetői végeznek, hogy a gumi gyárakat itt tudják megtartani, az észszerü elgondolást teljesen nélkülözi, még a munkásság megfélemlitésére sem alkalmasak.

A fenti megokoláson kivül a synthetic gumi feldolgozási módszert ,amely ha általánosan használva lesz, az épitési beosztása, összetákoltsága mint nem alkalmasnak, amelynek az átalakitása, az ujabb termelési követelmények szerint, többe kerülne mint egy teljesen ujonnan épitett és felszerelt gyár.

De van a már emlitett vigasztaló jósláshoz, amely a gumi gyárakat Akronban fogja tartani, még valami: a viz, amiből először is elegendő áll rendelkezésre és másodszor a legjobb vizeknek egyike az egész országban a gumi edzéshez. Az akroni vizből fejlesztett gőz edzi legjobban a gumit. Hozzáadva a gumi feldolgozásban a világ leggyakoroltabb munkásai és a világ legjobban felszerelt laboratóriumai, a kisérletező állomásai és végül mérnökeinek ezrei, a gyárakat vezető emberei, saját otthonukkal rendelkeznek és ennél az oknál fogva nem adnák a beleegyezésüket a gyárak elköltözéséhez és igy tovább.

A felszabaditott Brignolles, dél-franciaországi városban egy nő, akinek férjét a nácik megkinozták, elverte az elfogott gestapo ügynököt, akit csak a csendőrök mentettek meg a népitélettől.

Minket, gumi gyári munkásokat, a fenti jóslások, jövendölések és elhatározások teljesen hidegen kell, hogy hagyjanak, mivel nekünk munkásoknak a munkaerő kivételével más vagyonunk nincs és igy ha a gumi földolgozó gyárakat valamely oknál fogva máshová helyezik, azt tesszük, amit akkor tettünk mikor Akronba jöttünk a munkaerőnket eladni. Elvisszük az uj munkaerő piacra a munkaerőnket és kináljuk eladásra. Ha szükség lesz ránk, megvásárolják, ha nem parlagositják. És ezt fogják tenni a gyárak vezetői, müszaki emberei és adminisztrátorai is. Mi, akik a gumi földolgozásában résztveszünk, egyikünk sem azért va nitt, mert a város szép, vagy pedig sok a templom és nem is azért, hogy Akron egy üdülőhely, ahol a leromlott egészséget szokták helyrehozni, hanem ellenkezőleg.

Amint tudjuk, a gumi vegyi anyagoknak bizonyos keveréke, összetétele nincs a földön olyan anyag, amit a gumi előállitásához nem használnának. Egyes anyagok mérgező voltuk nemcsak a vele foglalkozó munkások egészségét támadják és rombolják le, hanem a nem vele foglalkozó egyéneket is a levegőn keresztül, amit az anyagok megfernek és mégis itt vagyunk. És ezt félti Akron város minden élő és mozgó halandója, hogy máshová költözködik a levegőt fertőző és a tájat csufá tevő gumi gyár.

De ugy van a gazdasági törvények szigorusága nemcsak a dolgozókra hat kényszeritőleg, hanem a tőkésekre is, az osztályharc elől nincsen menekvés, azt meg kell vivni.

Amig az üzletet féltő kereskedelmi kamara emberei és a várost vezető, könnyü életet megszokott politikusok egyéniségek ugy sajátmaguk, mint a munkások megfélemlitésére a gumi gyárak elköltözése ördögét festik a falra, a laboratóriumokban az uj kor modern Lavoisierjei ujabb és ujabb felfedezésekkel gazdagitják a gumiipart ,amely a termelést első sorban gazdaságogosabbá fogja tenni, másodsorban pedig az emberi életet szebbé és kényelmesebbé fogják tenni.

Az ujabb felfedezések közé tartozik az ugynevezett folyékony synthetic keverés, amely a mostani száraz keverést fogja a vegyészek állitása szerint feleslegessé tenni. A második, még pedig a legujabb felfedezés pedig a synthetic eddigi előállitását fogja megváltoztatni, mégpedig olyan formán, hogy ki fogja küszöbölni az adagolást, vagyis nem egy bizonyos sulyu adagokat fognak lehüteni külön, hanem több tartályokat helyeznek egymás mellé olyformán, hogy a folyékony alakban levő synthetic tartályba ömölve folyton folyvást mig az utolsó tartályba teljesen megsürősödik. Az ily megsürüsödött gumit minden időveszteség nélkül folytonosan szednék ki és szállitanák a további feldolgozás végett az illető telepekre. Ezzel a termelési módszerrel a synthetic gumi előállitását 40 százalékkal gyorsitanák meg és evvel az előállitási költséget nagyban csökkentenék.

Csak haszontalan fecsegés ugy az egyik, mint a másik oldalon, ha a gyárakba befektetett tőke érdeke kivánja, hogy csak elköltözéssel biztosabbak és nagyobbak a kilátások, akkor a gyárak elköltöznek. Ezt nem fogják a politikusok hizelgő kérései, sem pedig a üzletet dédelgető kereskedelmi kamara nagynevü vezetői meggátolni.

Az ipari törvényszerüség, a gazdasági törvények minden akadályt lerombolnak, ha a pénz érdeke ugy kivánja. A gumiipart kezükben tartó tőkéseknek éppen ugy mint az ipar tulajdonosoknak történelmi hivatásuk van, amit be kell tölteni mindenek ellenére. A profit éhség oly cselekvésrekre kényszeriti a gumiipart a kezükben tartó és a termelést ellenőrző tőkéseket, amely cselekvések előbb-utóbb a tőke pusztulását fogják maguk után vonni. A laboratóriumokban a vegyészek ma még hüséges szolgái a tőkének, nem azzal a szándékkal tökéletesitik a termelőeszközöket és teszik a termelést gazdaságosabbá, hogy a tőkés termelést elpusztitsák, hanem, hogy szolgálatot tegyenek és mégis mit látunk: Akarva nem akarva viszik a tőkés társadalmat a pusztulásba.

A gumiipar tőkéseinek éppen ugy, mint a más ipar tulajdonosoknak, a történelmi hivatásuk az ipari szabadság előfeltételeinek a megteremtése és végül ami a fentiek következménye, az egymásra utaltság megteremtése. A gumiiparban és a többi iparokban foglalkoztatott munkásoknak egy ipari szervezetbe tömörülve, a tőkések által kifejlesztett és megszervezett termelést, ha a történelmi hivatását be akarja tölteni, amire majd a gazdasági törvények kényszeritik, át kell venni és a saját céljainak megfelelőleg átformálni és folytatni a termelést, de már nem profitra, hanem közszükségletekre.

A ZENEISMERET ELEMEI

Irta: GULYÁS JÁNOS

A NÉPDALOK éneklése, pásztor sipokon való játszása, avagy bármely népies hangszereken való játszás nem kiván különösebb képzettséget, vagy hosszan tartó fáradtságos gyakorlást. De mihelyt a tudományos zenei képzés utját kivánjuk követni, mindjárt rendszeres, fegyelmezett gyakorlásra van szükségünk, hogy az éneklés, vagy bármely hangszer játszásának bizonyos virtuoz kezelésére szert tehessünk. Hogy ezt megtehessük szükségünk van módszerre, amellyel célunkat elérhessük. Ezen módszer a methodika.

A methodika megtanitja a tanulót a hangjegyek olvasására és a hangképletek formájának képzésére. (Hangképletek a dallam az az melódia). Egymásután következő hangok, melyek magassága bizonyos szabályok szerint mozog; a ritmus. Az egymásután következő hangok szabályozott erősség és időviszonya; a hangzat (akkord). Az egyidőben hangzo hangok rendesen 3—4,amelyek magassága bizonyos szabályokat követ. S végül megemlitem a skálát, amely 12 dur és 12 moll hangsorból áll. Sajnos ma a fiatal zenetanulók közül kevesen látják be a zenei hangsorok gyakorlásának jelentőségét, innen van azután, ha közülök valamelyik zenei főiskolába jut ,az első évben a legtöbb idejüket a hangsorok gyakorlására kell szentelniök, mielőtt bármihez kezdenének is.

A hangtani törvény

A hangsorok előállitását azon hangtani törvény követi, hogy a hangforrásul szolgáló rezgő test hossza forditott arányban áll a rezgések számával. Legkönnyebben a huros hangszereken figyelhetjük meg. Magasabb rezgés szám a magas hangot, az alacsony rezgés szám a mélyebb hangot szolgáltatja. A nagyobb rezgés számot olyképpen kapjuk, ha a hur vagy a cső hosszát megröviditjük és viszont. Tehát a dur hangok törzshangjait a következő számok fejezik ki: c, egy egész, d, nyolc-kilenced, e, négy-ötöd, f, három-negyed, g, két-harmad, a, három-ötöd, h, nyolc-tizenötöd, c, kettő. Ha a c-re hangolt cső vagy hurnak lefogjuk nyolc-kilenced részét, akkor a d hangot kapjuk és igy tovább.

A d-re hangolt hur ugyan ezen részei a d-dur skála hangjait adja, az e-re hangolt hur az e-dur skála hangjait és igy tovább.

Ámde nemcsak a törzshangok hangjaiból elindulva képzünk dur és moll hangsorokat, hanem a származék hangokból is. A származék hangokat ugy nyerjük, ha a törzshangsor minden egyes tagját fél hanggal föl, vagy le módositjuk. A fölfelé módositás jele a kereszt, a lefelé módositás jele a bé (b). Ha a törzshangsor hangjait fölfelé módositom a hangokat "isz" képzővel nevezem meg. Például cisz, disz, eisz, fisz, gisz, hisz. Ha lefelé módositom, akkor az "esz" képzőt használom: cesz, desz, esz, fesz, gesz, asz, a b vagy hesz. A hesz helyett rendesen a b, nevezést használják.

Ha rezgésszámok viszonyait kivánom kifejezni a származék han-

A Constantine diadalkapu Rómában.

goknál, a következő számokat kapom: c, egy egész, desz, tizenöt-tizenhatod, esz, öt-hatod, gesz, huszonöt-harminchatod, asz, öt-nyolcad, b, kilenc-tizenhatod, továbbá c, egy egész, cisz huszonnégy-huszonötöd, disz, hatvannégy-hetvenötöd, fisz tizennyolc-huszonötöd, stb.

Ha a kifeszitett hurnak a hosszát lemérjük, bármely huros hangszeren és a fentebb jelölt részeit kiszámitva megjelöljük ,akkor a megjelölt pontokon lenyomva a hurt, megkapjuk a hangrendszer összes hangjait egy oktáva keretében.

Az ütem

A föntnevezett hangsorok segitségével képezzük a dallamot, vagyis az egymásután következő hangok sorrendjét. Ámde az egymásután következő hangokat nem egyenként elkülönitve hallgatjuk, hanem összefoglaljuk emlékezetünkben zenei gondolattá, hogy időbeli arányban álljanak, csak ugy mint a vers irásban. Ezen időmérő az ütem (taktus) amely a lélekzetvétellel áll szoros időméretben, mig a taktus legmegnyugtatóbb aránya a sziv-veréssel áll vonatkozásban. Ha például, egy zenemü taktusa az szivverésünknél gyorsabb, akkor izgató hatást vált ki (induló), ha lassubb ,akkor fárasztó, ugynevezett álmositó érzést kelt. Largo, adagio, vontatott templomi énekek, stb. Ezek ismertetése után térjünk át a zene eredetére.

Amit az ember legelőször a két kezével alkotott, egyszersmint a müvészi alkotás legrégibb emléke. Persze akkor más volt Európa éghajlata, az állatvilága sem a mai volt. A kőszén pedig bizonyitja, hogy a növényvilága is más volt. Különben is a barlangokban talált eszközök következtetni engedik, hogy milyen volt az ősember életvilága. Ezen eszközök, nemcsak praktikus célt szolgáltak, de egyszersmint a müvészi alkotás gyönyöre is visszatükröződik bennök. Nézzük csak a pásztorainkat, milyen gyönyörü faragásokkal diszitik praktikus célt szolgáló eszközeiket. Mi történt a barlanglakó emberrel? Lehet, hogy a jégkorszak utolsó idejében, a glecserek visszahuzódásával követte az észak felé huzódó vadakat, melyeknek a husa táplálékot, a bőre pedig ruházatát szolgáltatta. Lehet, hogy a sarkvidék népei őrizték meg számukra következtetéseket. Most vessük föl a kérdést: Milyen lehetett a zenéjük?

Az ős-zene

A zene eredetére a sok hipotézis közül Dubos és Herder tanitását emlitem meg. Szerintük a müvészetek fejlődésére a faji jellegnek és éghajlatnak van nagy befolyása. Sokat földeritettek az ős-müvészetről Grosse és Guyau kutatásai. Spencer szerint az ősember tagolatlan hanglejtés nélkül beszélt, de a szenvedély, izgalom, ingerültség hangjának erősségét fokozta, magasságát megváltoztatta és élesebben tagolta. Igy lett a közönséges beszédből ritmikusan tagolt, dallamos zene.

Büchler szerint a ritmus a zene legrégibb eleme. Ha a mai divó amerikai tánc zenét vesszük bizonyitás alapjául ,akkor Büchernek hipotézise igazolva van. Szerinte az ősember észrevette, hogy ugyanazt a munkát kisebb fáradtsággal végzi, ha a mozgásban ritmust tart be ,ezért munkaközben meghatározott ritmusokat követett (ma is a katonák egyenletes lépése vagy a cölöpverő munkások egyenletes ütése) vagy pedig ritmikusan tagolt dallamokkal könnyitette munkáján. Stumpf azt hiszi, hogy a zenét különféle akusztikai (hangtani) jelenségek segitették létrehozni. Az ősember hivogató figyelmeztető jelzései, a legkezdetlegesebb dallam töredékek, amik meginditották a zene kifejlődését. Darwin az éneket tartja a zene őseredetének. Szerinte a zene azokból a hangokból eredt, melyet a him állatok (majmok, erdei vadak és madarak) hallatnak, ha párzás idején nőstényüket hivogatják. Ezek a hivogató hangok alakultak át az ősembernél szerelmi dallá, melyet valóságos csábtánccá fejlesztett ki. Ilyeneket találunk még ma is a kultura kezdetleges fokán élő vad népeknél.

A tudósok majdnem egyöntetüen megegyeznek abban, hogy az ének, tánc és a költészet egyidőben keletkezett, csak a történelmi idők későbbi folyamán vált szét egymástól.

A hangnak hangszerekkel való utánzását a játék ösztön váltotta ki az ősemberből. A vad népeknél használatos hangszerek nagy része inkább játékszer, mint praktikus célokat szolgáló zenei hangszer. Több mint valószinü, hogy a hangszerek sorában a lármás utőhangszerek megelőzték a többi fajta hangszereket. Dárdáknak a pajzshoz való ütögetése már elég ritmikus kombinációkra csábithatta az ősembert. A legkezdetlegesebb fuvóhangszereket is a természet szolgáltatta. A leölt szarvas állatok üreges szarvai, a tengerparti csigák csekély javitással már messzire hallható hangokat adtak.

Dal kutatók

Az ókor, de a jelenkor rézfuvó hangszerei (trombiták, kürtök) is megtartották eredetükre emlékeztető formáikat. A huros hangszerek készitése már fejlettebb kulturát követelt, mert az állati belek sodrása már bizonyos egymást követő munka folyamatának eredménye, ami az ősembertől egy kissé nagy teljesitmény lett volna.

Ujabb etnográfiai kutatások sok érdekes adatokat vetettek föl, melyek megvilágitják az ősember zenéjének szerkezetét, tagoltságát hangsorát. Ez a hangsor nagyban különbözik a föntebb vázolt hangsoroktól. A kottáinkkal alig fejezhető ki. A legtöbb dallam négy öt hang keretein belül mozog, néha a legfurcsább ritmusban. Etnografikus tanulmányokat végző utazók, kötetekre rugó harci dalokat, vallásos énekeket, táncdalokat, stb. gyüjtöttek össze, köztük a magyar Bartók Béla is, aki számtalan öt hangkeretében mozgó ősmagyar dallamokra is akadt.

A szinfónikus zene

Bocsánatot kell kérnem az olvasótól, hogy tárgyamat ily szükre szabott kereten belül nem világithatom meg kellőképpen, hiszen a zene irodalomban azon tárgyakról, ami a zenét tanitja és a zenemüvészetekkel foglalkozik, könyvtárakra menő könyveket irtak össze. Csak még egyre szeretnék kitérni. Sajnálatos jelenséget tapasztaltam nagyon sok munkás emberek házánál. Például ha a rádió állomásról — miközben a

A Pantheon épület Rómában ,egyike az ókori római épitészet müremekeinek.

rádiójuk be volt hangolva — véletlen szinfónikus zenét adtak, rögtön eltunolták azon kifogással, hogy az nem zene, csak lárma.

Be kell vallanom, hogy ha a zenei kulturáltságot veszem alapul, s azon fülekkel próbálom a szinfonikus zenét hallgatni, amely a közönséges tánczenéhez van szokva, érthetővé válik előttem, ami máskülönben bosszantó.

A hiba ott van, hogy zeneileg az átlag munkásember analfabéta.

Örvendetes jelenség ámbár, a fiatal generáció nagyarányu törekvése, hogy valamennyit a zenéből megtanuljon. Ugy van. Az általános müveltség megkivánja, hogy zeneileg is tudjunk valamit. Kevésbé mondhatja müveltnek az ember magát, ha valamennyit, habár elméletben is nem ért a zenéből.

Hogyan is várjuk iskolázatlan munkástömegektől, hogy a 16-20 partiturában mozgó szinfónikus zenekari játékból megértse, hogy népdalok és táncdalok müvészi feldolgozásának magasra fejlődött formájával áll szemben.

Emlékszem amidőn Sosztakovics hetedik szinfóniájának a premierjét adták New Yorkban és olvastam a kritikát. A legtöbb polgári gondolkozásu zenei kritikus nem értette ki a zenéből az orosz nép életét, munkálkodását, küzdelmét, egyszóval azt a gigászi előretörést, amit egy nép a Szovjet rendszeren belül képes megtenni. Shostakovics azt vetette kottába, amit tapasztalt, érzett és látott. Ujjongó lelke, marxista értelme, sokoldalu zenei képzettsége, olyan zenekari virtuozitást váltott ki belőle, ami előtt értelmetlenül állt meg a tudományos zenei világ is, ezért történt az, hogy a zenei kritikusok több tekintetben félremagyarázták a hetedik szinfóniát.

Mindenesetre a zenemüvészet, mint minden más müvészet tökéletes nem lehet, mert ez azt jelentené, hogy tovább nincs fejlődése. Ha figyelembe vesszük, hogy minden nagyobb társadalmi forradalom zenei téren is nagyobb változásokat hozott, akkor kifejezhetem magam igy is: a nagy francia forradalom megszülte Bethovent, a 48-as forradalmak Wagnert hozták felszinre és az orosz proletár forradalom sem történt meg zenei ujitás nélkül.

Akad muzsikus, aki nem az uralkodó osztályt és uralkodó házat dicsőiti, de a proletár forradalom nagyobb inspirációkra ragadta mint sok elődjét, ez Sosztakovics Dimitri. Máris a fiatal zeneirók egész légiói utánozzák. Hová jut ezen uj irányzat, még nem tudjuk. Egy azonban bizonyos, hogy nem fog a fejlődésben megállni.

MAGYAR ÉRTÉKEK AZ EMIGRÁCIÓBAN

Irta: KOVÁCH ERNŐ

REMÉLEM, hogy mikor e sorok eljutnak az olvasó kezébe, már a legutolsó magyar emigrációt elüldöző ellenforradalom 25 éves gyalázatos élete után felvette a "néhai" nevet és ha van igazság, akkor már azokról is, akik a megszemélyesitői, haszonélvezői voltak, annak a bitang uralomnak, már csak mint a megérdemelt büntetést elnyert halottakról fogunk beszélni.

A reakció minden időben és mindenhol arra törekedett, hogy az uralmának ellenzőit elhallgattassa, eltegye az utjából. A hatalmon levők a viszonyoknak megfelelő eszközökkel igyekeztek az ellenfeleiket megfélemliteni, legtöbbször vigyázva arra, hogy a törvényesség látszatát fentartsák. Ellenben a cári Oroszország, amely nem sokat törődött a látszat törvényességgel, nyilt brutalitással csapott le uralma ellenzőire, akasztás, börtön, deportálás réme lebegett minden szabadságszerető ember felett. A mozgalmak a föld alá kerültek és ha egy aktiv harcos körül nagyon szorult a hurok, ugy hosszabb, rövidebb, időre külföldre menekült, hogy azután ha a levegő tisztább lett, ujra visszatérjen a munkára. Ezek az orosz emigránsok, főleg munkások, diákok és diáknők, ismertek lettek az egész európai munkásmozgalomban és mindenütt tüntető szeretettel vették körül őket a szervezett munkások. Az 1905-ös felkelések után óriási tömege az orosz forradalmároknak kelt utra, hogy kikerüljön a reakció vad hajszájából, de akkor már az emigráció szenvedés lett, mert nagytömegü intellektuel, tanár, orvos, iró és müvész embernek is menekülnie kellett a cári kopók elől.

Nagy általánosságban mindig a szabadság harcosai voltak a menekültek, csak olyankor változott a helyzet, ha a forradalom győzött, akkor a reakció vezetői voltak kénytelenek külországba védelmet keresni. Különösen a nagy francia forradalom és a mi korunkban az orosz forradalom volt az, amely nagy tömegü uralkodó osztálybelit lökött ki a világba.

Az orosz emigránsok, hercegek, grófok, katonatisztek, bankárok és gyárosok lepték el Európát, miután előre érezték, hogy egyszer az uralmuk véget ér és menekülni kell, tehát a vagyonuk egy részét külföldi bankokban helyezték el, igy jó ideig vigan dőzsöltek, várva azt, hogy az ellenforradalmárok megnyitják az utat vissza az uralomhoz. Egy pár év után a pénz is fogyott, de még jobban a reménység a visszajövő uralomra. Igy kenyérkereset után kellett nézniök és sofőrök, pincérek, inasok lettek a férfiak nagy része, mig a nők, a törékeny kékvérüek, miután a munka büdös volt nekik, hát inkább az egyetlen kétes értéküket, a testüket bocsájtották áruba azoknak, akik nagyra értékelték azt, hogy egy vérbeli arisztokratát vásárolhatnak meg. Végre minden reményüket elvesztve, lezülöttek a cári emigránsok és mind gyakrabban találkozunk a neveikkel a rendőri rovatokban.

Magyar emigrációk

A magyar történelem is ismer emigrációs korszakokat, a multban Rákóczi, Kossuth emigrációi voltak nevezetesebbek. De ebben az előbb emlitettben főleg a felkelés fővezérei kényszerültek külföldre a Habsburgok dühe elől, mig a kissebb vezetők, az akkor még elmaradt közlekedési és rendőri viszonyok között könnyen elbujtak az üldözőik elől.

Kossuthal már sok ezer aktiv forradalmár ment emigrációba, nem csak politikusok, de katonák is, akik készséggel harcoltak minden forradalmi megmozdulásban, bárhol lett légyen is az.

Rákóczi és Kossuth is emigrációban pusztultak el, nem adatott meg nekik a lehetőség, hogy eszméik diadalával térhessenek vissza a hazájukba.

Az 1918-19-es forradalmak két emigrációt is kitermeltek. Az egyik amelyben a magyar uralkodó osztály volt a "szenvedő" fél, rövid életü volt, amit dőzsöléssel és az antant tisztekhöz szóban és irásban eljuttatott könyörgésekkel töltöttek el. Arra kérték a gyülölt, megvetett románokat, hogy inditsanak hadat Magyarország ellen, verjék le a forradalmat, helyezzék őket vissza az uralomra, a vagyonukat vissza kapják, annak ellenében készséggel vállallták el azt, hogy aláirják az országot megcsonkitó békeszerződést, amelynek az aláirását a forradalmárok megtagadták.

Ezt a rövid életü magyar emigrációt az egész kapitalista világ segitette abban, hogy visszakerüljön az uralomra, mert az osztályérdeke kivánta a nagytőkének, hogy a magyar Tanácsköztársaság, mint egy rés a kapitalista világon, eltünjön és az ujra uralomra jutott osztály, intézményesen biztositotta azt, hogy az uralma elleni támadás meg ne ismétlődhessen.

Ez a biztositás ugy történt, hogy először a "felelőtlen" elemek, amint akkor a különitményeket hivták, olyan fehér terrort teremtettek, amilyet az ideig az osztályharcok története felmutatni nem tudott. A munkások és szegény földmüvesek ezreit öltek le, mig tizezrek kerültek a börtönökbe, akik közül az orosz Szovjet pár százat ugy mentett meg a biztos haláltól, hogy a hadifogságban levő tiszteket lefogta és csak a halálra, vagy sulyosan elitélt forradalmárokért volt hajlandó kicserélni.

Rajtuk kivül a magyar ipari munkások tizezrei menekültek külföldre, hogy elkerüljék az akasztófát, a börtönt és a koncentrációs tábort. De az ellenforradalom 25 éves ideje alatt állandóan szaporodott a külföldre menekültek száma. Mig eleinte főleg a munkásosztály tagjai és az aktiv forradalmár intellektuellek menekültek el, később már mindig gyakrabban találkoztunk a világ minden részén oly intellektuelekkel, akik mert képtelenek voltak elviselni a magyar börtönlevegőt, önként mentek számüzetésbe, mig a bátrabbak otthon vették fel a harcot a reakció ellen mindaddig, mig a rájuk váró börtön elől elmenekülni nem kényszerültek. Meg kell mondani, hogy az ellenforradalmi kormányzat megerősödésével az otthon maradt szociáldemokrata vezérek megalkudtak a kormányokkal, a számukra engedélyezett szakszervezkedési lehetőség és képviselői székek, nagyon jó befektetésnek bizonyultak Horthyék részére, mert amig egyrészt megadták a kormányzatnak az alkotmányos, parlamentáris szinezetet ,amely Horthyék diktaturáját elleplezte, másrészt pedig a munkásosztály harciasságát lefékezte, lehengerelte. Ennél az ál-ellenzéknél sokkal bátrabb és főleg nagy nevelő munkát végeztek azok az intellektuelek, kiknek a tenkitélye oly nagy volt, hogy az ellenforradalom uralomra jutásakor nem mertek hozzájuk nyulni Horthy pribékjei, félve a nemzetközi felháborodástól. Ezek Vámbéry Rusztem világhirü iró és jogász vezetésével szóban és irásban éveken keresztül nagyszerü harcot vivtak a reakció ellen, mindaddig, amig nekik is menekülniök kellett.

Elvesztek az idegenben.

A magyar munkásmozgalom minden szervezeti vezetője az emigrációba került, akiknek a nagy része mint Kunfi, Rónai, Bakonyi és mások elpusztultak az emigráció hányatásában, mások a Szovjetekbe és Európa más városaikba várják azt, amikor visszatérhetnek a magyar munkásmozgalomba.

Hihetetlen az, hogy az aránylag kis magyarság, milyen bőségesen ontotta az egész világra a legjobb tehetségeket, amelyekre minden nép büszke lehetett volna, mig a magyar uralkodó osztály világgá üldözte őket.

Irók, tudósok, müvészek százai szórodtak szét a világ minden részébe, sok nagy érték kalódott el, mig mások a nyelvtudásuk és talán a szerencséjük folytán is sikeresen helyezkedtek el más országok kultur életében. Angliában, főleg Londonban tucat számra találhatunk magyar irókat, tudósokat, képző és zene müvészeket, szinészeket, kik a kényszer folytán elhelyezkedtek az angol kulturális életben.

Természetesen Amerikába is jutott nagy számban az elüldözöttekből, akik közül sok sikeresen helyezkedett el az itteni kultur életben és egy páran szenzációs sikereket értek el, akiknek a neveikkel gyakran találkozunk a lapok és folyóiratok hasábjain. De sokkal több azoknak a száma, kik kiszakadva a hazai talajból, idegenben tétlenségre vannak kárhoztatva.

A Medici Villa a felszabaditott Rómában.

Az "uj" emigrációt megelőzték azok, akiket Horthyék rögtön elüldöztek, ezek között van Jászi Oszkár, ki amellett, hogy aktiv harcot vivott az elmult 25 évben Horthyék ellen, Amerika számos egyetemén tanitott, még ma is, mint az oberlini egyetem nyugalmazott tanára, más egyetemeken tart előadásokat. A régiek közé tartoznak: Göndör Ferencz, Békessy Imre, Berend Pál, Hans Habe. (Békessy János), Erdős Árpád ujságirók, Tamás István, Görög László, Vadnay László, László Aladár, Ignotus Hugo, László Miklós, Hatvany Lili, Nógrádi Béla irók, Békásy István, Gyergyói István szinészek, Ábrahám Pál zeneszerző, Tóth Endre filmrendező, Kelemen Pál, Tolnay Károly történész, Lorsy Ernő iró és történész és sok mások, kiknek a neve nem jut az eszembe, kik közül sokan helyezkedtek el az amerikai lapoknál s tanitanak amerikai egyetemeken.

Ezeket a hosszabb, rövidebb emigrációs élet, még ha sikeresen el is helyezkedtek, nem szakitotta el őket a magyar élettől. Sokan ma is harcosai a magyar feudalizmus elleni küzdelemnek. Nagyrészük még ha itt nagyobb lehetőségeik is vannak, ha egyszer Magyarországon végig seper a forradalom tisztitó szele, vissza fognak sietni és a Horthyék által elnácisitott magyar kultur életnek lesznek értékes épitői.

Ha ők hazamehetnek, akkor már egy uj emigráció lesz folyamatba, a magyar nép elnyomói próbálják menteni a bőrüket a népharag elől, de ma már más szelek fujnak és aligha lesz lehetőség, hogy a hitvány életüket és az összerabolt vagyonukat külföldre vihessék. Mert reméljük, hogy bárhová is próbálnak szaladni, mindenütt várni fogja őket a jól megérdemelt akasztófa.

Uj kulturát teremtenek

Remélem, hogy mire e sorok az olvasók kezeibe kerülnek, addigra a magyar történelemben először, diadalmasan hazakerülhet a baloldali emigráció.

Huszonöt év nagy idő, egy uj generáció nőtt fel a Duna mentén, kik talán kitermelik a maguk értékét, de bizonyos az, hogy a kivert magyar emigráció, a szenvedés és a külföldi tapasztalataikkal végtelenül nagy értéket fognak jelenteni, az ujra éledő magyar kulturában.

Huszonöt év nagy idő, a világ minden táján szétszórt emigránsok, ha nem is szüntek meg harcolni az óhazai bitang rendszer ellen, ha bármily élénk figyelemmel kisérték is a magyar eseményeket, ha ők maguk nem is szakadtak el a magyar néptől, félő az, hogy az ellenforradalom által felnevelt uj generáció szakadt az emigrációtól, vagy ugy, hogy nem érte meg azt, amiért az emigránsok harcoltak, vagy ugy, hogy tulhaladták őket és megeshetik, hogy a hazatérő emigránsokat, nem ugy fogadják az otthon élők, mint a hivatott vezéreiket, pedig a jövő magyar élet kialakulására, alkalmasabbak a külföldről megtértek, kik a régi rendszer gyülöletébe éltek, mint azok, akik félrevezetetten, vagy oportunizmusból, a revizionista, nacionalista életet élték odahaza.

Magyarország körüli államokkal és a Szovjetekkel nagyobb lehetősége van az emigrációból megtérteknek a megegyezésre, mint azoknak, akik ezideig ha nem is aktivan, de hallgatólagosan, az ugynevezett utódállamokkal és a Szovjettel való harcot támogatták, illetve eltürték.

Az emigráció egy jó része viszont már nem tér véglegesen vissza, mert a kényszerült uj hazában helyezkedett el gazdaságilag és eszmeileg és csatlakozott a befogadó országok haladó mozgalmaihoz.

A harcok, amelyeket ezideig a magyar nép szabadságáért, jogaiért az emigráció külföldről folytatott, most áttevődik Magyarországba, remélve, hogy az elősegiti a magyar nép végleges és teljes felszabaditását.

Az 1918-19. évi forradalmak és a későbbi fehér terror emigrásai, megállták a helyüket ott, ahová a sors vetette és megbecsülést szereztek a magyar névnek, akár mint tudósok, irók, müvészek, vagy egyszerü munkások.

* * *

ACHESON Edward Goodrich (1856-1931). Amerikai mérnök és feltaláló. Jó ideig Edisonnal együtt dolgozott. Legfontosabb találmánya a rendkivül kemény carborandum, amelyből köszörüköveket készitenek. Acheson 1895-ben kezdte el a carborandum gyártását Niagara Falls, N. Y. városban. A carborandumnak a modern ipartelepeken rendkivül fontos szerepe van.

A VADON VIRÁGAI

IRTA: O. HENRY

FIAM — szólt hozzám Montague Silver, vállamra veregetve, — ha észre veszed, hogy az agyad már tompulni kezd s képtelen leszel a felnőtt emberek becsapására, menj New Yorkba. Itt, a Nyugaton is születik ugyan minden percben egy áldozat, de New Yorkban olyan tömegesen találod a "báránykákat", mint a tó sekélyebb részén a halikrát. Meg se tudod számolni őket.

Montague Silver, aki ezen atyai tanácsokat adta, egyike volt a Nyugat legismertebb "grafter"-jeinek. Azt tartotta, hogy minek dolgozzék addig, mig másokban meg van ez a nemes szenvedély. Az egyszerü apró-cseprő csalásoktól irtózott, nem tartotta magához méltónak. Csak nagyobbszerü "érvágásokat" eszközölt, amelyek többnyire sikerültek neki.

Ezt a megszivlelendő tanácsot Little Rock, Ark. város egyik szalónjában kaptam tőle s mint hü tanitványtól illik, jól emlékezetembe véstem. Két évvel később megdöbbenve vettem észre, hogy az orosz admirálisok neveit már nem tudom eszben tartani. Ugyanekkor a bal fülem mögött néhány ősz hajszálat pillantottam meg. Semmi kétség, elérkezett az ideje, hogy Silver tanácsát kövessem.

Ugy déltájban érkeztem New Yorkba és mindjárt nekivágtam a Broadwaynak. Pár percnyi sétálás után egyszerre csak egyenesen beleütköztem Silver barátomba, aki hátát egy szálloda falának vetve selyem zsebkendőjével fényesitette a körmén a félholdat.

— Gutaütés vagy végelgyengülés? — szóltam rá meglepetve.

— Ni-ni, te vagy az, Billy, — kiáltott fel örvendve Silver. — Tudod, vettem észre, hogy a Nyugaton már nagyon is megokosodtak az emberek. New Yorkot ugy tartogattam magamnak, mint az utolsó mentsvárat. Elismerem ugyan, hogy nagyon lealacsonyit bennünket ezeknek az embereknek a kifosztása. Olyan jámborak szegények, mindent készpénznek vesznek. Kétségbeesnék, ha az anyám megtudná, hogy ilyen gyámoltalan bárányokról nyirom le a gyapjut; sokkal többre nevelt ennél.

— Hallod öreg, — szóltam végre, mikor egy pillanatra elhallgatott, — ugy beszélsz, mintha az emberek tolonganának a várószobádba, hogy nyuzd meg őket egy kicsit.

— Azt éppen nem mondhatom, de azért nem kell valami nagyon megerőltetni az agyadat, hogy célt érj. Még csak egy hónapja vagyok itt, de már látom, hogy Manhattan lakói nem egyebek egy nagy "vasárnapi iskola" ájtatos tanitványainál, akik mindenben a kezemre fognak játszani. Olvasom a lapokat, tanulmányozom a várost s már ismerem is annyira, mint a "City Hall" macskája a városi tanácsosokat. Ez a bamba nép elveti magát a földön s ugy sir, kiabál, rugdalózik, hogy nem elég gyorsan szeded el a pénzét. De jöjj fel a szobámba. Együtt fogjuk "megdolgozni" a várost, már csak a régi barátság kedvéért is.

Felmentünk a szobájába, ahol a legkülönbözőbb értéktelen holmit halmozta fel költői rendetlenségben.

— A pénzszerzésnek itt nagyon

sok módja van, — folytatta Silver a lenti beszélgetést, — csaknem annyi, mint a rizskása főzésnek a kinaiaknál. Ennek a világvárosnak az üresfejü lakói mohón kapnak minden csalétek után. Minél intelligensebbeknek mutatják magukat, annál tompább agyuak. Csak képzeld, a minap valamelyik nagy pénzes zsáknak eladták a fiatal Rockefeller olajba festett arcképét a hires Sarto mester Szent János képe helyett.

— Látod ott az a csomó nyomtatott dolgot? Igazi aranybánya. A mult héten árulni kezdtem az uccán, de már 2 óra multán abba kellett hagynom. A vevők ököllel törtek utat hozzám a nagy tömegben, aztán bevittek a közforgalom megakasztásáért. Mialatt a rendőrállomásra vittek, eladtam egyet a rendőrnek is, a vásárt azonban be kellett szüntetnem. De én nem is akarok ilyen könnyen pénzhez jutni. Sérti az önérzetemet. Ha már igy rám erőszakolják a pénzüket, legalább legyen nekik annyi élvezetük érte, mint mikor hetekig tartó fejtörés után megfejtik azt a rejtvényt, hogy melyik betü hiányzik "Chicgo" városnévből.

— Megpróbálkoztam egy másik dologgal is, — folytatá Silver mindinkább belemelegedve. — Nézd ezt a kis üveg kék tintát. Horgonyt rajzoltam vele a jobb kezem fejére és Dewey admirális unokaöccsének adtam ki magamat. Mindjárt az első bankban be akartak váltani egy ezer dolláros checket, csak az volt a baj, hogy egészen elfelejtettem a nagybátyám keresztnevét és igy nem irhattam azt alá. De azért ez is mutatja, hogy milyen könnyü dolgunk lesz. Hidd el, ebben a városban a betörők feléje sem néznek az olyan helynek, ahol legalább is meleg vacsorával nem várják őket.

Silver, lehet, hogy igazad van, de nekem valahogy másképpen tünt fel a dolog. Két órája vagyok ugyan még a városban, de nem látom, hogy sült galambok röpködnének. Az emberek nagyon egyenesen tartják a fejüket, jobb szeretném, ha egy kis pelyva volna a hajukban. Én nem igen látom, hogy olyan könnyen meggyurhatók volnának.

— Hát te is Billy! — kiáltott fel Silver, majd jóizüt kacagott. — Az idegenek mind igy járnak ebben a városban, megijednek tőle. De nem is csoda. New York jóval nagyobb, mint Little Rock. Pofozni szeretném az embereket, mert mosó kosarakkal akarják rám erőszakolni a pénzüket. Hidd el ,a new yorkiakkal könnyebben el lehet bánni, mint a tövistelen rózsával. Az egyetlen dolog, ami aggaszt az, hogy a sok százdolláros bankó mind össze fogja törni a mellényzsebembe rakott szivarjaimat.

— Bárcsak igazat szólnál, — melegedtem neki végre én is, — de azért mégis csak biztosabbnak találom a little-rocki kis üzleteket. Ott akármelyik farmerral aláirathatsz egy postát kérő folyamodványt, amelyről a legközelebbi bankban kitudódik, hogy 200 dolláros váltó. Szóval ha nem csordult, hát cseppent de ezek itt ugyancsak vigyáznak magukra és talán mi nem is vagyunk elég tanultak arra, hogy kijátszuk őket.

— No csak meg ne ijedj. Én már alaposan szétnéztem köztük. Vannak itt olyan emberek is, akik felhőkarcolókon kivül soha még más házat nem láttak. Az életrevaló ember három hónap alatt itt arathat.

— De van-e már valami határozott terved?

— Egy egész tucat. Mennyi pénzt hoztál magaddal?

— Ezer dollárt.

— Jó! Nekem is van 1200 dollárom. Ez untig elég arra, hogy két olyan ember, mint mi, egy milliót csináljon vele.

Másnap reggel ismét felkerestem Silvert, aki sugárzó arccal fogadott.

— Megismerkedtem itt egy emberrel, aki jóbarátja J. P. Morgannak ,a világhirü bankárnak. Ma délután elhozza ide s bemutat neki bennünket. Az "öreg" szeret eltársalogni a Nyugatról jött emberekkel.

— Ez igazán jó hir, — mondottam én is felvidulva, — egy cseppet sem fog ártani, ha ismeretséget kötünk néhány pénzfejedelemmel.

Délután három órakor Silver ismerőse, akit Klein néven szólitott, beállitott hozzánk Wall streeti barátjával. Mr. Morgan valamit hasonlitott azokhoz a képekhez, amelyeket az ujságok közölnek róla. A jobb lába szines ruhadarabba volt csavarva és menés közben erősen a botjára támaszkodott.

— Mr. Silver és Mr. Pescud, — mutatott be bennünket Klein, — a világ legnagyobb pénzügyi tekintélyének a nevét akár el is hallgathatom.

— Ugyan Klein, hagyd ezt, — szólt közbe Mr. Morgan. — Nagyon örvendek, gentlemen, hogy Önöket megismerhettem. Nagyon érdeklődöm a Nyugat iránt. Klein emlitette, hogy Önök Little Rock-ról jönnek. Ugy gondolom, hogy azon a vidéken nekem is van egy-két vasutam. Nos,.fiuk, ha akartok egy parti . . .

— De Mr. Morgan, — vágott hirtelen közbe Klein, — ön elfelejtette . . .

— Bocsánat uraim ,otthon a barátaimmal néha társas kártyajátékot szoktam játszani.

Mielőtt nekünk alkalmat adott volna a szólásra, felugrott és botjával a padlót verve, nagyokat káromkodva járkálni kezdett alá és fel a szobában.

— Csak nincs valami baj a részvényekkel a Wall Street-en? — kérdezte Klein.

— Részvények?! Ugyan, törődöm is most én azokkal. De az a kép! Az a kép! Elküldöm az ügynökömet Olaszországba, hogy vegye meg és most azt táviratozza, hogy nem találja. Ötvenezer dollárt adnék érte . . . sőt hetvenötezret. De miért is engednek egy De Vinchi képet . . .

— Hogyan, hát Ön nem vette meg az összes De Vinchi képeket? — kérdezte Klein.

— Ez a kép biztosan van olyan nagy, mint egy három emeletes ház fala, — jegyezte meg Silver.

— Félek, hogy az Ön müvészi képzettsége egy kicsit hiányos, — mondotta Morgan. — A kép csak 27 incs magas és 42 incs széles. Ez az egyetlen De Vinchi, amit nem tudtam megkapni. A kép neve: "Unatkozó szerelmesek". Egy csapat leányt ábrázol ,akik biborszinü folyó partján kedvükre kitáncolják magukat. A távirat szerint a képet aligha Amerikába nem hozták.

Mr. Morgan és Klein távozása után Silver megjegyezte, hogy milyen barátságos emberek ezek a new yorkiak. Még az olyan gazdag és hires ember, mint Mr. Morgan is, milyen kedélyesen elbeszélgetett velünk. Másnap ebéd után Klein vezetése mellett egy kis sétára mentünk. A Hetedik Avenue egyik zálogházának ablakában Klein szép karperecet pillantott meg és kijelentette, hogy megveszi. Mind a hárman bementünk az üzletbe és Klein hosszas alkudozás után megkötötte a vásárt. Hazatérve Klein a szálloda előtt elbucsuzott tőlünk. Alig értünk a szobánkba Silver nekem esett:

— Láttad? Nem láttad?

— Mit?

— A képet! A kép, amelyet Morgan annyira keres! Ott lóg a zálogház falán az asztal mögött. Nem szóltam semmit, nehogy Klein is meghallja. Ez az a kép, olyan igaz, mint ahogyan élünk. A lányok mintha csak elevenek volnának, ugy bakfittyeznek a folyó parton. Menynyit is igért érte Morgan? . . . Mit tudják ezek, hogy mi van az ilyen zálogházakban.

Másnap reggel még ki sem nyitották a zálogházat, már ott ácsorogtunk előtte, mintha az ünneplő ruhánkat akarnánk "bevágni", hogy hozzájussunk egy "drink"-re való összeghez. Az üzletben természetesen csak valami olcsó óraláncot kivántunk venni.

— Ni-ni, milyen izgató képmásolat lóg ott, — jegyezte meg Silver csak ugy véletlenül a zálogházasnak. — Az a leány azzal a vékony fátyollal a vállán nekem is tetszik. Ugy-e ha $2.25-öt felajánlok érte, akkor olyan gyorsan bepakolja a számomra, hogy még a többi tárgyakat is leveri siettében?

A zálogházos mosolygott s mutogatta tovább az óraláncokat. Kis idő mulva aztán megszólalt.

— Ezt a képet 500 dollárra zálogositotta el nálam egy olasz gentleman egy évvel ezelőtt. Igazi Leonardo De Vinchi. A neve: "Unatkozó szerelmesek". Éppen most jár le a hivatalos egy év és többé nem lehet visszakövetelni. Ajánlom ezt a láncot, ez most nagyon divatos.

Fél óra multán 2000 dollárt fizettünk a képért és boldogan távoztunk vele. Silver azonnal kocsira ült és a Morgan lakására hajtatott. Én a szállodába mentem és ott vártam reá. Ugy két óra multán meg is érkezett.

— Nos, mennyit fizetett Morgan a képért?

Silver nem válaszolt mindjárt hanem lassan leült az asztal mellé és valami lassu indulót kezdett dobolni.

— Mr. Morgan nem vehette meg a képet, mert már hónapok óta Európában van.

— Európában van? — szóltam én elhülve.

— Igen, de ez még nem is volna olyan nagy baj. Hanem Billy, ezzel a képpel aligha meg nem jártunk. A sarki nagy üzletben a kirakat tele van aggatva ugyanezzel a képpel $2.48-ért árulják, de ki van irva, hogy maga a ráma megér $3.50-et.

Geréb József forditása

ŐSZI VARÁZSLAT

Homály erjed bomlott avarból,
gyürött gyepből viz bugyborékol,
cuppog a zsombék, duzzad az ér,
a földből buggyan barna vér,
a halmok gőzzel töltött csutorák.

Sötét vadkan magát beássa,
szarkák csörögnek a szántásra,
rögök kövér varanggyá válnak,
iramló nyulak köddé válnak,
szétvetett karral izzadnak a fák.

Veres irháju alkonyat
kérődzik zörgő ág alatt,
ég lóbálja ködemlejét,
egy szarvas felveti fejét,
aggancsa repedt fellegbe akad.

Párakendő hull hegytetőre,
nyirkos kigyó kuszik fenyérre,
roppant hullő az őszi sárban:
árny hentereg nyögő határban,
a völgyek vemhes öle felszakad.

Növény, kő mozdul, állat dermed,
széjjelfoszlik a biztos termet,
élőt elnyelnek lomha vermek,
vak holtak üstöket kevernek,
elomlik a bátor, a restnek szárnya termett.

Minden, mi rend volt, gyönyörüség,
emberalakra szabott szépség,
ember szivéhez mért öröm:
átcsörtet most a zárt körön,
megkergült kéjjel vesztébe rohan.

Veled mi lesz? Ejtsd el magad
s a hömpölygő ár elragad . . .
Vagy kulcsold össze két kezed
s mint aki célba érkezett,
itt van, nem tágit, megmarad:
most mutasd meg az arcodat!

LESZNEI ANNA
(Magyar Forum)

HUMOR

Megnyugtató.

Az orvos megvizsgálta az aléltan fekvő beteget ,aztán a leendőbeli özvegy felé fordulva mondta:

— Sajnálom asszonyom, de nem hiszem, hogy a férjén segiteni tudnék.

— De mégis, mennyi időt ad neki orvos ur? — kérdezte az asszony.

A beteg közben magához tért és meghallotta az orvos válaszát.

— Legfeljebb pár napot, nem hiszem, hogy sokáig viszi.

— Most már csak azért sem halok meg! — vágott közbe mérgesen a beteg.

Erre az asszony hozzálépett és megsimogatta a férje arcát, aztán csittitóan mondta:

— Csak ne mondj ellent az orvos urnak, drágám, hiszen látod, hogy csak a javadat akjarja!

Logikus.

A motorkerékpáros rendőr hosszu hajsza után megállitja a sebesen száguldó autót s rárivalkodik a kocsi hajtójára.

— Micsoda dolog ez, ily tulsebesen hajtani? Hát nem fél, hogy valami szerencsétlenség éri?

— Dehogyis nem félek, — válaszolta a bünös, — sőt éppen azért hajtottam ilyen sebesen, mert nagyon félek a bajtól, észrevettem, hogy a fékező készülékem elromlott és most azért sietek haza nehogy valami szerencsétlenség érjen.

Élet-halál kérdés.

Az irodafiu hosszas rábeszélés után bejelenti a főnöknek a látogatót, akit a főnök igy fogad:

— Ön azt üzente be a fiuval, hogy élet-halál fontos kérdésben kíván vele beszélni.

— Igen ura, szórul szóra igaz, — válaszolta a látogató. — Azért jöttem, hogy eladjak önnek egy élet, vagy haláleseti biztositást, mert a legnagyobb biztositó társulatot képviselem.

Ez volt az igazi büvészet!

Az alvilági alakok pártfogásából meggazdagodott politikus részére tisztelői diszvacsorát rendeztek egy előkelő vendéglőben. A vendéglős, aki észrevette, hogy az egyik vendég zsebébe dugta az ezüst kanalat, az étkezés befejeztével az asztalhoz ment és nagy hangon beszélni kezdett:

— Uraim, most mulattatni fogom önöket. Önök talán nem is tudják, hogy én Kagliosztró, a világhirü büvész leszármazottja vagyok. Számos kiváló trükk maradt meg a családunkban. Ime, most bemutatok egyet. Nézzenek ide, beteszem ezt az ezüst kanalat a kabátom zsebébe. Most elmondom a büvész mondatot: Akra-bakra, habakra! És ime az ezüst kanál átvándorolt Mr Herman zsebébe. Kérem a szomszédját, vegye ki a kanalát Mr. Herman zsebéből.

A szomszéd belenyult Mr. Herman zsebébe és kivett belőle nem egy, hanem KÉT ezüst kanalat.

Tévesztett bók.

— Mariska kisasszony, higyje el ugy érzem ,mintha egész életemben ismertem volna.

— De ugyan, Sáfrány ur, hiszen én még nem vagyok olyan idős.

A tudomány diadala.

Mr. Tulokos nem jól érezte magát. Elment tehát a doktorhoz és mindjárt igy kezdte:

— Doktor ur, én ugyan nem hiszek az orvosokban, de azért most mégis eljöttem, gondoltam, adok alkalmat arra, hogy bebizonyitsák, mégis tudnak-e valamit.

— Nem tesz semmit, barátom, hogy hisz-e vagy sem az orvosban, — válaszolta az orvos. — Éppen tegnap volt nálam az öcsém, aki állatorvos és panaszkodott, hogy nekünk, akik embereket gyógyitunk, könnyebb dolgunk van, mint nekik. Elmondotta, hogy a napokban egy nagyon makacs öszvért gyógyitott ki valamilyen betegségből. Az orvosság beadásánál mindig össze kellett kötözni az öszvér lábait és fel kellett peckelni a száját. Lássa, ez az öszvér sem hitt az orvosi tudományban, mégis kigyógyitották!

Ismerte magát.

Az utazó ügynököt utasitották, hogy keressen fel bizonyos kereskedőt, aki már igen sokkal tartozott a cégnek és nem reagált a felszólitásra. Ez a kereskedő azonban nagyon jó beszédképes ember lévén, nemcsak kibeszélte a dolgot az utazónál, hanem még ujabb rendelést is adott neki. A főirodában azonban megtagadták a rendelés kiküldését. Ehelyett ezt táviratozták a kereskedőnek:

“A rendelést csak akkor küldjük, amikor számlájának legalább a felét törleszti.”

Erre aztán ez a választ érkezett a kereskedőtől:

“Sajnálom, de addig nem várhatok!”

A hibanélküli ember.

Az evangélista pap rendkivül páthosszal ostorozta az emberek büneit, amelyekkel magukra vonják az Ur haragját. Jól meg akarta értetni a gyülekezettel, hogy minden ember bünözik és azért mindenkire ráfér a “megtérés”. Azért magát felhevitve kiáltotta oda hallgatóinak:

— Mindannyian bünösök vagyunk! Nincs tökéletes ember! Ki meri azt állitani önmagáról, hogy soha senkinek sem vétett, hogy semmi hibája sincs? Avagy ki meri azt mondani, hogy már látott ilyen embert?

Erre egy félénk kinézésü, kistermetü ember felállott.

— Ön azt meri mondani, hogy van tudomása ilyen tökéletes emberről? — fordult hozzá a pap.

— Mondhatom, hogy van, — válaszolt szorongva a kicsi ember.

— És ki az, ha szabad kérdeznem? — mondotta a pap.

— A feleségem megboldogult első férje, — volt a felelet.

Szükségtelen.

— Már régen nem hallottam Harry barátunk felől, mivel foglalkozik mostanában?

— Dadogó iskolát nyitott.

— Dadogó iskolát? De szent isten, hát ki akar dadogást tanulni?

Észnél volt.

A tisztelendő ur erősködött, hogy misét mond az elmegyógyintézet lakóinak is. Az igazgató beleegyezett és a betegeket beterelték a nagyterembe, ahol a pap az első imádkozás után hozzáfogott a szentbeszédéhez. Egyszerre csak az egyik beteg belekiáltott:

— Meddig hallgassuk még ezt a zagyvaságot?!

A pap zavartan fordult a főorvoshoz.

— Abbahagyjam talán, — kérdezte.

— Csak folytassa nyugodtan, — mondta az orvos, — nem fogja többet zavarni. Ez a szerencsétlen ember csak minden hét évben nyeri vissza az eszét egy-egy pillanatra.

Melyik a legjobb?

A városka piacterén három szalón versengett egymással azon, hogy az árusok szomját oltsa. Az egyik szalónnak ájris, a másiknak amerikai és a harmadiknak zsidó tulajdonosa volt. Egyszer csak az ájris nagy táblát akasztott ki ezzel e felirással: "It kapod a legjobb italt az egész városban!"

Meglátta ezt az amerikai szalónos, mérges lett és még nagyobb táblát akasztott ki ezzel a felirással:

"It kapod a legjobb italt az egész államban!"

Amikor a zsidó szalónos meglátta a két táblát, elnevette magát és másnap ő is kiakasztott egy táblát ezzel a felirással:

"I kapod a legjobb italt a Piactéren!"

Nagy baj.

A gazdag ur kényelmesen elhelyezkedett a vonat fülkéjében és mindjárt szunditani kezdett. Amikor azonban a vonat elindult, rémülten kiabálni kezdett a titkára után, aki nem volt a fülkében.

— De uram ,mi baja van, hogy igy kiabál a titkár után, talán mi is megtehetjük a kivánt szolgálatot? — udvariaskodott a borravalóra váró kalauz.

— Nincs itt a jegyem, a titkáromnál van, — jajgatott a gazdag ur.

— Sebaj kérem, mondotta megint a kalauz, — ezt könnyen el tudjuk intézni.

— Hiszen nem is azért ijedtem annyira, — mondotta a gazdag ur, — de most már nem tudom, hogy hová utazom?

Hasznos legyek.

Salamon, az ócskaruha kereskedő igen egyszerü módszert használt a ruha árak megjelölésére. A ruhára cérnázott kártyára egy vonalat huzott és a vonal alá annyi pontot tett, ahány dollárnál olcsóbban nem adhatta a ruhát. A vásárlói azonban hamar rájöttek erre a jelzési módra és akármilyen nagy árat kért is a ruháért, csak megolvasták a vonal alatti pontokat és annyit igértek a ruháért, amit kellő alkudozás után meg is kaptak. Egyszer Salamonnak dolga akadt a városba és a 12 éves Mojse nevü fiára bizta az üzletet. Amikor hazajött kérdezte a gyereket.

— Nos, Mojse, fiacskám, csináltál valami üzletet?

— Csináltam papám, — felelte büszkén a gyerek, — eladtam a fekete ruhát, ami már régen a sarokban hevert.

— És mennyiért adtad el azt a ruhát? — kérdezte Salamon.

— Tizenhat dollárt kaptam érte, — mondotta a fiu.

— Tizenhat dollárt?! — kiáltotta fel Salamon csodálkozva — Hiszen nem volt nekünk ilyen drága ruhánk.

— Dehogy is nem, —mondotta Mojse. — Ime itt van a cédula, nézd meg magad.

Salamon átvette a kártyát, jól megnézte, aztán felkiáltott.

— Hála legyen neked Istenem, még a legyekkel is segitel bennünket.

Már késő lett volna.

— Látja János gazda, — magyarázta az ügyvéd, — ha nem maga ütött volna először, amikor a vádló felemelt kezekkel maga felé rohant, hanem megvárta volna, mig az első ütést maga kapja, akkor most biztosan nyert pöre lenne, mert csak önvédelemből tett volna kárt az ellenfelében.

— Értem, uram, értem én azt nagyon jól, — mondja János gazda, — csakhogy ahogy én a Jóskát ismerem, hát nem hiszem, hogy alkalmam lett volna az önvédelemre, ha egyszer ütni hagyom.

Megijedt.

A nagy munkanélküliség idején egy skót munkás kiment valamelyik földijének a farmjára dolgozni. Azonban a harmadik héten már visszament a városba, ahol barátai kérdezték, hogy miért hagyta ott a farmot, mire igy válaszolt:

— Az első héten megdöglött egy malac, hát egész héten malachust ettünk. A második héten megdöglött a borju, hát egész héten borjuhust ettünk. A harmadik héten meghalt a farmer anyósa, hát gondoltam, most már jobb lesz ha innen megyek.

Megdicsérte.

A vidék legismertebb zsiványa ujból a biróság elé került. Ez alkalommal egy ujdonsült birónak osztották ki az ügyét.

— Ejnye, ejnye, Henrik, hát már megint bajban van? — szólt hozzá a biró.

— Igen, biró ur, — felelte jámboran a zsivány. — Amikor legutóbb bajban voltam ön volt a védőügyvédem.

— És ki most a védőügyvéde?

— Nem fogadtam én fel senkit, — mondta szomoruan a zsivány, — nem találok én már többet olyan jó védőügyvédet, mint a biró ur volt, aki ugy kitudna menteni a bajból, mint a biró ur megmentett annyiszor.

Nem volt csoda.

Az ócskavas kereskedésből meggazdagodott zsidó feleségével külföldi utra ment és meglátogatták Palesztinát is. A Galille tenger partján sétálva egy benszülöttre akadtak, aki csónakon vitte a turistákat azon ponthoz, ahol a legenda szerint Jézus a viz tetején járt. Rosenblatnak kedve támadt megnézni a helyet és lefizette az öt dollár taksát. A benszülött beevezett vagy félmérföldnyire a vizen, aztán kijelentette:

— Ez az a hely, ahol Jézus a vizen járt. — Aztán leheveredett a csónakjába és álmosan mondotta. — Inne most már csak 10 dollárért megyek vissza.

— Tiz dollárért! — hördült fel Rosenblat, — hát nem fizettem már egyszer öt dollárt?

— De igen, — felelte nyugodtan a benszülött, — de az csak a behozatalért volt. A visszavitel 10 dollárba kerül.

— Uram isten, — sóhajtott fel Rosenblat, — hát nem csoda, hogy Jézus inkább gyalog ment vissza.

Kiváncsi volt.

A délvidék egyes részein olyan lusta népek laknak, akik ebben a tekintetben méltán versenyezhetnek a magyar legendából ismert Mátyás király lustáival. Az egyik vidéki városkában, amelynek lakói különösen hiresek a lustaságról, a férj az ablaknál ülve szivta a pipáját és eregette a füstöt a uccára. Mindjárt mellette az asszony bóbiskált a hintaszékben, háttal az ablaknál. Egyszerre az uccáról nagy csörömpölés és riadalom hallattszott.

— Mi történik ott? — kérdezte az asszony álmosan.

— Felborult a szomszéd kocsija és az asszony meg a gyerekek, a földre pottyantak, azért sivalkodnak, — válaszolta a férj.

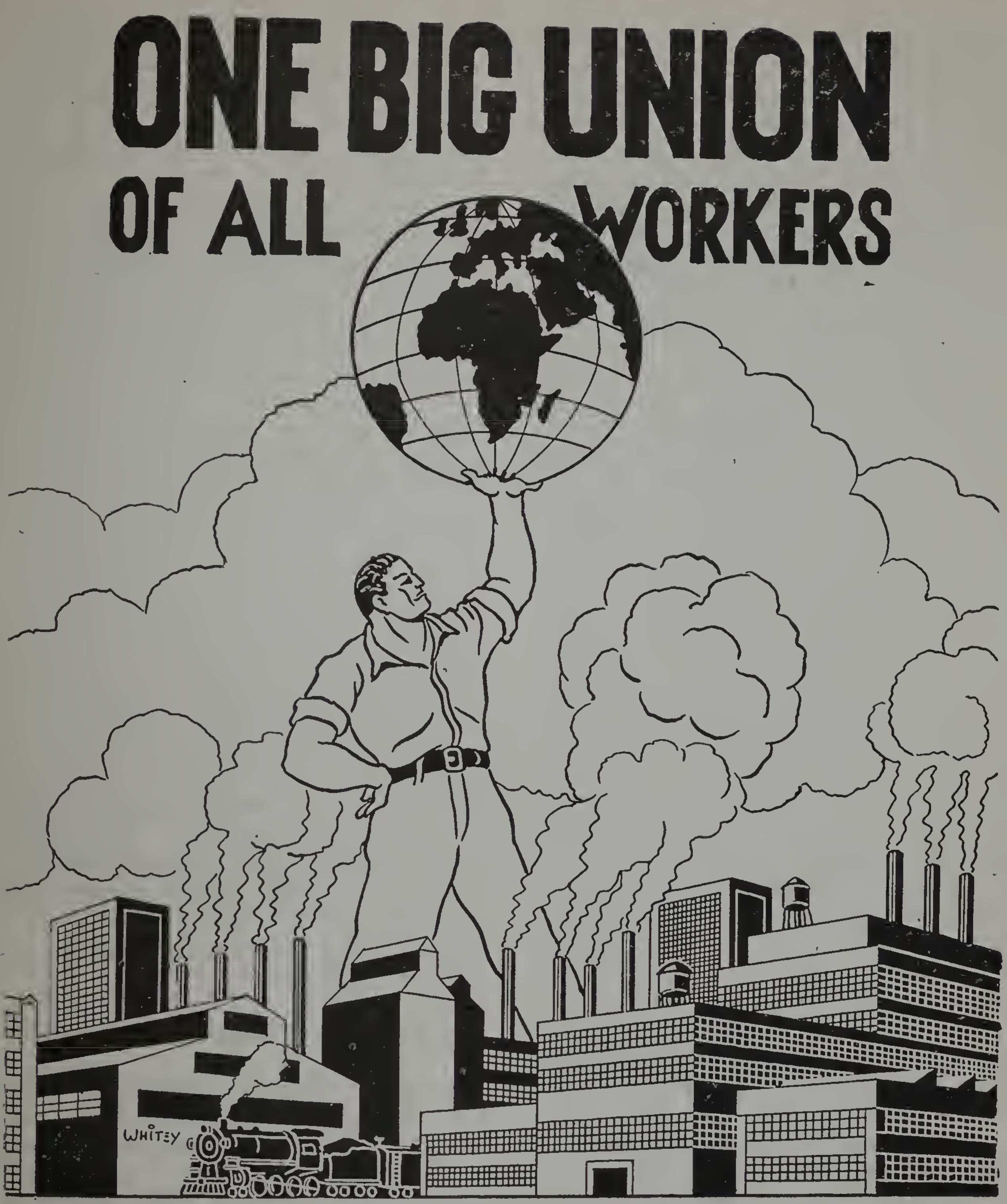
— Nohát azt már én is szeretném látni, sóhajtott egyet megint az asszony, — hogy az a kövér lusta Mrs. Hannah hogyan tápászodik fel a földről? De kár, hogy nem az ablak felé vagyok fordulva!

Alapos jelentés.

A szerencsétlenséget jelentő rendőrtől kérdi az irodatiszt.

— És sulyos a sebesülés?

— Két haláltokozó seb volt rajta, — mondotta a rendőr, — de a másik három seb, nem okozott nagy bajt.



A NYERSANYAGOK, ahogyan azokat a természet szolgáltatja, csak a legritkább esetben alkalmasak az ember használatára. Azon müveletek összességét, amely a nyersanyagoknak a kivánt formát adja, vagy megfelelő helyre szállitja, az IPAR fogalmával fejezzük ki. Társadalmi létünk alapját az ipar képezi.

Modern társadalmunkban az emberek két fontos osztályban csoportosultak. Az egyik, — a kisebb számu, birja ugy a nyersanyagokat nyujtó természeti kincseket, erőforrásokat, mint azon felszereléseket, amelyek segélyével a nyersanyagokat használatra kész árukká formálják.

A másik osztályt, — amely számbelileg sokkal nagyobb az előbbinél, a munkások alkotják. Ezek munkaerejükkel összegyüjtik, kibányászszák vagy termelik a nyersanyagokat, majd szerszámok és gépek segélyével olyan formát adnak azoknak, amilyet használatuk megkiván.

Ezen két embercsoportnak, másszóval OSZTÁLYNAK az érdekei ellentétesek. A modern korszak társadalmi életének a formáját ez a tény szabja meg.

A birtokos osztály, — amelyet gyakran KAPITALISTA osztálynak is emlitenek, — a természeti kincsek és a termelőeszközök birtoklása alapján uralma alatt tartja az iparokat. Ez az uralom nagy kiváltságokat biztosit számukra. Természetes, hogy az ilyen kiváltságokat meg akarják tartani. Azért minden társadalmi intézményre kiterjesztik befolyásukat. Ők készitik és hajtják végre a törvényeket; az ő kivánságuknak megfelelőleg tanitják az iskolás gyermekeket arra, hogy tiszteljék a kiváltságokat; a sajtó, a mozgókép és a rádió a közönség gondolkodását és érzelmeit az ő érdekeiknek megfelelőleg igyekszik befolyásolni. És végre, ha nem tudják megsemmisiteni a munkások által felépitett szervezeteket, akkor igyekszenek azokat is kontroljuk alá vonni.

A tulajdonos, vagy munkáltató osztály ipari kontrólja azonban két tény következtében veszélyben van. Ezek a következők:

1. A modern ipari fejlődés müködésüket szükségtelenné tette.

2. A munkásosztály már annyira fejlődött, hogy ha elhatározza, képes átvenni az iparok irányitását, hogy a mainál hatásosabb, sokkal jobban kielégitő társadalmi rendet alapitson.

A tőkés eredeti rendeltetése az ipari vállalathoz szükséges tőke megszerzése és az igazgatás szolgálata volt. Ma az igazgatást (management) az ily célra speciális kiképzést nyert alkalmazottak végzik. A tőkét pedig a profitból származó különböző tartalékokból veszik. A korporált adminisztrációs rendszer, — amit maguk a tőkések fejlesztettek ki, szükségtelenné teszi magukat a tőkéseket.

Jelen társadalmunkat domináló üzlet-osztály tagjai (tőkések) az előttük uralmon lévő királyokkal és feudális lordokkal folytatott harc révén kerültek mai poziciójukba. A köznép segélyével győztek azokban a harcokban leginkább azért, mert az uj találmányok, uj módszerek és felfedezések a feudális rendszert avulttá tették. Azon parlamentáris intézmények, amelyeket azért hoztok életre, hogy a királyoknak és a főuraknak a harcokhoz pénz szerezzenek, egyben olyan hatásos kormányzási rendszert fejlesztettek ki, amelybe a királyok és lordok már éppen ugy nem illettek bele, mint jelen társadalmunkba a tőkések.

A nagy felfedező utazások, a hajózás fejlődése és az uj gyári rendszer a raktárházak fölötti tulajdonjogot értékesebbé tette a földbirtok tulajdonjogánál. Társadalmi életünk alapja a mezőgazdaságról az iparokra ment át és ennek megfelelőleg társadalmunk feletti uralom is az iparok tulajdonosainak kezeibe került.

Forradalmi fejlődés.

Ezen változások idején is a konzervativ gondolkozásuak feljajdultak, hogy most már vége lesz az emberi civilizációnak. Pedig dehogy is lett! Éppen ellenkezőleg, előre haladt. Az uj rendszer átvette és tovább fejlesztette a régi rendszerből azt, amit fel tudott használni, ellenben megsemmisitette azon intézményeket, amelyek akadályozták a további fejlődést. Az ipar és a kereskedelem jobban virágzottak, mint előbb.

Az élethez szükséges javak elkészitésének módjai és általában az egész életmódunk nagyobb változáson ment keresztül az utóbbi kétszáz év alatt, mint a megelőző két ezer évben. Minden munkás termelőképessége százszorta nagyobb lett, mint azelőtt. Azonban a munkások életszinvonala nem emelkedett ebben a mértékben és nem is emelkedhetik mindaddig, amig az iparokat a tőkések kontrolálják, mert a bőség és kényelem eshetőségeit elrabolják a nagy ipari depressziók és a háboruk, amelyeket a munkásosztály nem engedne meg, ha az iparok fölött uralma lenne.

A modern ipari fejlődés nemcsak szükségtelenné tette a tulajdonos osztály munkakörét, de egyben össze is zsugoritotta ezt az osztályt ugy, hogy számuk mindinkább kevesebb lett.

A nagy korporációk fejlődése a kis üzletek bezárását eredményezik. Szakemberek állitása szerint Amerika gazdasági életét 60 vagy 70 ember uralja. Miután kartelokat kötnek a más országok hasonló tőkéseivel, ezen néhány ember kontrolálni akarja az egész világ gazdasági életét. Szolgák és talpnyalók seregei veszik őket körül, de barátaik száma nagyon csekély. Csak a tulajdonosoknak ez a kis számu osztálya vesztené el kiváltságait, ha az iparok irányitását kivennék a kezeikből. Az emberiség többi része azonban igen sokat nyerne vele.

A munkásosztály növekedése.

Az évek hosszu sorai alatt a munkásosztály megnövekedett, megnövekedett többféle módon. Először megnövekedett számban, méghozzá ugy, hogy csaknem mindenki ebbe az osztályba tartozik. De növekedett értelemben, tudományban, képességben is. Ma az egyszerü napszámos ember megért avagy alkot olyan dolgokat, amire száz évvel ezelőtt a mérnök nem lett volna képes.

Az irástudatlan jobbágyok helyét az irni és olvasni tudó ipari munkások foglalták el. Sőt már van nagykiterjedésü saját munkás irodalmuk is. És ebéidőben, mialatt a "lunchbucket"-ből falatozik, a világeseményék felől tárgyal szomszédjával.

De növekedett szervezeti hatalomban is. A szervezés területén tett minden lépésével a munkáltató osztály által kizárólagosan uralt területre tört be. A munkáltatók kizárólagos jogaiból csikart el akkor, midőn a munkaidőt korlátozta, avagy megszabta, hogy milyen gépeken dolgozik, bizonyos munkáért milyen fizetés jár; aż elsőbbségi "seniority" jogok, biztonsági és egészségügyi szabályok betartása, stb. stb., mint a munkásság hatalmát erősbitik.

Nemcsoda, hogy az üzleti érdekeltség a szervezett munkásságot ellenségnek tekinti. És ha logikusan gondolkozunk, akkor igazat kell adni nekik. A szervezett munkásságnak minden olyan lépése, amely hozzájárul ahoz, hogy az iparok fölötti rendelkezést az üzleti érdekeltségtől átvegye, az osztályok nélküli társadalom kiépitéséhez vezet, mert a munkásokon alul már nincsennek osztályok. Egyben végetvet mindama borzalmaknak, amiknek a jelenben tanui vagyunk éppen társadalmunknak osztályokba való felosztása révén.

A holnap égető kérdése tehát, hogyan lehetne az iparok fölötti irányitást a munkásságnak átvenni? Ez az irányitás a lényeges, hiszen a nagy korporációk által birt iparoknál a tulajdonjog ma már ugyis nagyon misztikus. Az irányitás, vagy igazgatás a fontos, amely ma már sok esetben bizonyos mértékig függetlenitette magát a tulajdonosoktól, avagy azoktól, akik a tőkét befektették a vállalatba. Aki az iparokat konrtolálja, nem sokat törődik azzal, hogy ki a tényleges birtokos. A fő az, hogy kinek a szava dönt, amikor az ily kérdések merülnek fel: Ki határozza meg, hogy az üzem megálljon, vagy tovább termeljen? Ki határozza meg, hogy mit termeljenek, hol termeljék és mennyit termeljenek?

Ezek az igazán fontos kérdések.

Kik jogosultak az iparok irányitására?

Ha a mai társadalmi osztály tagozódását nézzük, akkor láthatjuk, hogy az iparok irányitását csak a kis számu, de nagy vagyonnal, sok pénzzel rendelkező bankárok, vagy pedig a nevükben intézkedő politikusok, avagy **maguk a termelést végző munkások intézik.**

Miután az irányitó, vagyis a döntő faktor csak egy csoport lehet, igy valóban égetően fontos kérdés az, hogy melyik csoport kezébe kerüljön az irányitás. A bankárok a különböző trösztök, kartelok, igazgatóságok, hitelek, részvények és kötvények utján ma az egész világ gazdasági élete felett uralkodnak. Ez az uralom azonban olyan, hogy magát a gazdasági életet fojtogatja, mert nem engedi meg a munkásosztálynak a korlátlan termelést, — legfeljebb csak háboru esetén a pusztitás céljaira. Béke idején a termelő erőket guzsbaköti, tétlenségre kényszeriti, mert elzárja tőlük a termelő eszközöket.

Midőn aztán a termelésnek ily megakasztása a beálló inség következtében elégedetlenséget vált ki a néptömegekből, akkor a termelőeszközök tulajdonosai a kormánnyal szövetkeznek népeik további kizsákmányolására, — mint ezt Hitler Németországban láttuk; vagy pedig a kormány a "demokrácia megmentésére" az iparok irányitására korlátozó törvényeket hoz. Ez történt Amerikában a New Deal adminisztráció ideje alatt.

Ipari Demokrácia.

Vannak, akik ugy vélik, hogy ha ezt a kormány uralmat, vagyis a munkások kizsákmányolásának állami hatalommal való korlátozását még tovább fejlesztik, akkor a társadalmi nagy probléma megoldást nyer. Mi, az Industrial Workers of the World szervezet tagjai nem hiszünk ebben. De nem hiszik ezt a szervezett munkásság intelligensebb elemei sem, bármely szervezetnek a tagjai is. Mi jól tudjuk, hogy egészen mindegy, vajjon a bankárok maguk hajtják-e a kocsit, avagy csak a hátsó ülésről utasitják a korkormánykereket kezükben tartó politikusokat, hogy hová, merre és mily sebesen hajtsanak.

Ha a képviseleti kormány minden és mindenki fölött uralkodik, akkor már nem képviseleti kormány többé. A munkásokat már ma is anynyi sok mindenféle hivatalból irányitják, hogy ha azokat még a jövőben megszaporitják, akkor a munkások valóban csak bábok lesznek, akiket ide-oda tolnak a kormányhivatalnokok. És aztán ha nem felejtkezünk el arról a régi tradicióról, hogy "a kormány ellen nem sztrájkolhatsz", akkor hová lesz az a kollektiv egyezkedés, aminek állitólag a védelmére hozzák életre azt a sok kormányhivatalt?

Az ilyen totalitár gazdasági rendszer egyben megteremti a totalitár politikai rendszert is. És mi történik akkor az egyéni szabadsággal? A kezdeményezés jogával? Mert nem igaz ám az, hogy az emberiség legnagyobb problémája a termelés és a szétosztás kérdésének megoldása. Termelni is tudunk és a termelt dolgokat még könnyebben szét tudnánk osztani, ha egy kis számu embercsoportnak nem adnánk olyan HATALMAT, hogy a termelést és a szétosztást meg tudják akadályozni. Mindaddig, amig ennek a kis csoportnak megmarad ez a nagy hatalma, a többiek, a sokak élete soha sem lesz biztos. Nem lesz biztos, mert veszélyeztetik a nélkülözés, a munkanélküliség, depressziók és háboruk. Sőt mondhatjuk, hogy az emberiséget érő társadalmi bajok legtöbbjének okát abban találjuk meg, hogy ily nagy hatalom összpontosul a kis számból álló vagyonos osztály kezében. Sőt még azon találmányok is, amelyeknek célja a termelés növelése, csak ezen uralkodó osztály hatalmát gyarapitják.

A szállitás és a közlekedés fejlődése arányosan fejlesztette ezen vagyonos osztály birodalmát. De a legkülönösebb ebben a dologban az, hogy eddig valahányszor rájöttek erre a néptömegek és orvosolni akarták a bajokat, akkor kiválasztottak valakit, akinek még nagyobb hatalmat adtak, s aki ennélfogva nem, hogy javitott, de még rontott a dolgon, — mint láthattuk ezt Európában.

Joggal kérdezhetjük tehát, hogy vajjon a szervezett munkásság mikor eszmél már arra, hogy ne keressen közvetitőt, hanem **saját maga segitsen orvosolni a bajokat ugy, hogy átveszi az iparok irányitását.**

A munkásoktól függ.

Ha a munkások helyesen szervezkednek, akkor képesek lesznek arra, hogy saját maguk rendelkezzenek munkaerejükkel. De miután munkaerő hozza létre az összes termelt javakat és ezen javak birása hatalmat jelent, igy a munkaerő fölötti rendelkezés egyben hatalmat is jelent. A munkásosztály a jelenben mindig azt teszi, amit PARANCSOLNAK neki. Azonban ha egyesiti az erejét, akkor a parancsoló hatalmat helyettesitheti a saját, kollektiv akaratával. Sőt mi több, ezzel a határozatával, ha érvényre juttatja, egyben megfosztja az ellenfeleit minden hatalomtól, mert azoknak a hatalma valóban a munkásság engedelmességén nyugszik.

Az iparoknak a munkások által való irányitását sokan csak ábrándnak tartják. Pedig ha figyelnék a gazdasági fejlődést, akkor láthatnák, hogy **határozottan ebben az irányban haladunk.** Ez az a központ amely felé a munkásmozgalom minden lépése halad még ott is, ahol nem ez a kimondott cél.

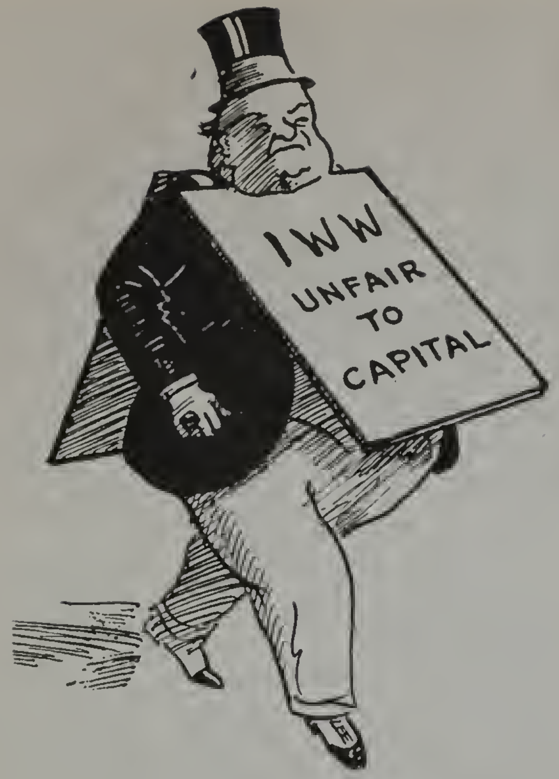
Azonban dacára annak, hogy állandóan az iparok átvétele felé haladunk, mégis a végcélt el nem érhetjük addig, amig kellőleg fel nem készülünk rá. Az Industrial Workers of the World azért alakult, hogy ezt az előkészitő munkát végezze. Ha ez a munka nem sikerül, akkor az ellenkező irányzat győz, — mindennek a megrendszabályozása vagy a kormány, vagy pedig az azzal szövetkező fasizmus által.

A mai problémáink legtöbbjének megoldásához csak az IPARI DEMOKRÁCIA utján jutunk el. Igy valóban fentarthatjuk az igazi demokráciát, amely napjainkban legfeljebb csak a választás napján érvényesül, de akkor is csak politikai téren. Az Ipari Demokrácia megszabadithat bennünket a szükségtől, félelemtől, ipari krizisektől és a háboruktól. A mai modern termelési rendszerekkel az Ipari Demokráciában képesek leszünk ellátni mindenkit az összes szükségleteivel. Az Ipari Demokrácia szabadságot és életbiztonságot nyujt, tehát azt a két tényezőt, amelyet az ember legtöbbre becsül.

De azonkivül az Ipari Demokrácia a mai anarkisztikus társadalmunkban harmóniát teremt, amelyben intelligensen fognak dolgozni az emberek nem a kiváltságos kisebbség, hanem az összesség javára. Olyan társadalmi rendszerben a termelők maguk határozzák el, hogy mit, hol és hogyan készitsenek, miután megállapitják a szükségletet, hogy mindenkinek elegendő jusson. Igy a szükség gazdaságát a bőség gazdasága váltja fel.

Az Ipari Demokráciát azonban csak a szervezett munkások épithetik fel. Az ilyen szervezetnek két célt kell szolgálni:

1) A leghatásosabb szervezeti formát kell nyujtania már a min-



Pokolba a politikával.

dennapi küzdelmeinkhez is, hogy a sorsunkon állandóan javithassunk;

2) Az ipari problémák teljes megeoldására kell törekednie, amit a modern iparoknak a munkásság által való hatásos igazgatásában találunk meg.

Szerencsére, — azonban nem a véletlen müve, — már van egy olyan szervezet, amely ezt a két célt nagyon hatásosan képes szolgálni. Ez a szervezet az Industrial Workers of the World, (Világ Ipari Munkások Szervezete), amely ugy szervezi a munkásokat, amint az ipartelepeken, a bányákban, a termőföldeken, stb. dolgoznak. Igy ebben a szervezetben a munkások között ugyan az a viszony áll fen, mint a munkahelyeken. Az ily szervezkedés nagyon hatásos fegyvert nyujt a munkásoknak a mindennapi küzdelmeikben, mert bérmozgalmak esetén az egyik csoportot nem lehet felhasználni a másik ellen. De azonkivül az ilyen szervezet, miután a munkásokat ugy csoportositja, amint a munkán dolgoznak, képes átvenni magát a termelés irányitását is, hiszen valójában ugyis a munkások végeznek minden munkát.

Igy tehát nagyon fontos, hogy részletesebben megismerjük azt a szervezeti formát, amely igy tökéletes kifejezője a munkásosztály törekvésének.

Tervezett gazdaság.

A modern ipari termelésnél az egyes iparágak összefonódnak, egymásra vannak utalva. Még a legegyszerübb ipartermékek előállitásánál is ugyszólván az összes iparok közrejátszanak. Igy aztán ha az iparok bármelyikében zavarok állnak be, azt a többi iparok is megérzik.

Az iparoknak egymástól való függését egy gyakorlati példán mutathatjuk be legkönnyebben. Nézzük csak például az inget, ami eléggé egyszerü ipartermelvény. Hajdanában a fehérnemüt s igy az inget is házilag készitették. A lent is saját maguk termelték a nagyon egyszerü, jóideig szintén házilag készitett földmüvelő eszközök segélyével. Az emberi erőn kivül legfeljebb az igás állatok erejét használták, amelyeknek az élelmet szintén maguk termelték meg. Nagyon de nagyon sok idő multán fejlődött a civilizáció odáig, hogy a munka megosztásához jutottak. De még akkor is évezredeken át, ha nem is maga a család, de egy kis környezet megtermelte azon közösség összes szükségletét.

Ma azonban a dolog másképp áll. Az egyszerü gyapot ing elkészitéséhez nem elegendő a munka és a nyersanyag. Az inget ma gépekkel felszerelt gyárakban készitik. Az ing elkészitéséhez tehát a gyapotszöveten kivül szükség van GÉPEKRE és ÉPÜLETEKRE. A gépeket viszont gépgyárakban csinálják. Ugyancsak már gyárak állitják elő az épületanyagokat és azon gépeket, amelyekkel az épitkezést végzik. Természetesen minden ilyen munkánál nagymennyiségü anyagot kell egyik helyről a másikra szállitani, tehát fontos, hogy a szállitó ipar is zavartalanul müködjön.

De számitásba kell vennünk, hogy mindezen szolgálatokat végző munkásoknak élelemre, lakásra és ruhára van szükségük. Az ily dolgokkal viszont megint más gyárak látják el őket. Ezt igy folytathatjuk vég nélkül. Ezért mondjuk azt, hogy a munka társadalmi jelleget öltött, vagyis minden munkatermelvény előállitásában a társadalom igen tekintélyes rétege vesz részt. Igy mondhatjuk, hogy a testünket fedő egyszerü ing elkészitésében része van a gyapotot termelő farmeron kivül az épitő munkásoknak, acélgyári munkásoknak, festékgyári munkásoknak, szállitó munkásoknak, bányászoknak, villanyszerelőknek, varrónőknek, könyvellőknek, nyomdászoknak, stb. stb.

A mai termelési rendszerünket az jellemzi, hogy a munkások minden határozott rendszer nélkül végzik szerepüket ebben a társadalmi termelésben. Ezt a ma már nagyon is komplikált ipari rendszert teljesen a VÉLETLEN irányitja. A véletlen szabja meg, hogy hol, mit és mennyit gyártanak minden szükséges áruból. Erre mondják azt, hogy a mai termelési rendszerben anarkia uralkodik.

Pedig ezt az anarkiát ki lehetne küszöbölni a termelésből. Sőt ki is fogják küszöbölni. A termelés fejlődésének ez a tendenciája, az anarkisztikus termelés át fog alakulni TERVEZETT, tehát TUDATOSAN IRÁNYITOTT termeléssé. Ezt meg lehet tenni, mert hiszen az emberi hasznos tevékenység összességét lehet osztályozni, összefoglalhatjuk hat csoportba, a következő módon:

1. — Nyersanyagok termelése vagy tenyésztése.

2. — Nyersanyagok bányászata.

3. — Épitkezés (épületek, utak, hajók, stb.)

4. — Használati cikkeek készitése (élelmiszerek, ruházat, gépek és egyéb eszközök).

5. — Szállitás és közlekedés.

6. — Közszolgálatok (iskolák, kórházak, szinházak, stb.).

Az 1905-ben alakult Industrial Workers of the World ennek a hat főcsoportnak megfelelőleg szervezi a munkásokat ipari szervezetekben. Ez a szervezet tehát hat DEPARTMENTBŐL ÁLL.

A DEPARTMENTEK aztán feloszlanak IPARI SZERVEZETEKRE a kivánalmaknak megfelelőleg. Miután azonban az iparok, mint előbb kimutattuk, ma már egymásba fonódnak, teljes lehetetlenség a departmentek között éles választóvonalat adni. Azonban erre nincs is szükség, hiszen az ipari szervezetekben való szervezkedés célja nem a munkások egymástól való elszigetelése, hanem éppen ellenkezőleg, az összes munkások kooperációjának a megkönnyitése.

Ipari tagoltság.

Az Industrial Workers of the World olyan szerkezeti formát ajánl, amely a munkásokat az iparoknak megfelelő csoportokba osztja, mert a munkások tagoltságát valójában az iparok szabják meg. Ezt is egy példával tudjuk legjobban megmagyarázni. Nézzük például azt a festőt, aki az automobil gyárban dolgozik. Ez a munkás az automobil iparhoz tartozik s őt első sorban is az automobil ipar munkaviszonyai érdeklik, nem pedig az, hogy a festők más iparokban milyen problémákkal állnak szemben. De azonkivül ez a festő munkás szerves része az automobil iparnak, munkájára ott elengedhetetlen szükség van, igy ő a többi automobil munkással együtt képviseli magát az egész ipart.

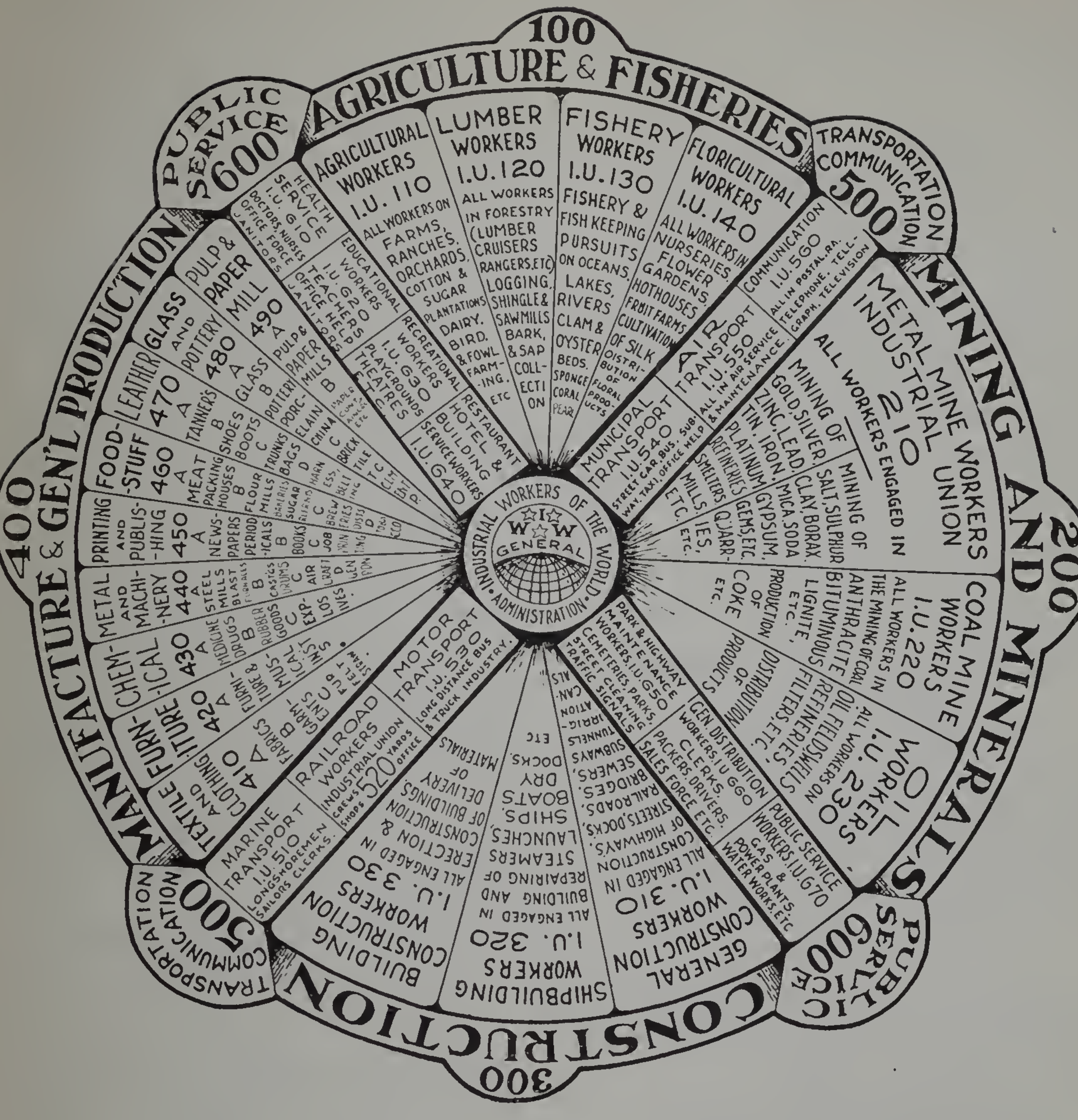
Az I.W.W. szervezeti formájának felépitésénél a tudományos alapu tizes számrendszert használja. Egy-egy ipari departmentnek a százas jelzést adta. Az ipari departmenten belül az ipari szervezetek a tizes jelzést nyerték és ezen belül az egyes ipari csoportok felvehetik az egység jelzést. Ez a csoportositás és jelzés nagyon hasonlit ahoz, amit a könyvtárakban a könyvek jelzésére használnak. Ez a könyvtári jelzés is éveken át tartó fejlődés eredménye. A lényege és főérdeme abban áll, hogy nemcsak minden könyvet, amit eddig irtak, hanem még amit a jövőben fognak irni is, el lehet helyezni a rokontárgyu könyvek közé a tudományos beosztás alapján. Az I.W.W. szervezetben is a csoportositás és a számjelzés ilyen logikus és nem a véletlen szüleménye.

Természetesen az összes szervezeteket és csoportokat összefogja, koordinálja az anyaszervezet, a ONE BIG UNION (Egy Nagy Szervezet). Az anyaszervezeten keresztül képesek mindazon együttes akciókra, amelyekre alkalomadtán szükség van. Igy például az acéliparban a vasmunkásokon kivül ott látjuk a bányászokat, vasutasokat, rakparti munkásokat, stb. stb. A One Big Union lehetővé teszi ezeknek a teljes kooperációját, de ugyanakkor nem zárja ki azt, hogy például szénbányászok ne kooperáljanak a többi szénbányászokkal, akik nem az acélipar részére bányásszák a szenet. Csakis az ilyen ipari szervezet, mint a ONE BIG UNION képes hatásosan harcolni a munkások követelményeiért a mindennapi harcok folyamán.

Az I.W.W. tervrajzát, illetőleg szerkezetét, grafikailag köralaku formában lehet legjobban bemutatni. A teljes kör az emberiség általì kifejtett HASZNOS munkák összességét jelenti. A kör középpontjában találjuk az Industrial Workers of the World központi adminisztrációját. A kör négy nagyobb szektora képviselik a termelés négy nagy departmentjét. Az első, amit 100-as jelzéssel láttak el a szervezet megalakitói, az őstermelés, vagyis a földmüvelés és halászat. A második, a 200-as jelzésü a bányászati department. A 300-as jelzésüt az épitkezési department alkotja. Az általános gyára termelés a 400-as számot kapta. Miután mindezen iparoknak és az iparokban dolgozóknak szükségük van ugy a szállitásra, mint a közszolgalati dolgokra, ezen két department grafikai jelképei keresztül mennek az egész kör területén, a beosztásban pedig az 500-as és a 600-as department jelzéseket nyerték.

A departmentekben csoportosulnak az IPARI SZERVEZETEK. Ezeknek számainál az első számjegy (a százas) a departmentet jelzi, mig a második (a tizes szám) az ipari szervezet száma. Igy még további felosztásra is alkalom marad, ha az ipari szervezeten belül csoportositásra van szükség, mondjuk az iptartelep megjelölésére. Ime egy példa: Az általános gyári termelést a 400-as department alkotja. Ebben a departmentben a fém és gépmunkások a 4-ik ipari szervezetet alkotják, tehát a számuk 440. Tegyük fel, hogy az automobil ipart megszervezve, a 440-es szervezeten belül külön csoportban a 6-os számot kapná, akkor az I.W.W.-hoz tartozó automobil munkások ipari szervezetének a száma 446 lenne, ahol az első 4-es a departmentet, a második 4-es a fém és gépipart és a 6-os magát a speciális terméket, — ebben az esetben az automobilt jelezné. A praktikusság kedvéért azonban az I.W.W. jelenleg csak azon számokat használja, illetőleg foglalta le, amelyekben már van szervezete. Ez a fenti 6-os szám csak példa, amit a magyarázat kedvéért hoztunk fel.

Az alábbiakban felsoroljuk az Industrial Workers of the World összes departmentjeit és ipari szervezeteit. Tekintettel arra, hogy itt, Amerikában midenféle nyelvü munkásnak az iparokban az angol nyelvet kell használni, igy ennek megfelelőleg ezt a szervezeti tervrajzot is ajánlatos, ha mindenki ismeri az angol nyelven is. Azért előbb az angol nyelvü ismertetés közöljük, s utána hozzuk a forditás.


100 AGRICULTURE & FISHERIES
AGRICULTURAL WORKERS I.U. 110 ALL WORKERS ON FARMS, RANCHES, ORCHARDS, COTTON & SUGAR PLANTATIONS, DAIRY, BIRD, & FOWL FARMING, ETC
LUMBER WORKERS I.U. 120 ALL WORKERS IN FORESTRY (LUMBER CRUISERS RANGERS, ETC) LOGGING, SHINGLE & SAWMILLS BARK, & SAP COLLECTION
FISHERY WORKERS I.U. 130 FISHERY & FISH KEEPING PURSUITS ON OCEANS, LAKES, RIVERS, CLAM & OYSTER BEDS, SPONGE, CORAL, PEARL
FLORICULTURAL WORKERS I.U. 140 ALL WORKERS IN NURSERIES, FLOWER GARDENS, HOTHOUSES, FRUIT FARMS, CULTIVATION OF SILK, DISTRIBUTION OF FLORAL PRODUCTS
TRANSPORTATION COMMUNICATION 500
200 MINING AND MINERALS
METAL MINE WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION 210 ALL WORKERS ENGAGED IN MINING OF GOLD, SILVER, ZINC, LEAD, TIN, IRON, PLATINUM, REFINERIES, SMELTERS, MILLS, ETC. MINING OF SALT, SULPHUR, CLAY, BORAX, MICA, SODA, GYPSUM, GEMS, ETC. QUARRIES, ETC.
COAL MINE WORKERS I.U. 220 ALL WORKERS IN THE MINING OF COAL, ANTHRACITE, BITUMINOUS, LIGNITE, ETC. PRODUCTION OF COKE, ETC.
OIL WORKERS I.U. 230 ALL WORKERS ON OIL FIELDS, WELLS, REFINERIES, FILTERS, ETC. DISTRIBUTION OF PRODUCTS
PUBLIC SERVICE 600
300 CONSTRUCTION
GENERAL CONSTRUCTION WORKERS I.U. 310 ALL ENGAGED IN CONSTRUCTION OF HIGHWAYS, STREETS, DOCKS, RAILROADS, BRIDGES, SEWERS, SUBWAYS, TUNNELS, IRRIGATION, CANALS
SHIPBUILDING WORKERS I.U. 320 ALL ENGAGED IN BUILDING AND REPAIRING OF STEAMERS, LAUNCHES, SHIPS, BOATS, DRY DOCKS, ETC
BUILDING CONSTRUCTION WORKERS I.U. 330 ALL ENGAGED IN ERECTION & CONSTRUCTION OF BUILDINGS, DELIVERY OF MATERIALS
TRANSPORTATION COMMUNICATION 500
400 MANUFACTURE & GEN'L PRODUCTION
TEXTILE AND CLOTHING 410 A FABRICS B GARMENTS C FURS D
FURNITURE 420 A FURNITURE B MUSICAL INST. C
CHEMICAL 430 A MEDICINE DRUGS B RUBBER GOODS C EXPLOSIVES D
METAL MACHINERY 440 A STEEL MILLS BLAST FURNACES B CASTINGS C AIR CRAFT
PRINTING AND PUBLISHING 450 A NEWSPAPERS B PERIODICALS C BOOKS D JOB
FOODSTUFF 460 A MEAT PACKING HOUSES B FLOUR MILLS C DAIRIES D SUGAR
LEATHER 470 A TANNERS B SHOES BOOTS C TRUNKS BAGS
GLASS AND POTTERY 480 A GLASS B POTTERY PORCELAIN C CHINA D BRICK TILE
PULP & PAPER MILL 490 A PULP & PAPER MILLS
PUBLIC SERVICE 600
HEALTH SERVICE I.U. 610 DOCTORS, NURSES, OFFICE FORCE, JANITORS
EDUCATIONAL WORKERS I.U. 620 TEACHERS, OFFICE HELP, JANITORS
RECREATIONAL WORKERS I.U. 630 PLAYGROUNDS, THEATRES
RESTAURANT, HOTEL & BUILDING SERVICE WORKERS I.U. 640
MOTOR TRANSPORT I.U. 530 LONG DISTANCE BUS & TRUCK INDUSTRY
RAILROAD WORKERS INDUSTRIAL UNION 520 CREWS, SHOPS, YARDS, OFFICE
MARINE TRANSPORT I.U. 510 LONGSHOREMEN, SAILORS, CLERKS
PARK & HIGHWAY MAINTENANCE WORKERS I.U. 650 CEMETERIES, PARKS, STREET CLEANING, TRAFFIC SIGNALS
GEN. DISTRIBUTION WORKERS I.U. 660 CLERKS, PACKERS, DRIVERS, SALES FORCE, ETC.
PUBLIC SERVICE WORKERS I.U. 670 GAS & POWER PLANTS, WATER WORKS, ETC.
MUNICIPAL TRANSPORT I.U. 540 STREET CAR, BUS, SUBWAY, TAXI, OFFICE HELP
AIR TRANSPORT I.U. 550 ALL IN AIR SERVICE & MAINTENANCE
COMMUNICATION I.U. 560 ALL IN POSTAL, RA., TELEPHONE, TELEGRAPH, TELEVISION
INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD
I W W
GENERAL ADMINISTRATION

DEPARTMENT No. 100
Agriculture and Fisheries

Agricultural Workers Industrial Union No. 110

All workers on farms, ranches, orchards, cotton and sugar plantations. All workers engaged in the raising of cattle, livestock, an fowl, bird, dairy farms, etc.

Lumber Workers' Industrial Union No. 120

All workers in forests; (rangers, foresters, etc.). All workers engaged in lumbering operations, in saw and shingle mills, and preparing wood for fuel and manufacturing purposes; collectors of sap, bark, etc.

Fishery Workers' Industrial Union No. 130

All workers in fishery and fishing pursuits on oceans, lakes and rivers; oyster and clam-bed keepers. All workers engaged in collecting pearls, corals and sponges, etc.

Floricultural Workers' Industrial Union No. 140

All workers engaged in nurseries, hothouses, etc., mainly devoted to flower production, in the distribution of flowers, in landscape gardening, etc.

DEPARTMENT No. 200
Mining and Minerals

Metal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 210

All workers engaged in mining of gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, platinum, iron, etc., etc., in mills, smelters, refineries, and other reduction works. This division also includes quarry workers, such as those engaged in mining of salt, sulphur, clay, mica, bromida, graphite, soda, gypsum, asphalt, limestone, sandstone, granite, etc. All precious gems, salines, salt and soda dry works, etc.

Coal Mine Workers' Industrial Union No. 220

All workers engaged in coal mining, lignite, anthracite, bituminous, etc. in the production of coke, peat and turf, and in the distribution of these products.

Oil Workers' Industrial Union No. 230

All workers engaged in the production of oil, and in refineries, gas wells, filters, etc., and in the distribution of these products.

DEPARTMENT No. 300
Construction

General Construction Workers' Industrial Union No. 310

All workers engaged in the construction of highways, streets, railroads, docks, bridges, subways, sewers, tunnels, levees, canals, viaducts, air fields, dams, irrigation ditches, etc.

Shipbuilding Workers' Industrial Union No. 320

All workers engaged in the building and repairing of ships, launches, boats of all kinds, dry dock workers, etc.

Building Contsruction Workers' Industrial Union No. 330

All workers engaged in the erection and construction of buildings and the direct supply of building materials; or in their repair except maintenance workers.

DEPARTMENT No. 400
Manufacture and General Production

Textile and Clothing Workers' Industrial Union No. 410

a) All workers engaged in the manufacture of threads, yarns of fabrics, or in dyeing them, or in the manufacture of knitted wears, or of synthetic substitutes.

b) All workers engaged in the manufacture of garments, including sewn clothing, gloves, hats, caps, furs, etc. and in the supply of their accessories.

c) All workers producing other textile products, as cotton belting, rope, awnings, etc.

d) All workers employed in laundries, cleaning and dyeing establishments, and the repair of garments, etc.

Furniture Workers' Industrial Union No. 420

All workers employed in (a) planing mills, molding factories etc. not attached to sawmills; or (b) the production of furniture, whether of wood or other materials, including pianos, organs, etc., bowling and billiard equipment, and most sporting goods; phonographs, radios, etc.

Chemical Workers' Industrial Union No. 430

a) All workers engaged in the manufacture and distribution of drugs, medicines, perfumes and kindred products.

b) All workers in the production of rubber goods and synthetic substitutes, etc.; and in the distribution of these products.

c) All workers engaged in the production of explosives and their allied products, and the production of industrial Chemicals, etc.

Metal and Machinery Workers' Industrial Union No. 440

a) All workers engaged in steel mills, blast furnaces, rolling mills, tin-plate mills, etc.

b) All workers engaged in the production of machinery including electrical equipment, locomotives, autos, airplanes, industrial and household equipment, etc.

c) All workers engaged in the production of sheets, tubes, castings, etc. of non-ferrous metals.

d) All workers engaged in making household utensils, watches and clocks or musical and scientific instruments.

Printing and Publishing Workers' Industrial Union No. 450

a) Al lworkers engaged in the production and direct distribution of newspapers and other periodicals, whether employed in the editorial, art, business or mechanical departments.

b) All workers employed in other printing establishments, in concerns printing periodicals for their publishers, and in allied work as photo-engraving, book-binding, etc.

Foodstuff Workers' Industrial Union No. 460

All workers engaged in the manfacture of foods, as in

a) meat and fish packing plants;

b) canneries;

c) sugar refineries;

d) cheese and condensed milk factories, and dairies; including their distribution workers;

e) flour, cereal and feed mills;

f) bakeries and biscuit factories, confectioners;

g) breweries, wineries, distilleries, and plants producing carbonated and other beverages, and workers engaged in the direct distribution of these or allied products as yeast, malt, etc..

h) tobacco factories;

i) establishments for preparing and packaging teas, coffees, spices and other groceries.

Leather Workers' Industrial Union No. 470

All workers engaged in (a) tanneries, etc., (b) in making boots, shoes, and harness; (c) in the production of trunks, bags, belts and all other leather goods.

Pulp and Paper Mill Workers' Industrial Union No. 490

All workers engaged in (a) pulp and paper mills, (b) in making paper containers, etc.

DEPARTMENT No. 500

Transportation and Communication

Marine Transport Workers Industrial Union No. 510

a) All workers engaged in loading and unloading of vessels.

b) All workers engaged in the operation of ocean, river, lake and harbor crafts. This includes all workers, in all departments aboard ships.

c) All workers on docks, wharves, etc.

Railroad Workers' Industrial Union No. 520

All workers employed by railroads in the operation of their service whether they operate trains, repair and clean rolling stock, maintain the roadbed and equipment, work in the office, or watch at a crossing.

Motor Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 530

All workers engaged in general trucking and inter-urban bus-lines, including the warehouses, garages, etc. incident to this industry. (Note: The truckdriver employed by a factory or store belongs in the industrial union of his fellow employees.)

Municipal Transportation Workers'

Industrial Union No. 540

All workers employed in streetcar, bus, elevated, or subway service; taxi drivers, and any truckers or draymen, etc., not attached to specific industries.

Air Transport Workers' Industrial Union No. 550

All workers employed in the maintenance of this service, whether in its direct operation, in repairs and maintenance of airfields and equipment, in offices or attendant services.

Communication Workers' Industrial Union No. 560

All workers engaged in communication service, such as postal, telephone, telegraph, radio, television, etc., and the maintenance of the same.

DEPARTMENT No. 600

Public Service

Health Service Workers' Industrial Union No. 610

a) All workers employed by hospitals, sanatoria, etc., including physicians, attendants, clerks, janitors, etc.

b) All workers employed by bath and massage establishments, barbers, beauticians, etc.

c) All workers employed in sanitation, garbage disposals, etc.

Educational Workers' Industrial Union No. 620

All workers engaged by institutions of learning, schools, college, libraries, museums, research, services, etc.

Recreation Workers' Industrial Union No. 630

a) All workers engaged in the production of motion pictures, (actors, mechanics, etc.) or in the operation of motion picture theatres; and all workers engaged in other theatres as actors, singers, musicians, stage-hands, ushers, etc.

b) All wage-earning musicians not otherwise classified.

c) All workers at amusement parks, circuses, and other places of recreation.

Hotel, Restaurant, and Building Service Workers' Iidustrial Union No. 640

a) All employees of restaurants, hotels, public cafeterias, etc.

b) All domestic help.

c) All workers engaged in maintenance, servicing and cleaning of office buildings, apartment houses, etc.

Park and Highway Maintenance Workers' Industrial Union No. 660

a) All employees in stores, warehouses, wholesale establishments including delivery service.

b) All employees of banks, insurance copanies, etc.

c) All wage earners engaged in general salvage and junking.

Public Service Workers' Industrial Union No. 670

All workers employed in such services as water supply, gas and power plants, central heating plants, and similar public services.

A DEPARTMENTEK MAGYAR NEVEI:

DEPARTMENT No. 100

Földmüvelés és Halászat.

110 — Földmüvelő munkások ipari unionja.

Magában foglalja a farmokon és az állattenyésztésben, továbbá a gyümölcstermelésnél, a gyapotföldeken, cukormezőkön alkalmazott öszszes munkásokat. Ide tartoznak mindazon munkások, akik marhatenyésztéssel, majorsággal, tejtermeléssel, stb. foglalkoznak.

120 — Erdőirtó munkások Ipari Szervezete

Az erdők kitermelésén foglalkoztatott tösszes munkások — a fü-

részmalmok, zsindelykészitők, tüzifán dolgozók, kéreg feldolgozók, fanedveket szedők, stb. szervezete.

130 — Halászati Ipari Szervezet

A halászattal foglalkozó összes munkások szervezete, akár a tengeren, tavakon vagy folyókon végzik munkájukat. Ide tartoznak az ojster, a klam és a gyöngyhalászok is.

140 — Kertészeti Ipari Munkások Szervezete.

Faiskolákban, melegházakban, gyümölcs, virág vagy zöldség kertészetben alkalmazott munkások, továbbá az ily termékek szétosztásával foglalkozó munkások szervezete.

DEPARTMENT No. 200
Bányászati Department

210 — Ércbányászok Ipari Szervezete

Ide tartoznak mindazon munkások, akik arany, ezüst, réz ólom, zink, ón, platina, vas, stb. érc bányában dolgoznak, továbbá akik az olvasztók és finomitók munkáját végzik. Ide tartoznak továbbá azon munkások is, akik só, kő, kén, borax, agyag, mica, grafit, szóda, aszfalt, gipsz, mészkő, márvány, pala, épitőkövek, stb. stb. bányakban dolgoznak, sőt még a drágakövek bányászói is.

220 — Szénbányászok Ipari Szervezete.

Ide tartoznak az összes szénbányászok, akár kemény (antracite), akár puha (bituminous) széntelepeken dolgoznak. Ugy szintén ebbe a szervezetbe tartoznak a kox munkások, a tőzeg és turf gyüjtők, stb. is.

230 — Olaj Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

Mindazon munkások, akik az olaj előállitásán, akár az olaj forrásoknál, akár a finomitóknál, avagy az olaj szétosztásánál nyernek alkalmazást.

DEPARTMENT No. 300
Épitkezések.

310 — Általános Épitőmunkások Ipari Szervezete.

Utak, uccák, kikötők, vasutak, hidak, alagutak, csatornák, repülőterek, gátak, öntöző zsilipek, stb. épitésénél dolgozók szervezete.

320 — Hajóépitő Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

A hajók épitésénél és javitásánál alkalmazott összes munkások ide tartoznak.

330 — Házépitő Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

Ide tartoznak mindazon munkások, akik az épületek épitésén dolgoznak, vagy akik az ily épitkezésekhez az épitő anyagokat szolgáltatják.

DEPARTMENT No. 400
Gyári és általános termelés.

410 — Textil és Ruhaipari Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

a) Mindazon munkások, akik cérnák, fonalak, pamutok gyártásával vagy festésével foglalkoznak, továbbá akik a kötött vagy szintatik textil áruk készitésénél dolgoznak.

b) Ruhák varrásánál foglalkozók, továbbá keztyüsök, kalaposok, szücsök és az idevágó kellékeken dolgozó munkások szervezete.

c) Másféle gyapot árun, mint például kötelek, ernyők, stb. dolgozó munkások csoportja.

d) Ebben a csoportba tartoznak a mosodák és tisztitók alkalmazottai, továbbá a ruhák javitásán dolgozók is.

420 — Butorkészitők Ipari Szervezete.

Ide tartoznak mindazon munkások, akik a fafeldolgozó telepeken, továbbá butorgyárakban dolgoznak, beleértve a zongora és egyéb fahangszerek és a sport készülékek gyártóit is.

430 — Vegyi Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

a) Orvosságok, vegyiszerek és parfümök készitői és szétosztói.

b) Ugy a természetes mint a mügumin dolgozó összes munkások és azok, akik az ily áruk szétosztásával dolgoznak.

c) Robbanó anyagok és ipari célra használt vegyi anyagokon dolgozó munkások, stb.

440 — Fém és Gépipari Munkáso Ipari Szervezete.

a) Acélgyárak, kohók, drótgyárak, lemezkészitő gyárak stb. összes munkásai.

b) Mindazon munkások, akik gépek készitésével foglalkoznak, beleértve a villany felszerelést is, továbbá a motórok, vasuti mozdonyok, automobilok, repülőgépek, házfelszerelési készülékek, stb. készitői is.

c) A vason kivül más fémek és ötvények készitői, ily fémek feldolgozói tartoznak ebbe a csoportba.

d) Házi eszközök, mint edények, órák, zeneszerek és egyéb, tudományos eszközök készitőinek csoportja.

450 — Nyomdai Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

a) Ujságok és folyóiratok készitésénél és szétosztásánál alkalmazott összes munkások, akár mechanikai munkát végeznek, avagy szerkesztési, müvészeti, vagy üzleti stb. munkakörük van.

b) Mindenféle más nyomdákban és nyomdákat anyagokkal ellátó iparágakban dolgozó munkások csoportja.

460 — Élelmiszer Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

Idetartoznak az alábbi munkakört betöltő munkások:

a) Hus és halpácolás

b) Gyümölcs kannázás

c) Cukor finomitás

d) Sajtkészités, tej konzerválás, stb.

e) Liszt és cereal készités

f) Pékek és cukrászok

g) Sörfőzés, borkészités, szeszfőzés, stb.

h) Dohánygyártás

i) Tea, kávé és egyéb füszerek elkészitése és szétosztása.

470 — Bőráru késziték Ipari Szervezete.

Ide tartoznak mindazon munkások, akik az alábbi munkáknál dolgoznak.

a) Timárság, bőr kikészités

b) Cipők, csizma és lószerszám készités

c) Szijak, táskák és egyéb bőráruk készitése.

480 — Üveg és Cserépedény készitők Ipari Szervezete.

Ehez a szervezethez tartoznak azon munkások, akik

a) Az üvegáru készitésénél

b) Cserépedény kszitésénél

c) Cement telepeken, téglagyárakban és a terra-cotta munkáknál dolgoznak.

490 — Papirkészitő Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

Ide tartoznak a papirgyárakban dolgozó összes munkások.

DEPARTMENT No. 500

510 — Tengerhajózási Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

a) Hajók be és kirakásánál dolgozó munkások

b) Tengeri, tavi vagy folyami hajókon alkalmazott összes munkások.

c) Kikötőben, rakpartokon alkalmazott összes munkások.

520 — Vasuti Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

A vasutasok szolgálatában álló összes munkások ide tartoznak, tekintet nélkül arra, hogy vajjon a vonatok üzemben tartásánál, avagy a reperálásnál, tisztogatásnál, uttest javitásnál, stb. végzik a munkájukat.

530 — Motor Szállitó Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

Trukszállitásnál, autobus vonalaknál és azokkal kapcsolatos raktároknál és garázsoknál alkalmazott munkások szervezete. (Azonban valamely gyár által alkalmazott trukhajtó azon ipari szervezethez tartozik, amelynek körébe esik maga a gyár, amelynek alkalmazottja)

540 — Közuti Alkalmazottak Ipari Szervezete.

Ide tartoznak mindazon munkások, akik községi villamosvonalak, bus vonalak szolgálatában állnak, továbbá a bérkocsisok, akik nem tartoznak más iparokhoz.

550 — Légszállitó Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

Ide tartoznak a repülés és a repülőtelepek szolgálatában álló összes munkások, akár a repülőgépek direkt operációjában, akár az irodákban, a fentartásban, javitásban, stb. nyernek is alkalmazást.

560 — Közlekedési Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

Ezen szervezethez tartoznak mindazon munkások, akik a posta, táviró, telefón, rádió, televisió, stb. szolgálatában állnak, azon közlekedési eszközök részére bármilyen munkát is végeznek.

DEPARTMENT No. 600
Közszolgálat.

610 — Egészségügyi alkalmazottak Ipari Szervezete.

a) Kórházak, szanatóriumok, stb. összes alkalmazottai, beleértve az orvosokat, ápolókat, irodai munkásokat, házmestereket, stb.

b) Fürdők, masszirozó intézetek munkásai, borbélyok, fodrászok, stb.

c) Uccatisztogatók és általában a köztisztaság fentartásánál alkalmazott munkások.

620 — Nevelésügyi alkalmazottak Ipari Szervezete.

Ide tartoznak az iskolák, könyvtárak, muzeumok és hasonló intézetek alkalmazottai.

630 — Szórakoztató Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

a) Szinházak és mozgókép vállalatok összes alkalmazottai, ugy a szinészek, mint a zenészek és szinpadi munkások, stb.

b) Bérért dolgozó zenészek, akik nem tartoznak semmi üzemhez.

c) Parkok, cirkuszok és egyéb szórakozási helyek alkalmazottai.

640 — Szállodai és Vendéglői Alkalmazottak Ipari Szervezete.

a) Szállodák, vendéglők, kafeteriák, stb. összes alkalmazottai.

b) Házi alkalmazottak

c) Apartment épületek, irodaépületek alkalmazottai, tisztántartói stb.

650 — Park és Utmunkások Ipari Szervezete.

Ide tartoznak mindazon munkások ,akik a parkok, az utak, temetők, állat és növénykertek, golf pályák, stb. alkalmazottai.

660 — Általános Elosztással foglalkozó Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

Ide tartoznak:

a) Üzletek, raktárok, nagykereskedők munkásai.

b) Bankok és biztositó társulatok alkalmazottai.

c) A hirdető ipar munkásai.

d) Ócska holmi összeszedésével foglalkozók.

670 — Közszolgálati Munkások Ipari Szervezete.

Viz és gázmüvek munkásai, továbbá központi fütést nyujtó és hasonló intézmények alkalmazottai tartoznak ebbe a csoportba.

Mindenki, aki valamely hasznos munkát végez, megtalálhatja a helyét az itt felsorolt ipari szervezetek valamelyikében. Megtalálhatja helyét és egyben olyan viszonyba juthat munkástársaival, hogy ugy a saját, mint az összesség érdekeit a leghathatósabban tudja szolgálni.

A felületes szemlélőnek ugy tetszik, hogy egyes ipari szervezetek igen széles kört ölelnek fel, például az, ahol együtt találjuk a rézöntőde és az óragyár munkásait. Azonban ujból megjegyezzük, hogy ez a szervezeti forma további alsóbb osztályozódást enged ott, ahol arra szükség van. Ez a tagozódás lemegy egészen a mühelyszervezetig. Minden mühely megalkotja a saját mühelyszervezetét, ahol azon mühelynek az ügyeit intézik. Amint a szervezet növekedése szükségessé teszi, a jelenlegi igen széles kört átfogó ipari szervezetek ujabb alosztályokra osztódnak, de mindig megtartják **ipari jellegüket.** Igy például a kórházban az orvosokon és ápolókon kivül dolgoznak mosónők, kertészek, asztalosok, festők, stb. azonban mindannyian ogyanazon unionhoz tartóznak.

De tegyük fel, hogy a kórházakban dolgozó laundry munkások tárgyalni akarnak a többi laundry munkásokkal a mosoda iparra vonatkozólag, hogy például valamilyen átlagos béreket és munkaviszonyokat érjenek el. Az I.W.W. keretében ezt is megtehetik, mert választhatnak bármilyen bizottságot, amelyek az ily munkát végzik.

Az I.W.W. One Big Unionjában a legfontosabb szabály az, hogy mindig a tagság akarata érvényesüljön.

Gyakorlati előnyök.

Az Industrial Workers of the World megalakitói nagy sulyt helyeztek arra, hogy olyan szervezetet alakitsanak, amely a mindennapi megélhetésért folyó harcok alatt a leghathatósabban szolgálja a munkások érdekeit. Tekintettel voltak tehát nemcsak arra, hogy mely munkásokat csoportositják az ipari szervezetekben, hanem feleletet igyekeztek adni az ilyen kérdésekre: Mely munkások kerülnek együvé kollektiv egyezkedésnél? a sztrájkoknál? stb. Például az erdőirtó munkások részére főző szakács ugyanazt a munkát végzi, mint a városi vendéglőben dolgozó szakács, azonban a munkabérekre és munkaviszonyokra vonatkozó követeléseinek csak ugy szerezhet érvényt, ha azt együtt harcolja ki azon erdei munkásokkal, akik számára főz, valahol az erdőirtó telepen. Nyilvánvaló, hogy ily esetben a szakmák szerinti szervezkedésnek semmi értelme sem volna.

A szétosztást szolgáló különböző iparokban a józan ész megmutatja a helyes szervezkedést. Nézzük például a gazolin állomások munkásainak a szervezését. Az olyan állomások munkásai, akik csupán egy társaság gazolinjának a szétosztásával foglalkoznak, természetesen helyesen teszik, ha az ipari szervezeten belül külön csoportot is alkotnak, mert egy-egy állomás munkásainak bérköveteléseit támogathatják azon cég összes munkásai. Azonban az olajat szállitó hajókon dolgozó munkásokat, noha szintén az olaj szétosztásában nyernek alkalmazást, helyesebb a többi hajós munkásokkal beszervezni, igy sztrájk esetén egyetlen hajós sem érinti a "forró olajat."

Azonban az olyan ipartelepeken, mühelyekben vagy kereskedelmi házakban, ahol a reláció nem olyan közeli, legalkalmasabb a munkásokat egy ipari szervezetbe szervezni, akár áruházakban, gyógyszertárakban, ruhaüzletekben, grocery üzletekben, stb. dolgoznak is. A fő az, hogy mindezen munkásokat együvé hozza és akcióban egyesiti az EGY NAGY SZERVEZET.

De a ONE BI GUNION összetartja nemcsak a rokon szakmákban vagy iparokban dolgozókat, hanem az összes munkásokat, akik a szervezethez csatlakoztak. Ilyen összekötő kapocs hiánya sok zavart okoz más szervezetekben.

Az I.W.W. erősen kihangsulyozza, hogy az ipari szervezetekben való megosztás nem állit falat a munkások közé. Az I.W.W.-hoz tartozó ipari szervezetek minden egyes tagja egyben tagja magának az anyaszervezetnek is, amelynek ügyeibe nemcsak beleszólása de szavazati joga is van. Az I.W.W.-ban a tagok direkt választják tisztviselőiket. Munkakör változtatás esetén az ipari szervezet ingyenesen átutalja az ily tagjait a megfelelő másik ipari szervezethez. Az I.W.W. tagjának felszólalási joga van minden I.W.W. gyülésen, szavazati joggal azonban csak a saját ipari szervezetében és az egyetemes szervezet ügyeiben élhet. Ugyanez áll a mühely szervezetekre vonatkozólag is. A mühely szervezetek gyülésein is csak az abban a mühelyben dolgozó munkásoknak van szavazati joguk.

Az Industrial Workers of the World szervezeténél a legfőbb irányadó elv az, hogy a tagság akarata érvényesüljön. Azért ugy a mühely szervezetek, mint az ipari szervezetek megalkotják a saját szabályaikat, amelyek természetesen nem állhatnak ellentétben az egyetemes szervezet szabályaival.

Az I.W.W. nem egyszerü federációja a különböző ipari szervezeteknek. Modern ipari életünkben az összes munkák annyira egymásra utaltak, hogy azt magában a munkások szervezkedési módjában is követni kell. Ennek megfelelőleg az I.W.W. ipari szervezetei integrális részét képezik magának az egyetemes szervezetnek. Ez kizárja azt, hogy a szervezetek között felmerüljenek az ugynevezett "zsuriszdikcionális" harcok a munkaalkalmakért.

Ipari Department

Az I.W.W. a rokon iparokat Ipari Departmentekben foglalja össze. Ennek előnyös volta könnyen észlelhető különösen az olyan iparokban, mint például a szállitási ipar. A szállitás eszközei ma a vasut, autobuszok, trukkok, repülőgépek, stb. Ha ezen iparok munkásai az ipari szervezeten kivül még egy közös ipari departmenet is alkotnak, akkor bérharcok esetén elejét vehetik annak, hogy egyik csoporttal végeztetik el azt a munkát, amelyen a másik csoport sztrájkba ment. Mondjuk, hogy a vasutasok sztrájkolnak, mire a személy és teher szállitást átutalják az autobuszokra és a truckkokra. Ezt megtehetik a munkáltatók akkor, ha a vasutasok és az autobusz és truck hajtók között semmi szervezeti kapocs sincs. Az ipari departmenten keresztül azonban nagyon hatásosan visszaverhetik az ilyen támadást.

A szállitó munkások kezében olyan nagy hatalom van, hogy mondhatjuk, kezükben tartják az emberiség sorsát. Gondoljuk csak meg, hogy mekkora szenvedéstől menthették volna meg az emberiséget, ha helyesen szervezkedtek volna és megtagadták volna a fasizta államok részére való szállitást, vagy mindazon államok részére, amelyek szállitó munkásai hasonló módon nem cselekedtek volna? Kitünő befektetés lett volna a munkásság részéről megfizetni azon szállitó munkások elvesztett béreit, akik az ily elvi álláspont következtében munkanélkül maradtak volna, igy az emberiségre nagyon jó dolgot lehetett volna elérni anélkül, hogy az egyesek nagyon megsinylették volna.

Avagy gondoljuk meg, hogy a munkáltatók mennyire elvesztenék kedvüket a sztrájktörők felfogadásától, ha a sztrájktörők által készitett árukat a szállitó munkások nem szállitanák. Ime ez a gyakorlati példája annak, hogy ha a munkások összetartanak, akkor legyőzhetlenek.

És valóban, az I.W.W. alapeszméjét ez a gondolat adja vissza legjobban: oly módon való egyesitése a munkásságnak, hogy legyőzhetlenek legyenek. Másszóval kifejezve, az Industrial Workers of the World **a munkásszolidaritás kifejezője.**

A munkások között nagyon gyakran halljuk ezt a kifejezést, — különösen ha szervezkedésre szóllitjuk fel őket: " Az union elég jó dolog, csak az a baj, hogy a munkások nem tartanak össze!" Ugy tartjuk, hogy ennek az állitásnak semmi alapja sincs. Nagyon sok esetben láttuk, hogy a munkásokban meg volt az akarat az összetartásra, de képtelenek voltak arra a hibás szervezkedési mód miatt. Láttuk már sokszor, hogy a szakszervezetek miként **tiltották** el tagjaikat attól, hogy összetartsanak.

Az anyagoknál is sokszor a formától függ, hogy milyen célra használhatók. Az irógép meg a varrógép egyformán acél vagy más fémdarabokból készül, azonban a forma az, amely megadja ezen fémdaraboknak, hogy speciális célt szolgáljanak. Ugyanazon munkások a laza szövetséget alkotó munkásszervezetben nem tudnak elérni olyan eredményeket, mint az egységes One Big Unionban. És amig a laza szövetségekben talán nem tartanak össze, addig összetartanak abban az Egy Nagy Szervezetben, amelyet éppen ezen összetartásra alakitottak.

A mai modern iparok hozták létre az I.W.W.-t, amelynek szerkezeti formáját az alábbi alapvető tények szabták meg:

1) A műhely, vagy "job" szervezetbe tartoznak az ugyanazon munkán dolgozó összes munkások szakmájukra való tekintet nélkül.

2) Ugyanazon ipar összes munkásai betartoznak az ipari szervezetekbe.

3) Az ipari szervezetek összes tagjai betartoznak az egész munkásosztályra kiterjedő Egy Nagy Szervezetbe.

4) Munkacserélés esetén minden tag jogosult az ingyenes áthelyezésre azon ipari szervezethez, amelynek iparában munkát nyert. Aki tehát egyszer belép az Egy Nagy Szervezetbe, mindig tagja marad, bármilyen iparban nyer is alkalmazást.

5) A munkásmozgalom egyik része se végezzen munkát a sztrájktörők által készitett árucikkeken, avagy szolgáltasson anyagot vagy munkát sztrájkok esetén, ne lépjen át sztrájk örvonalat és általában még közvetve se segitsen más munkáscsoportok küzdelmének letörésén.

Ily szerkezeti forma teszi a munkásosztályt legyőzhetetlenné.

Demokrácia az I.W.W.-ban.

Az I.W.W. végcélja az IPARI DEMOKRÁCIA megalkotása. Ezt a célt szolgáló gyakorlati ténykedésnél két irányelvet követ, ezek: SZOLIDARITÁS és DEMOKRÁCIA MAGÁBAN A SZERVEZETBEN.

Szükséges kerülni minden olyasmit ,ami a munkásosztálynak, mint **osztálynak** az egységét sérti. De éppen olyan fontosnak tartjuk, hogy ne az union intézkedjen a tagsággal, hanem forditva, a tagság az unionnal. Ha egy ilyen szervezetből, mint az I.W.W. kihagynánk a demokráciát, akkor könnyen a fasizmus eszközévé válhatna. Hitler és Mussolini is szükségesnek tartották a munkásság szoros egyesitését, de nem demokratikus, hanem éppen ellenkezőleg, autokratikus alapon. Ezért aztán az olyan munkásszervezet csak a parancsolók érdekeit szolgálja. A demokrácián alapuló One Big Union azonban, amellyel a tagság rendelkezik, csak a munkásosztály érdekeit szolgálhatja.

Az I.W.W. minden lehetőt megtett arra, hogy ez a szervezet megmaradjon demokratikusnak és ne kerüljön demagógok vagy autokraták hatalmába. Ilyirányu intézkedések a következők:

1. Egyetlen tisztviselő sem választható egy évnél hosszabb időtartamra.

2. Egyetlen tisztviselő sem vá-

lasztható egyhuzamban két terminusnál több időre.

3. Minden tisztviselőt referendum utján választanak. Ily választásoknál minden jótálló tag szavazatra jogosult. Minden tag választó a mühely szervezetben, ahol dolgozik; az ipari szervezetében és végre az egyetemes tisztviselők megválasztásánál.

4. Minden tisztviselő szavazati többség utján állásából elmozditható.

5. Az egész vonalon mindig a **választás** és **nem** kinevezés az irányadó.

Nem kell a "check-off" rendszer.

Az I.W.W.-nál az üzleti ügyek intézésénél is a demokrácia az irányitó. A pénztár felettr rendelkezés mindig a tagság kezében van. Ezért nem kell az I.W.W.-nak a "check-off" rendszer, amelynél a munkáltató levonja az union tagsági dijakat a munkások béreiből és átadja az union tisztviselőknek. Ily esetben a tisztviselőknek sok alkalmuk nyilik arra, hogy a tagsággal ne tudassák a valódi pénztári forgalmat. Az I.W.W.-nál ugy a felvételi, mint a havidijakat a delegátusok szedik be, akik együtt dolgoznak a munkán a többi tagokkal. Igy egyben ellenőrzik a tagokat, hogy jótállók-e? De ugyanakkor ellenőrzik az union pénztárnokát is, ugy a bevételnél, mint a kiadásoknál, — szóval a pénztár teljesen a tagság ellenőrzése alatt áll.

Egy másik előnye a tagsági dij ily szedésének a "check-off" rendszerrel szemben, hogy az ily rendszernél a tisztviselők, delegátusok állandóan érintkeznek a tagsággal. A "check off" rendszernél a legtöbb tag csak abból tudja, hogy unionhoz tartozik, hogy havonként lefogják a tagsági dijat a fizetéséből és azt a fizetési boritékon látja. A tagdijat fizető munkásnak alkalma van a tisztviselőknek felemliteni a panaszát, ha annak szükségét látja.

Az I.W.W.-ban semmiféle assessmentet (kivetést) nem lehet eszközölni referendum jóváhagyás nélkül. A tartalék pénzállományt decentralizálva tartják, részben az osztályoknál, részben az ipari szervezetek és részben az Egyetemes Szervezet pénztárában.

A One Big Union keretén belüli demokrácia további megerősitését célozzák az alábbi irányelvek is:

1. A tisztviselők fizetése ne legyen nagyobb, mint amennyit átlagosan keresnek azon munkások, akiket képviselnek. Pénzügyi müveletekről hivatalos könyvet kell vezetni, amelyet az ellenőrző bizottság havonként átvizsgál. A kiadásokat pontosan meg kell nevezni és nem lehet "általános kiadások" neve alatt elkönyvelni. Ezen intézkedések távoltartják a szervezettől azokat akik a pénzszerzés céljából csatlakoznak a munkás szervezetekhez.

2. A tisztviselők csak a tagság akaratának a végrehajtói. Sztrájkot nem rendelhetnek el, vagy nem szüntethetnek be az érdekelt munkások többségi szavazata nélkül. Munkáltatóval csak a mühelybizottságok jelenlétében tárgyalhatnak. Ez az elv kiküszöböli a munkásokkal kereskedni akaró, ugynevezett graftereket.

3. Az I.W.W. egyetlen politikai párt akcióját sem támogatja. Ezzel elejét veszi annak, hogy a politikai pártok civakodó területévé váljék.

Vallás és politika.

Az union a munkások gazdasági szervezete, gazdasági érdekeik védelmére és előbbvitelére. Azért az ily szervezetek helyes elvi iránya az, hogy nem indorszálnak sem vallást, sem politikai pártot vagy azok jelöltjeit. A vallás vagy a politikai nézetek nem union ügyek, azokat intézze el minden tag a saját belátá-

sa szerint. A gazdasági szervezet ipari kérdésekre vonatkozó határozatokat hoz, azoknak végrehajtására törekszik. Azonban ha a tagok egymással veszekszenek a politikai vagy vallási kérdések fölött ,akkor tönkreteszik erejüket, amellyel a gazdasági határozataiknak érvényt tudnának szerezni.

Ennek megfelelőleg az I.W.W. nem vallásos és nem politikai szervezet, de egyben nem is törődik azzal, hogy tagjai milyen valláshoz vagy politikai párthoz tartoznak, hanem egyesiti mindannyiukat a közös célra, munkás érdekeik megvédésére.

Ez természetesen nem jelenti azt, hogy az I.W.W. közömbösen viselkedik napjaink nagy eseményeivel szemben. Éppen ellenkezőleg! Sőt éppen azt tartjuk, hogy mi praktikus megoldást ajánlunk azon problémákra. Igy például, amikor az iparokat a munkások fogják irányitani, nem lesz többé munkanélküliség, nem lesz alkalom a háborukra, a nagymérvü bünözésre, stb. Az I.W.W. által épitett szervezet segélyével a munkások képesek lesznek eliminálni a politikusok ármánykodásait, igy elérik azt, amit a politikai kijárások révén meg sem közelitettek.

Manapság a törvényhozó testületek a törvények készitésénél mindig a hatalmasok felé néznek. A hatalmasok érdekében hozott törvényeket aztán ráerőszakolják a munkásságra. Nem-e sokkal praktikusabb lenne, ha a munkások maguk hoznák meg azon törvényeket, amelyek szerint élni akarnak? A One Big Union olyan hatalmassá teszi a munkásokat, hogy akkor a törvényeket az ő érdekeikben hozzák.

Olyan szervezet felépitésénél, mint a One Big Union soha sem mondják, hogy már elég tagunk van s egyidőre lezárjuk a könyveinket, — vagyis nem veszünk fel több tagot. A One Big Union ezt munkásosztály ellenes eljárásnak tartja. Ugyancsak ily célból nem törődik azzal, hogy kinek milyen a szine, a nemzetisége, a nyelve, stb. Addig, amig hasznos munkát végeznek, helyük van az Egy Nagy Szervezetben.

A One Big Unionban mindig a többség határozata a döntő, amelynek mindenki engedelmeskedik. Éppen azért csak ipari kérdésekben hoznak határozatokat és nem törődnek a nem gazdasági kérdésekkel, mint például, hogy melyik templomba menjenek azon tagok, akik éppen menni akarnak, avagy kire szavaznak, kivel kössenek barátságot, stb. Az ilyen dolgokról azt tartja az Egy Nagy Szervezet, hogy azok teljesen a tagok magánügyei, amibe a szervezetnek semmi beleszólása sincs.

Hatásos Union

Az Egy Nagy Szervezet a szolidaritás és a demokrácia elvek alapján épült. Ez a két elv azonban egyben nagyon hatásossá teszi a szervezetet. Hatásossá teszi, mert hiszen a tagság összes erejét egyesiti. Mindennek a hatásfokát meg lehet mérni. Az Egy Nagy Szervezet hatásfokát az elért eredmények és az értük fizetett ár összehasonlitása mutatja. Egy legyet nagyon hatásosan agyon lehet ütni a gőzkalapáccsal. Azonban a gőzkalapács mozgásba hozatala olyan költséges, hogy az elért eredmény nem ér annyit. A hatásfok akkor magas, ha a legnagyobb eredményt a legkisebb költséggel tudjuk elérni.

Hogy az I.W.W. valóban ilyen hatásos szervezet, azt mi sem bizonyitja jobban, mint az, hogy dacára kis számu tagságának, a munkáltatók rendkivül támadják, mert félnek tőle. Hatásfokát növeli az, hogy a szervezet irányitása teljesen a tagság kezében van. Vannak, akik azt állitják, hogy a demokrácia a hatásos müködés megölője. Az ipari unionizmus megcáfolja ezt az állitást. Azonban annyi tény, hogy ha valamit el akarunk érni, akkor azt a valamit célunkul kell kitüzni és aztán nyilegyenesen feléje kell tartanunk. Midőn az union irányitása a tagság kezéből kiesik, egyesek kezébe kerül, akkor azok sok esetben irányt változtatnak s nem csoda, hogy nem érnek közelebb az eredetileg kitüzött célhoz.

De azonkivül minél több tag vesz részt az union ügyeinek irányitásában, annál nagyobb erőt nyer az a szervezet. Munkásharcokat nem lehet megnyerni csupán csak tagdijak fizetésével. A tagdijak szükségesek az union költségeinek a fedezésére, de bérharcokat csak az ily harcokban aktivan résztvevő tagokkal lehet nyerni. De magán a munkán is csak a tagok ébersége óvhatja meg a már kivivott eredményeket és nem a "business agent", vagy valamilyen más, az ipartelepen nem dolgozó union tisztviselő. Azon elv, hogy a munkások maguk, közvetlenül és nem csak mások utján közvetve, vegyenek részt a szervezeti ügyek irányitásában és intézésében, teszi hatásossá az Egy Nagy Szervezetet.

És végre az I.W.W. kebelében müködő egyes osztályoknak vagy csoportoknak az önbizalma, saját erejüknek tudata és igy a tagság müködése teszik az általunk elért eredményeket a legkevésbé költségessé. Elmondhatjuk, hogy az I.W.W. ugy épült, mint az emberi kéz, amelynek minden ujja külön mozgásra és akcióra képes, de pillanat alatt készen áll arra, hogy ökölbe szorulva, az összes részek együttesen éreztessék sulyukat.

Direkt akció.

Az egyes részeknek önálló müködési képessége a gyakorlatban "direkt akció" néven lett ismertté. Midőn évekkel ezelőtt az I.W.W. a nyugati partok erdőirtó munkásait szervezte, a munkások elhatározták, hogy csak napi nyolc órát dolgoznak. Nyolc óra munka letelte után megfujták a gőzsipot és abbahagyták a munkát. Előbb több telepen az összes munkásokat elküldték munkából, azonban az uj munkások, akiket helyükbe vettek, megint csak ugy csináltak. Az eredmény azt lett, hogy mindenütt bevezették a nyolcórás munkanapot, sőt később még törvényt is hoztak rá. Az erdei munkások tehát ezt a törvényt direkt akcióval érték el.

Vannak esetek, midőn hosszu sztrájkok kikerülhetetlenek. Az I.W, W. hacsak lehet, kerüli az ilyen harcokat. A hosszu sztrájkok helyett a többször megismétlődő, rövid ideig tartó sztrájkokat ajánlja, mert igy ugyanazon eredményt, sokkal kevesebb költséggel és erőfeszitéssel lehet elérni. Sok esetben leghelyesebb ha a panaszt maguk a munkások intézik el. Igy például nem érdemes sztrájkba menni egy olyan előmunkás miatt, akit a kompánia nem akar elküldeni, noha a munkások ezt követelik. Nem-e egyszerübb, ha a munkások megválasztják maguk közül előmunkásnak azt ,akit erre alkalmasnak tartanak és aztán csak annak fogadnak szót? Ha ilyen esetekben a munkások összetartanak, nagyon sok panaszt igen kevés költséggel el lehet intézni a direkt akció utján.

Ugyanigy miért kell elhagyni a munkát, ha szervezkedési aktivitásért a munkáltató elküld egy-két munkást? A munkáltató hamarább észhez jön, ha a többi munkások ilyen esetben ugy dolgoznak, amint az ilyen munkáltató megérdemli. A direkt akció titkai nagyon egyszerüek. A lényege abban áll, hogy a munkások nem azt csinálják, amit a munkáltató parancsol nekik, hanem azt, amit együttesen kollektiv módon elhatároztak. Ezen egyszerü dolog nagyon segiti egy jobb világ kiépitését.

Az itt elmondottak röviden vázolják az 1905-ben alakult Industrial Workers of the World szervezetnek elvi irányát, taktikáját és adott esetekben alkalmazott stratégiáját, amelyeket az alakitók, akik az unionizmusban nagy jártassággal birtak, belefoglaltak az Egy Nagy Szervezetbe, hogy egyrészről a leghatásosabb fegyvert adják a munkásoknak a mindennapi előnyökért folyó harcaikhoz, másrészről pedig ezen szervezeten keresztül képesek legyenek felépiteni az uj észszerü s igazságosabb társadalmi rendszert. Az Industrial Workers of the World megalakitói az itt felsorolt elveket és végcélt az alábbi elvinyilatkozatban foglalták össze.

A munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni összpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszik arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharc esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden, az egy iparban — vagy ha kell, valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát bármikor, ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti.

E maradi jelszó helyett: "Tisztességes napibért tisztességes napi munkáért," ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "LE A BÉRRENDSZERREL!"

A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük, a régi társadalom keretein belül.

Elismerjük, hogy felépiteni egy uj társadalmat a régi társadalom keretein belül valóban nagy munka. De azt is tudjuk, hogy olyan munka, amelyből ki akarja venni a részét minden olyan munkásember, aki rájött, hogy saját helyzetén csak osztályával együttesen, szervezetten tud segiteni. A felvilágosult, az öntudatos munkás jól tudja, hogy az ilyen munka tartalmat ád életének, jövőt magának és utódainak.

Aki tehát ebben a munkában a legpraktikusabb szervezet keretén belül ki akarja venni a részét, csatlakozik az Egy Nagy Szervezethez még akkor is, ha munkája következtében esetleg más unionnak a tagja is, ahol azonban az általunk hirdetett végcélt nem szolgálhatja. Az ilyen munkás érintkezést keres az Egy Nagy Szervezet központi irodájával melynek cime:

Industrial Workers of the World
2422 North Halsted Street . . .
Chicago 14, Ill.

* * *

ADAMS Maude (1872). Amerikai drámai szinésznő. A mult század utolsó éveinek és az első világháborut megelőző idők legnagyobb tragikai hősnője. 1918-ban visszavonult a szinpadról és a Stephen College drámai osztályának a tanárnője lett. Miss Adams a General Electric kompániával együttesen tökéletesitették a mai modern szipadok megvilágitását.

MAGYAR FÜGGELÉK AZ IWW ALAPSZABÁLYHOZ

AZ INDUSTRIAL Workers of the World az ipari unionizmust képviselő s tanitó munkásszervezet, amely a munkásokat ipari foglalkozásuk szerint szervezi abból a célból, hogy a termelési eszközöket kisajátitsa, a bérrendszert megszüntesse, miáltal egyenlő jogokat teremt a társadalom minden egyes tagja részére.

Ezt a célt csak ugy érheti el a munkásosztály, ha EGY szervezetben tömörül. Az IWW minden nyelvü és minden szinü bérmunkást az Egy Nagy Szereveztbe tömöriti. Ezért szükségtelennek tartja a külön nyelvi vagy faji csoportokat, mert ahogy az iparban együtt dolgozik minden nemzetiségü, vagy szinü munkás, ugy a munkán történő kizsákmányolás ellen is együtt kell a harcot fölvenni és megküzdeni.

Ehhez a tanitáshoz egyik legalkalmasabb eszköz a sajtó. És mivel minden bérmunkás az anyanyelvén jobban megérti az IWW tanitását, az IWW különböző nyelvü lapjaiban hirdeti az Egy Nagy Szervezet szükségességét.

Az IWW magyar sajtója a BÉRMUNKÁS, melynek fentartása és terjesztése a magyarajku bérmunkások kötelessége. Ezen célból a lap fentartói agitációs bizottságokat létesitenek, amelyek megbeszélik a lap támogatására és fejlesztésére vonatkozó ügyeket; lehetőleg egyszer évenként kerületi értekezleteket és egy országos konvenciót tartanak.

A magyar lap ügyeinek intézésére a fentartói, akik egyben az Industrial Workers of the World szervezet tagjai, titkár, szerkesztőt és lapbizottságot választanak egyévi időtartamra. A lapbizottság feladata a lap kiadása és pontos megjelentetése ,valamint a lap szellemi iránya fölött való őrködés is.

A lapbizottság lapkezelőket, lapmegbizottakat és szükség esetén szervezőket nevez ki a forradalmi ipari unionizmus eszméjének még hatásosabb és szélesebb körü terjesztésére. A magyar lap bavételeiről és kiadásairól, valamint a nevelést és az agitációt szolgáló munkájáról havi jelentést küld az agitációs bizottságoknak, delegátusoknak és lapkezelőknek.

Az IWW Egyetemes Központja
2422 N. Halsted Street
Chicago 14, Ill.

Az IWW Magyarajku Központi
Szervező és Lapbizottsága
P. O. Box 3912 Station S. S.
Cleveland 20, O.

A Bérmunkás Szerkesztősége
és Kiadóhivatala
8618 Buckeye Road
Cleveland 4, O.

A "Bérmunkás" Lapkezelői:

AKRON, O.: J. Vizi, 700 E. Crossier St. — J. Deák, 142 Millhoff Ct. — özv. E. Farkas, 533 Cole Ave. — J. Farkas, 1302 Sylven Ave.

ALTADENA, CAL.: G. Rauch, 569 Crosby St.

BRIDGEPORT, CONN.: G. Barcza, 178 Brentwood Ave.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.: M. Stefanko, 3418 N. Avenue.

BUFFALO, N. Y.: P. Hering, 102 Wyandotte St. — M. Beck, 28 Rano St.
BERWYN, ILL.: A. Bukovszky, 6714 W. 14 St.
BETHLEHEM, PA.: Wm. Munkácsy, 418 E. Fairview.
CAMDEN, N. J.: A. Schöpf, 530 Erie St.
CAROLINA, W. VA.: L. Gancs, Bx 93.
CHICAGO, ILL.: H. Varju, 8147 Eberhart Ave. — A. L. Szász, 505 E. 91 St. — J. Zára, 3315 N. Leavitt St. — J. Horváth, 9328 Cottage Grove Ave. — P. Pika, 721-25 Belmont Ave.
CICERO, ILL.: St. Bukovszky, 2342 S. 58 Ct.
CLEVELAND, O.: (West Side): M. Bakos, 2196 Junction Rd. — J. Kollár, 1879 W. 57 St. — A. Molnár, 3109 Hancock Ave. — J. Szilágyi, 2115 W. 33 St.
CLEVELAND, O. (East Side): Bercsa Jánosné, 3009 E. 128 St. — L. Lefkovits, 2863 E. 112 St. — A. Székely, 11607 Crofton Rd. R.F.D. 10.
CUYAHOGA FALLS, O.: J. Fodor, 421 Magnolia Ave.
DETROIT, MICH.: Anna Kovács, 315 Woodmere Ave. — Mrs. A. Sajtos, 692 Sheridan — J. Mácsay, 2701 Liddesdale Ave.
EASTON, PA.: J. Weidinger, Heights Rural Station.
ELGIN, ILL.: M. Buza, 646 McBridge St.
ELM GROVE, W. Wa.: J. Policsányi, 2532 National Rd.
FLINT, MICH.: Ch. Udvarnoky, 523 Major St.
GARFIELD, N. J.: E. J. Havel, 237 Wessington Ave.
LINCOLN PARK, MICH.: Steve Visi, 1841 Philemore Blvd.
LODI, N. J.: A. Réfy, 3 Hamilton Ave.
LOS ANGELES, CAL.: G. Bakos, 1255 E. 73 St.
MANAYUNK, PA.: Joe Weidinger, 4728 Umbria Street.
MARTINS FERRY, O.: M. Markus, 709 N. First St.
MAYNARD, O.: J. Sivák, Box 206.
MIAMI, FLA.: St. Török, 145 N.E. 46 St.
MILWAUKEEE, WIS.: E. Sass, 2350 N. 14 St.
NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.: St. Ehász, 97 N. Jefferson St. — J. Rad, 389 Delaver St.
NEWARK, N. J.: B. Spaal, 37 — 16 Ave. L. Bauer, 802 S. 14 St
NEW YORK, N. Y.: L. Fishbein, 1000 Bruckner Blvd. — J. Feczkó, 940 Amsterdam Ave. — A. Ács, 1029 Kelly Ave.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.: L. Rost, 7329 Tabor Avenue — Mrs. P. Bécsi, 2116 N. Franklin St. — Ch. Ruttkay, 1030 Lawrence St. — J. Asztalos, 2946 N. Orianna St. — D. Rosenthall, 3008 N. Fairhill St. — F. Zsamar, 867 Foulkroad St.
PITTSBURGH, PA.: A. KUCHER, 1214 East St. — A. Lelko, 839 Suisman.
SARATOGA SPRINGS, N. J.: J. Kozsány, 64 High Rock Ave.
SHARPSVILLE, PA.: V. Pompor, RFD 1.
SO. BEND, IND.: Frank Szüch, 538 Tayor St.
ST. LOUIS, MO.: J. Lengyel, 4320 Delor St.
STAR CITY, W. VA.: K. Gazsi, Box 161.
TERRACE, PA.: J. Nagy, P.O. Box 2.
TRENTON, N. J.: A. Pelei, 82 Jersey St. — B. Krajnik, 5 William St.
TARZANA, CAL.: A. Alakszay, 18569 Burbank Blvd.
ZIEGLER, ILL.: J. Vanno, 320 Orchard St.

* * *

ABELARD, Peter, (1079-1142). A középkor első ismertebb filozófusa. Franciaországban, a Nantes melletti Pallet városkában született, gondos nevelésben részesült és korának megfelelőleg leginkább csak a theológiai tanulmányokkal foglalkozott. Mint tanitó nagyon kedvelt előadó volt és előadásaival megvetette alapját a később hiressé vált Párisi egyetemnek. Abelard azzal tette magát nevessé, hogy abban a korban el merte itélni a dogmákban való vakhitet. Azt hirdette, hogy a hitet az értelemnek kell megelőzni.

NÉVNAP MUTATÓ

A

Adalbert, ápr. 23.
Adél, dec. 16.
Adolár, ápr. 21.
Adolf febr. 11, máj. 11. jun. 17, aug. 21, szept. 17.
Adolfin, szept. 24.
Adorján, márc. 4.
Amilián, szept. 11, nov. 12. dec. 6.
Aladár, okt. 1.
Alajos, jun. 21.
Alfonz, aug. 2, okt. 30.
Alfréd, febr. 15, jul. 19.
Albert, ápr. 7 és 24, máj. 26, szept. 3, nov. 14.
Albertina, ápr. 23.
Albrecht, ápr. 23.
Amália, máj. 4, jul. 10, okt. 7, nov. 20.
Ambrus, okt. 16 és 19, dec. 7 és 20.
Anastázius, ápr. 21.
András (Bandi,) febr. 4, máj. 15, okt. 17, nov. 30.
Angelika (Angyalka,) márc. 11, máj. 31, aug. 14.
Anna, febr. 19, jul. 26.
Antal, jan. 17, febr. 12, máj. 10, jun. 13, jul. 28, szept. 2.
Antónia, ápr. 19, jun. 13, jul. 7.
Anzelin, ápr. 21.
Aranka, dec. 2.
Arnold, jul. 18.
Arthur, jan. 7.
Athanáz, máj. 2. nov. 26.
Attila, márc. 10.
Augusta, márc. 29, aug. 17.
Aurél, jun. 15.
Aurélia, dec. 2.
Ádám, dec. 24.
Ágotha, febr. 5, ápr. 28.
Ágnes, jan. 21, márc. 28, ápr. 20.
Ágoston, aug. 3 és 28, okt. 7.
Ákos, jun. 22.
Ármin, ápr. 7, aug. 11, dec. 28.
Áron, ápr. 16, jun. 21.
Árpád, jan. 5, febr. 10.

B

Balázs, febr. 3.
Bálint, jan. 7, febr. 14.
Barnabás, jun. 11.
Bazil, márc. 22.
Bekény, márc. 21.
Béla, jan. 2, ápr. 23, máj. 26.
Bence, márc. 21.
Benő, márc. 21, aug. 30.
Benedek, márc. 21.
Benjámin, márc. 31.
Bernát, máj. 20, jan. 16, jul. 15, aug. 21.
Berta, jul. 4.
Bertalan, aug. 24.
Bertram, aug. 17.
Blanka, aug. 10.
Bódog, jan. 14, máj. 30, jul. 29, okt. 24, nov. 20.
Boldizsár, jan. 6.
Bonaventura, jul. 14.
Bonifác, máj. 14, jun. 5 és 25.
Brigitta, febr. 1, okt. 8.
Brunó, márc. 8, ápr. 21, máj. 17, szept. 7, okt. 6.

C

Ceasar, febr. 15, ápr. 28.
Cecilia, jun. 3, okt. 21.
Clarissa jan. 15, jul. 12.
Clementina, jan. 23, nov. 14 és 23.
Concordia, febr. 18.
Constantin, febr. 25, ápr. 22, jul. 27.
Constantina, szept. 19.
Crescentia, jun. 15.
Crispin, okt. 25.
Cyprián, szept. 10 és 26, dec. 9.
Cyriák, aug. 8.
Cyrill, márc. 9, jul. 5.
Cyprus, jun. 16.

D

Dagobert, jun. 15.
Damascus, dec. 11.
Dániel, jan. 3, febr. 16, ápr. 10, jul. 21, nov. 23.
Dária, okt. 25.
Dávid, dec. 30.
Dezső, febr. 11, máj. 23, dec. 18.
Dénes, ápr. 8, okt. 9. nov. 17, dec. 26.
Dietrica, máj. 6.
Domonkos, aug. 4, okt. 14, dec. 20.
Donát, febr. 17, aug. 7, szept. 1.
Dorottya, febr. 6, jun. 5, szept. 9.
Dömötör, ápr. 9, okt. 26, dec. 22.
Döme, aug. 4, szept. 27.
Dionyzia, dec. 12.

E

Eberhardt, febr. 23, nov. 28.
Edith, szept. 16.
Edmund, nov. 6 és 20.
Eduárd, márc. 18, máj. 27, okt. 13.
Egyed, ápr. 27, szept 1.
Endre jul. 17.
Elemér, nov. 27.
Emilia, jul. 18, szept. 12, nov. 12 és 24.
Elek, febr. 11, jul. 17.
Eleonora, febr. 21, jul. 11.
Eleuthér, febr. 20, okt. 9.
Eligius, dec. 1.
Ella, febr. 10, márc. 24.
Emerencia, jan. 23.
Emánuel (Manó,) márc. 26.
Emil, ápr. 5, máj. 22, nov. 21.
Emma ápr. 19, jun. 29, szept. 22.
Engelbert, nov. 7.
Erasmus, jun. 2.
Erhardt, jan. 8.
Eric, febr. 15, máj. 18.
Ernesztina, jan. 12, jul. 31.
Ernő, jan. 12, márc. 13.
Ervin, ápr. 25.
Erzsébet, jul. 8, nov. 19, dec 25.
Eszter, máj. 24, jul. 7.
Etelka, febr. 5, dec. 16.
Eugen (Jenő,) jul. 13, nov. 15, dec. 25.
Eufernia, szept. 16.
Eukár, febr. 20.
Eulália, febr. 12, dec. 10.
Eustachius, márc. 29, szept 20.
Éliás, febr. 16, jul. 20.
Éva, dec. 24.

F

Fábián, jan. 20.
Fánni, márc. 9, aug. 20, okt. 5.
Farkas, okt. 31.
Faustinus, febr. 15.
Felicián, jun. 9.
Felicitas, jan. 11, márc. 7.
Félix (Bódog,) febr. 14, máj. 30, jun. 14, jul. 7, okt. 24, nov. 20.
Ferdinánd, máj. 30, okt. 19.
Ferenc, jan. 29, ápr. 25, jun. 16, jul. 24, okt. 4 és 10, nov. 9, dec. 3.
Ferike, máj. 20.
Fidél, márc. 23, ápr. 28.

Fildes, aug. 1.
Filemon, márc. 8.
Flavia, máj. 11.
Flavián, febr. 18.
Flóra, jun. 19, nov. 24.
Florentin okt. 17.
Flórián (Flóris,) máj. 4, jun. 4.
Fodor, márc. 6.
Franciska, márc. 9.
Frida, febr. 8.
Friderika, okt. 6.
Fridolin, márc. 6.
Frigyes, márc. 6. jul. 18, okt. 6.
Fülöp, máj. 1 és 26, aug. 23. okt. 22.

G

Gábor, febr. 10, márc. 24, ápr. 7, nov. 2.
Gabriella, febr. 10.
Gáspár, jan. 6, aug. 18.
Gebhard, aug. 27.
Gedeon, okt. 10.
Gellért, szept. 24.
Genovéva, jan. 3.
Gergely, márc. 12, máj. 9 és 25, nov. 17.
German, febr. 21, máj. 2 és 28.
Gertrud, márc. 18, aug. 1.
Gerváz, jun. 19.
Géza, jan. 16, febr. 25, márc. 23, máj. 10, nov. 18 és 23.
Ginda vagy Gunda, márc. 3.
Gizella, máj. 7.
Gordián, máj. 10.
Gottfried, máj. 7. nov. 8.
Gotthard, máj. 5.
Gottlieb, jul. 7.
Gorgonius, szept. 9.
Gracin, dec. 18.
Guidó, márc. 30, szept. 12.
Guntrám, márc. 28.
Gusztáv, ápr. 22, aug. 2.
Gyárfás, jun. 19.
György, ápr. 24, máj. 5, dec. 8.
Gyula, ápr. 12, máj. 27.
Győző, febr. 28, jul. 28.
Günther, okt. 9, nov. 28.

H

Háromkirály (Gáspár, Menyhért, Boldizsár,) jan. 6.
Hartwig, aug. 21.
Hedwig, okt. 15 és 17.
Helén, aug. 18.
Heliodor, jul. 8.
Henriette, márc. 16.
Henrik, jan. 16, jul. 12.
Heribert, márc. 16.
Hermin, ápr. 13, máj. 6.
Herman (Ármin,) ápr. 7.
Hilár (Vidor,) jan. 14.
Hilaria, aug. 12.
Hubert, márc. 20, nov. 8.
Hugó ápr. 1, nov. 17.
Hipolit (Ipoly,) aug. 13.

I

Ida, márc. 14, szept. 4, nov. 3.
Ignác, febr. 1, jul. 31, dec. 15.
Illés, jul. 20, aug. 9.
Ilona, máj. 22, aug. 18, nov. 3.
Imre, nov. 5.
Imrike, jan. 23 és 30.
Ince, jul. 28, dec. 2.
Ipoly aug. 13.
Irén, ápr. 6.
Irma, márc. 26, jul. 4.
István, aug. 20, nov. 28, dec. 26.
Iván, jun. 24.
Ivó, máj. 20.
Izabella, jan. 4.
Izidor, jan. 7, ápr. 4.
Izrael, márc. 26.
Izsák, dec. 20, máj. 29.

J

Jácint, jul. 3, aug. 16, szept. 11.
Jakab máj. 1, jul. 11 és 25.
Janka, máj. 22.
Jairus, okt. 3.
János, jan. 23 és 27, febr. 8, márc. 8 és 27, jun. 12 és 27, jul. 12, aug. 20, okt. 22, nov. 24, dec. 27.
Jenő, jul. 13, nov. 18.
Jeromos, szept. 30, nov. 19.
Joachim, márc. 20, szept. 24, dec. 9.
Jób, máj. 24, szept. 2.
Jolán, nov. 18, jul. 24.
Jónás, nov. 12.
Jordán, febr. 13.
József, febr. 4, márc. 19, máj. 8, jun. 20, aug. 27, szept. 18.
Józsua, febr. 23.
Judit, jul. 30, dec. 10.
Judás, máj. 11, okt. 28.
Julia, (Julianna,) febr. 16, máj. 22, jun. 29.
Julián, jan. 9, febr. 17.
Jusztin, jun. 16.
Jusztina, ápr. 13, szept. 26, okt. 7.

K

Kajetán, aug. 7.
Kálmán, okt. 13.
Kalliszt, okt. 14.
Kamilla, jul. 27.
Karolina, jun. 14, jul. 14, nov. 4.
Károly, jan. 28, márc. 2, nov. 4.
Kaszter, febr. 13.
Katalin, febr. 23, ápr. 30, nov. 25, dec. 6.
Kázmér márc. 4, ápr. 16.
Kelemen, jan. 23, nov. 23, dec. 7.
Keresztély, máj. 14.
Kiltlib, jul. 8.
Kilit, ápr. 26.
Klára, aug. 12 és 18.
Klotild, jun. 3.
Kleofás, szept. 25.
Kolozs, okt. 30.
Konstancia, febr. 17.
Konstantin, máj. 21.
Konrád, febr. 19, nov. 26.
Kornél, jul. 3.
Kornélia, márc. 31.
Kordula, okt. 22.
Kozma, szept. 27.
Kristóf, márc. 15, jul. 25. dec. 18.
Krisztina, jul. 21.
Kunigunda, márc. 3.
Kuno, máj. 29.

L

Lajos, aug. 19 és 25.
Lambert, szept. 17.
László, jun. 27.
Lázár, febr. 21, dec. 17.
Laura, jun. 28.
Laura, márc. 28.
Lea, márc. 22.
Leó ápr. 11, jun. 28.
Leodegar, okt. 2.
Leander, febr. 27.
Leontine, jan. 28.
Lénárd, nov. 6.
Liberatus, aug. 17.
Livia, febr. 12, nov. 21.
Lóránt, aug. 10, szept. 13
Lipót, nov. 15.
Lothár, ápr. 2.
Lőrinc, aug. 10, szept. 5.
Lucia, jul. 9, dec. 13.
Lucian máj. 27, okt. 2.
Ludovica, jul. 9.
Ludmilla, szept. 16.
Lujza, jun. 9 és 21.
Lukács, okt. 18.
Lukrécia, ápr. 7, jun. 7
Lydia, febr. 12, aug. 8.

M

Magdolna, máj. 27, jul. 22.
Magnus szept. 6.
Malvina, okt. 7.
Manó, márc. 26.
Mansvét, febr. 19, szept. 3.
Marcel, jan. 16, jun. 18.
Marcilán, jan. 10.
Margit, jan. 28. febr. 23, jun. 10, jul. 19.
Marius, jan. 19.
Mária, ápr. 9, jul. 22, aug. 15.
Márk, ápr. 25, jun. 18, okt. 10.
Mártha, jul. 19 és 27.
Márton, nov. 11.
Mártonka, jan. 30.
Máté, szept. 21.
Maternus, szept. 13.
Matild, jan. 11, márc. 14.
Mátyás, febr. 24.
Maximus, jan. 25.
Medárd, jun. 8.
Melánia, jan. 6.
Menyhért, jan. 6.
Mihály, máj. 8, szept. 29.
Miklós, febr. 23, márc. 23, szept. 10 és 29.
Miksa, máj. 29, okt. 12.
Modest, jan. 12, jun. 15 dec. 18.
Mór, jan. 15, febr. 21.
Móric, febr. 21, szept. 22.
Mózes szept. 4.

N

Narcis, okt. 29.
Nándor, máj. 30, okt. 19.
Náthán, okt. 24.
Nathália, dec. 1.
Nemezius, dec. 19.
Nesztor, febr. 27.
Neszte, febr. 28.
Nikodém, szept. 15.
Noah, nov. 28.
Norbert, jun. 6.

O

Oktávián, márc. 22.
Olga, jun. 21.
Olimpia, ápr. 15.
Orbán, máj. 24.
Orsolya, okt. 21.
Oszkár, dec. 1.
Oszvald, febr. 28, aug 5.
Ottilia, dec. 12.
Ottmár, nov. 16.
Ottó, márc. 23, nov. 18.
Ottokár, nov. 4.
Örzsi, lásd Erzsébet.
Ödön, jun. 3, nov. 16 és 20.
Özséb, márc. 5, aug. 14, dec. 16.

P

Pál, jan. 10 és 25, márc. 7, jun. 26 és 30.
Paskál, máj. 17.
Patrik, márc. 17.
Paula, jan. 26, márc. 22, jul. 21.
Paulina, jun. 22, aug. 31.
Péter-Pál, jun. 29.
Péter, jan. 31, febr. 22, ápr. 16 és 29, máj. 19, aug. 1, okt. 19, dec. 5.
Piroska, jan. 18, nov. 28.
Pongrác, máj. 12.

R

Ráchel, jul. 11.
Rafael, okt. 24.
Rajmund, jan. 7, febr. 11, aug. 31.
Rebeka aug. 30.
Regina, szept. 7.
Reinhard, febr. 23.
Reinhold, jan. 12.
Rezső (Rudolf,) ápr. 17.
Rikárd, febr. 7, márc. 7, ápr. 3.
Róbert, ápr. 22, jun. 7.
Román, febr. 28, aug. 9.
Romana, febr. 23.
Roland, aug. 9.
Róza, aug. 30.
Rozália, szept. 4.
Rozina, márc. 11.
Rupert, márc. 27.

S

Salamon, febr. 8, szept. 14.
Sámson, jul. 28.
Samu, aug. 26.
Sándor, febr. 28, márc. 18, máj. 3.
Sára, jan. 19, máj. 19.
Sarolta, jul. 5.
Saturnin, nov. 29.
Skolastika, febr. 10.
Sebestyén, jan. 20.
Sergius, okt. 7.
Simon, febr. 18, okt. 28.
Simeon, jan. 5, okt. 28.
Simplicius, márc. 2.
Sótér, ápr. 22.
Soma, jul, 3.
Szaniszló, máj. 7, nov. 18.
Szebáld, aug. 19.
Szerafin, szept. 3, dec. 5.
Szervác, máj. 13.
Szeverin, nov. 8.
Szevér, okt. 23.
Szidonia, jun. 23, szept. 19.
Szilárd, febr. 17, márc. 11.
Szilvér jul. 20.
Szilveszter, dec. 31.
Sylvia, nov. 3.

T

Tamás, máj. 8, szept. 18 és 22, dec. 21 és 29.
Thekla, aug. 19, szept. 23.
Theodora, ápr. 30.
Tibolt jul. 1.
Timóth, jan. 24, máj. 21.
Titus, jan. 4 szept. 18.
Tivadar, ápr. 1, nov. 9.
Tóbiás, jun. 13, szept. 12.
Tódor, febr. 6, nov. 9, szept. 11.

U

Ubald, máj. 17.
Ulrik, jul. 4.
Urika, aug. 6.

V

Valér, jan. 29, ápr. 18, dec. 15.
Valter, nov. 29.
Vazul, nov. 29.
Venánc, máj. 18.
Vendel, okt. 20.
Vencel, szept. 28.
Veronika, jan. 13, febr. 4, jul. 9.
Victorian, márc. 23.
Viktor, febr. 11 és 26, jul. 28.
Viktória, máj. 10, szept. 5, dec. 23.
Vidor, jan. 13, okt. 21.
Vilibald, jul. 7.
Vilmos (Vilma,) jan. 10. ápr. 6, máj. 28, jun. 25. jul. 5, okt. 25.
Vince, jan. 22, ápr. 5, máj. 24, jul. 19.
Virgil, jan. 31, nov. 27.
Vitus, Vid, jun. 15.

X

Xavér, dec. 3.
Xenia, jan. 12.

Z

Zakariás, márc. 14, szept. 6.
Zéno, jun. 23.
Zenobius, okt. 29.
Zoltán, márc 8.
Zsigmond, máj. 2.
Zsófia, máj. 15.
Zsuzsanna, febr. 19. máj. 24, aug. 11.

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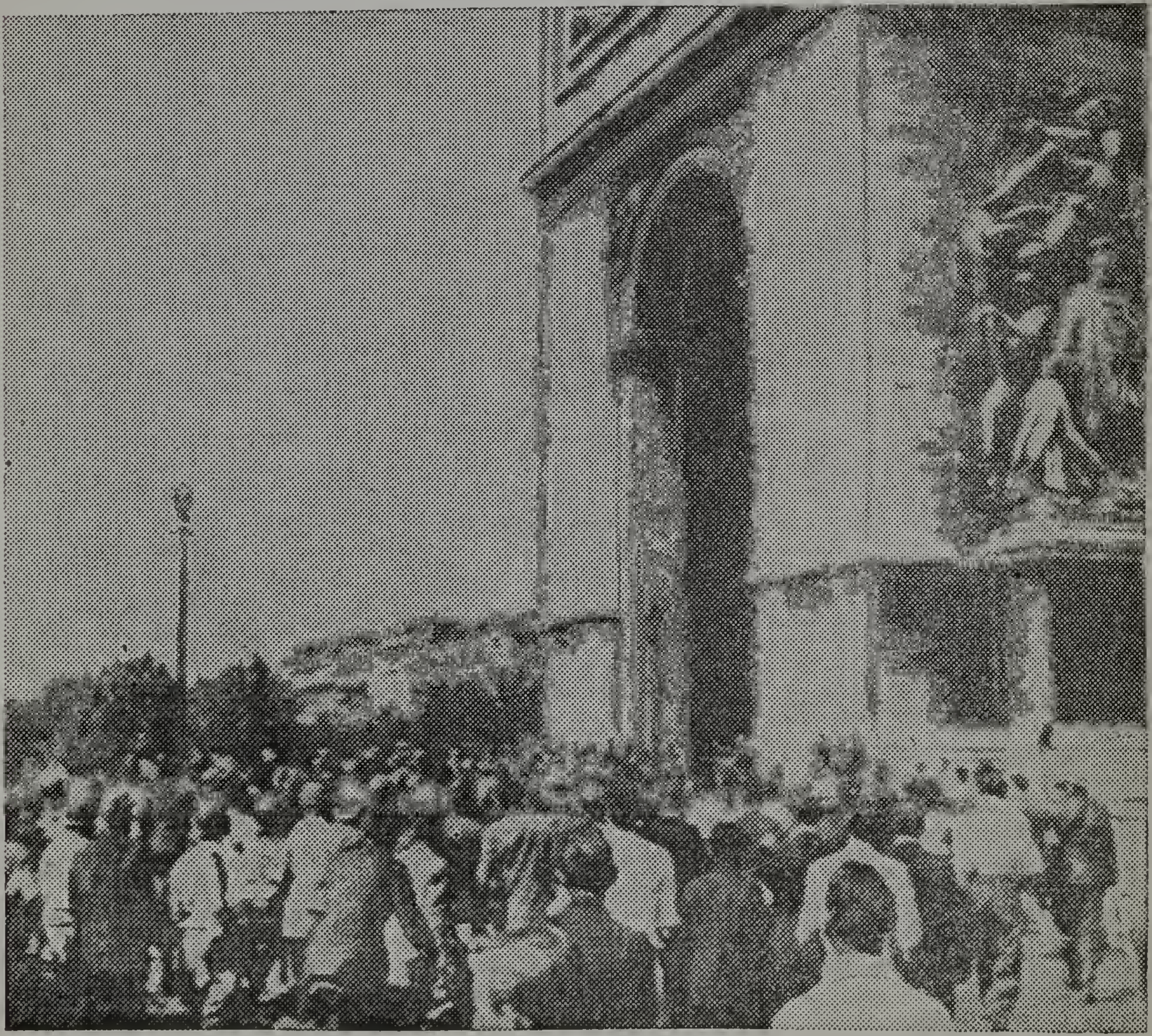

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INFLÁCIÓ ÉS A MUNKABÉREK

(gb.) A háborus profitra éhes amerikai tőkések a sajtó meg a rádió propaganda utján azt akarják elhitetni a nagyközönséggel, hogy ha a kormány nem fogja "befagyasztani" a munkabéreket, akkor infláció áll be, vagyis a pénz elértéktelenedik. Az infláció elkerülhetetlenségét azzal magyarázzák, hogy a szerintük tul sokat kereső munkások mindenfélét vásárolni akarnak, holott most a nem hadi célokat szolgáló árukból ugyis hiány van, igy a nagy kereslet következtében mindennek fel fog szökni az ára, vagyis a pénz elértéktelenedik.

Hónapok óta állhatatosan folyik ez a propaganda s szinte erőszakosan követelik a kormánytól a munkabérek korlátozását. Az okoskodásuk olyan logikusnak mutatkozik, hogy azt hitték, ezzel ki tudják erőszakolni a munkabérek befagyasztását, amely ha az inflációt nem is akadályozná meg, de mindenesetre NÖVELNÉ A MUNKÁLTATÓK PROFITJÁT.

Az okoskodás logikus, de az alaptétele hazugság, enélfogva hazugságra épült az egész propaganda. Ezt a hazuságot szögelte le most a Department of Labor egy nyilatkozata, amelyet maga Miss Perkins, munkaügyi miniszter adott ki. Miss Perkins a nyilatkozatban foglalt tényeket a munkaügyi miniszterium statisztikai osztályának adataira alapitotta. Ezen adatok azt mutatják, HOGY A MUNKÁSOSZTÁLY MA KEVESEBBET VÁSÁROL, MINT EGY ÉVVEL EZELŐTT, igy tehát erről az oldalról nem fenyeget az infláció.

A Bureau of Labor Statistics hivatal több ezer munkáscsalád bevételeit és kiadásait tartja számon és azok átvizsgálása után mond következtetést. Ezen ugynevezett "sample" családok közé mindenféle keresetü munkásokat felvettek, hogy amennyire csak lehet valóban hü feletetet kapjanak, bármilyen kérdésre is keresik a választ.

A statisztikai hivatal igy nyert adatai szerint a munkásság bevétele az elmult 5 negyed év alatt 7 százalékkal emelkedett, az általuk elfogyasztott áruk csak 2 százalékos emelkedést mutatnak. Azonban amig a jövedelem csak 7 százalékkal emelkedett, a megélhetés ára 15 százalékkal ment fel ezen idő alatt. Az élelmiszerek árai is 11 százalékos emelkedést mutatnak. Ebből az következik, hogy ha egy család ma 15 százalékkal többet költ megélhetésre, mint másfél évvel ezelőtt, azért ugyanazt az árumennyiséget használják fel mint előbb, csak többet fizetnek érte.

A statisztikai iroda adatai szerint a munkások nagy adósságokat fizetnek ki és azok, akiknek nem volt adósságuk, megtakaritják keresetük jó részét. Ily megtakaritásnak számitanak a hadi kötvényekbe fektetett összegek is.

A "sample" családok budzset könyveit átnézve azt látták, hogy csak azon családok költenek ma többet élelemre és más tárgyakra, amelyeknek jövedelme mostanáig nagyon alacsony volt, tehát "sub-standard" (standardon aluli) életet éltek és nem volt alkalmuk számos olyan kényelmi eszközt vásárolni, amelyeket ma minden átlagos házban megtalálunk. Ugyancsak emelkedett a családok kiadása orvosokra és orvosságokra, ami azt mutatja, hogy a magasabb jövedelem emelte a közegészségügyi állapotokat.

A munkaügyi miniszterium ezen adatai rányomják a sajtó és a rádió kommentátorokra a hazugság bélyegét. De egyben kimutatják azt is, hogy a képviselők jó része milyen készséggel engedelmeskedik a kapzsi tőkéseknek, akik az infláció mumussal akarják a munkabéreket befagyasztani, de a saját, korlátlan nagyságu profitjuktól nem féltik a pénz értékét.

AZ ANGOL REPÜLŐTÁMADÁSOK HATÁSA A FRANCIA PARTOKON

London, aug. (ONA) A francia Vichy rádió akaratlanul tanuként jelentkezik az angol repülőtámadások hatásos volta mellett a francia parti városokra.

Vichy hivatalos rádió-bemondója felszólitotta ugyanis a francia lakósságot, támogassa a kormányt a bombázott lakosság ellátásának "nehéz feladatában". Dunquerqeban például csak hét lakható ház maradt meg egy városban, melynek 3500 lakóháza volt. Le Havrenak, e valaha virágzó kikötővárosnak lakóssága 200.000-ről 135.000-re csökkent. Mindössze 8.000 gyermek lakik a városban. Éjszakánként vagy 15.000 ember vándorol ki a városból a környékre, mert ott bátorságosabb az éjszakázás. 3.000 ember közkonyhán kénytelen élni, mert a repülőbombázás elpusztitotta gáz- és villany ellátásukat és házaikban nem lehet főzni. Egyéb városok az Angliával szemben lévő partokon szintén szenvedtek.

JEGYZŐKÖNYV

Felvéve a magyar nyelvü ipari unionisták és Bérmunkás olvasók Országos Értekezletén, Cleveland, Ohioban, 1942 szeptember 6-án.

L. Lefkovits, központi titkár üdvözli a megjelenteket és ajánlatára korelnöknek A. Kucher mtársat választották meg, korjegyzönek pedig J. Kollár mtársat.

Korelnök egy két tagu bizottságot nevez ki Molnár, Székely mtársak személyében akik felülvizsgálják a megjelentek megbizatásait. A bizottság jelenti, hogy eddig jelen van 16 delegátus. Névszerint:

Akron, O.: J. Vizi.

Buffalo, N. Y.: Hering Pál, Hering Pálné.

Cleveland, O. west side: Kovács Ernö, John Szilágyi, Jos. Kollár, Anton Molnár.

Cleveland, O. east side: Danka Mihály, Geréb József, Székely Sándor.

Chicago, Ill.: H. Varju, Zára János, Wagner József, Pika Pál.

McKees Rocks, Pa.: Steve Buza.

Pittsburgh, Pa.: Kucher András, Lelkó András és Pika József.

New York, N. Y.: Fishbein László, Engli Gyula.

A lapbizottság képviseletében Lefkovits Lajos központi titkár.

A bizottság jelentését az értekezlet tudomásul veszi.

Korelnök az értekezlet folyamára elnök és jegyző választását kéri. Elnöknek megválasztva: Zára János munkástárs, mig jegyzök lettek: Kollár József és Székely Sándor.

Zára munkástárs köszöni a bizalmat és üdvözli az értekezletet. Megállapitva a következö napirend:

JELENTÉSEK: Lapbizottság jelentése, delegátusok jelentése.

A BÉRMUNKÁS SZELLEMI IRÁNYA, a Bérmunkás anyagi helyzete és fentartásának az ügye.

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A LAPBIZOTTSÁG FELMENTÉSE.

A LAPBIZOTTSÁG MEGVÁLASZTÁSA.

JÓLÉTI ÜGYEK.

A lapbizottság jelentését Lefkovits munkástárs olvassa fel, amely részletesen kitér a lap körül végzett munkákra, ami az elmult év kimeritö munkálkodását adta. A jelentés beszámol az évben lefolytatott akciókról, számbeli kimutatást ad a lap két legfontosabb bevételéről az előfizetések és felülfizetésekről városonként illetve államonként, amely emelkedést mutat mind két tételben az előbbi évekhez. A jelentés tudomásul vétetett és a további tárgyaláshoz lett utalva.

Delegátusok jelentése: Akron: Vizi mtárs jelenti, hogy Akronból csak ő van jelen, mert a munkástársak nagyobb része vasárnap is dolgozik, de a délután folyamán mások is eljönnek. Jelenti, hogy a mult értekezletnek tett igéretüket, hogy tehetségükhöz képes fognak munkálkodni igyekeztek beváltani. Rendes csoport müködést végeznek. Megalakult egy Nöi Gárda a lap rendszeres támogatására, de amely más mozgalmi munkákból is igyekszik a részét kivenni. A Női Gárdára serkentőbb lenne, ha hasonló megnyilatkozások történnének más városokban is. Rendeztek több kirándulást, közösen dolgoznak a naptár, a sorsjegyek és egyéb mozgalmi munkáknál.

Buffaloból Hering munkástás jelenti, hogy a lapbizottság kimutatásában szerepelt összeggel tudták csak a Bérmunkást támogatni, ami figyelembe véve a kis számukat kielégitönek kell lenni, bár a magyarság számát tekintve több támogatást kellene kapnia egy munkás lapnak.

Chicagoból: South Sideröl Varju munkástárs tesz jelentést a végzett munkáról, amivel ö maga sincsen megelégedve, de a körülmények többet nem engedtek. Tolmácsolja Szász és Hosszu munkástársak üdvözletét.

Pika munkástárs jelenti, hogy az iparban való nagyobb elfoglaltsága miatt nagyon kevesèt tehetett az elmult esztendöben, de igéri, hogy a következő hónapokban aktivabb lesz.

Wagner munkástárs üdvözli az értekezletet, igérve, hogy több segitséget fog nyujtani, mint tehette az elmult évben. Tolmácsolja Vincze Sándor üdvözletét, aki az utolsó pillanatban elfoglaltsága miatt maradt le, hogy részt vegyen az értekezleten.

Zára munkástárs jelenti, hogy a mai helyzetben a lap részére nagyobb támogatást is lehetne szerezni a lap olvasóitól, ha azokat többen felkeresnék, de neki nincs annyi ideje, másoktól meg kevés segitséget kap erre. A nyár folyamán rendezett ünnepélyek sikeresek voltak. Sulyosnak tartja azt a körülményt, hogy általában a munkásmozgalom érdekében nem vállalnak munkálkodást a munkások, ugy, hogy annak sulya is lenne.

Cleveland, O.: east. Lefkovits munkástárs jelenti, hogy csoport müködés hiányában a munka végzése csak egy pár emberre van utalva, ezek között Bercsa és Danka munkástársnök végeznek szép munkát ugy az előfizetők megkeresésével, mint az ünnepélyek rendezésében. A nyári mulatságok sikerét a rossz időjárás nagyban befolyásolta.

Cleveland, O. west side: Kovách Ernö munkástárs jelenti, hogy ö a gyakorlati agitációban nem vett részt, mert a napi munkája után az irógárdában vállalt kötelezettsége erre nem hagyna idöt. Itt is csoport hiányában néhány ember végzi a munkát.

Molnár és Kollár munkástársak jelentik, hogy rendszeresen keresik fel az olvasókat felváltva Szilágyi munkástársal és a naptár valamint a kis jegyekkel eredményes munkát végeztek. Együtt müködtek az east side-dal a nyári ünnepélyek megrendezésében.

New York, N. Y.: Fishbein munkástárs jelent. Az előbbi években New York minden esetben azzal állhatott az értekezlet elé, hogy a lap és mozgalomhoz szükséges összegekből a nagyobb részt magára vállalhatja és ezt teljesitették is. Ma ezt nem fogja jelenteni, mert a new yorki csoport müködését is sikerült a helyzetet meg nem értöknek és elfogult rosszakaratu munkástársaknak megbénitani. Egyenlöre csak kevesen vannak, akik hüek maradtak a munkásosztály szolidáris célkitüzéseihez. Bár hiszi, hogy a megtévedteknek is világosság fog virradni és vissza kerülnek a munkás posztra. Jelentését irásba foglalta, amelyet lapunk más helyén közlünk.

Engli munkástárs jelenti, hogy ö a városon kivül volt elhelyezkedve, igy az utóbbi években nem vehetett részt a mozgalmi munkákban.

Pittsburgh, Pa.: Kucher munkástárs jelenti, hogy a munka végzésének nagyobb része most is reá hárul. Szorgalmasan látogassa az olvasókat, akiknek a véleményét tolmácsolja, amikor jelenti, hogy sohasem talált nagyobb ragaszkodást a Bérmunkáshoz az olvasók részéről mint most. Szeretik a lapot és szivesen támogatják az előfizetésen kivül is. Itt is az a baj, hogy kevesen vannak, akik felkeresik az olvasókat. A lap és a mozgalomért szivesen végzi a munkát, bár az utóbbi években leromlott anyagi helyzete ebben gátolja, de azért igéri, hogy a jövöben is minden töle telhetöt meg tesz a lapért.

Pika József nem egyezik meg a küldöttek eddigi jelentéseikkel, akik telve vannak panaszszal, mert hiszen azoknak egyedüli oka, hogy nem keresték az olvasókkal és a magyarsággal a személyes kapcsolatokat. Számos, személyes tapasztalatáról tesz emlitést és igéri, hogy azokból igyekezni fog a lap és a mozgalom részére is megvalósitani. Igéri, hogy kifogják épiteni a pittsburgh környéki rendszeres agitációt.

Lelkó munkástárs a további munkálkodását jelenti be az értekezletnek Pittsburgh környékére.

McKeesrocks, Pa.-ból Buza munkástárs jelenti, hogy a nehéz acél ipar városa ma szervezve van bár nem az IWW szervezetében, amely évtizedek előtt már véres küzdelmet folytatott itt a munkások megszervezésére. A lap érdekében megpróbál többet tenni.

A Magyar Munkások Védelmi Bizottsága részéről Geréb József munkástárs az alábbi jelentést teszi meg:

A mult évi konvenció pártolólag tudomásul vette a Magyar Munkások Védelmi Bizottságának ujbóli felelevenitését. Mint akkor bejelentettük, a Védelmi Bizottságnak célja jogi védelmet nyujtani, illetőleg az ily védelmet finanszirozni, adatokat gyüjteni és publicitást adni olyan ügyeknek, amelyeknél valakit azért ér hatósági üldözés, mert a munkásmozgalom valamely ágában tevékenykedett.

Az elmult év alatt a Védelmi Bizottságnak akadt egy ilyen ügye, Kovács munkástárs ügye, akinek bevándorlási törvényesitése elé azért állitottak akadályokat, mert aktiv részt vett a munkásmozgalomban, tehát ez az ügy száz százalékig a Magyar Munkások Védelmi Bizottságának hatáskörébe esik, ennélfogva a védelmet át is vettük.

Nem szükséges az ügy részleteibe mennünk, amennyiben azt a Bérmunkás hasábjain ismertettük. Csupán azt kivánom megjegyezni,hogy a Védelmi Bizottság valóban hatékonyan kezelte és kezeli az ügyet. Ezt természetesen lehetővé tette az ,hogy a munkástársak a felhivásunkra azonnal megadták az ily védelmi munkához szükséges anyagiakat, amivel osztály szolidaritásukról tettek tanuságot. A védelem céljára adott összegeket lapunkban nyugtáztuk, valamint a kiadásokról is nyilt elszámolást adtunk.

A védelmi ügyre vonatkozólag azt jelenthetem, hogy a hatóságok egyenlőre elhalasztották a további eljárást. Mint a lapunkban beszámoltunk, ez ügy sima lefolyását munkásellenes egyének denunciálása akadályozta meg. A jelenlegi elhalsztásnak minden valószinüség szerint az az oka, hogy egy hasonló, de országos méreteket öltött ügynek birói végzését várják. A védelmi bizottság készen áll minden további akcióra és minden jelentős fejleményröl azonnal beszámolunk az érdekelt munkástársaknak.

Az értekezletet a következők üdvözölték levél utján: az Akroni Női Gárda nevében Schwind Gyuláné, Munkácsy, Bethlehem, Policsány, Triadelphia, Schöpf, Camden, Gyurcsek, Thornville, Gancs, Carolina, Mrs. Szilvágyi, Detroit, Bécsiné, Philadelphia, Mácsay, Detroit, Visi, Lincoln Park, Bauer, Newark, Sivák, Maynard, Lachkó család, East Sagatuck, Bukovszky, Berwyn, Szász, Chicago, Takács, Hazelwood, Bukovszky, Cicero, Fekete és M. Mihályi, Coraopolis.

A jelentések tárgyalását az értekezlet összeköti a Bérmunkás irányvonalának a tárgyalásával.

Az értekezlet eme fontos napirendjét Geréb József és Kovács Ernö munkástársak hoszszasabban ismertetik. Mindkét jelentés teljes szövegét lapunk jövöheti számában közöljük.

Gyülésvezető elnök Pikal Pál, Kucher András és Kovách Ernő személyében egy bizottságot nevez ki, akik átnézik a new yorki értekezlet ajánlatára beérkezett véleményt mondó leveleket.

Déli 1:30-kor az értekezlet az ebéd tartamára felfüggeszti tanácskozását.

2:30-kor az értekezlet megválassza Hering munkástársat gyülésvezető elnöknek, aki megköszönve a bizalmat kéri a delegátusokat, hogy a további napirend fontosságához mérten tárgyalják meg azokat.

A kiküldött bizottság nevében Pika munkástárs jelenti, hogy a beérkezett és fölbontatlan leveleket felnyitották és örömmel jelenti, hogy azok kivétel nélkül a lap irányának a megelégedését tükrözik ki. Az értekezlet tudomásul veszi a jelentést.

A napirendhez Zára munkástárs szól, egy clevelandi angol munkástárs megjelent Chicagoban az Egyetemes irodában és vádat emelt a Bérmunkás ellen, hogy az olyan cikkeket hoz, amelyek nem egyeznek meg az IWW tanitásával.

Wagner munkástárs szerint a lapbizottság félre értette az egyetemes központ leveleit, a végrehajtó bizottság tagjai a benyujtott forditások elolvasása után ugy találták, hogy a vádnak nincs semmi alapja.

Fishbein mtárs szerint a Bérmunkás cikkeinek nagyobb részét az irógárda szolgáltatja, akik azokat aláirásukkal látják el. És e szerint elsösorban a saját egyéni véleményüknek adnak bennük kifejezést. Az IWW-t ugy ismeri a munkás társadalom, hogy abban a legszélesebb véleménynyilvánitás van. Ellentétes hát, hogy elzárjuk a Bérmunkás hasábjait azok elöl, akik a mai helyzetben nem százszázalékosságig az IWW szempontjából itélik meg a helyzetet nem beszélve arról, hogy a mozgalom angol lapja minden sorában megtalálja-e az IWW álláspontját.

Pika szerint a Bérmunkás szellemi irányát kintröl egyrészt tudatlanságból, egyrészt rosszakaratból félre magyarázzák. Azoknak, akik magyar szempontokból tesznek kifogásokat, azoknak azt válaszolhatjuk, hogy mi azért vagyunk magyarok, mert magyarul beszélünk, de érdekünk egyenlök a más nyelvü munkásokéval.

Vizi szeretné, ha az irógárda tagjai kevesebbet foglalkoznának az események tárgyalásával, amelyek sok esetben a lap megjelenésekor már más képet mutatnak, ahelyett több ipari unionizmust tanitó elméleti cikket irnának.

Lefkovits néhány kifogásolt közleményt ismertet, majd annak szükségességét, hogy a magyar mozgalmak vezéreivel miért kell most gyakrabban és többet foglalkozni.

Pika József a gyakorlati értékét ismerteti a munkás ujságnak, amelynek barátjává kell tenni az olvasót.

Geréb és Kovách munkástársak összegezik az elhangzottakra a maguk és a lapbizottság nézetét, amely szerint a Bérmunkás a legszorosabban áll az IWW irány vonalán és azon kiván maradni a jövőben is.

Toni Trup angolul értő és csak beszélö munkástárs állitja, hogy öt IWW magyar tagok és nem tagok informálják a Bérmunkás cikkei felöl, azért van ellene panasszal.

Az értekezlet egyhangulag megujitja Geréb munkástárs elöadásában idézett mult évi határozatát irányvonalának követésére és erről átiratban tudatja az Egyetemes Irodát is.

A Bérmunkás előfizetésének árát az értekezlet nem emeli fel. Örömmel állapitja meg, hogy az olvasók nagy része a drágasági pótlékkal pótolja a többlet kiadásokat, amellyel azt is igazolta, hogy a lap irányvonalával megegyezik.

Hosszabb vita indult meg a Bérmunkás terjesztésének módja fölött, amelyben több delegátus vett részt. Megállapodva abban, hogy a kihangsulyozott módszereket a viszonyokhoz arányitva alkalmazni fogjuk.

Az Akroni Nöi Gárda levele nyomán értékes vita folyik a Gárda intézmény fenntartásán. Kimondva, hogy mindkét nembeli gárdát a következő esztendöben igyekszünk legalább 50-50 tagra felemelni. (Egy mindjárt körözött iven 20-an irták alá és fizettek be egy-egy dollárokat az 1942-43-as gárdába, kimondva, hogy konvenciótól konvencióig szól a gárda évi tagság)

Inditványozva és elfogadva, hogy a Bérmunkás Naptár az 1943-ik évre is jelenjen meg.

Inditványozva és elfogadva, hogy az országos sorsolást 1943-ban is ejtsük meg.

A napirend kimeritve, az értekezlet egyhangulag megadja a felmentvényt a lapbizottság részére.

A lapbizottság tagjainak ajánlva lettek: Danka Mihály, Farkas Imre, Geréb József, Vizi József, Kollár József, Székely Sándor, Kovács Ernő, Szilágyi János.

Titkár-szerkesztönek megválasztva Lefkovits Lajos.

A délután folyamán Akronból megérkeztek Farkas Imre és Deák János munkástársak.

A Védelmi Bizottság titkára jelenti, hogy az osztályharc fogjairól való megemlékezésünkkel 25 dollárt fog átutalni az Egyetemes Védelmi bizottsághoz.

Határozva, hogy a jövő évi értekezlet Cleveland, Ohioban legyen megtartva.

A jóléti ügyeknél felszólaltak: Pika Pál, Kovách Ernő, Zára János, Fishbein László, Kucher András, Geréb József akik mindannyian megelégedéssel állapitják meg, hogy az értekezlet tisztázott sok hamis vádat és nagy mértékben fog hozzájárulni ahhoz, hogy az uj lapbizottság, amely az Orszá-

MUNKA KÖZBEN

(gb) ROVATA

JÓ MUNKÁT KERESÜNK

A műhelyben reggelenként, nem sokkal a munka megkezdése után, csaknem minden nap átszól hozzám valamelyik szomszéd, hogy **jó munkám** van-e? Nem azért, mintha már annyira megkedveltek volna, hogy nagyon érdekelné őket, miszerint könnyen dolgozom-e vagy pedig nagy erőlködéssel és ebben az esetben talán segitségemre sietnek majd. Szó sincs róla, a **jó munka** utáni érdeklődésnek egészen más háttere van.

De sietek mindjárt annak a bejelentésével, hogy nemcsak tőlem kérdezik, hogy **jó munkán** dolgozom-e, hanem másoktól is. Sőt bevallom, már engem is megszállt a **jó munka** utáni érdeklődés vágya és én is éppen ugy, mint a többiek, körüljárom a szomszédokat és ha olyan munkát **látok**, amelyet még nem ismerek, jobban mondva amelyen még nem dolgoztam, hát bizony én is megkérdezem a szaktársat, hogy **jo munkája** van-e?

Eleinte, amikor ezt a **jó munka** utáni kérdezősködést hallottam, hát mindig eszembe jutott a magyar paraszt, akinek hosszadalmas köszönésében mindig benne volt a jó munka kérés is. Emlékszem például, hogy aki az uzsonnázó arató munkások mellett ment el, az igy köszönt: “Adjon Isten jó napot, jó étvágyat az uzsonnához, jó szalonnát meg jó pálinkát az átvágyhoz, erőt, egészséget meg **jó munkát!**”

Ez a városi nép azonban már nem olyan bőbeszédü és a jó **munka** után sem azért érdeklődik, mert azt másnak kivánná, hanem inkább azért, mert saját maga részére szeretné lefoglalni. Mindezeből világos, hogy az olyan gyárakban, mint a miénk is, vannak **jó munkák**, tehát vannak rossz munkák is.

A laikus ember előtt ez egészen természetesnek látszik és ugy képzeli, hogy az egyik munkához nagyobb erő kifejtés kell, mint a másikhoz, ennélfogva az első munka nehezebb, tehát rosszabb munka. Ami viszont azt jelentené, hogy amelyik munkát csak igen kevés fizikai megerőltetéssel, avagy kevés szellemi energia feláldozásával lehet elvégezni, az a **jó munka.**

MELYYIK A JÓ MUNKA

Ez a laikus barátunk most igazán **laikus** és éppen azért nagy tévedésben van. A munka jóságát az szabja meg, hogy **mennyi külön keresetet, bónuszt lehet vele keresni.** Ez az egyetlen faktor a mérvadó, a többi mit sem számit. Nem számit már csak azért sem, mert a szükséges szellemi vagy fizikai erő a különböző munkáknál csaknem azonos. Olyan helyeken, ahol csak napi, vagy hetibérért dolgoznak, a munkások nem érdeklődnek annyira a jó, avagy rossz munka után. Ott a fő az, hogy mennyi órát dolgoznak.

Tapasztalatból mondhatom, hogy a legtöbb munkás szó nélkül elvégzi a rábizott munkát. Hetibér esetén a legtöbbje nem törődik azzal, hogy melyik munkadarabot kapja, avagy melyik gépre teszik, — föltéve, hogy a rendes, megszokott munkáról van szó. De egészen más az eset az olyan gyárakban, ahol **darabszámra** dolgoznak a munkások.

A darabszámu munkánál sem azért válogatnak, mintha az egyik vagy a másik munka elvégzésében isteni élvezetet találnának, mig némelyik beteggé tenné őket, hanem csupán azért, **mert egyikkel jobban lehet keresni mint a másikkal.** Igy egészen természetes, hogy minden munkás azt az “egyiket” akarja, amelyikkel többet lehet keresni.

A darabszámu munkánál a bószok rendesen kiválasztják a legügyesebb munkást s megfigyelik, hogy ez az átlagosnál ügyesebb és gyorsabb munkás hány darabot készit el óránként, vagy naponként és a fizetést akként szabják meg. És ha még ebben az esetben is sokat keresnének a munkások, hát levágják az egységnek az árát. A darabszámu munka a kizsákmányolás oly borzalmas fokához vezetett, hogy a legtöbb union alapszabályaiba vette a darabszámu munka elleni küzdelmet és a szervezett műhelyekből már mindenünnen kiküszöbölték.

Azt mondják, hogy nincsen olyan törvény, amelyen egy ügyes fiskális ki ne tudna fogni. És ugylátszik, hogy nincsenek olyan union szabályok sem, amelyeket a bószok és a szakszervezeti vezérek ki ne tudnának játszani, mert én ugy látom, **hogy a bónusz rendszer, amit ma csaknem minden nagyobb gyárban alkalmaznak, nem egyéb módositott darabszámu munkánál.**

A BÓNUSZ RENDSZER ÁTKAI

A hadiipar produkciós gyáraiban általánossá lett a **bónusz rendszer**, mert azt hiszik, hogy igy a munkások többet termelnek. A tökéletes munkafelosztás következtében a munka valójában csak gép-etetéssé lett. Befogjuk a munkadarabot a gépbe, amely elvégez rajta egyvagy két vágást, furást, vagy gyalulást, — “operációt” szakmai nyelven mondva, — aztán kivesszük és helyébe tesszük a másik, hasonló darabot. Van olyan munka, amelynél ez az egész operáció nem igen tart tovább, mint itt leirtam. Természetesen vannak olyanok is, amelyeknél az operáció ideje hosszabb. És fontos az is, hogy mennyi darab van abból a bizonyos munkából, mert a gép beállitása az első darabhoz rendesen jelentékeny időt vesz igénybe.

Mármost valahányszor egy uj munkadarab kerül a műhelybe, akkor a “Time Study Man” megállapitja, hogy az operáció elvégzésére mennyi idő kell, amit rendesen az óra ezred részeivel jelez. Ha tehát egy ilyen operáció elvégzésére például 0.125 (125 ezred) óra kell, akkor abból egy óra alatt 8 darabot kell késziteni, mert egy órában a 125 ezred nyolcszor található.

A bónusz rendszer szerint ennél a munkánál a munkásnak az órabérért nyolc darabot kell késziteni és külön fizetést kap a nyolc darabon felüliekért. Ennek az ugynevezett idő egységnek a megállapitása szabja meg, hogy vajjon a munka jó-e avagy **rossz?**

De az is világos, hogy az időegység megállapitása függ a Time Study Man jóindulatától, függ attól, akivel dolgoztat, amikor az egységet megállapitja. És függ attól, hogy minden további körülmények ugyanazok-e akkor is, amikor a munkán valóban dolgoznak, mint voltak az egység megállapitásánál. Mert sok esetben például az egységet gyorsabb menetü gépen állapitják meg, mint amilyen gépre teszik produkcióra. Máskor az anyag is cserélődik. Az egységet mondjuk nem olyan kemény acélon vették fel. Máskor megint a vágó eszközök lesznek életlenek, stb. Szóval számtalan ok van, ami még az esetleg eredeti **jó munkát** is rossz munkává teszi. Innen van az állandó kérdezősködés.

Az tény, hogy a munkák között a bónusz eshetőséget nézve igen nagy a különbség. Éppen azért igen sok helyen a foremanok visszaélnek ezzel a dologgal és vagy a kedveltebb munkásaiknak adják a **jó munkát**, vagy pedig sápot huznak nak érte, amit itt “graft”-nek neveznek.

IGAZSÁGTALANUL JUTALMAZ

Abban a csoportban, ahol én dolgozom, nem mondhatnám, hogy bármi ilyesmi is volna. Lehetőleg arányosan osztják be a munkát, mindenkinek jut rossz is meg rosszabb is. De hallom más gyárakban dolgozó munkásoktól, hogy a bónusz rendszer milyen veszekedésekre és egymás iránti gyülölködésre vezet.

Nekem, aki “morális” szempontból is vizsgálom a dolgokat, az tünik fel leginkább, hogy az átlagos munkást az ilyen rendszernél nem maga a munka, hanem csak a bónusz érdekli. Nem azt nézi, hogy a társadalom részére csinál-e valami hasznosat, hanem csak azt, hogy melyik munkánál mit lehet keresni.

A bónusz rendszernél a legtöbb gyárban a fizetés arányában adják a bónuszt is. Tegyük fel, hogy egy munkából 40 darabot kell csinálni óránként, de a munkás 50 darabot készitett, akkor 25 százalékkal termelt többet és igy órabérének 25 százalékát kapja bónusz gyanánt. Ha az a munkás, mondjuk 80 cent órabérért dolgozott, akkor a bónusz 20 centet tesz ki, ellenben ha az órabére csak 68 cent, akkor a bónusz csak 17 cent. Igy az első munkás egy dollárt, a második pedig csak 85 centet kap **teljesen azonos munkáért.** Ez a munkások közötti ellenségeskedésre vezet.

Viszont ha a munkás szerencsés és **jó munkát** kap, akkor többet keres, ha mindjárt lustálkodik is, ellenben annak, akinek rossz munka jutott, nem tud keresni, akármennyire iparkodik is. Igy a bónusz rendszer nem azt jutalmazza, aki igazán megérdemelné, hanem azt, akinek szerencséje van, vagy aki behizelegte magát a foremannak, avagy aki bünös módon megvesztegetéshez folyamodik. A bónusz rendszer tehát magában hordja az ily erkölcstelen eljárás csiráit.

És végre, amit ugyan legutóljára emlitek, de azért a legfontosabb, a bónusz rendszernél a munkások vigyáznak, nehogy elrontsák a **jó munkát**, mert ha tul sokat termelnek, akkor levágják az egységet. Igy a bónusz rendszer nem hogy emelné a termelést, **de igen sok esetben egyenesen korlátozza.**

Bizonyára vannak olyanok, akik a bónusz rendszerről még sok más káros tulajdonságot is fel tudnának sorolni, de az itt elmondottak is eléggé bizonyitják, hogy ennek a rendszernek is követni kell az elődjét, a darabszámu munkát, — a feledés homályába.

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gos Értekezlettől $1120.45-t készpénzzel indul el az évi munkája végzésére, még nagyobb támogatást fog kapni a magyar munkásoktól.

Hering gyülésvezető munkástárs lelkes szavakban mond köszönetet a delegátusoknak a végzett munkájukért, a szakácsnőknek a kitünő ellátásért, akik Bercsa, Kollár, Molnár és Danka munkástársnők voltak. Hering munkástárs felszólitására a delegátusok és a jelenlevő hallgatóság $44.50-el járult hozzá a clevelandiak kiadásához. Majd berekeszti az értekezlet tanácskozását.

Nagy érdeklődés és izgalom mellett lett ezután megejtve az országos sorsolás.

Kollár József,
Székely Sándor,
jegyzők.

IPARI DEMOKRÁCIA IPARI SZABADSÁGOT JELENT

Az Ipari Szabadság záloga a bérrendszer megszüntetése

BÉRMUNKÁS

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42

"Laptulajdonosok és szerkesztők figyelmébe"

(gb.) Az Elmer Davis által vezetett Office of War Information hivatal megszervezte az idegen nyelvü sajtó osztályát, melynek vezetője, Alan Cranston, augusztus 25-én gyülésre hivta az amerikai idegen gyelvü sajtó szerkesztőit és kiadóit. A New York városban tartott gyülésen Mr. Cranston minden félreértést elkerülő módon, nyíltan és őszintén megmondotta a szerkesztőknek és kiadóknak, HOGY AZ IDEGEN NYELVÜ SAJTÓ BIZONYOS RÉSZÉNEK BE KELL SZÜNTETNI A BURKOLT NÁCI ÉS FASIZTA PROPAGANDÁT, ELLENKEZŐ ESTEBEN AZ IDEGEN NYELVÜ SAJTÓ ELNYOMÁSÁRA TÖREKVŐ ERŐK GYŐZEDELMESKEDNI FOGNAK.

Mr. Crantston erősen kihangsulyozta, hogy egyes német, olasz, magyar, román és bulgár lapok amig készséggel adnak le minden hirt a hadikötvényekről, polgári védelemről, sorozásról, ár vagy árukorlátozásról, addig soha sem nyomatnak ki olyasmit, ami a nácizmusra vagy a fasizmusra kedvezőtlen lenne. Az egyik német lapkiadó ezt igy magyarázta meg: "A német-amerikaiak nem szeretnek hallani Hitlerről és a nácizmusról. Valahányszor a nácizmust támadják azt hiszik, hogy rájuk céloznak. Én náei ellenes vagyok," — mondotta, — "de az olvasóim nem vásárolnának náci ellenes ujságot".

Az ilyen szerkesztők és lapkiadók vigyáznak, ne hogy a nácizmusról valami elitélőt irjanak. És mint ahogy Mr. Cranston nagyon helyesen jegyzi meg, "AKI NEM TÁMADJA A NÁCIZMUST, AZ PÁRTOLÓJA ANNAK!"

Mr. Cranston többször kiemelte, hogy a német lapra mondott dolgok vonatkoznak a magyar lapokra is. Mi természetesen kiegészítjük azzal, hogy Hitler és a nácizmus helyébe Horthyt meg a magyar fasizmust, a magyar fehér terrort tesszük. És mint azt már annyiszor megirtuk, AZ AMERIKAI MAGYAR SAJTÓ ÓRIÁSI TÖBBSÉGE NEM CSAK, HOGY NEM IRT HORTHY ÉS A MAGYAR FASIZMUS ELLEN, DE MÉG PEARL HARBOR UTÁN IS DICSHIMNUSZOKAT ZENGEDEZTEK RÓLUK. Sőt még ma is találunk gondosan elbujtatott náci vagy Horthy mellettes propaganda anyagot a lapjaikban.

És mint mi, ugy a hivatalos közegek is jól látják, hogy hadikötvények árulásával, ambulancok vételével és hazafias mellveregetéssel nem lehet elgáncsolni az igazi lényeget, a fasizmus és annak minden válfaja elleni igazi küzdelmet.

És mint ahogyan mi számos esetben kimutattuk, hogy a náci propagandát elbujtatják versekbe, elbeszélésekbe, szerkesztői üznetekbe és mindenféle más módon, nehogy rajtafogják őket, ugy Mr. Cranston is észrevette ezt és azért mondotta a következőket:

"őrízkedjetek az olyan alkalmazottaktól, akik Pearl Harbor előtt hüségesen szolgálták az ellenséget. Mindaddig, amig az ujságjaiknál dolgoznak, ellenséges propaganda ugyan nem jelenik meg a nagy cimekben, de ott lesz a folytatólagos regényekben, a tárcákban, az olvasóktól kapott levelekben, könyvszemlékben, sőt talán még a jövendölésben is. Mindaddig, amig a lap összes munkatársai megbizhatók nem lesznek, mindaddig amig önök ujságjuk minden sorát lelkiismeretesen Amerika és a szabadságért folyó harc szolgálatába nem állitják, nem adják teljes részesedésüket."

Az Office of War Information hivatal követelése tehát az, hogy a laptulajdonosok és szerkesztők dobják ki azokat, akik Pearl Harbor előtt hiven szolgálták az ellenséget. Ez nagyon helyes. Csak most már azt kell még megkérdeznünk Mr. Cranstontól, hogy mi történjék abban az esetben, amikor MAGUK A LAPTULAJDONOSOK ÉS SZERKESZTŐK SZOLGÁLTÁK AZ ELLENSÉGET OLYAN HIVEN NEMCSAK PEARL HARBORIG, DE MÉG AZUTÁN TÖBB HÓNAPPAL IS?

Mert sajnos és örök szégyene az amerikai magyarságnak, HOGY AZ AMERIKAI MAGYAR SAJTÓ ÓRIÁSI TÖBBSÉGÉNÉL EZ AZ ESET ÁLL FENN.

Konvenciós Képek

Megjöttek:

Háboru van és a mi delegátusaink nem kis üzlet emberek, nyugalomba vonult kistőkések, kiknek a nyugodt emésztéshez szükséges az, hogy egy évben egyszer kiszellőztesse a "forradalmi" érzelmeit, nem, a mi delegátusaink munkások, kiknek a többsége hadiiparban dolgozik, kiknek a munkából való elszabadulása nem csak anyagi veszteséget, de nem kis nehézséget is okoz, azonkivül a gumi és gazolin korlátozás volt az amely azt a félelmet keltette bennünk, hogy ez a konvenció nélkülözni fogja a távol lakó munkástársakat. De ugyan kellemes volt a csalódás, amikor az értekezlet előtti estén a barátságos vacsorán egymás után jöttek Chicago, New York, Buffaló, Pittsburgh jól ismert delegátusai, kik örömmel, szeretettel üdvözölték egymást és rögtön megindult a vitatkozás amelynek csak a

Vacsora

vetett véget, amely nagyon elütött a szokásos banketektől mert nem cigányzene és "müvészi" müsor kisérte a jó vacsorát, hanem komoly eszmecsere, amelynek az irányitása Lefkovits munkástárs avatott kezébe volt letéve. Pika, Fishbein, Zára, Hering, Geréb stb. munkástársak világos, céltudatosan forradalmi beszéde, megadták az irányvonalát a magyar ipari forradalmárok harcainak és igazolása volt a Bérmunkás irógárdájának, amelynek az irányvonalával való szolidaritást fejezte ki. Éjfél utánig oda adó figyelemmel hallgatták a felszólalásokat és kétségtelen, hogy nem csak a kitünő vacsora miatt, de főleg a rövid előadások rendkivül értékessé tették a szombat esti pár órát.

A konvencio:

Az éjfél utánig tartó vacsora után természetes volt, hogy a konvenció csak 10 órakor kezdődhetett meg. A formaságok elintézése után a lapbizottság jelentését olvassa fel Lefkovits munkástárs, amelynek a veleje az, hogy talán először a Bérmunkás életébe 500 dolláron felüli maradványt jelent, amely a konvenció folyamán ezer dollárra emelkedik. Utána a delegátusok jelentkeznek, mind egyik delegátus ma arról panaszkodik, hogy tulsokat kell dolgozni, kevés az idő az agitációra, egy két helyen az ellenzék müködése akadályozza a munkát, de ha a delegátus nem is tudja felkeresni az olvasókat ,maga az olvasó küldi be nem csak az előfizetést, de a hátralékot és a felül fizetést is. Leglelkesebb irásbeli jelentése az akroni munkástársnők jelentése, melyet Schwindt munkástársnő küldött, dollárokkal kibélelve és fokozott munkát igérve.

A lap szellemi irányvonaláról Geréb, Kovách munkástársak tették a jelentést, amely után a szavazólapokat nézi át egy bizottság, a beérkezett szavazatokat felbontva megállapitva, hogy egyhangulag a lap irányvonala mellett nyilatkoztak az olvasók, egy ellenvélemény sincs.

De volt a delegátusok között, alapos és jogos kritika, amely jóindulattal és épitéssel birálta el a lap tartalmát, rámutatva a hibákra, amely azonban nagyon kevés volt, de a lényeggel 100 százalékban egyetért a konvenció és mégujitotta a mult évi konvenció erre vonatkozó határozatát.

Egyik határozata az, hogy az épitő gárdát 50 tagsággal egésziti ki ugy a férfi, mint a női gárdát, minden gárdista havi egy dollárral járul hozzá a lap fenntartásához, amelynek ellenében minden dollár után egy-egy uj cimet küldhetnek, amely 6 hónapra fogja kapni a lapot.

Eddig 19 jelentkezett, a lapbizottság várja az uj jelentkezőket, kik a konvenciótol, konvencióig beküldik a havi egy dollárt.

FIZETÉS EMELÉS:

Fishbein munkástárs egy szép beszédben mondotta el azt a nagyszerü munkát, amelyet Lefkovits munkástárs végez és a drágaságra való tekintettel javasolta a fizetésének a felemelését, tekintve, hogy a mostani félfizetése nem felel meg a viszonyoknak.

A delegátusok bólogatnak, de mielőtt tárgyalásra került volna a javaslat, felállt Lefkovits munkástárs és sztrájkkal való fenyegetéssel utasitotta vissza a javaslatot, melyet a megijedt Hering munkástárs sietve vette le a napirendről.

Utána a napirend kimerülésével Pika, Zára, Fishbein, Geréb, Kucher munkástársak bélyegezték a rombolók szándékait, akik látva az akcióik csődjét még csak be sem mertek nézni a konvencióra, nehogy a lehetetlen álláspontjukat meg kelljen védeni.

A delegátusok egy jól végzett munka tudatában, egy szebb jövő reményében, egymást megértve, szeretve távoztak el, hogy dolgozzanak az Ipari Demokráciáért.

Hering munkástárs lelkes szavakkal zárta be a konvenciót.

(K.E.)

"Szervezés" — "Nevelés" — "Felszabadulás"
Az Ipari Forradalmárok Szentháromsága

AMIT NEM HAGYHATUNK SZÓNÉLKÜL

....CS...Ő MEGJEGYZÉSEI

MÁSODIK FRONT TANULSÁGAI

Az európai front megnyitása nagyon rövid időn belül elvitathatatlanul meg fog történni, hogy ezzel enyhitsék a Szovjetekre nehezedő rettenetes nyomást, másrészt, hogy megakadályozzák azt, hogy az oroszok visszaszoritása után, Hitler másutt használhassa fel a katonai gépezetét.

Hogy a második front megnyitásának a követelése, nem rosszakaratu akna munka volt, mint azt a reakció részéről beállitani szerették volna, hanem a legjobb ut a nácizmus megsemmisitésére azt igazolja uj frontok nyitása.

Az amerikai ofenziva amely együtt indult a kinaiak ellentámadásával, mind a két helyen jelentős eredményeket ért el, mert a japán imperialisták, nem tudták az erejüket egy helyre koncentrálni, kénytelenek azt megosztani és igy vereséget szenvedni.

A Szovjet amely ezideig hiába sürgette a hathatós segitséget, megnyitott egy "második" frontot a moszkvai offenzivával, amelyel egyidejüleg erős amerikai és angol légi offenziva indult a náci közlekedési vonalak és a hadi ipar szétrombolására, ma még korai volna végleges eredményről beszélni, de eltekintve a ténylegesen elért eredményektől ezideig két tény észlelhetö: pillanatnyi enyhülés a stalingrádi fronton miután a tartalékot a nácik kénytelenek megosztani a moszkvai fronttal, a másik, hogy a nácik az Egyiptom elleni indulásra kész offenziváját kénytelenek voltak elhalasztani mert a légi és a moszkvai offenziva elleni védelemre kénytelenek voltak több száz repülöt az afrikai hadszintérről elvonni.

Ha a szünet nélkül folyó és folyton erősödő légi támadások nem fognak megállni, a közlekedési vonalakat és a gyárakat, valamint a hadi bázisokat szétrombolják és meginditsák a szárazföldi támadást ,ezzel bekapcsolódnak a most folyó orosz offenzivába, kétségtelen, hogy a náci hordákra olyan csapást mérnek még a tél beállta előtt, amelyet kiheverni nem tudnak és ami a legfontosabb megmentik a hatalmas olajtelepeket a szétrombolástól.

PROFIT KORLÁTOZÁSA

A háborus helyzet, amikor millió és millió ember áll fegyverben, amely nem végez produktiv munkát, de a közösségnek kell őket élelmezni, ruházni, fizetni és ellátni "szerszámmal" fegyver, tank repülögép, munició stb.-vel, óriási terhet ró az államháztartásra, amelyet nem tud fedezni a normális bevételeiből, tehát az adók többszörösre emelésével fedezi egy kis hányadát, mig a nagy részét kölcsönök (bondok eladásával) fedezi a kiadásainak. Hatalmas aparátus dolgozik azon, hogy minél több uj bevételi forrást találjon az állam ahelyett, hogy az egyetlen természetes módhoz a nagy vagyonhoz fordulna és azt állitaná be szükségleteinek a fedezésére. Ha az államnak joga van arra, hogy a háborus veszély idején a polgárainak a millióit fegyverbe szóllitsa és a közösség védelmére az életének a feláldozását követelje, akkor kézenfekvő dolog az, hogy a holt vagyonok a védelemre való felhasználása sokkal természetesebb valami lenne, ha a társadalom nem osztályokra volna szakitva, hanem ténylegesen egyenlő jogu és érdekü egyénekből állana. De igy az erősebb, a gazdasági javak birtokában levö osztály igyekszik kibujni a terhek alól és arra törekszik, hogy azt a dolgozók osztályára háritsa át. A mai háborus kiadások azonban oly óriási nagyok, hogy azoknak a munkásosztályra való áthárítása lehetetlen és igy a kormányzat kénytelen mind erösebben az uralkodó osztályt is bevonni a terhek viselésébe oly mértékben, amilyen szervezett erővel a munkásság erre nyomást tud gyakorolni. Angliában, ahol a munkásság szervezett ereje jóval nagyobb mint az Egyesült Államokban már erős korlátok emelődtek a jövedelmek korlátok között való tartására, mig itt még mindig azt a dajka mesét fujják a tökések propaganditái, hogy a profit tul adóztatása a jövedelmek korlátozása megöli a kezdeményezési erőt, az ambiciót, ami a háborus termelés rovására menne és ami a fö a magántulajdon szentségének a megsértését jelentené.

Az első kifogás ellen, hogy csak a profit az amely a termelés fokozására képes, elég példa a Szovjetek helyzete, ahol dacára, hogy a magánprofit megszünt, ugy a termelés mint az általános áldozatkészség terén messze felülmulja a profitrendszeren épülő államokat. Nincs az a bolond aki elhinné azt, hogy a termelés hátrányára volna az, ha például Barbara Hutton "csak" évi 25 ezer dollárt költhetne el a milliós jövedelméből, mig a többit az állam venné el, legfeljebb nem tudna uj férjet vásárolni, de ugyan ugy nem befolyásolná a termelés menetét az sem, ha a többi milliós jövedelmek korlátozva lennének, legfeljebb ha ezek munkájára szükség volna az államnak, ugy megvannak az eszközei azok igénybevételére. Természetes, hogy értéktelen volna a korlátozás, ha az csak egyénekre vonatkozna, mert akkor a payrollra helyeznék a családtagokat, tehát a jövedelem korlátozás család szerint volna értendő.

Még egy érvet hoznak fel a jövedelem korlátozása ellen, hogy sulyosan érintené a luxus ipart és a háztartási alkalmazottakat. Ez az érv legkevésbé helytálló, mert ahogy nem lehet az állam tekintettel arra, hogy a gazolin állomások, az autó üzletek tulajdonosai a korlátozások miatt elvesztik az üzleteiket, éppen ugy eltekinthet a luxus ipar pusztulása felett, amelynek a munkásai helyet fognak találni a hadiiparban, ugyan ugy a nagyszámu személyi szolgálatra alkalmazottak is és hogy nem tudnák fentartani a nagy palotákat az csak előnyös volna, mert enyhitené a lakáshiányt. Egyes városok kiadták a jelszót, hogy dolgozz vagy harcolj, ezt természetesen nem alkalmazták a tökésekre, legfeljebb a hóbókra most a közveszély idején nagyon helyes volna az a jelszó, hogy csak az egyen aki dolgozik, a sok ezer mások munkájából élő paraziták a munkára kényszerités erösen enyhitené a munkáshiányt a farmokon.

A nagytöke ma még kézzel-lábbal tiltakozik a jövedelem korlátozása ellen, pedig ez csak az első lépés, amelyet feltétlen követni fog a nagy vagyonok a közösség szolgálatába állitása és a profit megszüntetése.

NEGYEDIK ÉV

A második világháboru a negyedik évébe lépett, az elmult éveivel együtt növekedett hatalmassá, soha el nem képzelhető borzalommá, hogy a negyedik évében tényleg az egész világon tombol a harc. Ez nem csak azért világháboru mert a világ minden részéből vesznek benne részt, de azért, mert a harc mindenütt folyik és egy-két "semleges" ország kivételével az egész emberiség harcban áll.

Az elmult három év millió és millió katona életén kivül a civil lakosok százezreit pusztitotta el. A fasizta államok borzalmas harcmodora, amely az öldöklést a frontokról átviszi a harctértől száz és száz mérföldre levő városok békés lakosaira, asszonyaira, gyermekeire, rettenetesebbé tette a háborut a középkor vad népeinek harcainál. Varsó, Rotterdam, London, Belgrád világvárosok támadása után, az ipari városok teljes szisztematikus kiirtása következett, veszett kutyákkal szemben nem lehet csak bunkós bottal harcolni és igy csak a nácik akciójának a reakciója volt, Berlin, Köln és a nagy német ipari városok bombázása. A nácik hihetetlen felkészültsége, a katonai gépezetének elképesztő nagysága hatalmas győzelmeket hozott a fel nem készült, a belsö reakció által elárult országokkal szemben, az elsö 20 hónap sikerei vakmerővé, elbizakodottá tette Hitlert és megtámadta a Szovjeteket, abban a reménybben, hogy három hónap alatt eltörli a szovjet rendszert. Még jól emlékszünk a Himlerek buta és gyalázatos kijelentéseikre, hogy csak had pusztitsák egymást az oroszok és a nácik, nekünk ahoz semmi közünk. Azóta beigazolódott sok minden főleg az, hogy a vörös hadsereget, az egyesült náci hadak, a német, olasz, finn, magyar, román, bolgár teljes katonai ereje, amelyet még a francia, spanyol fasizta légiók is támogattak, még 15 hónap után sem tudták leverni, megsemmisiteni. Óriási területet foglaltak el, de az ár amit érte fizettek borzalmas volt, a náci hordákból milliók pusztultak el, de rettenetes volt az oroszok vesztessége is, emberben és 20 éven keresztül koplalva, végsőkig megfeszitett erövel felépitett ipari városaival, erőmüveivel, de beigazolódott az is, hogy a Szovjet munkás nem a terror alatt türte el a rendszert, hanem az élete árán is ragaszkodik hozzá és olyan hősiességgel áll szemben a tulerővel, amilyet a történelem ezideig nem ismert. Az orosz hadsereg hősiessége megmentette Angliát és Amerikát az inváziótól, módot adott a felkészülésre és igazán itt volna az ideje annak, hogy a szovjet is ne csak elismerést, hanem tényleges segitséget is kapjon a szövetségeseitől, hogy a háboru egész terhét ne csak az ö vállai viseljék. Ma már mind és mind több hang hallatszik ,amely ezt a segitséget sürgeti, ez a tisztességes hang elnyomja a Chicago Tribune, a New York Daily News, a Peglerek, magyarban, a Kudlikok, Himlerek szovjet ellenes uszitásait.

Három év letelte után, még a borzalmaknak a vége beláthatatlanul messze van, a nácizmus kiirtása még millió és millió emberéletbe fog kerülni, de feltétlen bizonyos az is, hogy az emberiség, amely ezt a borzalmakat átéli, nem fog még egy ilyen világégést megengedni, fel fog ébredni és elfogja törölni azt a rendszert, amely ilyen borzalmakat zuditott az emberiségre és megteremt egy olyan társadalmi rendszert, amelyben nem lesz nyomor, kizsákmányolás, de nem teremhetnek Hitlerek sem és nem lesz háboru sem, hanem egy boldog, megelégedett, óriási léptekkel előre haladó emberiség fog élni egymással békében és szeretetben.

Hogy ez igy legyen, azon a szerény erőnket egyesitve kell dolgoznunk Ipari Unionisták.

CSONGRÁDI CSöDBEN

Tatyu bajba van, a hatóság a nagy adósságok miatt lezárta a náci Egyetértés lapvállalatot. Ja kérem az idők változtak, a náci dögvésszel kacérkodó atyafiak igyekeztek lekerülni a náci lap cimszalagjáról, mielőtt a Horthy-Hitler szimpátia bajokat okozna. Most már a Horthy követség sem tartózkodik Amerikában, hogy a hóna alá nyult volna az adósságokba fuldokló Csongrádinak és olyan "jó barátai" sincsennek mint Himlernek, hogy egy vagón ujságpapirost juttattak volna el Bridgeportra, mint azt eljutatták Detroitba, igy a tatyu elmerült. A Pearl Harbor óta teljesen szintelenné ijedt lapja, ha megszünik senkinek sem fog hiányozni.

Nyilnak a magyar szemek és reméljük, hogy az Egyetértést követni fogja a többi magyar kutmérgezö részvétnélküli pusztulása.

öSSZEILLENEK

Himler testvér hasábokon keresztül védi a leghirhedtebb és legreakciósabb polgári ujságirót Peglert, felháborodik azon, hogy a szervezett munkásság tiltakozik az undok förmedvényei ellen és valósággal szobrot követel Peglernek.

Nagyon helyén való Himler

A szocializmus előfeltételei

A szocializmus első föltétele a béke és demokratikus jogi állapotok, amelynek a kihasználásával feltudjuk épiteni azon intézményeket amelyekben képesek leszünk azon erőket gyüjteni melyek szükségesek, először az előfeltételeket és később magát a szocialista társadalom megteremtésére. Amint az irásom bekezdésnél mondon, először békére van szükség, mert amig a háboru folyik nem intézkedhetünk és nem cselekedhetünk. Egy kicsit furcsán hangzik, de ugy van. Hogy a háboru után milyenek lesznek a jogi állapotok arról majd akkor. Most csak arról, hogy a jelen és adott körülmények között mit cselekedhetünk. Ami a jövöt illeti legyünk elkészülve, mondjuk a legjobbra.

Tehát, hogy teremthessünk békét mi munkások, mikor még annyi erövel sem rendelkeztünk a háboru kitörésekor nemzetközi értelemben, hogy a háborut meg tudtuk volna kadályozni? Igy tehát a munkások részéről béke megteremtése szóba sem jöhet, sem pedig az elöfeltételek kikényszeritése. Téves az az elgondolás is, hogy a háboru szülte nyomor a szocializmus előfeltétele és az, hogy elégséges a szocializmus megteremtéséhez. A háboru vagy munkanélküliség okozta nyomor, csak szükségessé teszi, de nem előfeltétele a szocializmusnak.

Van egy másik társadalmi jelenség amelynek a munkásság részéröl való kisajátitása révén sokan a szocializmust vélik megvalósitani. Ez az, hogy az imperialista háborut átalakitani polgárháboruvá. A háboru nem szüli meg a szocializmus előfeltételeit. Szülhet lázadást, polgárháborut és még nagyobb szenvedést, de nem szocializmust.

Milyen elöfeltételekre van tehát szükség, hogy a nagy társadalmi alakitást tervszerüen és céltudatosan a nép összesége érdekében és a termelés megzavarása nélkül lehessen végrehajtani?

Most, mielött a szocializmus épitéséhez hozzá fognánk, kell tisztáznunk ne hogy tévedésekbe essünk az előfeltételek megbirálásában. Mert a szociális termelés bevezetése az előfeltételek minöségétöl függ, hogy mennyire igen és mennyire nem lehet a szocializmust megvalósitani. Kétszer is meg kell gondolnunk mielött a szocializmus kiépitéséhez hozzá fognánk, mert ne gondoljuk, hogy minden előfeltétel a szocializmus előfeltétele. Vannak mélyreható társadalmi reformok, amelyeknek szinte meg vannak a maga előfeltételei. Ilyenek a termelö eszközök fejlettsége a töke összpontosulása, egy nagymérvü munkanélküliség és több amire hivatkozás történt több alkalommal. Az eddigiek mind kilettek próbálva a multban ksebb nagyobb mértékben. Szomoru emlék, drága tapasztalat. Itt kell nekünk szocialistáknak figyelmeseknek lenni, hogy a több féle előfeltételek közül megtudjuk külömböztetni a helyeset. A tévedések elkerülése végett az IWW-nak van egy ajálata, még pedig az oly sokszor hangoztatott szervezés, nevelés. Mert tudva azt, hogy semmit, de semmit ami közérdekü nem lehet csak ugy, mondással vagy mivel ugy szeretnénk, megteremteni. A most a társadalom méhében duló harcok, amelyeket a tőkés rendszer elavultsága idézett elö és változtatja meg a társadalom épitményét, sokak szerint szocializmus előfeltételei. Még pedig avval a megindokolással, hogy a politikai machináció, az iparok felett ellenörzést kezd gyakorolni azaz felcsapott gazdasági intézkedő prókátornak. A kormánynak ezen cselekvése, az ipari demokrácia, vagyis a szocializmus közelségében helyez, de nem valósitja meg. Ez még a szocializmus előfeltételének is csak ugy volna nevezhetö. ha a munkásság szervezett erövel és harccal kényszeritette volna a kormányt erre a cselekvésre.

Bármilyen változások történjenek ugy társadalmi mint gazdasági életünkben, ha nem harccal kényszeritette ki a változást a munkásság, nem nevezhetö szocializmus előfeltételének. Az eddig tárgyalt és megemlitett előfeltételek a munkásság szervezetlensége sülyesztették a jellegtelenségbe. Igy hát ha történelmi hivatásunknak eleget akarunk tenti, ami a szocializmus megvalósitása és nem akarjuk megvárni mig a fejlödés reánk kényszeriti azt, hozzá kell, hogy fogjunk a szervezetünk felépitéséhez.

Nem egy havidijat kollektáló ügynökséget, mint a CIO vagy AFL, hanem ipari szervezetet, ipari tartalommal. És oly forradalmi nevelést, mely a szocializmus iránti érzés és óhaj kitermelését eredményezné. A háborus állapotok megnehezitik a szervező tevékenységét, de ha csak annyit is teszünk amit az adott körülmények megengednek a szervezés terén gyüjthetünk annyi erőt, hogy a béke eljövetele nem fog készületlenül találni.

Ha a munkásság a béketárgyalás megkezdésénél rendelkezni fog annyi erővel és társadalmi ismeretekkel, forradalmi elszántsággal és szocialista akarattal, csak akkor és nem máskép lesz képes a béketárgyalást hatalmába keriteni. Ne felejtsük el, minden ugy történik és minden csak azért történik mert mi munkások ugy akarjuk. Vagy tudatosan adjuk a hozzájárulásunkat, vagy pedig közömbösségünkkel járulunk hozzá. A szocialimussal is igy vagyunk, csak akkor lesz ha mi akarjuk.

Az IWW hiv, gyertek a kerete oly tágas, hogy minden munkást befogad bármilyen munkát végez a társadalomban, de oly szük is, hogy egy élösdinek sincs ott helye.

Bischof

Az országos sorsolásban az alábbiak számai lettek a nyertesek: az 504-es számmal $30.00-t Spolyár, Chicago; a 2012-es számmal $20.00-t J. Bank, Akron; $10-10 dollárt az 5434-es számmal Anna Haasz, Flushing és a 7400-es számmal M. Zajacz, Cleveland nyertek. A hat darab öt dolláros dijakat nyerték: St. Gecsö Garfield az 13255; R. Kurkovszky Copeland a 98993 számmal: a Coraopolisi Magyar Otthon a 6793. számmal;J. Sike Dearborn az 1106. számmal; G. Stengeri, Dearborn az 14357. számmal és Mrs. Haas. Flushing a 16801. számmal.

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védelme mert amit Pegler angolba jelent, azt jelenti ez a Himler magyarban, csak idö kérdése az, hogy a magyar tömegek is meglássák az ö aljasságát és éppen olyan felháborodva tiltakozzanak a mocskolódásai ellen, mint az amerikai testvéreik teszik.

Szobrot Peglernek. kiálltja Himler ur, mi már meg is terveztük a szobrot; egy kövér nagy tőkés és Pegler a fő alakok, ahol a tőkés átnyujtja a fizettséget Peglernek a szolgálataiért, a mellék alak Himler volna, amint hasoncsuszva a talpát nyalja a nagytőkének és félszemmel azt lesve, hogy mikor hullik le neki is egy kis morzsa a pénzeszsákból.

ELVINYILATKOZAT

A munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség ninesen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelö eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni összpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszik arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharc esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden az egy iparban — vagy ha kell, valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai heszüntessék a munkát bármikor, ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti.

E maradi jelszó helyett:"Tisztességes napibért, tisztességes napi munkáért" ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "LE A BÉRRENDSZERREL!"

A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül.

CHICAGO — MILLWAUKEE KERÜLETI SAJTÓ ÜNNEPÉLYT

rendeznek az IWW Chicago és Millwaukee kerületben levő csoportjai a Finn és Magyar propaganda csoportokkal egyetemben

1942 szept. 13-án vasárnap
egész nap a

TWIN CITY PARKBAN
(Mozina Park)

1120 Elmwood Avenue, North Chicago, Ill. Waukegan közelében.

A kerthelyiség megválasztásánál a rendezőség figyelemmel volt arra, hogy az ugy chicagoból, mint millwaukeeból könnyen megközelithetö legyen mig a közben esö Racine, Waukegan és Kenosha szomszédságában van és igy a legmegfelelőbb. A helyiség minden időben alkalmas. Szép idő esetén a kerthelyiség, esős vagy hüvös idő esetén pedig tágas fedett helyiségekben szórakozhatnak a vendégek.

A sajtóünnepély a szezón kimagasló eseménye lesz. Müsor, tánc, különféle társasjátékok. Izletes ennivalók és hüsitők.

Az ünnepély jövedelme az IWW sajtó, ugymint: "INDUSTRIALISTI" finn napilap; "INDUSTRIAL WORKER" angol heti és a "BÉRMUNKÁS" magyar hetilapok anyagi támogatását szolgálja.

Kössük össze a hasznosat a kellemessel és tömegesen jelenjünk meg ezen SAJTÓ ÜNNEPÉLYEN. Már most felszólitjuk lapunk olvasóit, hogy jegyezzék elö e napot és szólitsák fel ismerőseiket is.

Utirány:

A 41-es uton (Skokie Highway) az Illinois 120-ig, ott keletre fordul Waukegan felé. Waukeganbe vegye a Jackson Streetet délre a Tenth Streetig; a Tenth Streeten nyugatra az Elmwood Ave.-ig, ahonnan a Park egy block délre.

A 42-es uton (Sheridan Road) North Chicagoba, ott vegye a Tenth Streetet nyugatra az Elmwood Ave.-ig.

A Bérmunkás Női Gárdába befizettek

az 1942—43-ik évre:

Mrs. A. Alakszay, Akron	5.00
Mrs. J. Bischof. Akron	5.00
Mrs. J. Deák, Akron	5.00
Mrs. L. Decsi, Akron	5.00
Mrs.özv.I. Farkas, Akron	5.00
Mrs.Ifj. J. Farkas. Akron	5.00
Mrs. Wm. Fay, Akron	5.00
Mrs. P. Kern ,Akron	5.00
Mrs. G. Rauch, Akron	5.00
Mrs. J. Schwindt. Akron	5.00
Mrs. J. Vizi. Akron	5.00
Mrs. J. Fodor, C. Falls..	8.00
Mrs. L. Lefkovits, Clev.	5.00
Mrs. J. Zára, Chicago	5.00
Mrs. J. Kollár, Cleveland	5.00
Mrs. S. Visi, Lincoln Prk.	5.00
Mrs. A. Molnár, Cleveland	6.00
Mrs. A. Kucher, Pittsb.	4.00
Mrs. E. Kovách, Clev.	4.00
Mrs. Török, Atl. City	5.00
Mrs. Mary Mayer, Phila	4.00
Mrs. M. Danka, Cleveland	2.00
Mrs. L. Gánch, Carolina	12.00
Kath. Estergall, Clev.	1.00

Fishbein L. mtárs jelentése az Országos Értekezlethez

Tisztelt Munkástársak

Pár év mult el azóta, amikor én mint a new yorkiak küldöttje találkoztam munkástársaimmal az IWW magyar tagjainak évi konvencióján. Igazán örültem annak, hogy voltak többen new yorki munkástársak akik kötelességüknek tartották, hogy az IWW magyar tagjainak a konvencióján megjelenjenek. Mindig nehéz volt küldöttett választanunk, leginkább azért, mert a két napos utazás és a 12 órát egyhuzamban tartó gyülésezés egyes delegátus munkástársainkat annyira kimeritette, hogy néhány napi pihenésre lett volna szükségük amikor New Yorkba visszaértek.

Ebben az évben azonban más okok voltak, amfért nem tudtunk rajtam kivül más delegátust választani. Ezen okok miatt jelentésem lényegét irásban teszem meg az utólagos félreértések és az esetleges félremagyarázások fedézésére. Mint jól tudják New Yorkban voltak többen olyan munkástársak akiket mozgalmi szempontból "tehetségeseknek" biráltunk el, akik a gyüléseken szabatosan tudtak felszólalni, sőt többen jó népgyülési előadók voltak, mig egyesek a tollforgatás mesterségét gyakoroltak.

A mozgalmi müködésünk teljesen rendben ment, mindaddig amig hitleri nácizmus meg nem inditotta a hóditási lavinát mely az egész világ berendezkedését összekavarta, ember és ember között a részben ledöntött vallási és faji válaszfalakat visszaállitva nem arról beszéltek többé a régi harcos forradalmárok, hogy az ipari unionizmus eszméjét hogyan lehetne hathatósabban terjeszteni, hanem arról voltak sokszor a hajnali órákig nyuló viták, hogy vajjon a Hitlerizmus a fejlődési folyamat mely végeredményben a kapitalizmust fogja kipusztitani, avagy visszafejlődés, mely a munkásosztály szervezeteit és jogait irtja ki a föd szinéről.

Ezek a viták már akkor kezdtek kiélesedni, amikor a Hitler-Stalin paktum a világkorát élte, annak elmultával aztán annyira elmérgesedtek, hogy ugylátszott mintha egyesek a gyilkos nácizmus mellé szegődtek volna, mig a másik oldalon az ipari harcosok megalkudva a kapitalizmus védelmére keltek volna. Ilyen körülmények között nehéz volt az agitációs munkát föntartani lapunk érdekében, mert ugy éreztük mi akik minden gondolatunkkal a Bérmunkás mellett álltunk, mintha a leggyülöltebb ellenségeink lennének sorainkban. Távol állott tőlünk bárkit is megbélyegezni, hogy a nácizmus mellé állott és nem is hisszük, hogy ezek a munkástársaink talán rosszakaratulag birálták el az eseményeket. Mert lehet valakinek kapitalista gondolat világa anélkül, hogy kapitalista volna (sajnos milliók vannak ilyenek), ugyanugy lehet és sajnos vannak sokan, akik nem nácik, de gondolat világuk a nácizmus maszlagával van megmételyezve.

New yorki mozgalmunk nem volt elég erős ahhoz, hogy nagyobb megrázkódtatás nélkül elbirta volna ezeket a zavarokat amihez még hozzájárult az is, hogy a speciális magyar kérdésben is sulyos nézeteltérések támadtak közöttünk és igy ezeknek a bajoknak az eredménye az lett, hogy a hosszu évek óta tartó péntek esti gyüléseinket sem tudjuk megtartani. Habár néhányan a munkástársaink akik minden körülmények között, mint osztályharcos forradalmárok kitartanak lapunk mellett, megjelennek a helyiségünkben és igyekeznek a rájuk hagyott még nagyobb terhet erejükhöz mérten viselni. Ezek a munkástársak nem fognak megfutamodni, mert jól tudják azt, hogy a háboru sem tart örökké és inkább maradjon meg akármilyen, tegyük fel rossz és gyenge szervezett és sajtó mint semmisem. Jelentésemben nem akarom és nem is fontos az elvi magyarázkodást firtatni a háborus helyzettel kapcsolatban, hiszen erről hétről hétre irunk a Bérmunkásban és mindannyiunknak megvan már a határozott kiforrott véleménye, hogy tulajdonképpen mi is a forradalmi kötelességünk a jelen helyzetben.

Ilyen körülmények között megértik munkástársaink, hogy New York részéről semmiféle számottevő igérettel nem járulhatok önök elé, ami a Bérmunkás megjelenésére határozott biztositékkal szolgálna. Annyit azonban igérhetek, hogy mi néhányan akik ott állunk lapunk és az IWW mozgalma mellett, mindent elfogunk követni, hogy a new yorki mozgalom alapja továbbra is megmaradjon. Módot fogunk találni arra, hogy a helyiségünk továbbra is fentartva lehessen és ugyanakkor lapunk érdekében is amit csak munkás akarattal elérni lehet végrehajtsuk. Azt örömmel jelenthetem, hogy a Bérmunkás előfizetése New Yorkban soha nem volt ennyire rendben mint most. Ugyszólván lejárt eláfizetőink nincsennek, ami Feckó lapkezelő munkástársunk fáradhatatlan munkájának köszönhető.

A new yorki munkástársaink üdvözletét tolmácsolom a konvenciónak azzal a reménnyel, hogy dacára a nagy bajoknak, dacára a zavaros helyzetnek, az IWW magyar tagjai továbbra is kitartunk az ipari szervezkedés forradalmi utján, és mint osztályharcos munkások épugy mint eddig, a jövöben is teljesiteni fogják kötelességüket.

Az amerikai ujságokat hirekkel ellátó ügynökségek a háborus helyzet minden nehézségét leküzdeni igyekeznek, hogy az amerikai ujság olvasók továbbra is informálva legyenek a világeseményekről. Ezt a szolgálatot az **Overseas News Agency** (ONA kibővitette azzal, hogy hireit a magyar lapok részére magyar nyelven küldi meg. Ezen hirekből a Bérmunkás is közölni fogja azokat, melyeket olvasóink külföldi tájékoztatására hasznosnak talál. Az ONA polgári intézmény és ebbő a szemszögből adja ki hireit is.

A HÉT

(A washingtoni háborus információs iroda ebben a rovatban hétről-hétre közli a fontosabb eseményeket, amelyek az országban és az egyes frontokon történtek. A közleményt az iroda juttatja lapunkhoz)

A HÁBORU NEGYEDIK ESZTENDEJÉBEN

Ezen a héten töltötte be harmadik esztendejét Hitler háboruja, amit akkor bocsátott a világra, midőn 1939 szeptember 1-én betört Lengyelországba.

Minden idők legnagyobb fegyveres összeütközése most lép negyedik esztendejébe és azt kell látnunk, hogy az egykor oly félelmetes elnevezés, hogy "villámháboru" szinte nem is használatos már. Ha valaki emliti, szinte gunyosan hat. Hogy is hivhatnók a háborut, amely ugylátszik tovább fog tartani az 1914-18-as háborunál is, villámháborunak?

A háboru harmadik évfordulója szinte már megszokott helyzetet tár elénk. Mint 1940-ben, a németek egyre csak győznek, egyre ontják a gyilkolást és a pusztitást, egyre tüzögetik a horogkeresztet Európa földjének mindig több és több pontjára. Mégis a végsö, a befejező győzelem ma is elérhetetlen messziségben van számukra.

Igaz, a tengelyhatalmak még távolról sincsenek megverve. Ám, a hozzáértő katonai birálók véleménye az, hogy Németország helyzete kétségtelenül romlott 1940 óta. Japánnak, leghatalmasabb szövetségesének helyzete most van rosszabbodóban. Olaszország már romlásban volt akkor, amikor a háboruba vetette magát.

"Az ellenség hóditásai tehát — irja Walter Lippman — tért nyertek 1940 óta, kilátásai azonban rosszabbak. Mert ez alatt a két év alatt, a mi mai világunk történetének fordulópontja idején, megalakult az a hatalmas és kérlelhetetlen szövetség, melyhez mi is tartozunk. Ezentul ez a szövetség vezeti már a háborut és meg is nyeri, hogy kiharcolja jövőnk megformálásának jogát számunkra."

Sikerült Hitlernek, akit nemrég még lángelmének néztek, német honfitársai nagy megdöbbenésére, 29 nemzetet sorba állitani Németország és tengelyi szövetségesei ellen. Nyolccal többet, mint annak idején Vilmos császárnak sikerült az ő Németországa nyakára hozni. Az 1943-i Szövetséges Nemzetek öblében nagyobb az emberanyag, mint a tengelyhatalmaknál, nagyobb a természeti kincsek tömege és hisszük, az elszántság, a virtus is — a kemény győzelmi akarat.

"Diadalmas győzelmünk oly bizonyos, mint ahogy a nap fölkel", mondotta George C. Marshall tábornok, az Egyesült Államok hadseregének vezérkari főnöke, amikor a legfrisebb harci szövetségest, Braziliát üdvözölte.

A LÉGI ERŐDöK EURÓPA EGÉN

Uj árny sötétedett Náci-Európa fölé a mult héten. A nagy amerikai repülőgépek szárnyai terjesztették, a Légi Erődök. Hadseregünk legjobb nehéz bombázó gépei először ütköztek össze az ellenséggel, annak legkeményebb légi ellentállásával — és döntő győzelmeket sikerült kivivniok.

De az eddig is megállapitott nagy eredményeket még tul fogják szárnyalni a most készülő uj amerikai bombavetők. Az uj repülőgépeknek és azok gyártási terveinek részletei ma még nem nyilvánosak, de annyit el lehet mondani, hogy még nagyobb és még jobb bombavetők vannak készülőben. Ez a leghatahatósabb mód Németországot és Japánt a saját földjükön sujtani, — ez az utja annak annyira, megtörni őket, hogy azután sor kerülhessen az invázióra.

A HADVISELő BRAZILIA MOZGóSITÁSA

A hadviselő Brazilia siet a küzdelembe vetni bőséges ember és hadianyag készleteit, egész hatalmát a Szövetséges Nemzetek végső győzelmének szolgálatába dobja.

Brazilia gazdasági jelentősége számunkra nem kisebb, mint stratégiai és katonai ereje a Szövetséges Nemzetek harci készségének szolgálatában. Természeti kincsekben való gazdagsága szinte mesés, a Szövetséges Nemzetek hadiüzemeit mangánnal, mikával, kvarccal, ipari gyémántokkal, krómmal, vanádium-fémmel, növényi olajokkal, gumival látja el, valamint egyéb hadianyagokkal. Hosszu távu gazdasági megállapodások Brazilia és az Egyesült Államok között siettetik a gumi, a rostanyagok és egyéb hadikészletek nagyszabásu termelését, amiket azelőtt az ázsiai Távol Keletről szereztük be. Ez az együttmüködés nem csupán a háboru tartamára szól, hanem a háboru után is, szükségleteink fedezésére.

Brazilia a Nyugati Földteke második gyáriparos országa. Az elmult két évtized alatt, gyártó képessége hatalmasan kiterebélyesedett. A nehézipar, mint vas- és acélipar — a hadiipar alapja — sebesen fejlődött az utóbbi esztendőkben. A kormány egy repülőgépgyárat is helyezett üzembe. Manapság Brazilia azoknak a gyáripari termékeknek nagy részét, amit azelőtt Európából és az Egyesült Államokból hozott be, maga gyártja.

Információk a Vörös Keresztről

A Vörös Kereszt az emberiség egyik legnemesebb intézménye. Bátorsággal és odaadással mindenütt megjelenik, ahol szükség van rá, ahol szerencsétlenség történik, ahol a szenvedők jajkiáltása hallatszik. A háboru nagy tragédiájában — szimbolum, amelyet barát és ellenség egyaránt tiszteletben tart — fényt vet az elsötétült világra. A sebesült és beteg ismeri enyhitő balzsamát, a lerongyolt és az éhező: gyengéd gondoskodását. Mint minden igazán nagy ideál, a Vörös Kereszt alapeszméje is egyszerü. Háboru idején, a betegeket és sebesülteket gyámolitani, tekintet nélkül egyenruhájukra, zászlójukra. Az emberi szenvedések ellen hatalmas küzdelmében, nem ismer nemzetiségi, vallási, társadalmi külöbségeket.

A genfi nemzetközi Vörös Kereszt bizottság, 1864-ben történt megalapitása óta, változatlanul birja az egyetemes bizalmat. A Vörös Kereszt munkája pártatlanul folyik, tagjainak felügyelete alatt, akik valamennyien svájciak. Őrködnek afelett, hogy a kormányok tiszteletben tartsák a Vörös Kereszt megállapodásokat. A hadviselők Vörös Kereszt egyletei között ők közvetitik a levelezést. Ők közvetitik a hadifoglyok és polgári internáltak jegyzékét is.

A nemzetközi Bizottság kiküldöttei meglátogatják a táborokat, ahol hadifoglyokat és polgári internáltakat tartanak. Felülvizsgálják az állapotokat és a foglyokkal ellenőrzés nélkül beszélgethetnek. A beérkezett panaszok orvoslására vállalkoznak és igyekeznek a felelős egyéneknél, alkalmas és tapintatos közbenjárással a viszonyokat enyhiteni. Ha szüksége mutatkoznék, a Nemzetközi Bizottság maga tesz az illetékes kormányoknál hivatalos lépéseket.

1939. szeptemberében, a Bizottság, mint azt az előző háborukban tette, magára vállalta, hogy felujitja a hadifoglyokra vonatkozó felvilágositások közvetitését. Genfben van a Bizottság főhadiszállása, amely külömböző svájci kantonokban 20 fiókot tart fenn, az alkalmazottak százaival, önkéntes munkások ezreivel, naponta tizezerszámra érkező levelekkel és csomagokkal és irattárukban milliókra rugó hadifoglyok névsorával.

Óriási feladat a világ minden részén foglyul esettek részére érkező élelmiszer-, ruhanemü-, könyv és egyéb tárgyakat tartalmazó csomagokat kezelni. Erre a célra óriási szállító szervezetet kellett megteremteni. Vörös Kereszt teherhajók közlekednek Lisszabon és a Földközi Tenger kikötöi között. Több mint 6000 vasuti teherkocsi gördült már ki Genfből, több mint 12 millió csomaggal. Azokat a küldeményeket, amelyeket rokonok és barátok küldtek ismert foglyoknak, azonnal továbbitják. A foglyok közötti általános kiosztásra szánt csomagokat időnként küldik szét.

A Nemzetközi Bizottság munkáját minden háboru megnöveli. Eredeti feladata háboru idején a betegek és sebesültek ápolása volt és csak nemrég teremtették meg a hadfoglyokra vonatkozó felvilágositások csere-hivatalát. Ma, ezeken a feladatokon kivül, a Bizottság magára vállalta az elesett és eltünt katonákra vonatkozó felvilágositások közvetitését, bénák kicserélését, az olyan hadifoglyoknak semleges országokba való szállitását, akiknek más éghajlat alatti orvosi kezelésre van szükségük, polgári elhelyezését, akiket hadi zónákból eltávolitottak, háboru elől való tömeges menekülők felkutatását, eleség, ruhanemü és orvosszerek polgárok közötti kiosztását és még sok más feladatot.

Hogy háboru idején mindezt elvégezhesse, békében is tevékeny a Vörös Kereszt. A nemzetek lelkiismeretében élve kell magát tartania. Amerikai javaslatra, a világháboru befejezése után a Vörös Kereszt egyletek ligáját alapitották meg. Két célja volt a lépésnek: a közegészségi viszonyok megjavitása és hatékony szolgálatról való gondoskodás szerencsétlenségek idejére.

A liga révén, amely a Nemzetközi Bizottságtól független intézmény, az egyes nemzetek Vörös Kereszt egyletei olyan nemzetközi tevékenységekre és felvilágositások kicserélésére vállalkoztak, amelyek a Nemzetközi Bizottság hatáskörén kivül esnek.

A Vörös Kereszt minden országot összehoz. Ma az egyetlen kötelék a szétvált nemzetek között. Elveit mindenki helyesli. A kormányok ismerik célját és szándékait; igyekeznek tiszteletben tartani őket. A szerződéseknek nemcsak betüit, de szellemét is. A bizalom, amellyel a Bizottság iránt viseltetnek, a legszebb elismerés.

E tények reményt nyujtanak a jövőre is. A Nemzetközi Bizottság elnöke, Dr. Huber Miksa szavai szerint: "A Vörös Kereszt megteremtése nemcsak a maga humanitárius birodalmában volt korszakalkotó. A nemzetközi jogot olyan utakra vezette, amelyek távol visznek attól a területtől, amelyre a Vörös Kereszt épült: a háborutól; a Vörös Kereszt megalapitása tehát magának a háborunak végső megszüntetésére vezethet. A háboru humanizálása az első lépés ezen az uton."

(Public Information Service)

Agitáljon a Chicago-Millwaukee kerületi sajtóünnepélyre, mely szeptember 13-án lesz.

Az IWW vas és fémipari szervezetének (I.U. 440) clevelandi osztálya rendes havi tagsági gyülését szeptember 11-én, pénteken este 8 órai kezdettel tartja 1426 W. 3rd St. (Blackstone Bldg., Room 311). A szervezet magyar tagjait ezuton is meghivja

a titkár.

HOLLANDIA UJ NÁCI GYARMATAI

Zürich, aug. (ONA) Hollandiát a balti országokkal és a keleti területekkel fogják kárpótolni elvesztett kelet-indiai birodalmáért, — jelentette ki Anton Mussert hollandi náci vezér, lapjának, a "Volk en Vaterland"-nak most ideérkezett számában megjelent vigasztaló cikkében.

"A keleti területek kárpótolnak majd Kelet-India elvesztéséért" mondja cikkében és annak a német tervnek támogatására szólitja fel honfitársait, amely szerint három millió hollandit telepitenének majd a meghóditott keleti területekre, ütközöül Németország és a szláv népek közé.

A holland náci, noha támogatja ezt a tervet, mégis aggodalmát fejezte ki azon, hogy a "közlekedés holland és német kapitalisták között egyre erősebb" és hangoztatta, hogy "a küzdelemnek marxizmus és kapitalizmus ellen, még egy évtizedig tovább kell folynia".

Vezető szerepet igért követői számára a háboru utáni Európában, a tengelyhatalmak győzelme után, kifejtvén, hogy "a vezető réteg a németekből, hollandokból, svédekből, norvégekből és dánokból keveredő 150 milliónyi germán népközösség lesz Hitler vezetése alatt".

Mussert nem tett emlitést arról, micsoda szerep jut majd Németország szövetségeseinek, Olaszországnak, Magyarországnak és Finnországnak ebben az uj rendben.

JEGYRE MEGY A BURGONYA IS BUDAPESTEN

Bern, aug. (ONA) A burgonya fogyasztást is racionálni kellett Budapesten, a ma ideérkezett magyar lapok szerint, mert a burgonyaszüret igen gyengének igérkezik.

A hosszu szárazság és a forró időjárás a burgonyatermés legnagyobb részét kiégette és a szállitmányok már ma sem elégségesek a főváros ellátására.

Az idei gabonatermés előzetes becslései alacsonyabb termést igérnek a tavalyinál, mert a vetési területek, a katonasághoz való behivások miatt megcsappantak. Árpában jobb termést várnak az 1940-esnél, de jelentékenyen alatt fog maradni az 1939-es termésnél.

Ide érkezett értesülések szerint Németország akkora burgonyaszüretet vár, hogy tartalékot is tehet félre, nem hiszik azonban, hogy a német feleslegből enyhiteni fogják a magyar burgonyainséget.

OROSZ REPÜLŐ SZÖKÉSE NÉMET FOGSÁGBÓL

Moszkva, aug. (ONA) Vasziljov hadipilóta német repülőgépen megszökött német fogságból és az orosz fővárosba érkezve, elmondta vakmerő kalandjának részleteit.

A fogolytáborban a közemberek közé keveredett, mert rongyolt egyenruháján nem viselt rangjelzést. Tizenegy társával együtt a közelben lévő repülőtér takaritásával és rendbentartásával bizták meg. Hetekig dolgozott ő és társai már a repülőtéren, az őrök végül megszokták őket és nem igen szorosan vigyáztak a rongyos, csontig lesoványodott emberekre. A térről naponta szálltak fel bombavető gépek, hatalmas bomba-teherrel. Egy nap az egyik bombavető gép hátramaradt. A személyzet éppen közeledett feléje, mig a pilóta utasitásait vette át. Vasziljov tizenegy társával rávetette magát az indulásra kész gépre, fölugrottak rá, a bombavető megmozdult, majd végiggurult padlóján és a levegőbe emelkedett. A németek puskával lövöldöztek utána, később az elháritó ágyuk is megszólaltak, de a gép magasban volt és szerencsésen megmenekült.

Vasziljov hátborzongató dolgokat mondott el az orosz hadifoglyok sorsáról a németek kezében. 15.00 fogoly volt abban a táborban. A napi ellátás százötven gramm kenyér és két liter viz, más semmi. Semmiféle egészségi intézkedés, latrina nem volt. Tömegesen betegedtek meg kiütéses tifuszban. Aki megbetegedett, azt egy gunyhóba dobták, étel, viz, ápolás nélkül és éjszakánként szedték ki a halottakat a kunyhóból horgos ruddal. Senki abból a kunyhóból vissza nem került a fogolytáborba.

POROSZOK NEM

London, aug. (ONA) A háboru után következő világrendezésben a németek is résztvehetnek majd a többi nemzetekkel együtt — mondotta Ján Massaryk csehszlovák külügyminiszter a Szakszervezetek Országos Klubjában tartott előadásán, — "a poroszokat azonban távol kell majd tartani".

AZ ÉPITŐ GÁRDÁBA

BEFIZETTEK 1941—42-RE

Hering Pál, Buffalo	2.50
Hering Pálné, Buffalo	2.50
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J. Kollár, Cleveland	12.00
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Paul Pika, Chicago	8.00
J. Fodor, Cuyahoga Falls	12.00
L. Lefkovits, Cleveland	4.00
M. Stefánkó, New York	12.00
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J. Farkas, Akron	12.00
J. Pataky, Brooklyn	8.00
J. Duschek, Nutley	12.00
M. Danka, Cleveland	7.00
A. Molnár, Cleveland	12.00
J. Kozsány, Saratoga	10.00
J. Horváth, Chicago	5.00
J. Zára ,Chicago	7.00
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GYARAPODIK A NAVY HATALMA

E héten vizrebocsátották a 45.000 tonnás Iova csatahajót, a leghatalmasabbat, ami valaha is elhagyta az Egyesült Államok hajógyárait, aztán az Independence repülőhordozót, a Boston cirkálót és két torpedórombolót, a Glennon-t és a Jefers-t.

Chicago-Millwaukee kerületi sajtóünnepély szeptember 13-án lesz. Bővebb információért keresse e lapban elhelyezett közleményt.

BÈRMUNKÂS

MAGYAR NYELVŰ LAP AZ IPARI UNIONIZMUS SZOLGALATABAN

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Szakszervezeti egység

MILYEN EGYSÉGET AKARNAK A SZAKSZERVEZETI VEZETŐK. — EGYSÉG A MUNKÁLTATÓKKAL, — HANGOZTATTÁK AZ AFL ORSZÁGOS KONVENCIÓJÁN

LOS ANGELES — Az American Federation of Labor Los Angeles városban tartott országos konvencióját az "egység" szelleme uralta. Már a konvenciót megnyitó beszédében bejelentette a szervezet elnöke, George Meany, hogy az AFL és a CIO egyesülésének megvalósulása sokkal közelebb van, mint az átlagos ember gondolná.

A Konvenció második napján nagy tapssal fogadták a CIO elnöke, Walter Reuther azon levelét, amelyben azon reményének adott kifejezést, hogy a két nagy szakszervezett közötti egyesülés hamarosan meg fog valósulni.

Az AFL vezetői azonban félre nem magyarázható módon mondották, hogy csak azon **munkásokat akarják bevenni az általuk irányitott "egységes" szakszervezetekbe, akik a munkáltatókkal való kooperáció elv alapján állnak.** Vagyis a munkás és a munkáltató osztályok közötti ellentétet felismerő munkásokat ki akarják rekeszteni a szakszervezeti mozgalomból.

Az acélgyári munkások szervezetének az elnöke, David J. McDonald, még ennél is tovább megy. Az Atlantic Cityben tartott konvenciójukon kijelentette, hogy "uj unionizmusra" van szükség, mert most már ugy az AFL, mint a CIO elavultak. McDonald "uj unionizmusa" abból áll, hogy a **unionok vásároljanak partnerséget az iparvállalatokban, mert abban az esetben, — mondja McDonald, a munkásokat nem csak a béreik, hanem a profit nagysága is érdekelné.**

McDonald "uj unionizmusa" tehát a munkáltatók profithoz való jogát a jelenlegi állami hatalmon kivül még a munkások szervezett hatalmával is alá akarja támasztani. George Meany és Reuther azonban még nem jutottak el ily messzire, megelégszenek azzal, hogy ők csak a munkásokat szállitó intézményekké akarják tenni a unionokat.

A konvenciót figyelmeztette W. R. Metheral kanadai delegátus, hogy a világ ujabb ipari forradalmon megy át és a unionoknak ahoz kell alkalmazkodni.

Tító ujabb pálfordulása

A JUGOSZLÁV KORMÁNY NEM AKAR RÉSZTVENNI AZ ATLANTI SZÖVETSÉGBEN. — TITÓ UJRA KÖZELEDNI AKAR A SZOVJETUNION FELÉ. — KOMMUNISTÁNAK MONDJA MAGÁT.

BELGRÁD — Európaszerte nagy meglepetést okozott Tító, jugoszláv miniszterelnök beszéde, amelyben a legnagyobb határozottsággal jelentette ki, hogy Jugoszlávia nem fog a Dulles által tervezett és jelenleg előkészületben álló Atlanti Védelmi Szövetség tagjává lenni. Az amerikai külügyminiszter ugyanis a franciák ellenállásán csufosan elbukott "Eurpoean Defense Community" (EDC) helyett egy ujabb kommunista ellenes szövetség étrehozásán fáradozik.

Tító az előre beharangozott beszédét Jugoszlávia felszabaditásának 10 éves évfordulójával kapcsolatos ünnepélyen mondotta. Emeli a beszéd fontosságát, hogy **Tító három nappal megelőzőleg hosszas tanácskozást folytatott Dulles egyik asszisztensével, Robert Mulphyval.**

Tító kijelentette, hogy nem fog résztvenni a "kommunizmus elleni küzdelemre összehozott szövetségben", mert Jugoszlávia nem ellenzi a kommunizmust sőt éppen ellenkezőleg, szocialista ország, amelyben a kommunizmus felé haladnak. Jugoszlávia csak a Szovjetunion beavatkozása ellen tiltakozott. Most azonban már másképpen beszélnek a Szovjetunionban, engedményes hangokat hallatnak. **A jugoszláv kormány nagy örömmel fogadja ezen közeledését és várja, hogy a beszédet a Szovjetunion tettekkel is alátámassza.**

Ez nyilvánvaló bejelentése annak, hogy Tító vissza akarja állitani a népi köztársaságokkal azt a barátságos viszont, amit 1948-ban megtört, midőn szakitott a "Cominform" irodával.

Folytatás a 8-ik oldalon)

HIRSZEMLE

HIREK, AMIKET ÉRDEMES TUDOMÁSUL VENNI

New York — Az Egyesült Nemzetek általános gyülésén az Egyesült Államok ujból megakadályozta, hogy a világ legnépesebb országát, a Kinai Népköztársaságot felvegyék a tagok sorába, illetőleg a Peiping kormányt ismerjék el a kina inép képviselőjének a Chiang Kaishek nemzeti kormánya helyett.

A Kinai Népköztársaság elismerésére a szovjet delegáció vezetője, Vishinsky tette meg az ajánlatot, mire Henry Cabot Lodge, az amerikai delegáció feje azonnal "ellen ajánlatot" tett hogy ezzel a kérdéssel ebben az évben ne foglalkozzon az Általános Tanács. Miután az Egyesült Nemzetek kisebb országai az amerikai kivánságnak megfelelőleg szavaznak, a Lodge ajánlatát fogadták el 43 szavazattal 11 ellenében. A népi köztársaságokon kivül csak India, Burma, Norvégia, Dánia és Svédország mertek az amerikai javaslat ellen szavazni. A jugoszláv delegáció szintén a népi köztársaságokkal szavazott.

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Gifu, Japán — (AP riport). A japán biróság 5 évi fegyházra itélte a Roanoke, Va. városba való Clarence J. Butler amerikai tengerész-katonát (marine), mert az erőszakot vett, majd ugy megsebesitette a 73 éves Kintue Iwana japán asszonyt, hogy a belehalt sebesülésébe.

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Washington — Az Egyesült Nemzetekhez tartozó "Food and Agricultural Organization" értesitette a Kewane, Ill. városban lakó Gordon McIntire nevü volt hivatalnokát, hogy 15 havi fizetésére kiutalt a részére 11,000 dollárt. McIntiret maga elé idézte az amerikai loyalty bizottság, miután valaki "kommunista szimpátiával" vádolta. McIntire, hivatkozva alkotmányos jogaira, megtagadta a választ a szokásos ugrató kérdésekre, mire elcsapták hivatalából. A Genfi Nemzetközi Biróság azonban ugy döntött, hogy McIntire jogosult hároméves szerződéses állásához, mire inkább kifizették a még hátralévő 15 hónapi fizetését, mintsem visszatették tisztségébe. — Ez mutatja, hogy az Egyesült Nemzeteket mennyire uralja az amerikai boszorkányüldöző társaság.

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Tokyo — A Peiping rádió leadása szerint a Kinai Népköztársaság Kongresszusa uj alkotmányt fogadott el. Az uj alkotmány valamivel több hatalmat helyez az elnöki tanács s annak elnöke kezébe, mint az előző, — mondja az Associated Press riport.

Ezen jelentés szerint a kongresszus több mint ezer tagja nagy lelkesedéssel szavazta meg az uj alkotmányt, amelynek elfogadása után felhangzott a "Wan Sui" kiáltás, ami a magyar "éljen" kiáltásnak felel meg. (Valójában azt jelenti, hogy "éljen 1000 évig")

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San Francisco — Az amerikai lapok riporterei megrohanták a Kinai Népköztársaságból hazatérő utjában ideérkezett Clement Attlee, volt labor party angol miniszterelnököt, hogy olyan nyilatkozatokat csikarjanak ki tőle, amit Kina ellen lehetne felhasználni. Attlee azonban csak egy igen rövid, irásba foglalt nyilatkozatot olvasott fel, amelyben felhivta az amerikai nép figyelmét arra a tényre, hogy Kina egyike a világ legnagyobb, legnépesebb országainak, amelynek civilizációja is a legrégibb s igy ennek az országnak s népnek a világ más népei közül való kisajátitását teljesen lehetetlennek tartja.

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Tokyo — A Peiping rádió leadása szerint az indokinai francia csapatok a fegyverszünet megkötése után, amikor kivonultak Viet-Nam középső részéből minden ok nélkül megöltek 74 indokinai polgárt, 56-t pedig sulyosan megsebesitettek.

Erre a tömegmészárlásra állitólag az adott okot, hogy a megbüntetett falvakban régebben élelmiszert adtak a guerilla csapatoknak.

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Santiago, Chile — Chile állam kormánya ostromállapotot hirdetett ki, ami Carloz Ibanez elnök kezébe csaknem teljesen diktátori hatalmat helyez.

A kormány azt hirdeti, hogy az ostromállapot kimondását a "kommunisták zavargása" tette szükségessé. Ezzel szemben maga az Associated Press jelenti, hogy Chile legfőbb iparában, a rézbányákban sztrájkba mentek a munkások, mire a munkáltatók és a politikusok azonnal rájuk sütötték a "kommunista" bélyeget. Ezen nem is lehet csodálkozni, hiszen a chilei rézbányák az amerikai Anaconda Cooper Mining Co. tulajdonát képezik, természetes tehát, hogy sztrájk esetén AMERIKAI MÓDSZERT alkalmaznak.

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42

Az utolsó Ipari Forradalom

Pár hónappal ezelött az amerikai sajtó egyszerü napihir gyanánt adta az olvasók tudomására, hogy a Studebaker automobil gyár egyesült a Packard kompániával. Nem sokkal azután jött a hir, hogy hasonló módon egy vállalattá egyesültek a Nash és a Hudson kompániák, majd a Kaiser-Frazer és a Willys autógyártó cégek is.

Miután van valami igaz azon állitásban, hogy a jólfelszerelt, legmodernabb gépekkel dolgozó gyárak jóval olcsóbban állitják elö termelvényeiket, mint a kisebbek, amelyek képtelenek megszerezni az igen költséges uj gépeket, az ily ipari egyesüléseket (merger) az amerikai nép még talán örömmel is fogadta, remélve, hogy az autóipar ily átszervezése után majd olcsóbban vásárolhat automobilokat.

A csupán csak gazdasági kérdésekkel foglalkozó "The Brooking Institution" azonban azt jelenti, hogy minden más iparban megindultak és folyamatban vannak a hasonló csatlakozások és összevonások. Nyilvánvaló tehát, hogy az iparok jelen tendenciája a kisebbek kiszoritása. Ezt részben az egyesülés révén érik el, de ahol a kis iparvállalatok erre képtelenek, ott a nagyok egyszerüen felszivják, vagy pedig megfojtják azokat.

Az iparok fejlődését tanulmányozó ekonomisták jól látják, hogy jelenleg **EGY UJABB IPARI FORRADALOMNAK VAGYUNK A SZEMTANUI.** A történelemben már több ilyen ipari forradalmat jegyeztek fel. Ezeknek elseje a 18 és és a 19-ik század fordulójára esik, amikor megkezdték az iparok gépesitését. Ennek szintere időrendben Anglia volt, ahol a szövőipar forradalmával megszületett a mai tőkés termelő rendszer.

A TÖMEGGYÁRTÁS

A második ipari forradalmat a gőzgép (a vasut) uralma jellemzi. És miután az ily gépekhez már nagyon sok acél kellett, a kapitalizmusnak ezt a fázisát acél-kapitalizmusnak nevezték el az előző textil-kapitalizmussal szemben.

A harmadik ipari forradalmat a belső robbanásu gépek, — amiket az olaj valamelyik terméke hajt, — tették lehetövé. Azért ezt a korszakot az olaj-kapitalizmus néven emlitik. Ez tette lehetővé az igazi tömeggyártás kifejlődését. És mint minden fejlődésnél, ugy itt is áll az a természeti törvény, hogy az ipari forradalmak egyre gyorsulóbb tempóban következtek be. Amig a kapitalizmus első fázisa közel száz évig tartott, a másodikra, amely az elsö világháboru utáni évekig számitható, már körülbelül csak 50 év jutott.

A harmadik korszakra már alig adhatunk három évtizedet, noha az olaj végleges kiküszöbölése az atomenergia felhasználása révén még jó távol van. Mi okozza tehát a jelenlegi ipari forradalmat? A gazdasági szakértők állitása szerint az iparok egészen uj **AUTOMATIKUS** berendezése. Az utolsó pár év alatt ugyanis a technika annyira fejlődött, hogy rendkivül sok olyan munkát tudnak automatikus gépekre bizni, amelyeket azelőtt csak szakképzett munkások végeztek.

ÖNMÜKÖDŐ GÉPEK

A legutóbbi szaklapok hirei szerint az esztergapadtól kezdve a furógépekig mindenféle más megmunkáló gépekkel egyetemben automatikussá tehetők, vagyis ugy be lehet állitani, hogy az elsö darab munka elkészitése után önmüködően, — munkás nélkül, — késziti a többi másolatokat, akárhány ezret, ha kell. A tömeggyártásnál géprészekből igen sok azonos darabra van szükség.

A CIO elnöke, Walter Reuther Labor Day napján Windsor, Ont. városban beszélve már rámutatott arra, hogy mit is jelent az ipar ily nagymérvü automatikussá tétele. "Amig eddig 24 munkaóra kellett egy engine-block elkészitéséhez, most az automatikus gép 14 és fél PERC alatt késziti el és egy munkás több ilyen gépre "ügyelhet", — mondotta Reuther. Az ily automata gépek az okai annak, hogy az autólparban oly sok munkást tettek le, — tette hozzá.

Reuther folytathatta volna ezen uj ipari forradalom következményeinek a felsorolását legalább azzal, hogy lám a Studebaker Co. munkásai "önként" leszállitották a munkabéreket, hogy a gyár versenyezni tudjon a Ford, a General Motors és egyéb nagy, már automatikus gépekkel rendelkező cégekkel. Ugyanezt tették a Willys alkalmazottai is és most már egyre-másra jönnek a jelentések, hogy a textil és más iparokban is a munkások "önkéntesen" leszállitják a béreiket.

"önkéntesen" szállitják le saját béreiket, amikor a drágaság még egyre emelkedik, mert ha nem egyeznek bele az alacsonyabb bérekbe, akkor állitólag lezárnák azon gyárakat, amelyekben dolgoznak. És igy mi lesz? — kérdezhetjük, ha egyre több és több árneikket tudnak termelni, de ugyanakkor a munkásosztály vásárló ereje csökken?

DEPRESSZIÓ VAGY HÁBORU

A politikai propagandával nem törődő gazdasági szakértők válasza erre a kérdésre egy igen rosszhangzásu szó: **DEPRESSZIÓ.** A politikus nemzetgazdászok azonban gyakorlatból tudják, hogy azt el lehet kerülni egy jókora **HÁBORUVAL.**

A jelenlegi ipari farradalomnak tehát a következménye depresszió, vagy háboru. Tessék választani! De mindkét esetben felmerül a kérdés: **ÉS AZTÁN?** Mert a háboru vagy depresszió csak ideiglenes megoldást adnak.

És végre szóvá kell tennünk azt is, hogy miért van oly nagy szükség erre a legujabb ipari forradalomra? A válasz igen egyszerü: azért, mert a kollektiv termelésre áttért országok rohamosan fejlesztik iparaikat, azokban is folyamatban van az automatizálás. Ott is egyre jobb, egyre tökéletesebb gépeket alkalmaznak. És végre, ami a legfontosabb, a kollektiv termelő országokban szinte egy csapásra keresztül vitték az iparok egyesitését. Ott minden ipar már igazi nagy, az egész országra kiterjedő vállalat, amely **EGYSÉGES VEZETÉS ALATT ÁLL.** A kis gyártelepek oly egyesitése, aminek itt most tanui vagyunk, ott megtörtént, ott az alapját képezi az uj termelési rendszernek, azért és csakis azért fejlődhetnek az iparok oly rohamlépésben.

A tőkés sajtó rendkivül irigységgel jelenti, hogy a németországi Leipzig városban tartott ipari kiállitáson a népi köztársaságok igen sok exportálásra szánt gépet mutattak be. Az oroszok és a csehek nagyszerü automobilokat, szövőgépeket és igen finom tudományos eszközöket kináltak exportra. A kinai, a svéd, a svájei és egyéb ipari kiállitásokon is nagy feltünést keltettek a népi köztársaságok az exportra kinált áruikkal. A tőkés termelő világot tehát az a veszély fenyegeti, hogy elveszti a világpiacot, ha kivitelre szánt cikkeinek árait nem szállitja le. Ez a legfőbb rugója az amerikai iparok gyors automatizálásának.

A FEJLŐDÉS MENETE

Az eddigiekből azonban azt a konkluziót kellene levonni, hogy ha az iparok ily automatizálása Amerikát a depresszió vagy az ujabb háboru felé viszi, akkor ugyanezen jövő előtt állnak a népi köztársaságok is. Ez a konkluzió azonban helytelen lenne, mert a tőkés és a kollektiv termelés tisztán csak a profitra történik, az automatizálás révén ott a munkások, — tehát a fogyasztók nagy tömegének vásárló képessége esik; a kollektiv termelésnél azonban kiküszöbölték az egyéni profitot, minél többet termelnek, annál több jut minden termelőnek, vagyis a munkástömegek vásárló képessége nemhogy esne, hanem éppen ellenkezőleg emelkedik.

Éppn a két termelés közötti ezen nagyon lényeges különbség hozta létre a kollektiv termelési rendszert, amely a termlési rendszerek fejlödésében az előrevetett lépést jelenti, — olyan lépést, melyen át fog menni a termlés az egész világon. Mintahogyan a rabszolga rendszert követte a feudalizmus, azt pedig a kapitalizmus, ugy ezt is követni fogja a kollektiv termelés széles a világon minden háboru és minden depresszió dacára is.

Ezt a természeti törvényt mutatja be az iparok jelenlegi nagy központositása, a gyári gépek automatizálása; szóval a jelenleg szemünk elött folyó **NAGY IPARI FORRADALOM,** melyben csak kis buborék az a háborus uszitás és csetepaté, amivel a fejlődés folyamatát megakadályozni akarják.

Amerikában fogott kinaiak

Az amerikai sajtóban elég gyakran hallottuk a panaszt, hogy a Szovjetunion, vagy valamelyik népi köztársaság nem enged haza amerikai polgárokat, mert kémkedés, vagy valamiféle bünügygyel hozzák őket kapcsolatba. Ugyanez az amerikai sajtó eddig nagy titokban tartotta, hogy az Egyesült Államok nem engedi vissza Kinába azt a több mint kétezer kinai diákot, akik a jelenlegi krizist megelőzőleg tanulni jöttek az amerikai egyetemekre.

Ezen kinai diákok, — akiket a szó szoros értelmében hadifoglyoknak tartanak, — most végre nyilt levelet intéztek Eisenhower elnökhöz, kérve, hogy engedjék őket szülőházájukba, ahonnan törvényes kretek közepett jöttek ide s végezték el tanulmányaikat, igy most már vissza akarnak menni családjukhoz, szeretteikhez. És ha már nem engedik vissza, legalább mondják meg, hogy micsoda jogon fogják őket az Egyesült Államokban, holott semmiféle bünt sem követtek el.

A csak néhány liberális lapban közzétett nyilt levélből idézzük az alábbi sorokat.

"Mi, ezen levél 19 aláirója, akik több ezer kinai diákat képviselünk s akik már több évet töltöttünk az Egyesült Államokban a tudomány valamely ágának tanulmányozásában az ország különböző fölskoláln, tisztelettel kérdezzük az amerikai hatóságokat, hogy miért nem engednek bennünket haza, szülőföldünkre? Vannak közöttünk olyanok, akik már családapák, ezeket elválasztják feleségeiktől, gyermekeiktől; másokat szüleiktől, jegye-

TOLLHEGYRŐL

mondja: F. MEZŐSÉGI

PÓTLÉKOK

Az első világháboru idején és valószinü, hogy fokozott mértékben történt ez a második világháboruban, hogy Európában minden olyan közszükségleti árucikket, amelyből hiány volt, valamiféle uj kitalált utánzattal pótolták. Végül már a lakosság majdnem minden élelmiszernek csak a pótlékát használta. Sőt, amikor már az ilyen "pótlékhoz" szükséges anyag is kifogyott, akkor kitalálták a pótlék pótlékát is.

Kávé, tea, cukor, liszt, hus, dohány, sőt stb., pótlékok voltak forgalomban. A kormányok "tudósai" kik a pótlékok feltalálásával jól kerestek, közölték a pótlékok használati módját és lelkesen magyarázták, hogy ezzel éppen oly jóizüek, de sokkal egészségesebbek az élelmiszerek.

Persze a gazdagok nem nagyon vették ezeket a pótlékokat igénybe, nekik módjukban volt megvásárolni a valódi élelmiszereket, csak az isten adta nép volt kénytelen ezeket a förtelmeket fogyasztani. Annyira, hogy végül már ők is csak a pótlékai voltak az eredeti mivoltuknak.

Valahogy ez jutott eszembe, amikor a mi nagyon aktiv ide-oda röpdöső külügyi államtitkárunk tevékenységét figyelem. Mr. *Dulles* tagadhatatlanul minden elképzelhetőt elkövet, hogy valahogy el ne muljon az emberiség feje fölül az atom-hidrogénbombás harmadik világháboru veszélye.

Ha a szövetséges kormányok visszautasitják a nagyon brutális, már egyáltalán takargatni nem lehetséges, háborus terveit, ugy rögtön gondoskodik valami pótlásról és nagyon lelkesen magyarázza azt, hogy ez a pótlék éppen olyan jó és alkalmas mint az eredeti. Nem rajta mulik az, hogy az amerikai nép, amelynek fizetnie kell a számlát pénzben és vérben, mindnagyobb mértékben kezdi belátni, hogy ugy az eredeti, mint a póttervek, veszedelmesen rosszak, veszélyeztetik nem csak a vörösök, de az egész világ, beleértve Amerika életét, vagyonát és az egész emberi civilizációt is. Hogy ez a felismerés mikorra érik meg annyira, hogy leszállitja a repülőgépről a halálkereskedők főügynökét, az még bizonytalan, mert itt ma még csak egy maroknyi bátor ember van, akik szerény eszközökkel hirdeti nem azt, hogy a társadalmi rendszerek között fenálló különbségeket nem hidrogénbombával, hanem békés megegyezésekkel kell megoldani. Hogy nem az dönti el, hogy melyik rendszer jobb az emberiségnek, hogy melyiknek van több atombombája, hanem az, hogy melyik rendszer tud a népeinek szebb és boldogabb életet biztositani. De a tőke bértolnokai, politikusai még ma is vadul és mind vadabbul uszitanak a háborura. Közben a legbrutálisabban fasizálják ezt az országot is, tiporják el az ország évszázados szobadságjogait. Viszik az országot a teljes rendőrállam felé, ahol már ma is mindenkit megfélemlitenek, hogy temetői csend legyen.

Ahol senki se merjen, alkotmányra, szabadságjogokra hivatkozni, hogy aki kinyitja a száját, az csak lelkesedni tudjon Mr. Dulles eredeti és pót háborus terveiért.

SOROZATOS KUDARCOK

Sehol a világon, csak itt a "demokrácia hazájában", lehetséges az, hogy a kormány, melynek rengeteg pénzbe kerülő politikájának a folyamatos kudarca után, még a helyén maradjon és uj pótlékokkal próbálja a kudarcait takargatni.

Ha a kormányunk őszinte akarna lenni, akkor nyiltan be kellene ismernie azt, hogy a háborus politikánk megbukott. A szövetségeseink, amelyeket éveken keresztül pénzeltünk, mind jobban ellentállanak a terveinknek és mind több ország áll ellent, helyezkedik szembe az amerikai politikával.

Már a koreai kudarc megmutatta, hogy megváltoztak az idők és ha csak nem akartak teljes szakitást a szövetségesekkel, akkor megegyezéssel be kellett szüntetni az oktalan vérontást és megkötni, ha nem is a békét, de legalább a fegyverszünetet.

A második kudarc Genfben érte a Dulles politikát, ahol minden erőfeszités dacára sem sikerült az indokinai háborut nemzetközivé tenni. Egyrészt mert Anglia visszautasitotta a genfi értekezlet felrobbantását, másrészt az ázsiai államok leghatározottabban szembeszálltak a háboru kiterjesztésének a tervével. Végül a francia nép nyomására a parlament leszavazta, megbuktatta a háborus kormányt és olyan kormányt kényszeritett ki, amelynek a fő programja az indokinai háboru záros határidőn belül való megszüntetése volt. Igy elvetve az amerikai tervet, létrejött a 8 éves háboru befejezése. Be lett igazolva, hogy egy kis jóakarattal, kölcsönös engedményekkel, meg lehet oldani az ellentéteket.

Huszonnyolc hónappal ezelőtt határozta el hat európai kormány, hogy feladja az önállóságát, megalkotja az Egységes Európai Hadsereget, amelynek a gérince az uj német hadsereg lenne. Eszerint a terv szerint, sem a parlamentek, sem a kormányok nem rendelkeztek volna a hadseregükkel, afelett a főparancsnokság rendelkezett volna. Ez a "védelmi" hadsereg terve, nagy tetszést váltott ki az amerikai kormánynál, készséggel vállalta, hogy a felszerelés költségeit viseli.

Ez a terv nagy ellentálást váltott ki különösen Francia és Olaszországban, mert nyilvánvaló volt, hogy a legvakmerőbb háborus provokációt jelentette volna. Az ellentállás oly erős volt, hogy Mr. Dulles minden rábeszélése és ultimátuma dacára sem merték azt a francia és az olasz kormányok jóváhagyása végett a parlament elé terjeszteni. Most a francia kormány — amerikai nyomásra — dacára, hogy a kormány nem tette magáévá, a parlament elé vitte, ahol nagyon röviden elbuktatták az egész tervet ugy, hogy véglegesen elbukott annak a lehetősége, hogy Európa népeit akarata nénkül bele lehessen rántani a harmadik világháboruba.

Most Mr. Dulles megint röpköd és igyekszik egy pótlékot összehozni, amellyel ha szegényen is, pótolni lehetne az elbukott kedvene tervét és mégis meglehetne teremteni ujra, a csak pár éve levert német militarizmust.

Ez a pót-terv is elbukott a francia ellenálláson. Most egy terven dolgozik, amely a pótlékot pótolná, amelyben segit Mr. Dullesnak az angol kormány is. Mert az a "veszély" fenáll, hogy az egész európai szövetkezés összeomlik.

Az ázsiai szövetség pót-terve sem sikerült. Abban az ázsiai országok nem voltak hajlandók kettő kivételével résztvenni és a pótlék pótléka, amit elfogadtak, csufos kudarc volt, mert egyrészt kizárták belőle Amerikai két hüséges kitartottját, a dél-koreai kormányt, valamint a Formosa szigeten meghuzódó Chiang bandát. Másrészt pedig nem sikerült egy fegyveres szövetséget létrehozni, csak egy tessék-lássék kitételt, hogy egy "támadás esetén tanácskozni fognak" nem pedig koreai módra háboruskodni.

A határozat amely se hideg, se meleg, csak egy látszat szövetség. Elvetik az ázsiai legfontosabb országok és tiltakoznak, hogy Ázsia ügyeibe Ázsián kivüli országok beavatkozzanak.

A kinai ügy sem megy Mr. Dulles tervei szerint. Nem csak mind több ország veszi fel vele a diplomáciai összeköttetést, de ma már a Nemzetek Szövetségében is többsége van annak a tervnek, hogy onnan a saját magát képviselő Chiang társaságot kiakolbólintsák és helyére a kinai nép valódi képviselőjét ültessék.

Ezt a tervet ma már a Skandináv államok, az ázsiai és arab országok is támogatják, ugy, hogy a többség, Amerika minden ellenzése dacára biztositva volna. Hogy ne érje Amerikát teljes kudarc, megint Anglia siet a segitségére, amely ugyan maga is az elismerés mellett van, de azt a Nemzetek Szövetsége következő ülésére akarja átteni. Valószinü, hogy ezt a pótlékot sikerül keresztülvinni, de ez is azt mutatja, hogy a nagy kapitalista terv, — hogy világháboru árán próbálják megállitani a haladást — összeomlóban van. Ma már nem csak a világ népei, de ezek nyomására mind több kormány is nyiltan vagy burkoltan, szembe áll az amerikai háborus készülődésekkel és rákényszeriti Mr. Dullest, hogy pótlékokkal, sőt potlékok pótlékairól kelljen gondoskodnia.

MARAKODÁS A KONCÉRT

WASHINGTON — Az "American Public Power Association" —a bankárok azon csoportja, amely villany és gáz erőmüvekből huz igen nagy profitot, — ellenzi az Eisenhower adminisztráció azon rendelkezését, hogy az Atom Energia Bizottság privát társulattal épittessen uj villanyfejlesztő gyárakat a jelenleg állami tulajdont képező TVA (Tennessee Valley Authority) telepek termelésének felfokozására.

Az igen nagy port felvert dolog lényege ez: Az Atom Energia Bizottságnak az atom- és H-bombák készitésénél óriási mennyiségü villanyáramra van szüksége, amelyet a jelenlegi (állami) TVA telepek már nem képesek kitermelni. A legegyszerübb dolog lett volna tehát ezen állami telepeket kibőviteni. Az Eisenhower adminisztráció azonban ellenzi az állami villanytelepek további fejlesztését, sőt a TVA-t is szeretné magánkezekbe juttatni, mert az állami termelés, szerintük "creeping socialism", — ami azt jelenti, hogy az adminisztrációt támogató tőkéseknek nem jut profit belőle.

Ezzel az elvvel természetesen rokonszenvezik a most panaszt tevő társaság is. Csak az ellen tiltakoznak, hogy az adminisztráció által pártfogolt bankárok egy másik csoportjából alakitott egy uj társulatot "Mississippi Valley Power Co." név alatt. **Ez a társulat most nagy állami kölcsönt kapott az uj villanygyárak épitésére és mindjárt RENDELÉST IS ADTAK NEKIK 107 millió dollár értékü villanyáram szállitására.**

Másszóval ez az uj társulat, — amelyet Dixon-Yates csoport név alatt emlitenek, — a közpénzeken fogja felépiteni a villanygyárakat és igy semmi rizikóval óriási hasznot hajtó ipartelepekhez jut, amelyeken keresztül az egész ország népétől fogják huzni a nagy profitot. Miután a panaszt tevő csoport tagjai igy estek a konctól, most "vizsgálatot" követelnek.

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seiktől. Életünk legszebb éveit itt kell eltöltenünk tétlenségben. Miért?

"Mi jóhiszeműen jöttünk ide és Amerika népe is ugy fogadott bennünket. Egyesek közülünk az orvosi tudományt, mások a könyvelést és mások megint a mérnöki tudományokat sajátitották el, hogy ezen tudományok alkalmazásával szülőhazánkat segitsük. Nem akarunk mi hazavinni semmiféle ugynevezett 'titkos tudományt'. Az a tudás, amit mi itt szereztünk olyan természetü, amilyet az amerikai nép tradicionálisan a világ népének boldogitására szánt.

"Alázattal kérjük önt, Elnök ur, hogy tegye lehetővé részünkre a hazatérést. Biztositjuk önt, hogy a mi hazatérésünk nem fogja veszélyeztetni ezen hatalmas ország biztonságát. Sőt éppen ellenkezőleg, ugy tartjuk, hogy a mi hazatérésünk a két ország közötti barátság utját egyengetné.

Most már el lehet mondani

— AMIKOR DULLES, RADFORD ÉS KNOWLAND CSAKNEM MEGINDITOTTÁK A HARMADIK VILÁGHÁBORUT —

Irta: CHALMERS M. ROBERTS

Most már el lehet mondani! Talán soha még annyira igaz nem volt az a bizonyos hajszálra való hivatkozás, mint midőn azt mondjuk, hogy ez év április 3-ik napjában valóban csak egy hajszálon mult, hogy három ember bele nem vitt bennünket a harmadik világháboruba.

Pdig máskülönben az a nap is csak olyan volt, mint a többi. Washington városban sok ezer ember ment megnézni a Jefferson Memorial körül ültetett virágzó cseresznyefákat; az elnök a Maryland hegyekben fekvő pihenő helyére hajtatott, ahol a következő nagy beszédére készült s általában minden nyugodtnak, békésnek látszott.

A kongresszus 8 vezető tagja, — 4 szenátor és 4 képviselő — telefon meghivást kaptak a State Department azonnali meglátogatására, ahol John Foster Dulles külügyminiszter, Arthur W. Radford admirális, a közös vezérkar főnöke, Roger Keys alhonvédelmi miniszter, Robert B. Anderson Navy Secretary és Thurston B. Morton, Dulles első segitő asszisztense fogadták őket.

— President Eisenhower utasitott, hógy hivjam meg önöket erre a konferenciára, — fogadta a meghivottakat Dulles. Knowland (R.), Lyndon B. Johnson (D.), Eugene Milikin (R.) és Richard B. Russel (D.) szenátorok, tovább Joseph Martin házelnök, Earl Clement (R.) és John W. McCormack meg J. Persy Priest demokrata képviselők feszült figyelemmel hallgatták. Dulles azonban mindjárt átadta a szót Radford admirálisnak, aki Indokinát ábrázoló kifeszitett nagy térkép előtt állva mutogatni kezdte, hogy a francia csapatok milyen kutyaszoritóba kerültek Dienbienphu erődnél.

JAJ, MI LESZ MOST

— Ha ez az erőd elesik, akkor mindjárt utána megy egész Indokina, a többi délázsiai országok, a környező szigetek és veszélybe kerülnek még a Fülöp szigetek is, — mondotta Radford, botjával hadonászva.

Elmondotta aztán, hogy szerencsére ott vannak az Essex meg a Boxer nevü repülőgépszálitó hajók a kinai vizeken. Van ott elég gép, ember meg munició is. Ezek meg tudnák változtatni a háboru menetét dacára annak, hogy a franciák csak immel-ámmal harcolnak. Miután minden készen van, csupán arra lenne szükség, **hogy a kongresszus hozzon egy olyan határozatot, hogy az elnök, — ha jónak látja, — azonnal használhatja az Egyesült Államok légi és tengeri erejét.** (Ez tehát felhatalmazás lett volna arra, hogy az elnök megkezdheti a háborut a kongresszus hadüzenete nélkül is.)

Knowland szenátornak nagyon tetszett a dolog és késznek mutatkozott arra, hogy keresztül segit ilyen határozatot. A kollégái azonban már nem lekesedtek annyira. Különösen a demokrata szenátorok és képviselők akadékoskodtak és tettek fel ilyen kérdéseket:

— Az egyesitett vezérkar többi tagjai is helyeslik ezt a beavatkozást? — kérdezte Clements szenátor. Radford előbb himezett-hámozott, de aztán beismerte, hogy a vezérkar többi tagjai **ELLENZIK** az amerikai beavatkozást az indokinai háboruba.

— De, — tette hozzá Radford — azok nem ismerik a Távol-Keletet ugy, mint én. Én jobban tudom, hogy mire van szükség.

Aztán Lyndon Johnson adott fel egy igen fontos kérdést, amelynek a lényege ez: Mint Knowland szenátor állitotta, már a koreai háboruban is a költségek 90 százalékát, az emberek 85 százalékát az Egyesült Államok szolgáltatta. Milyen biztositéka van Dulles külügyminiszternek arra, hogy a kiszélesbitett indokinai háboruban az arány nem ilyen lesz, hanem abba Amerika a szövetségeseivel megfelelőbb arányban fogja megosztani a terheket?

A SZÖVETSÉGESEK

Dulles kénytelen volt beismerni, hogy bizony arra semmi kilátás sincs, sőt valószinü, hogy az Egyesült Államok még jobban magára marad ebben az uj háboruban. Erre aztán ezen szenátorok és képviselők azt ajánlották Dullesnak, hogy terjessze ezt az ügyet az Egyesült Nemzetek elé s annak a határozatától tegyék főggővé a beavatkozást.

Ez persze nem tetszett Radfordnak, se Knowlandnak, aki attól kezdve alig szólt valamit. Tettek fel aztán még másforma kérdéseket is. Igy megkérdezték, hogy Amerika beavatkozása nem-e vonná maga után a kinai beavatkozást? Radford és Dulles beismerték, hogy erre nagy a lehetőség. És akkor nem jutnának-e el a harmadik világháboruhoz? — kérdezte az egyik képviselő. Dulles és Radford beismerték, hogy azzal az eshetőséggel számolni kell.

McCormack (D) képviselő ekkor nem állhatta meg, hogy a republikánus kollégái orra alá ne dörgölje: "Furcsa, hogy a jelen adminisztráció, amelynek egyik szószólója, Sen. McCarthy "árulónak" nevezett bennünket, demokratákat, ilyen kéréssel mer hozzánk fordulni?"

Az ily kifakadásoknak aztán az lett a vége, hogy a kongresszus tagjai megijedtek a rendkivül nagy felelőségtől, amit magukra vettek volna a kivánt határozattal, amelyre oly szomjasan várt Radford admirális, hogy a harmadik világháborut meginditsa. Hosszu vita után aztán végre megegyeztek abban, **hogy jó lesz, ha Dulles külügyminiszter előbb megkérdezi az Egyesült Államokkal szövetkezett országokat, hogy velünk tartanak-e abban az esetben, ha az indokinai beavatkozás a harmadik világháboruhoz vezetne.**

Ami azután történt, már ismeretes. A szövetségesek, élükön Angliával, nagy rémületbe estek.

Igy maradt el a Radford-Dulles-Knowland által kitervezett nagy háboru.

(The Reporter)

AZ INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD IPARI SZERVEZET

ELVINYILATKOZATA

A munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni összpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszik arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharc esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden az egy iparban — vagy ha kell, valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát bármikor, ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti.

E maradi jelszó helyett: "Tisztességes napibért, tisztességes napi munkáért" ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "LE A BÉRRENDSZERREL!"

A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szerkezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül.

ESNEK A FARMOK ÁRAI

WASHINGTON — A Department of Agriculture jelentése szerint az amerikai farmok árai az utolsó két évben 7 százalékkal estek.

U. S.-DÉLKOREA ELLENTÉT

SEOUL, Délkorea — A United Press állitása szerint az Egyesült Államok és Délkorea között egyre feszültebb lesz a viszony és nem lenne meglepő, ha Syngman Rhee kiutasitaná onnan az amerikai hadsereget a politikai "tanácsadókkal" egyetemben.

A két ország közötti viszony ily elhidegülésének legfontosabb oka az, hogy a washingtoni kormány már nem ad olyan nagy financiális és fegyveres segitséget Délkoreának, mint eddig. De ami a legjobban felingerelte a Synéman Rhee kormányt az, **hogy a pénzügyi támogatást már nem adják az ő kezükbe, mint azelőtt, hanem az amerikai kormány megbizottjai költik el.** A Rhee kormány tagjai ezt nagyon nagy sértésnek veszik.

A másik ok állitólag az, hogy az amerikai kormány délkorea felé akarja irányitani a japán iparok exportját. Japán ugyanis képtelen megállni külföldi élelmiszerek behozatala nélkül, amelyért természetesen csak a külföldre küldött ipari termékekkel fizethet. A japán ipar piacait az Egyesült Államok részben elfoglalta, részben pedig elzárja a kinai blokáddal. Ezért Koreát szeretné megnyitni a japán exportnak, de a koreaiak 40 évi kizsákmányoló japán uralom után hallani sem akarnak erről.

A NAGY BÉKEKÖTÉS

LOS ANGELES — Az American Federation of Labor két legnagyobb International unionja, a 900,000 taggal biró International Association of Machinists és a 800.000 taggal biró United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners 40 évig tartó **egymás közötti harc után most végre békét kötöttek.** Ez a két szervezet 4 évtizeden át éles harcot folytatott egymás ellen azért, hogy melyiknek a jogkörébe (jurisdiction) esik olyan mühelyek megszervezése, amelyekben masiniszták és karpenterek együtt dolgoznak. Ez az évtizedekig tartó harc tisztán mutatta a szakszervezkedési forma nagy hibáit, amennyiben nemhogy a közös cél érdekében szervezte volna a munkásokat, **hanem éppen ellenkezőleg, egymás ellen uszitotta őket.**

A két szakszervezet elnökei nagy ünnepség közepette irták alá azon szerződést, amelyben kötelezik magukat, hogy a jövőben minden jurisdicktionális kérdésben alávetik magukat az ily célra kinevezett döntőbiróság itéletének.

INDIA ELTITOTTA A GYERMEKHÁZASSÁGOT

NEW DELHI — India parlamentje nagy szótöbbséggel elfogadta azon törvényt, amely eltiltja az Indiában ősidőktől szokásos gyermekházasságokat. Az uj törvény értelmében a leánynak legalább 18 évesnek, a fiunak pedig legalább 21 évesnek kell lenni, hogy házassági engedélyt kapjanak. Ezzel a törvénnyel végetvetnek a hindu vallás által ápolt évezredes embertelen gyermekházasságoknak.

IDEGBETEGEK

Irta: **DR. WILLIAM G. NEDERLAND**
Egyetemi tanár

"Az idegek összesége — ez az ember" — Cabanis

Idegbetegekkel találkozol mindenütt. Ott vannak az üzletekben, a politikában, az iskolában, a birósági tárgyalásokon; megtalálod őket a diplomás emberek között éppenugy, mint az egyszerü napszámosok soraiban. Számuk milliókra rug s mégis ezt a betegséget ismerjük legkevésbé.

A United States Public Health Service adatai szerint az Egyesült Államokban évenként 8-10 millió ember szenved idegbántalmakban. Nagyrészét ezeknek az átlagos ember csak "félbolondnak" nevezi. Ezek azok, akikre azt mondják, hogy "hiányzik az ötödik kerekük" s tovább nem törődünk velük. Pedig gondolni kellene arra, hogy hátha **MI IS KÖZÉJÜK TARTOZUNK!** Hátha mások miránk is azt mondják, hogy "az a félbolond?"

Mert látszatra a legtöbb esetben ezen embereknek nincs semmi szervi (organikus) hibájuk. De azonkivül folytatják munkakörüket ugy, mint mások; nem egy hires költő, zenész, szinész vagy hasonló kiválóság is akad közöttük. A vagyoni vagy esaládi állapot sem szab korlátot ennek a betegségnek; megtaláljuk őket a gazdagok között éppen ugy, mint a szegények soraiban. Van közöttük sok nagy keresetü, sok erősen dolgozó ember, de azért ezek is betegek.

Betegek, akik panaszkodnak és gyógyitásra szorulnak, ha ugyan az lehetséges. Ezek is törekszenek az élet örömi után, akárcsak te és én; **szeretet, barátság, boldogság, elismerés, vagy más valamilyen érzelem vágy kielégitése lappang idegességük mögött, amit nem tud kielégiteni, ami keserü csalódást okoz nekik.** Ez aztán annyira összegyülemlik, hogy egyszer csak letöri a józan gondolkodás erejét és az egészséges emberből idegbeteg lesz.

Az idegbetegség nagyon sokféle módon jelentkezik és noha számos tipust külömböztetünk meg, közöttük éles határt vonni nem lehet. Az idegbetegek száma az érettebb koruak között rősen emelkedik, talán azért, mert több alkalom volt arra, hogy valamilyen csalódás érje őket. Ezek aztán ugy látják, hogy az életük üres, amiért nem érdemes küzdeni.

Ennek a nagyon elterjedt betegségnek a legjobb gyógyszere az, ha a **beteget rá lehet eszméltetni arra, hogy nincs semmi szervi baja, csak éppen bebeszél magának valamilyen betegséget, elhagyatottságot, csalódást, üldöztetést, vagy valami hasonlót, ami az életét elkeseriti.**

Felsoroljuk a fontosabb tipusokat, márcsak azért is, mert tudjuk, hogy az olvasók mindegyike ismer egy-két olyan embert, akik egyik-másik tipusba tartoznak. De a leghasznosabb az lenne, ha az, akire ráillik ÖNMAGÁT MEGTALÁLNÁ valamelyik tipusban, mert ez a felismerés a gyógyuláshoz vezethet.

a) A TULÉRZÉKENY

A létért folyó durva marakodással telitett világban a tulérzékeny embereknek nagyon nehéz a sorsuk. A forradalmak, háboruk, depressziók és a nacionalista krizisek legtöbbünket megedzettek annyira, hogy érzelmeink nem lesznek urrá felettünk. A tulérzékeny emberek azonban valahogy elkerülték ezt az érzéktelenitést és azért minden külső hatásra tulzott érzelmi benyomással reagálnak, ami beteggé teszi őket.

Az ezen csoporthoz tartozókon a betegség már külsőleg is mutatkozik. Rendesen lesoványodott, törékeny testüek, étvágytalanság és álmatlanságról panaszkodnak, amihez hozzájárulnak az emésztési zavarok is. Szédülnek, gyakran el is vesztik eszméletüket és mégis semmi szervi betegséget sem lehet náluk találni.

Betegségeik okát nem is a szerveik vizsgálata, hanem az élettörténetük adja meg. Sokuknál hiányzott a szülői szeretet gyermekkorukban, másokkal nagyon szigoruan bántak, vagy tulságosan becézték, védték minden külső behatás ellen és igy félénk emberek lettek, nehezen barátkoznak s nem jól érzik magukat társaságban.

Érdekes, hogy ebbe a csoportba tartoztak olyan kiválóságok, mint például Shelley, a nagy angol költő; Chopin, Mozart, Schubert és Schumann zeneszerzők; John Keats költő és még sok más nevezetesség.

b) A KÉPZELT BETEG

Ebbe a csoportba tartoznak azok ,akik mindenféle betegségeket vélnek felfedezni saját magukon. Egyre-másra olvassák az egészségügyi könyveket, eljárnak orvosi előadásokra, gondosan figyelik az egyes betegségek szimptómáinak leirását és azután arra a gondolatra jönnek, hogy náluk is jelentkeznek ezen szimptómák.

Különösen gyakori ez a jelenség öreg emberek között, akik mindenféle pirulákat szednek, követnek minden "orvosi" tanácsot, **azokat is, amiket nem orvostol, hanem a szomszédasszonytól kapják.** Szekrényeik tele vannak mindenféle drugszerekkel, akárcsak egy kisebbszerü gyógyszertár. Minél több vitamint, "erősitőt", elikszirt, aspirint, vas-kivonatot, teákat és hasonló dolgokat szednek, annál jobban védve érzik magukat a betegségek ellen.

Közben azonban mindig ujabb meg ujabb betegségről hallanak, ami ellen még nem erősitették meg magukat és akkor ugy vélik, hogy az az uj betegség fogja el őket és kezdődik a nagy félelem megint, mint előbb.

Ebbe a csoportba sorolhatjuk az ugynevezett "fobiás" betegeket is, akik csak egy bizonyos dologtól félnek. Van például olyan, aki fél a szük helytől (claustrophobia), fél az emberektől (anthrophobia) és igy tovább. Ezeknél a FÉLELEM okozza az igazi betegséget és talán igaz az, hogy ezeknél a **félelem nagyobb fájdalmat okoz, mint okozna maga az a dolog, amitől félnek.**

e) AZ INDULATOS ÉS PARANCSOLGATÓ

Az idegbeteg tekintélyes száma nagyon indulatos, hamar felhevül, veszekedést kezd és véleményét nagyon erőszakosan akarja másokra rákényszeriteni. **Gyakran saját hiányosságukat akarják takarni** ezzel az **agresszív fellépéssel, máskor igen nagy embernek képzelik magukat, akik messze kiemelkednek környezetükből és azért megkövetelik, hogy környezetük engedelmeskedjen nekik.**

Az ilyen uralkodni, parancsolni vágyó (domineering) egyén környezete legfontosabb emberének tartja magát és ezt mindenütt érvényre akarja juttatni. Különösen veszedelmessé válik az ilyen ember, ha az üzleti életben valamilyen pozicióra tesz szert, amikor alattvalónak az életét végtelenül elkeseriti. De éppen igy tönkreteszi családja békéjét is. Az ily családban felnövekedett gyermekek csaknem biztosan szintén idegbetegek lesznek.

d) AZ ÖNZŐ

Az emberrel vele születik az önmagával való törődés. A gyermek gondolatvilágát csak önmaga foglalja el, ez szolgál alapul arra, hogy az önfentartás nagyon komplikált aktivitásait megtanulja. Amint azonban növekszik, egyre nagyobb mértékben vesz tudomást a testét környező világról, azok behatolnak szellemi világába is és idővel a felnőttek eszmevilágában helyet nyernek a barátai, a foglalkozása, a közintézmények, stb. stb.

Vannak emberek, akik ebben a tekintetben soha sem nőnek meg, akik egész életükön át, — mint a gyermekek, — csak saját magukkal törődnek. Ezek a világ központjában képzelik magukat és ugy tartják, hogy mindenkinek és minden intézménynek az ő kivánságukhoz kell alakulni, hogy az ő javukat vagy kényelmüket szolgálják.

Az ilyen emberek soha nem beszélnek másról, mint saját magukról. **Bármiről legyen is szó, azonnal saját magukra forditják a beszélgetést.** A közösségi szellem teljesen hiányzik náluk. Követelik a közintézményektől, hogy tisztán csak az ő javukat szolgálják, de ők nem segitik az ily intézményeket.

Éppen ugy engedelmességet, sgitést és lojalitást követelnek barátaiktól és környezetüktől, amit azonban ők nem viszonoznak. **Ezen emberek érzelmileg éretlenek, az életről nincs semmi komoly ismeretük. Nem tudnak külömbséget tenni a fontos és kevésbé fontos dolog között;** a saját dolgaikat, bármily jelentéktelen is, a családjuk, a környezetük vagy akár az ország legfontosabb dolgai fölé helyezik. Ebben a tekintetben ugy viselkednek, akár csak a gyerekek. Az ilyen megnőtt "gyermekek" is veszedelmessé válnak, ha valamilyen magasabb pozicióba kerülnek, de mindig elég bajt okoznak családjuknak, környezetüknek és barátaiknak.

A szerkesztő megjegyezése: A fentieket Dr. Niederland: **"Man-Made Plague"** cimü munkájából vettük, ahol az elmondottakon kivül még az idegbajosok számos válfaját ismerteti. Ezek terjedelmes közlésére azonban már nincs terünk. A fentiek ismertetését azonban nagyon kivánatosnak tartottuk.

REMÉNYKEDIK AZ ANGOL MUNKÁSPÁRT

LONDON — A közvéleménykutató intézmények jelentései szerint az angol választók többsége jelenleg a Labor Party mellé szegődött. Ha mostanában választásokat tartanának, — irja a London Observes, — akkor a Churchill kormánya alapos vereséget szenvedne.

MEGHIVÓ

A BÉRMUNKÁS Elsinore-Perris olvasói október 9-én, szombaton délután 2 órai kezdettel az Elsinore Progressive Hallban (Poe Street) az első kiváló magyar proletár költő müveinek felelevenitésére)

ABET ÁDÁM

emléküunnepélyt rendeznek a következő müsorral:

a) Költők szerepe a forradalomban	Bustya Károly
b) Abet Ádám élete és költészete	Geréb József
c) Omár Kháyám bölcs dalai (Rubiáyát) ismertetése.	

A méltatásban emlitett gyönyörü Abet verseket a következő szereplők fogják előadni:

1. Proletár vagyok	Soos Pál
2. Szülőimhez	Ádám András
3. Munkás vagyok	Tehoma Sándor
4. A szent törvények	Tabák Mihály
5. Jelenet	Schubert Irma
6. Fogadalom	Ádám András
7. Óda a dollárhoz	Bikfalvi Miklós
8. Szép ez a föld	Ádám Helén
9. Amerika csoda-népe	Magyary József
10. Marseilaise szöveg	Bustya Károly
11. Honvágy	Soos Hermina
12 Bölcsmondások	Schubert József
13. Egyesüljetek	Magyary József

Tekintettel a terjedelmes programa az ünnepélyt pontosan 2 órakor kezdjük. Beléptidij nincs, mindenkit szivesen látunk.

Ötven éves házassági évforduló

Nagy ritkaság számba megy egy olyan kiváló esemény, mint amilyenben szeptember 6-ikán, az ugynevezett "Labor Day" napján Los Angeles osztálytudatos magyar munkásságának volt része.

Eme ritka eseményt az országszerte ismert Bakos család váltotta ki azáltal, hogy házasságuk 50 éves évfordulóját munkástársaik, szeretett barátaik, kedves rokonaik társaságában kivánták megünnepelni. Eme kivánságuk várakozáson felül teljesült, mert akikkel együtt kivánták eltölteni életük eme jelentős eseményét, jelen voltak. Kivételt képeznek azok a munkástársak, rokonok, akik a nagy távolság miatt képtelenek voltak megjelenni. Délután két órára hivták össze a vendégsereget. Nyolcvan egyént hivtak meg és százon felül jelentek meg. Eljöttek olyanok is, akikről Bakos család nem is gondolta, hogy szeretetben, tiszteletben tartják őket.

Valamivel fél három előtt Köhler munkástárs — az esemény toastmestere — felszóllitotta a nagyteremben társalgó közönséget, hogy vonuljanak be az étterembe.

Az ételektől és virágoktól roskadozó asztalok mellé ülve fürkészték, keresték a boldog jubiláló házaspárt. A hosszu sorban felállitott asztalok fejénél foglaltak helyet a jubiláló házaspár, rokonaikkal. Mindketten hatalmas termetüek, de náluknál hatalmasabb száz szál rózsából álló csokor és az óriási nagy mennyasszonyi torta, teljesen eltakarta őket.

Munkástársnőink ez alkalommal is kitettek magukért. A konyha müvészetet itt Záráné. Köhlerné. Papné, Ádámné látták el. Nagy segitségükre voltak elejétől végig Simon munkástárs és Fábián Manci, akik bámulatos ügyességgel szolgálták ki a vendégsereg minden kivánságát.

Sok volna felsorolni azon munkástársnők és rokonok neveit, akik ez alkalommal is igazán müvésziesen készitett sütemények, torták halmazát hordták össze. Most látta csak igazán a Bakos család, hogy Los Angeles és környékének osztálytudatos magyarsági mily szeretettel, tisztelettel adóznak a Bakos család munkájáért, amelyet a munkásosztály felszabaditási harcában minden megalkuvás nélkül folytatnak.

A kellemes és izletes ételek és hüsitők fogyasztása után Köhler egyenként szóllitja fel Bakosék munkástársait, barátait, rokonait, hogy hajtsák meg az elismerés lobogóját nem csak azért mert a természet kegyes volt hozzájuk, hanem legkivált azért, mert a Bakos család minden megalkuvás nélkül harcol egy szebb jövőért. Hosszadalmas volna felsorolni azok neveit, akik jókivánságaikkal, elismeréssel adóztak. Három munkástárs felszólalását azonban fel kell, hogy sorojuk.

Az első felszóllitott, a los angelesi magyar munkásmozgalom egyik legrégibb harcosa Uhrin munkástárs volt, aki a tőle megszokott megfontolt szavakkal méltatta a Bakos család fáradhatatlan munkáját. Befejezésül mondá, hogy végtelen hálával tartozik a Bakos családnak, hogy őt is megtisztelték és boldognak érzi magát, hogy eme igazán szép vendégsereg közé sorolták. Kivánja, hogy a Bakos család jó egészségben még sokáig szolgálhassa a munkásosztály ügyét.

A Magyar Munkás Otthon nevében Szabó titkár üdvözölte és méltatta Bakosék érdemeit.

Utolsónak Zára munkástárs maradt, aki talpraesett szavakkal méltatta Bakosék önfeláldozó munkáját az IWW és annak magyar lapjáért a Bérmunkásért. Ugymond 42 esztendővel ezelőtt ismerte meg Bakosékat, amikor az IWW magyar mozgalma kialakulóban volt. De személyesen csak másfél évvel ezelőtt volt alkalma megismerni. Ugy találja, hogy a Bakos csacsalád nem csak a multban, hanem öregségük dacára ma is erélyesen dolgoznak a munkásosztály ügyéért.

Beszéde végeztével Köhler szólalt fel: Én nem Bakosék érdemeit kivánom ecsetelni, hanem inkább a ma esti kivánságainkat. Bakosék szigoruan kikötötték a vendégek összehivása alkalmával, hogy semmiféle ajándékot senkitől nem fogadnak el. Ennek dacára gyönyörü virágcsokrokkal, finom süteményekkel és sok igen értékes tárgyakkal halmozták el őket. Amikor felszólalok, Bakos munkástársék legforróbb óhajának kivánok kifejezést adni, amikor arra szóllitom fel önöket, hogy annak az eszmének, amelyért Bakosék egy egész emberéleten át önzetlenül dolgoztak, tetemesen áldoztak, hogy eme mozgalom magyar nyelvü lapját a Bérmunkást támogassák. A vendégek igazán meglepően sorakoztak fel Bakosék ezen kivánsága mellett és 118 dollárral támogatták az IWW magyar lapját.

Köhler munkástárs a Lapbizottság nevében meghajtotta az elismerés zászlaját Bakosék és a vendégsereg ádozatkészségéért.

Ezek után Bakos munkástárs emelkedett szólásra. Meghatóan, talpraesett szavakkal köszönte meg a nem várt szépszámu közönségnek, hogy házasságuk 50 éves évfordulóján résztvesznek. "Most látom csak, hogy mennyi igazi munkástárs, szeretett jóbarát, rokonaink vannak. Hosszu idők óta abban a tévhitben éltem, hogy ebben a nagy városmindenkitől elhagyatva, csak én és nőm harcolunk és dolgozunk az IWW magasztos eszméjéért és annak magyar lapjáért a Bérmunkásért. Most látom csak azt igazán, hogy mennyire csalódtam. Most látom, hogy az az eszme és a lap amelyért dolgozunk, amelyért egy emberéleten át fáradoztunk, önök ezt a lapot igazán szép összeggel támogatták. Én és nöm többre becsüljük eme megnyilvánulást, mint a részünkre ez alkalommal adott ajándékokat.

"Még csak annyit kivánok mondani, hogy az IWW mozgalmáért, lapjáért, amióta az eszemet tudom, amióta megismertem az osztályharc igazi utját, minden erőnkkel doldozunk. Erős a hitem — ma még sokkal jobban mint valaha — hogy az IWW tanitása az Ipari Unionizmus eszméje fog győzedelmeskedni, nem csak itt az Egyesült Államokban, hanem az egész világon. A világ munkásságának szabadsága, egyenlősége, testvéri szeretete csak akkor lesz igazán megvalósitva, ha az iparokban szervezik meg a VILÁG MUNKÁSSÁGÁT, akik aztán átveszik a termelés és szétosztás eszközeit és eltörlik a BÉRRENDSZERT."

Ezután Köhler felolvasta az üdvözlő táviratok, levelek, kártyák küldőinek neveit. Azok tartalmát azonban nagy számuknál fogva mellőzni kellett. Ezt követő hosszu társalgás után a jókedv emelkedett és a késő esti órákig szép magyar dalokat énekelve fejeződött be a Bakos házaspár 50 éves jubileuma.

Sok jó és kellemes estéken, összejöveteleken vettem részt 48 esztendi amerikai munkásmozgalmi tevékenységemben, de bátran mondhatom, hogy a Bakos házasuár 50 éves jubileuma részemről egyike volt a legkellemesebbeknek.

Köhler.

HOZZÁSZÓLOK

Noha más munkásmozgalmi csoporthoz tartozom mint a Bérmunkás, a legnagyobb tisztelettel vagyok, azért a nagyszerü, bátor munkáért, amelyet a Bérmunkás irógárdája évek hosszu sora óta végez. Mindenkor nagy élvezet és tanulságos nekem Geréb munkástárs irása, még akkor is, ha — ami elég gyakori — nem értek mindenben egyet vele. Igaz, amikor jól átgondolom, nem ritkaság, hogy elfogadom az álláspontját, de a legutóbb, amikor a munkás sportot, amelyet a szovjetekben és a népi demokrciákban üznek, azzal amit a tőkés országok üzleti csaláson alapuló sporttal hasonlitsa össze.

Ezért inkább elfogadom Kovach munkástárs álláspontját, bár azon nagyon meglátszik, hogy ő tényleg nem foglalkozik sporttal. Mert akkor jobban kihangsulyozta volna azt, hogy az előző országokban nem kiterjesztett super sportolók vannak, hanem hihetetlenül hatalmas tömegek üzik a sport minden ágát. Igy a nagy tömegekből kerülnek ki azo ka kiváló bajnokok, akiknek a nevei ott szerepelnek minden nemzetközi mérkőzésen. igazolva ezen a téren is a kollektiv társadalom fölényét a tőkés rendszer felett.

Legutóbb a Szovjetben járt az olympiai verseny elnöke, aki amerikai és a legnagyobb elismeréssel adózik a szovjeteknek, mert itt óriási tömegek üzik a sportot. Az ő jelentése szerint, egyedül Ukrajnában 60 ezer football csapat van, ami feltételezi hogy milliók vesznek ebben részt. Geréb munkástárs irásaiból tudom, hogy ő rossz szenvedélynek tartja az ivást, dohányzást, kicsapongást. Higyje el Geréb munkástárs, hogy az öntudaton keresztül a fentiek legjobb ellenszere az észszerü sport.

Én sokkal messzebb megyek el a haza és a hazafisák uj fogalmazásán. Még odahaza büszkén vállaltuk a "hazátlan bitang" elnevezést, amellyel a reakció a szocialistákat bélyegezte meg. Semmi közösséget sem éreztünk az általuk kisajátitott hazafisággal, annak jelképeivel, de egészen más most az otthoni magyar dolgozó érzése. Most a magukénak érzik és tudják a "hazát" és mint a második világháboruban láttuk és látttuk a koreai és vietnami háboruban, ahol az öntudatos dolgozók nem csak hajlandók, de képesek is megvédeni az országukat olyan hatalmakkal szemben is, mint Amerika, Franciaország, mert a haza most a szebb, boldogabb jövőt, a szocialista társadalmat jelenti. Ezt a hazát büszkén vallja magáénak és hajlandó azt az élete árán is megvédeni. De ennek a hazafiságnak semmi köze sincs a sovinizmushoz, más népek gyülöléséhez. A "tót nem ember kása nem étel", "bocskoros oláh"-féle gyalázatosságnak nincs helye ebben a hazafiságban. . Ma a mult "ellenségei" a magyar, tót, cseh, román, stb. testvéri népek, kik szorosan összetartanak, egymást segitve épitik a jövő társadalmát.

Ez a hazafiság összefér a nemzetköziséggel, amelyért anynyit harcolt Geréb munkástárs is.

cs. f.

TITÓ PÁLFORDULÁSA

(Folytatás az 1ső oldalról)

Titó ugyan nem ellenzi a németek ujbóli felfegyverzését, de azt valamilyen kontról alatt kivánja tartani.

Titó párfodulásának igazi magyarázatát az oroszok sikeres H-bomba kisérleteiben találjuk meg. Most már ráeszmélt, hogy a Kelet és Nyugat között folyó harcban Jugoszlávia teljesen elpusztulna. Legalább is arra gondolt, amidőn ezt mondotta: "A megelőző (preventiv) háboru sikerére már gondolni sem lehet". — Azért gondolt tehát arra, hogy jobb lesz kiegyezni a Szovjetunionnal.

MAGYAR KÉRELEM

BUDAPEST — United Press riport szerint a Magyar Népköztársaság miniszterelnöke, Nagy Imre, beadványt intézett az Egyesült Nemzetek titkárságához kérve, hogy Magyarországot is vegyék fel az Egyesült Nemzetek tagjai közé. A kérelmet Nagy azzal indokolja meg, hogy a Magyar Népköztársaság fontos szerepet tölt be a világbéke fentartásában.

ŐRÜLT-E McCARTHY?

FRANKFURT — Az amerikai hatóságok rájöttek, hogy ugy a Német, mint a Franciaországban elhelyezett nagy amerikai katonai raktárokat rendszeresen lopják és állandóan nagy értékü felszerelések tünnek el. A lopások felfedezésére és eltussolására az "American Daily" nevü lap most kisütötte, hogy ezen amerikai katonai árukat bizonyára a kommunisták lopják el, hogy azokból a "földalatti" mozgalmukat felfegyverezzék.

BÉRMUNKÁS

MAGYAR NYELVÜ LAP AZ IPARI UNIONIZMUS SZOLGALATABAN

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LEHUZZUK A ZÁSZLÓT

A Bérmunkásnak ez az utolsó lapszáma.

Lehuzzuk tehát a zászlót, amelyet több mint 42 éven át oly diesőségesen lengettünk.

Nem az anyagiak hiánya késztetnek lapunk feladására. Ezt ki kell jelentenüük, mert közismert tény, hogy a legtöbb lapot a pénzügyi nehézségek döntik sirba. Ellentétbe más lapokkal, a Bérmunkás kiadását lehetővé tette néhány munkástárs évtizedeken át tartó, valóban példát mutató, nehéz, fáradságos önzetlen munkája.

És most mégis lehuzzuk a zászlót. Lehuzzuk a körülmények kényszeritő hatása következtében. Az első világháboru után hozott bevándorlási törvények halálos itéletet jelentettek az idegen nyelvü sajtónak, mert a bevándorlókkal egyetemben arányosan fogyott az olvasótáborunk is. Különösen az utóbbi években érte igen nagy veszteség az idegen nyelvü sajtót, mert elöregedett olvasóik egyre gyorsulóbb ütemben hagyják el az élők sorát. Az olvasók elvesztése a jövedelem elfogyását jelenti és igy egyszer csak minden idegen nyelvü lap elér azon időponthoz, hogy kiadásait többé fedezni nem tudja és bezárja kapuit.

Ezen folyyamat alól a Bérmunkás sem képezhet kivételt. A zászló lehuzásának idejét azonban közel két évtizeddel kitoltuk ugy, hogy egymásután jelentkeztek a szerkesztő, az irók, az üzletvezető s a csomagolók, akik elveik szolgálatában, fizetés nélkül vállalták ezt a munkáát és igy képesek voltunk lapunk kiadására fizetett hirdetések nélkül és anélkül, hogy olvasóinkat tulságosan zaklattuk volna még az anyagi támogatásért is.

És büszkén mondhatjuk, hogy kiadtunk olyan tartalmas, bátor, tanitó és harcias lapot, aminőhöz hasonlót messze földön keresni kell. Ezt még ellenségeink is elismerik.

A számunk azonban egyre fogyott, a megmaradottak vállaira egyre nagyobb teher nehezedett. Amikor Lefkovits munkástársunknak felesége betegsége folytán el kellett hagyni Cleveland várost, lapunk krizis elé került, amit csak ugy oldottunk meg, hogy a kiadóhivatali munkát Takács munkástársunk vállalta. Sajnos, Takács munkástársunkon erőt vett a kiujult máj és vesebaja, ami szeptember 19-én elrabolta tőlünk. A már amugy is nagyon fogyott sorainkban nem akadt más a titkár-kiadó munkák végzésére és igy mást sem tehetve, elhatároztuk a Bérmunkás beszüntetését.

Lehuzzuk tehát a zászlót.

Nem mondjuk, hogy fájdalom nélkül hagy lapunk befejezése. De ugyanakkor megelégedést nyujt **MULTUNK**, amelyre büszkeséggel tekinhetünk. Mert joggal mondhatjuk, hogy azon gazdasági, politikai és kulturális vivmányokat, amiket az amerikai munkásság eddig elért, — **ÉS AMELYEKET MA OLYAN ÁDÁZ DÜHVEL TÁMADNAK**, — a munkáltató osztály nem hozta ezüst tálcán a munkások részére. Harcolni kellett azért, méghozzá nagyon is keményen. És **JOGGAL MONDHATJUK**, hogy abból a nehéz harcokból **A BÉRMUNKÁS ÉS A KÖRÖTTE CSOPORTOSULÓ OLVASÓ TÁBOR ALAPOSAN KIVETTE A RÉSZÉT.**

És nem megvetendő ám az az eredmény, amit elértünk. Éppen ez az oka annak, hogy Amerika uralkodó osztálya ma **OLYAN ERŐSZAKOS MÓDON IGYEKSZIK AZOKAT LEROMBOLNI.** A Bérmunkás idős olvasói még jól emlékszenek a 45-50 évvel ezelőtti időkre; az akkori munkaviszonyokra, munkabérekre, a munkások hihetetlenül alacsony életszinvonalára, — másszóval a munkások kizsákmányolási fokára.

De különösen emlékszenek arra a rendkivüli embertelen bánásmódra, amiben a szakmanélküli munkásokat részesitették. Századunk első éveiben már egyre nagyobb tömegekben alkalmazták a szakmanélküli munkásokat a nagy épitkezéseknél, az erdőirtásoknál és a mezei munkáknál. Ezen vándormunkások minden vagyonát a féreggel telitett felgöngyölt pokróc képezte, amelyet vállra vetve mentek egyik munkahelyről a másikra.

Ezeket nem szervezték az amerikai szakszervezetek. Olyanformán tekintettek rájuk, mint alsóbbrendü lényekre, holott ezeknek a megélhetési viszonyai szabták meg az ő életszinvonalukat is.

Ez az osztály értette meg és fogadta lelkesedéssel az 1905-ben alakult Industrial Workers of the World (Világ Ipari Munkásai) szervezet szózatát, amely kimondja, hogy csak két osztályt ismer; a munkáltatók és a munkások osztályát, amelyek között semmi közösség sines, amelyek érdekei ellentétesek, ezért örökös harc folyik közöttük. Ez a harc az **OSZTÁLYHARC.**

Amerika munkástömegeivel az **IWW** ismertette meg azt a nagy igazságot, hogy saját sorsán csak osztálytársaival együttesen, osztályuk helyzetének javitásával segithet. Az **IWW** porondra lépésével az osztályharc az elmélet mezejét elhagyva gyakorlati ténnyé lett. Ez a harc két évtized alatt gyökeresen megváltoztatta a legjobban kizsákmányolt néposztályok helyzetét, kivivta számukra is az emberi élethez való jogot. És amily mértékben emelkedett ezen legalantasabb osztályok helyzete, ugy vitte feljebb és feljebb az összes munkások életnivóját is.

Joggal mondhatjuk, hogy habár a munkaviszonyok, a munkabérek és az általános jólét emelkedése az összmunkásság nyeresége volt, annak **KIKÜZDÉSÉÉRT EGYETLEN CSOPORT SEM KÖVETELHET MAGÁNAK ANNYI ÉRDEMET, MINT AZ IWW SZERVEZET HIVEI.** Joggal dicsekedhetünk ezzel, hiszen megfizettünk **KÖNNYEL, VÉRREL ÉS MARTIRJAINK SZÁZAIVAL.**

Elöregedtünk, soraink megritkultak, számunk nagyon megfogyott s az események változatai félretoltak bennünket, de csak azután, amikor a **MUNKÁSOSZÁLYNAK TETT NAGY SZOLGÁLATOT MÁR ELVÉGEZTÜK.** Ezt nem lehet tőlünk elvitatni.

De még megfogyott számunkkal és erőnkkel is változatlan bátorsággal szálltunk sikra azon szabadságjogok védelméért, amelyektől az utóbbi években az amerikai munkásságot meg akarja fosztani az uralkodó osztály. És ugyanoly bátorsággal hangoztattuk, hogy a háboruk ideje már lejárt; a nemzetek és országok közötti ellentétek elintézésének helye nem a csatasor, hanem a tárgyaló asztal, mert ha kitör az atomháboru, akkor csatatérré lesz a föld teljes felszine eme végső nagy katasztrófában elpusztulhat maga az emberi civilizáció is.

Ezért hivatkozunk büszkeséggel multunkra; ezért mondjuk, hogy a zászló, amit most lehuzunk, mindig dicsőségesen lobogott. Lapunk közel félszázados élte alatt valóban osztálytudatos hüséggel és odaadással szolgáltuk osztályunkat, — a **MUNKÁSOSZTÁLYT!**

A Bérmunkás
Szerkesztősége és Lapbizottsága

HATÁROZATOK A BÉRMUNKÁS BESZÜNTETÉSÉRŐL

1. Takács József munkástársunk elhalálozása folytán, ki a központi titkári teendőket végezte, Lefkovits munkástárs eltávozása óta, sulyos, megoldhatatlan helyzet elé állitotta a lapbizottságot.

Miután más munkástárs nem vállalkozott a titkári teendők elvégzésére, miután többszöri felhivás dacára sem tudtuk az irógárda létszámát növelni és igy a lap megirása három munkástárs vállaira hárult. Miután a lapot csomagoló munkástársak közül kettő kórházba került és a harmadik is várja a kórházba való beualását, a lapbizottság arra az egyhangu megállapodásra jutott, hogy képtelenek vagyunk arra, hogy a Bérmunkást továbbra is, a több mint 15 éve folytatott alapon, önkéntes munkával jelentessük meg, viszont az elöregedett olvasótábort nem terhelhetjük meg egy fizetett alkalmazott felfogadásával, ezért a Bérmunkás kiadását október 15-ikén beszüntettük.

2. Mindazok az olvasók, kiknek az előfizetése még nem járt le, ha óhajtják és ebbeli kivánságukat 1954 november 15-ig a lapbizottságnak bejelentik, a nekik járó összeget visszakaphatják.

3. November 15-ike után a fenmaradt összegből egy Védelmi Alapot létesitünk, amely alapot egy országos bizottság fogja kezelni.

Ez az Országos Védelmi Bizottság jogos, hogy az alapból munkásvédelmi célokra kiutalást eszközöljön. Minden kiutalás csak az Országos Védelmi Bizottság többségének a határozata alapján történhet meg.

Az Országos Védelmi Bizottság tagjai között az összeköttetést a bizottság titkára tartja fen. Védelmi ügyekben a titkárhoz kell fordulni, ki arról jelentést tesz a bizottság tagjainak, kik szőtöbbséggel döntenek az ügy felett.

AZ ORSZÁGOS BIZOTTSÁG TAGJAI:

Akron: Vizi József, Farkas Imre.
Bridgeport: Barca Gábor.
Buffalo: Hering Pál.

(Folytatás az 5-ik oldalon)

BUCSUZÓ LEVELEK

Habár nem ért egészen váratlanul, mégis az a hir, hogy a Bérmunkás elérkezett az UTOLSÓ SZÁMÁHOZ, mélyen megrenditett.

Általában nézve az IWW sokkal nagyobb szerepet töltött be Amerika történelmében, mint ma azt igen sokan hiszik és ebből a szerepből a Bérmunkás körül csoportosult magyarajku munkástársak alaposan kivették részüket.

Természetes, hogy mélyen elszomorit azon éra elsorvadásának látása, amelyben oly szivvel-lélekkel vettünk részt. Az IWW és annak minden alkotó része nagy szolgálatot nyujtott az emberi haladásnak. Most, 50 év multán, midőn elenyésszőben van, itt hagyja azt a jótékony befolyást, amit nem csak az amerikai, hanem az egész világ munkásmozgalmára gyakorolt.

Nincs terünk az IWW születésének és fejlődésének ismertetésére, csupán azt jegyzem meg, hogy valószinüleg már csak egyedül én élek azok közül, akik félszázaddal ezelőtt, 1905-ben ott voltunk a születésénél, sőt az azt megelőző előkészületeknél is. Fiatal éveim ezen harcos társai ma már mind elhaltak.

És most a Bérmunkást is bucsuztatjuk! Nagyon sajnálom. És nagyon sajnálom, hogy az angolnyelvü szekciónk, maga az IWW is hasonló viszonyok közé került. — És aztán?! — kérdezem felütött fejjel. Talán szégyeljük a dolgot?

Nem, nem kell szégyenkeznünk! **Az osztályharc mezején nagyon fontos munkát kellett elvégezni. Mi vállaltuk a feladatot, elvégeztük becsülettel. Ennek a tudata szégyenkezés helyett büszkséggel tölt bennünket el.** Az általunk végzett nagy munka, a mi harcaink eredménye az a sok munkásjóléti vivmány, amelyek a munkásság legkizsákmányoltabb osztályait, a vándor munkásokat, a szakmanélküli munkásokat is kiemelte az emberhez nem illő pária sorsból.

A Bérmunkás büszkén mondhatja, hogy ebből a harcból alaposan kivette a részét. És ha most megszünik is, és ha az Industrial Worker is megszünik, az eszme, amit képviseltek, élni fog továbbra is.

Wágner József

Egy félévszázaddal ezelőtt Amerika tecnikai fejlődése rohamlépésben haladt előre. A kizsákmányoló osztály kapzsisága, kegyetlensége a végtelenségig zsákmányolta ki a bérrabszolgák millióit. Az amerikai munkásosztály ellentállási erejét az American Federation of Labor, Western Federation of Miners tömöritették. Ezek a szervezetek véghetetlen harcokat vivtak a kizsákmányoló osztály tulkapásai ellen. Borzalmas áldozatokat hoztak a nyolcórás munkidőért folytatott harcaikban és a legtöbbször minden ellentállásuk, minden áldozatuk kudarccal végződött. A szocialista és más radikális szervezetek vezetői kutatni kezdték az okokat és rájöttek, hogy minden hiba ott van, hogy Amerika munkásosztálya széttagoltan, szakszervezetekben tömörül. Rájöttek, hogy "A szakszervezetek olyan állapotokat ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharc esetén egymást verik le.. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak."

Rájöttek arra is, hogy a világ bérrabszolgáinak a nemzetközi kizsákmányoló osztállyal szemben az egész világon egy szervezetbe kell, hogy tömöritsék. 1906 junius derekán Amerika radikális és haladó szervezeteinek küldöttei Chicago városban sereglettek össze, hogy a káros szakszervezkedési formát bathatósabb szervezeti formával váltsák fel. Néhány napi tárgyalás után junius 22-én kimondották a Világ Ipari Munkások Szervezetének megalakulását. Megszövegezték a világ osztálytudatos munkásságának legyönyörübb, legtisztább és érthetőbb elvinyilatkozatát, amelyben kimondották, hogy "A munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között és az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

"E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, amig a VILÁG munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a FÖLDET, a TERMELŐ ESZKÖZÖKET és megszüntetik a BÉRRENDSZERT."

Alig egy félévtizedre, eme magasztos szervezet megalakulásának, Amerika osztálytudatos magyar munkásságának egy része 1911 augusztus 26-án Chicagoban megalakitották a Világ Ipari Munkásainak vas és fémmunkások első magyar csoportját.

Rövidesen eme csoport megalakulása után, Chicagotól New Yorkig országos szervező utra küldtük Rothfisher Károlyt. A magyar szocialista mozgalom legjobb erői csatlakoztak az uj szervezethez és minden magyarlakta városban, bányatelepen mozgalom indult meg, hogy az uj magyar szervezetet ne csak szóban, hanem irássban is hirdesse Amerika magyar bérrabszolgái között. A hatalmas lawrencei szövőipari munkások sztrájkja mozgalmunk ütőereibe uj vért öntött és 1912 novemberben New Yorkban megszületett a Világ Ipari Munkásai Szervezetnek első magyar lapja, a Bérmunkás. Szemeink örömkönnyekbe lábadt. Jártuk a magyar telepeket, hogy megszerezzük olvasónak a magyar dolgozókat a Bérmunkás számára.

A harcos Bérmunkás terjedt Amerika öntuduatos munkásai között és természetessen kihivta maga ellen a hatóságok üldözését.

A kormány utasitására a postahatóság megtagadta a lap szállitását és ezzel egy hatalmas küzdelembe kerültek a Bérmunkás irói, vezetői és olvasói. A Bérmunkás irói, szervezői börtönbe kerültek, de pár bét után már uj erők álltak a helyükre és a Bérmunkás helyett megjelent az "Ipari Munkás", de az "Ipari Munkás" és utána a "Védelem", a "Küzdelem", az "Uj Társadalom", a "Felszabadulás" cimen megjelent lapok is a Bérmunkás sorsára jutottak.

Öt éven keresztül folyt az üldözés, mig a háborus őrület elültével 1922-ben, ujra Bérmunkás cimen jelenhetett meg és terjeszthette zavartalanul az Ipari Unionizmus eszméjét.

Az amerikai magyarság elöregedett, uj bevándorlók csak a faiszta, nyilas bandákból kerülhetnek ki, igy állott elő az a helyzet, hogy a megalkuvást nem ismerő, harcos lapunk további kiadását az irók és az adminisztrativ erők hiányában kénytelenek vagyunk beszüntetni.

Négy és fél évtizedes küzdelem után, büszkén tekinthetünk vissza a megtett utra, ha most meg is szünik harcos lapunk a Bérmunkás, olvasótábora soha sem felejti el a harcias tanitásának a lényegét — "Solidarity for Ever".

Köhler.

Bármily rosszul esett is, amikor meghallottam, hogy a Bérmunkás meg fog szünni, ez utolsó számban nem a veszteségről, nem a fájdalomról akarok szólni, hanem inkább arról, hogy ez az ujság hosszu évtizedeken át mily odaadással vezette az amerikai magyar munkások tömegeit. Születünk, fejlődünk és elmulunk, — ezen törvény alól senki és semmi sem mentes. A fontos az, hogy milyen eredményeket hagyunk magunk után.

A Bérmunkás a legtisztább multra tekinthet vissza. Nem üzleti vállalkozás volt, hanem egy csoport öntudatos munkás oly áldozattal és készséggel teljesitet munkája, amely, mint példát mutató aranylapra tartozik.

De a szellemi tartalma még ezt is felülmulta. Minden sora az őszinte meggyőződés mgnyilvánulása volt. **Különösen az utolsó 15 évben az informáló és tanitó cikkei a hitelességet, a pontosságot mutatták, ami a legnagyobb disze az igazi munkáslapnak.**

Habár ezt a megszokott heti jóbarátot nélkülözni fogjuk, kárpótoljon bennünket az a tudat, hogy a Bérmunkás hüen teljesitette vállalt kötelezettségét. Helyeinket mi már ugyis átadjuk az uj nemzedéknek, amelyet az amerikai angol nyelven neveltek s akiket a társadalmi fejlődés akarva, vagy nem akarva is beleszorit azon eszmék terjesztésébe, amelyekért a Bérmunkás immár 42 éve küzdött.

Ha igy vesszük, akkor a Bérmunkás nem szünik meg, csak helyet cserél, mert a szelleme, a tanitása ott marad milliók agyában. És azon munkások, akik e lap kiadásában és fentartásában aktivan résztvettek, megelégedéssel szemlélhetik munkájuk eredményét s igy az a munka és áldozat, amit a Bérmunkásra adtak nem veszteségnek, **hanem igen jó befektetésnek tünik majd fel.** Mert ki merné tagadni azt, hogy a Bérmunkás utraindulása óta eltelt 42 év alatt a munkásság nagyon értékes gazdasági és kulturális eredményeket ért el s azért elismrés jár ennek a lapnak is.

Mint összekötő kapocs hiányozni fog a Bérmunkás, de baratainak szelleme, szeretete ott marad valamennyiünk szivében kitörülhetetlenül és emlékét őrizni fogjuk utolsó leheletünkig. Baráti összejöveteleinket ezentul is a Bérmunkás szellemében fogjuk tartani.

Bustya Károly

Takács József munkástárs halála nagy veszteséget jelent, mert nem csak ő halt meg, de magával rántotta a Bérmunkást is. Takács munkástárs nem tarthatta a várat addig, amig az utolsó bérrabszolga is beérkezzen. De a haladás folyamatát nem lehet örök időkre feltartani, mert az szétszakitja még a legerősebben épitett zsilipet is.

Az IWW szellemében nevelt munkások nem csüggednek, eljön az idő, — mert el kell, hogy jöjjön, — amikor minden bérrabszolga elveszti láncait s világszabadságot nyer. Minden katonája az IWW-nak egy láncszemet képez s minden láncszem kiesése gyengiti az IWW-t. Soraim Kolozsvári "Halotti induló" cimü költeményének eme két szakaszával végzem:

Bus szélvész szárnyán szállnak
Hullongó, sápat levelek.
Haldoklik erdő, mező . . .
Fuvom a halotti éneket.

Mennydörgő felhők, éghasitó lángok
Szülötte jobb lesz, mint a régi volt?
A sir megásva . . . Valahol a légben . . .
Fujják már a halotti indulót.

Bakos G.

Halálhirt hozott a posta, a legrosszabbat, amit egész életemben hallottam. Nem a Takács munkástárs halálára célzok, habár őt is nagyon sajnálom, hanem arra a hirre, hogy a Bérmunkás meg fog szünni.

Pedig nem először jött hozzám ez a hir, máskor is álltunk már ugy, hogy a Bérmunkás feladásáról kellett beszélnünk, de mindazon esetekben egy kis erőfeszitéssel, bátorsággal és verátömlesztéssel megmentettük lapunkat, ami uj erőre kapott. De most már ugy látom, nem vagyunk elég erősek ilyen ujabb véradásra.

Pedig ha van lap, amely megérdemelné még az erőnkön tuli erőfeszitést is, az a Bérmunkás. **Mert nem tévedek, amikor azt állitom, hogy most sem itt, sem sehol máshol magyar nyelven (vagy talán más nyelven sem) jelent meg ilyen bátor, harcias, tartalmas és nivós ujság, mint a Bérmunkás.**

Ezért esik olyan nagyon roszszul a halálhire.

Patchy Albert

Néhány heti távollétem alatt, amit New Jersy államban töltöttem, a Bérmunkás számos olvasójával találkoztam, akik mind-

(Folytatás a 8-ik oldalon)

EMELT FŐVEL BUCSUZUNK

Sok éjszakámat tett álmatlanná az a gondolat, hogy nem találunk Munkástársat a Bérmunkás ügykezelésének a végzésére, hogy a lapot be kell szüntetnünk.

Az utolsó tiz esztendőben megfogyatkozott az amerikai magyar munkások száma, akiknek értelmi képviselője volt a Bérmunkás, e részről nem jelentett volna már nagy hézagot, mert több mint negyven esztendeig fáradhatatlanul hirdette a dolgozó kéz hatalmát mindenek felett, ha azt a józan ész irányitja.

És hogy a májusi értekezlet megtalálta a lehetőséget a Bérmunkás további megjelentetésének, legnagyobb örömömre szolgált, hogy a pôszton állva, ujból és ujból leleplezhetjük az amerikai magyar reakciót, az Amerika Hangját, akik szervezett sajtóirodát tartanak fenn arra, hogy a legbődületesebb hazugságokkal lássák el az amerikai lapokat, amik megfelelnek Amerika mai külpolitikájának, nemkülönben az amerikai dolgozók félrevezetésére a népi demokráciák népének helyzetéről.

A Bérmunkás négy évtizeden át az ipari unionizmus tanitásával az Ipari Köztársaságért harcolt és amikor Magyarországot csődbe juttatta az évezredes grófi és papi uralom, az ország megmentése a dolgozó népre hárult — ugy éreztük, hogy a magyar dolgozók elérkeztek arra az utra, melyen haladva megvalósithatják a Bérmunkás négyévtizedes tanitását, az Ipari Köztársaságot.

Rokonok levelei, valamint az országot látogató külföldiek állitásai, hogy a közel tizesztendős épitő munka többet jelent Magyarország kulturájának és a magyar népnek, mint az előbbi évszázadok. Ebből a legkimagaslóbb, hogy a holnappal nincsen gondja sem a kétkezü munkásnak, sem a haladó értelmiségnek, akik megbecsült fenntartói az országnak.

Ezt az igaz megállapitást kivánjuk a Bérmunkás olvasóin keresztül az amerikai magyar dolgozóknak örökül hagyni, hogy a reakció minden ellenkező állitásával csatát veszitsen őrtállásunk nélkül is.

Lefkovits.

—

Engedtessék meg itt köszönetet mondanom a Bérmunkás olvasói százainak, akik néhány hónappal ezelőtt azzal az óhajjal bucsuztak tőlünk személyesen és leveleik utján, hogy feleségem megtalálja a gyógyulás utján. Az elmult három hónap kedvező eredményt mutat feleségem egészsége visszaszerzésére. Magam is megszokom a robotnélküli munkát.

Fenti

VISSZAPILLANTÁS

Irta: ZÁRA JÁNOS

Egy hónap hijján 43 éve, hogy a Bérmunkás első száma megjelent az amerikai magyar munkásság között, hogy megismertesse a forradalmi Ipari Unionizmus magasztos eszméjét a munkásság felszabadulási harcának elősegitésére. Most, hogy az utolsó szám kiadását reánk kényszeritették a viszonyok, felelevenednek emlékeimben a küzdelmek, harcok és aggodalmak, amelyekben részünk volt ezen közel félévszázad alatt.

Az "Industrial Workers of the World" (IWW) 1905-ben történt megalakulása után néhány évre, az akkor már müködő Socialist Labor Party és Socialist Party magyar frakcióiban tömörült magyar osztálytudatos munkásoknál is talajra talált az IWW által hirdetett Egy Nagy Szervezet eszméje és a nevezett pártok tagjai között folyt viták következményeként az IWW-nak magyar csopotjai alakultak az ország magyarlakta városaiban.

Azonban, még mielőtt a charterezett csoportok megalakultak, a két politikai párt tagjai közül kivált hivei a forradalmi Ipari Unionizmusnak függetlenül müködtek és sajtó alá rendezték az EGY NAGY SZERVEZET cimü füzetet, amely ismertett az Egy Nagy Szervezet — az Ipari Unionizmus — elméletének gyakorlati összetételét, amelynek követésével a munkásosztály felépitheti az "Uj Társadalom szerkezetét, a réginek keretein belül", annak elkerülésére, hogy a munkásosztályt készületlenül találja a kapitalista társadalmi rendszer összeomlása.

Az eszme gyorsan terjedt az amerikai magyar munkásság között is és hamarosan, az eddig függetlenül müködő csoportok szerves részei lettek az IWW-nak és az a meggyőződés alakult ki, hogy a munkásosztály felszabadulási harcának előmozditására ily rendkivül fontos és nagy horderejü eszme terjesztését lehetetlen eredményesen végezni élőszóval, vagy egy füzet terjesztésével; ehhez elengedhetetlenül szükség van egy lapra, amely az eszmét sokkal szélesebb keretek között és eredményesebben terjesztheti.

Az elgondolást tett követte és megindult szerte az országban az anyagiak gyüjtése és a jövendő előfizetők verbuválása. Országos és helyi szervezők — saját költségükön — végezték ezt a munkát és eredményesen, mert ugyszólván hetek alatt megvolt az alap egy eredetileg ket hetenként megjelenő lap meginditására.

MEGJELENIK A BÉRMUNKÁS

Amig a szervezés nagy lelkesedéssel folyt az alap lerakására, ugyan akkor a lap nevének megállapitása és a kiadóhivatal létesitése is munka alatt volt és a számos ajánlat közül a nagy többség a "BÉRMUNKÁS" név mellett döntött, ezzel is dokumentálva, hogy a megjelenő lap a bérért dolgozók érdekeinek lesz a szószólója.

Mivel New York abban az időben is a legnagyobb magyar központ volt, körülvéve a magyar munkások nagy tömegei által lakott városokkal s a technikai munkák elvégzésére is legalkalmasabbnak bizonyult, new yorki munkástársainknak jutott a megtisztelő és felelőségteljes feladat, hogy a forradalmi EGY NAGY SZERVEZET magyar nyelvü szószólóját, a Bérmunkást utnak inditsák.

Ezerkilencszáztizenkettő november első napjai izgalmas napjai voltak az IWW magyar tagjainak. New yorki munkástársainknak, hogy utjára inditsák a lapot, nekünk vidékieknek pedig, hogy mennél előbb olvashassuk a MI lapunkat és annak segitségével mennél szélesebb körben terjeszthessük a forradalmi Egy Nagy Szervezet eszméjét, amely meggyőződésünk szerint a munkásosztály felszabadulását évtizedekkel közelebb hozza a megvalósuláshoz és megkiméli a munkásosztályt az ugynevezett "átmenet" szenvedéseitől, mivel az uj társadalom szerkezetét, már a jelen keretein belül felfépitjük.

Nem a mi hibánk, hogy ma, több mint négy évtizeddel ezen történelmi fontos dátum után a munkásosztály felszabadulási harca még mindig bizonytalanul tapogatózik és a szenvedés és áldozatok határa végelláthatatlan. Még mindig nem ismerte fel a munkásosztály, hogy láncaitól csak saját maga szabadithatja meg magát.

Végignézve az osztályharc mezején, sajnos még mindig megállja a helyét a mult században uralkodó amerikai vasutmágnás — Jay Gould — azon állitása, hogy: "a munkásosztály felét felbérelhetem a másik fél legyilkolására".

A MUNKÁSSZOTÁLY EREJE

A munkásosztály még máig sem ismerte fel azt a felülmulhatatlan erőt, amely termelő erejében van, ha azt céltudatosan használja a termelés szinterén, amint azt az Egy Nagy Szervezet tanitja és amely eszmének a tanitására a Bérmunkás is vállalkozott. Viszont, a kapitalista osztály felismerte azt a veszélyt, amelyet az Egy Nagy Szervezet eszméjének a munkásság által való felismerése rejt számára és igyekezett azt minden eszközzel megakadályozni. A szószéket, a sajtót, az éther hullámait, pártjait és különösen a szakszervezeteket, mind, mind felhasználja — és sajnos eredménnyel. A politikusok és szakszervezeti basák hozzájárulásával alkalmazott terrorral, börtönnel sikerül a munkásosztályt eltériteni a helyes utról.

Az Egy Nagy Szervezet eszméjének tanitása miatt a Bérmunkás sem kerülhette el a kapitalista osztály támadásait. Az 1917 és azt követő években a kapitalista osztályt hüen szolgáló kormány többször megvonta a postai szállitás jogát a laptól — ami egyenlő a betiltással — de a Bérmunkás lelkes gárdája szembeszállt a támadókkal és a lap, bár akadályokkal, de megjelent. Ezen időkben többször kényszerült nevet változtatni — Ipari Munkás, Közös Társadalom, Küzdelem, Védelem és Felszabadulás — nevek alatt jelent meg, azonban a hatóságok hamar felismerték az Egy Nagy Szervezet szószólóját az uj nevek alatt és a szállitást ismét és ismét megtagadták.

A Bérmunkás lelkes támogatói azonban nem hátráltak meg és a kiadóhivatal express utján nagy csomagokban szállitotta a lapot a különböző városokba, ahol munkástársaink minden veszélyt megvetve vállalták az egyes lapok kézbesitését az olvasókhoz.

A feladat amelyre a Bérmunkás vállalkozott, nincs befejezve és a Bérmunkás megszünése időszerütlen, de a körülményeket, amelyek azt reánk kényszeritik, nincs módunkban megváltoztatni. A Bérmunkás több mint négy évtizedes létezése alatt sohasem fogadott el üzleti hirdetéseket — amely csaknem minden más lapnak az életerejét szolgáltatja — és kizárólag csak az osztálytudatos munkásság áldozatkészségére támaszkodott.

Ezen erők, melyek a Bérmunkást ily hosszu időn át minden üldöztetés és áldozat dacára is fentartották, soraikban megritkultak és az években megöregedtek és különösen a lap szellemi előállitása és az adminisztráció végzése nehezedett oly sullyal az öreg vállakra, ami reánk kényszeritette e szomoru aktust: a Bérmunkás utolsó számának kiadását.

BUCSUZÓ

Nehéz szivvel irom e sorokat, mert minden oly sajtótermék megszünése, amely a munkásosztály felszabadulási harcát támogatta, pótolhatatlan veszteség; mennyivel inkább az a Bérmunkás megszünése, amelynek minden sora kizárólag ezt szolgálta. Ugyszólván példátlanul áll a történelemben, hogy egy forradalmi szellemü lap, mint a Bérmunkás ily hosszu időn át és ily körülmények között megjelenhetett.

Ez csak egy módon történhetett meg: fentartóinak törhetetlen osztálytudatán, áldozatkészségén és kooperációján.

Bár voltak nézeteltérések közöttünk, ami természetes is, hiszen oly szervezetnek tanitványai vagyunk, amely arra tanitott bennünket, hogy a saját fejünkkel gondolkozzunk s megkritizáltunk és visszautasitottunk minden oly törekvést — bárkitől és bárhonnan jött is — amely saját, józan meggyőződésünkel ellenkezett s amelyet nem láttunk jónak a munkásosztály felszabadulási harcának előrevitelére.

Én hiszem, hogy ez a szellem továbbra is megmarad mindanyniyunkban és továbbra is gyümölcsöztetni fogjuk azt valamennyien minden kinálkozó téren és alkalommal osztályunk felszabadulása érdekében.

Ezen szavakkal bucsuzom sok száz munkástársaimtól, szerte az országban, akikkel e hosszu évtizedeken át szolgáltuk osztályunk felszabadulási harcát az Egy Nagy Szervezet utján, az IPARI DEMOKRÁCIÁÉRT.

BÉRMUNKÁS

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42

Kézfogás a távolból

Természeti törvény, hogy aminek van kezdete, végének is kell lenni. Ezen törvény alól a Bérmunkás sem képezhet kivételt.

Még mindannyian jól emlékszünk a kezdetre. A második ipari forradalom befejező szakaszához ért. A gyors ütemben lerakott vasutvonalak ujabb meg ujabb kiaknázatlan területeket vontak az iparok és a kereskedelem hálozatába; az erdőirtások, a nagy épitkezések, a gőzzel hajtott megmunkáló gépek egyre tömegesebb alkalmazása nem csak iparmágnásokat termelt ki, hanem létrehozták az általuk kizsákmányolt proletárságot is.

Ez a második ipari forradalom tette lehetővé a szakmanélküli munkások tömeges alkalmazását, akiket a régi, szoros határok közé szoritott szakszervezetekbe már nem lehetett beszervezni, noha nyilvánvaló lett, hogy a technika haladásával a termelés sulya az ily munkások vállaira helyezkedik majd. Az Egyesült Államokban már azt is lehetett látni, hogy az általános választójog, — amelyért oly erős harcokat vivott Európa munkássága, — nem elégséges a munkásosztály felszabaditására, mert a politikai és gazdasági kérdésekben járatlan munkástömegeket a tőkés osztály bérencei elbóditják.

Szinte önként adódott tehát az a gondolat, hogy a munkásságot oly **OSZTÁLYUDATOS** gazdasági szervezetekbe kell csoportositani, amelyek végcélja a munkásság teljes felszabaditása. Egyes életlátásu munkásvezérek azt is észrevették, hogy a munkásokat nem szakmák, hanem **IPAROK** szerint kell szervezni, vagyis egy szervezetbe csoportositani az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó összes munkásokat, tekintet nélkül arra, hogy milyen szakmunkát végeznek.

VÁLTOZÓ RENDSZEREK

Ezen munkásvezérek jól tudták, hogy a tudományos szocializmus alapitói, — Marx és Engels — midőn felismerték a társadalmi rendszerek fejlődését és rájöttek, hogy miként a rabszolga rendszert felváltotta a feudalizmus, azt pedig a tőkés termelő rendszer, ez sem marad meg örökre, hanem elvénül és át fogja adni helyét a fejlettebb szocialista (kollektiv) teremlésnek.

Marx és Engels nem mondották meg, hogy az uj kollektiv termelő rendszerben miként veszi át a munkásság a termelést. Azt tartották, hogy ezt a kérdést majd megoldja az alkalom, amikor annak ideje elérkezik. A forradalmi ipari unionizmus életrehivói ugy vélték, hogy megtalálták a feleletet erre a fontos kérdésre. Azt hirdették, hogy az osztálytudatos és végcéllal biró ipari szervezetek képesek lesznek átvenni a termelést és zavartalanul folytatni az uj társadalmi rendszerben. Másszóval, az Industrial Workers of the World megalapitói ugy vélték, **HOGY EGY LÉPÉSSEL TOVÁBB FEJLESZTETTÉK A MARXIZMUST.**

Ezen alapgondolaton épült fel az 1905-ben alakult Industrial Workers of the World (Világ Ipari Munkásai) szervezet, s erre az alapgondolatára céloz elvinyilatkozata ezen mondatával: "Az ipari szervezetben az uj társadalmat épitjük a régi keretein belül."

A BÉRMUNKÁS SZÜLETÉSE

Az eleinte igen gyorsan fejlődő uj szervezetnek hamarosan akadtak magyarajku hivei is, akik 1912-ben kiadták a Bérmunkást, hogy az ipari unionizmus eszméjét még hatásosabban terjesszék. Ennek már 42 éve és az IWW megjelenésének éppen félszázada. Az idők és az események változata azonban félretolták a szervezetet, alapeszméje kipróbálására nem került sor. Az amerikai munkásság átvette az ipari szervezeti formát, de az uralkodó osztály az informálást szolgáló összes eszközök tulajdonában képes volt megakadályozni az amerikai munkástömegek osztálytudatra ébresztését.

Ma már nem sok értelme lenne vitatni, hogy az IWW félretolásában vajjon a rendkivül nagy mérvü üldöztetés, avagy az örökös frakció harcok voltak-e a fontosabb tényezők. A lényeg az, hogy most, amikor a tömeggyártás valóban nagy proletár tömegeket alkalmaz, az amerikai munkások óriási többségét elbóditják a sajtó, a rádió, a televizió, a filmszinház, a szószék, segélyével, amelyek mind a tőkés osztály tulajdonát képezik.

A közönség informálása milliós nagy ipar lett, amivel a munkássajtó nem birta a versenyt. A munkáslapok egymásután zárták le kapuikat, avagy szükebb korlátok közé szorultak. Ez a sors érte az IWW számos lapját is, amelyek közül ma már csak egy maradt meg. Ez volt a sorsa a Bérmunkásnak is, amely oly hősies módon élte keresztül az első világháboru utáni üldöztetések idejét, majd a nagy depressziót is.

A FASIZMUS RÉME

A 30-as évek vége felé a fasizmus vésze ütötte fel fejét Európában. Ebben az időben adtam fel a farmerkodást és tértem vissza New Yorkba, ahol azonnal érintkezésbe léptem a munkástársakkal és hamarosan ujból én irtam a Bérmunkás vezércikkeit. Mindjárt kezdetben megirtam, — nem is egy, hanem több vezércikkben, — de az 1941-es országos konvención is kifejtettem, hogy a frakciós harcok **IDEJE LEJÁRT**, mert a fasizmus (nácizmus) dögletes szelleme az összmunkásság ellen irányul, amely ellen tehát **MINDANNYIUNKNAK ÖSSZE KELL FOGNI FRAKCIÓKRA VALÓ TEKINTET NÉLKÜL.**

Egy jelentéktelen kis csoport kivételével a Bérmunkás vezetői és olvasó tábora örömmel tette magáévá ezt az irányt s az "ellenzéket" hamar elsöpörte, akik aztán az ultra-hazafiak között találták meg helyüket. A lapunknál beállt uj változást, hangnemet oly örömmel vették, hogy a már elmaradt olvasók százai tértek vissza táborunkba, magukkal hozva sok oly öntudatos munkást is, akiket az örökös frakciós veszekedések elriasztottak.

A második világháboru befejezte után megint uj probléma elé kerültünk, mert időközben elöregedtünk, legtöbbünk kiesett a tényleges iparokból. Közben az IWW szervezete is — ugyancsak a tagság előregedése folytán, — egyre fogytak. Ily körülmények között nevetségesen hangzott volna az olvasók ösztökélése, hogy lépjenek be az ipari szervezetbe, amikor már kikerültek az iparokból. Ehelyett tehát lapunkban a fősulyt az osztálytudatra való ébresztésre és annak fentartására fektettük ,noha állandóan ismertettük a forradalmi ipari unionizmus eszméjét is.

CSAK AZ IGAZAT

Az osztálytudat kifejezése volt az is, hogy noha nem zárkóztunk el a jóakaratu, épitő kritikától, a kollektiv termelésre áttért országok felé szimpátiával tekintettünk. Akadtak ugyan páran, akik ezt "cenzurának" tartották, de az országos konvenciók évrőlévre megerősitették ezt az elvi irányt.

És végre az utolsó években, amidőn a kommunista mumus felépitésével a leggaládabb módon fosztották meg az amerikai népet szabadságjogaitól, lapunkban első sorban is ezen galád támadások leleplezésére és a szabadságjogok védelmére fektettük a fősulyt.

És végre gyakran hoztunk lapunkban vallás-felvilágositó cikkeket is, mert mint minden józaneszü ember látja, az egyházak a kizsákmányoló osztály leghüségesebb szövetségesei, amelyek manapság valóban tömegprodukció módjára végzik az "agymosást", — a népbolonditást.

Ezen irányelvek szemmel tartásával mindig az **IGAZSÁG** megirására törekedtünk. A Bérmunkásnál komolyan vettük azt a jelszót, amit még 1940-ben tüztem ki magam elé: **MÉG AZ ELLENSÉGEINKRŐL IS CSAK AZ IGAZAT KELL IRNI!** Ezzel elértük azt, hogy a Bérmunkás olyan tekintélyre tett szert, aminőhöz hasonlót nem mutathat fel Magyar-Amerika.

De nem csak Magyar-Amerikában, hanem talán az egész világon sem találhatunk még egy olyan lapot, amelyiket annyi szeretettel, oly nagy odaadással és oly nagy áldozatkészséggel adtak ki, mint a Bérmunkást, amelynek szerkesztője, irói, kiadóhivatali alkalmazottja, csomagolói, stb. évtizedeken keresztül dijtalanul végezték ezt a nagy és terhes munkát.

A SZABADSÁG-JOGOK VÉDELME

Éppen azért ugy vélem, hogy lapunk beszüntetése nem fog végetvetni olvasótáborunk munkásmozgalmi tevékenységének. Akiben van erő és akarat, megtalálja módját, hogy osztályát tovább is szolgálja. Erre elég alkalmat nyujt az az országos méretü üldöztetés, ami szemeink előtt megy végbe.

A Smith és a McCarran törvények alapján már több mint száz ártatlan ember ül a börtönben s százak ellen folyik a deportálási eljárás is. Amerika igen eminens jogászai állitják, hogy ezen törvények, — valamint a 83-ik kongresszus zárórájában hozott anti-kommunista törvény is, — alkotmányellenesek, hiszen valójában a gondolatszabadságot tiltják el. A jelenlegi adminisztráció azonban eddig még mindig megakadályozta, hogy ezen törvények alkotmányos volta felett a legfelsőbb biróság itélkezzen.

De egyszer csak eljutnak ezen törvények is a Supreme Courthoz, amelynek kedvező döntése sok száz ártatlan embernek adná vissza szabadságát s azonkivül megszüntetné a jelenlegi hisztérikus állapotokat. Az ily ügyeknek a Supreme Court elé terjesztése igen sok pénzbe kerül. A Bérmunkás olvasó tábora, bármily csekéllyel is, **DE SEGITHETI A SZABADSÁGJOGOKÉRT FOLYÓ KÜZDELMET.**

Ezért határozta el a Bérmunkás Lapbizottsága, hogy védelmi alapot teremt. És a Bérmunkás volt olvasói szerte az országban időközönként összejönnek majd, hogy a védelmi alapot valamivel segitsék és ezzel egyben a védelmi bizottság utján **MÉG EGY IDEIG FENNTARTJÁK AZ EGYMÁSSAL VALÓ ÉRINTKEZÉST.**

Ezért nem bucsuzom, hanem abban a reményben küldöm kézszoritásomat a Bérmunkás minden egyes olvasójának, hogy a **VÉDELEM** mezején még hallani fogunk egymásról.

Geréb József

TOLLHEGYRŐL

mondja: F. MEZŐSÉGI

AZ UT VÉGE

Valami mélységes szomoruság fog el, amikor ezeket a bucsusorokat elkezdem megirni.

Mint a mozgalmunk fel nem szentelt "papja", számtalan esetben éreztem azt, hogy a temetési bucsuztatók, a munkásmozgalom legnehezebb funkcióját jelentik. Elbucsuztatni egy harcostársat, kivel együtt harcoltunk az osztályunk, a munkásosztály jogiért, felszabadulásáért, szomoru és fájdalmas kötelesség, amelynél nagyon gyakran elful a hang, kicsordul a könny. De soha ezideig nem éreztem a veszteséget olyan nagynak, elszomoritónak, mint most, amikor magyar Amerika legharciasabb, legtisztább lobogóját, a Bérmunkást vonjuk le.

Dacára annak, hogy ha egy lapról el lehet mondani, hogy megtette a kötelességét, ugy a Bérmunkásról elmondhatjuk azt, mert ez a lap mindenkor piros virága volt a proletáriátus szent harcának a szebb, boldogabb életért, a nyomor, elnyomatás, a bün nélküli társadalomért.

Husz éve, hogy hétről-hétre nem csak olvasom, de irom is a Bérmunkást. Ezalatt az idő alatt szoros barátság kapcsolt össze az olvasótáborral, ismerve és ismeretlenül is megbecsültük egymást. Mi irók, a leveleikből, cselekedeteikből ismertük meg azt a tábort, amely fentartotta és terjesztette a Bérmunkást. Ők viszont az irásaink révén ismertek meg bennünket és igy alakult ki egy nagyszerü, közös munka, amely kiváltotta az egymás megbecsülését és személyes ismeretség nélkül is a barátságot.

Ez a közös célért való munkánál nagyon természetes, hisz igy ismerek én már 40-50 éves "öreg Amerikás" magyarokat, kikkel mint a los angelesi Uhrin és Bakos munkástársaimmal már 15-20 évvel Amerikába jövetel előtt is barátságba voltunk, dacára, hogy személyesen ma sem ismerjük egymást.

Ez azt jelenti, hogy amit én érzek most, amikor e sorokat irom, azt érzik az olvasóink is, szerte nagy Amerikában, kik most elvesztették a szeretett lapjukat, amely évtizedeken keresztüli olvasás után nélkülözhetetlen életszükségletükké vált. Száz és száz öreg harcos levele igazolja ezt.

EGY EMBERÖLTŐ

Negyvenhárom év! Mennyi harcot, mennyi küzdelmet, időt, költséget jelentett ez a harcos magyar Ipari Unionistáknak, hogy az eszmét eljutassák a tömegek közé. Ezt nálam illetékesebbek mondják el, kik a bölcsöjénél ott voltak a Bérmunkásnak.

Akik végig kitartottak a harcos lap körül, kik közben ha el is fáradtak, ha le is csendesedtek, ha végleg ki is dőltek, mégis a munkásmozgalom hősei ők, éppen ugy mint akiknek vég eljöveteléig futotta az erejükből, a harcos akaratból. Mi már régen tudtuk azt, hogy Amerikába az összes harcos nemzetiségi mozgalmak ideje, a bevándorlás korlátozásával — lejáróban van és csak ezeknek a kipróbált harcosoknak az emberfeletti akarata, harcikészsége tette lehetővé, hogy a Bérmunkás vagy két évtizeddel tulélte a sorstársait az Ipari Unionizmus hirdetésében. Tizenőt éve elmult már annak, amikor kemély elhatározással kimondottuk, hogy a Bérmunkást fizetett alkalmazottak nélkül mentsük ki a pusztulásból. Proletár irók a nehéz napi munka után szerkesztették, irták, adminisztrálták a lapunkat. Önfeláldozó asszonyaink jöttek hétről-hétre csomagolni, postázni a Bérmunkást, de a gárda egyre fogyott, betegség ,halál, ritkitotta a sorainkat, akik még megmaradtak, napról-napra öregebbek, fáradtabbak lettek és a két legutóbbi esemény, Lefkovits munkástársnő betegsége, amely a lap lelkének Lefkovits munkástársnak az eltávozását kényszeritette ki és most az utódjának Takács munkástársnak hirtelen halála két lapcsomagolónak a kórházba menése, juttatott oda bennünket, hogy be kellett szüntetni lapunkat. Dacára, hogy az olvasóink odaadó szeretete, amely gondtalanná tette a lap kiadását anyagilag, de nem birjuk tovább, fel kell adnunk a küzdelmet, amelyet két világháborun és a győzelmes proletár forradalmak sorozatán keresztül folytattunk.

Büszkeséggel mutathatunk azonban e szomoru órában arra, hogy a Bérmunkás, annak aktiv munkásai, az olvasótábor, megtette ebben a világot átváltoztató küzdelemben a kötelességét.

Nem volt szektáriánus, rugalmasan harcolt mindenkor a viszonyok és adott körülményeknek megfelelően, nem irigykedett a testvérmozgalmak sikere miatt. Nem siránkozott, hogy azok más uton, más eszközzel közelitették meg a nagy célt, hanem mindenkor támogatta a tőkés rendszer ellen vivott harcot, bárki, bármilyen eszközzel vivta is meg. Megvolt arról győződve, hogy azok is eljutnak harcaik, küdelmeik, győzelmeiken keresztül a legtisztább elgondoláshoz, az Ipari Demokráciához.

NEM HUZZUK LE A ZÁSZLÓT

A Bérmunkás zászlóját ugyan le kellett huznunk, amit nem tudott elérni a legvadabb üldözés sem, azt végrehajtotta az idő, az elhallgattatott bennünket.

A mi Bérmunkásunk zászlaja a munkásmozgalom muzeumába kerül, de a harc amelyet a Bérmunkás folytatott tovább folyik. Az osztályharc zászlaja magasan lobog. Nap, nap után ujabb és ujabb milliók rázzák le magukról a tőke uralmát. Ma már 800 millió dolgozó szabadult meg a tőke uralmától, sok, sok millió szerte a világon készülődik a döntő csatára, amely után a világ népei összefogva épitik fel a szocialista társadalmat, az Ipari Demokráciát.

A tőkések vicsoritják az odvas fogaikat, borzalmas háborura készülnek, hogy a maguk tulélt uralmi rendszerének életét meghosszabbitsák. Ugyan akkor a dolgozók nagy tömegei is felkészültek arra, hogy minden eszközzel megvédjék a halálkereskedőkkel szemben a békét.

Bucsuzóul — Bérmunkás olvasók, öreg testvérek, soha egy pillanatra se feledjétek azt a tanitást, amit a lapotok több mint negyven éven keresztül hirdetett.

Legyetek továbbra is öntudatosak, tisztánlátók, ne üljetek fel az aljas de ostoba rágalmaknak, amelyeket a tőkések kitartott sajtó rimái szórnak a kapitalizmus testéről levált országokra, köztük szülőhazánkra, Magyarországra is. Továbbra is mutassuk ki az irántuk kötelező nemzetközi szolidaritásunkat és tüzön, poklon keresztül is tartsunk ki a meggyőződésünk mellett és ott ahol arra módunk van, hirdessük azt, hogy a haladást feltartóztatni nem lehet. A kapitalisták profitrendszerének amely csak nyomort, elnyomatást, háborut jelent, pusztulnia kell, mert halálosan beteg és helyét felfogja váltani az a társadalmi rendszer, amelyet a Bérmunkás hirdetett, amelyben minden ember boldog és szabad lesz.

Kitartás! Szolidaritás! Éljen a munkásosztály egységes harca a békéért, a munkásosztálynak a kizsákmányolás alól való felszabadulásért!

NOTICE TO OUR READER

Due to the death of our managing editor and other circumstances beyond our control, with this issue we have to suspend the publication of the Bérmunkás. All further inquiries should be sent to: Joseph Gereb, Editor, Rd. 1, Box 830, Elsinore, Cal.

POLITIKAI FOGLYOK

NEW YORK — A titkosrendőrség (FBI) vezetősége jelenti, hogy letartózatták a 48 éves Dr. Albert Emanuel Blumberget, aki 1933-tól 1949-ig tagja volt az amerikai Kommunista Párnak és egyideig a párt törvényhozási osztályának ügyvivője volt. Mászóval Dr. Blumberg nagy büne az, **hogy az amerikai alkotmányos, parlamenti módszer gyakorlati alkalmazását hirdette.**

Az FBI jelentése szerint Dr. Blumberg letartóztatásával a Smith és a McCarran törvények alapján vád alá fogott egyének száma elérte a 118-t. Ezeknek lelgtöbbjét már el is itélték s börtönben szenvednek azért, mert ugy vélték, hogy itt mindenki hirdetheti politikai és gazdasági felfogását.

Az Egyesült Államokban a politikai fogllyok száma egyre szaporodik.

HATÁROZATOK A BÉRMUNKÁS BESZÜNTETÉSÉVEL

(Folytatás az 1-ső oldalról)

Cleveland: Kollár József, F. Mezőségi, Bischof Róza,

Chicago: Balogh István.

Detroit: Visi István.

Los Angeles: Zára János, Török István, Köhler A.

Miami Beach: Lefkovits Lajos.

New York: Fischbein László, Feczkó J., Szigeti E.

Philadelphia: Mrs. P. Bécsi.

Pittsburgh: A. Kucher.

A bizottság titkára: Geréb József, Rd. 1, Box 830, Elsinore, Call., ahová minden levél küldendő.

A Védelmi Bizottság 1954 december 15-én kezdi meg a müködését, amikor a Bérmunkás Lapbizottság müködése megszünik.

3. A lapbizottság védelmi célokra a General Defense részére 300 dollárt utalt át.

MUNKÁSTÁRSAK!

A lapbizottság hosszas, de sikertelen próbálkozás után hozta meg ezt a határozatot,. amelyel beszüntette Magyar Amerika legharciasabb lapját a Bérmunkást, amely az elmult 43 évben oly odaadó harcot vivott a munkásosztály felszabadulásáért.

A lapbizottság ez alkalommal kötelességének tartja azt, hogy a legnagyobb elismerését fejezze ki mindazoknak, akik lehetővé tették, hogy odaadó munkájukkal, az elmult 15 évben, teljesen dijtalan volt a lap megirása, adminisztrálása, csomagolása, postázása, hogy emellett megteremtették Amerika legnivósabb ujságját.

Köszöntet mondunk az olvasóinknak, odaadó hüséges támogatásukért.

Megvagyunk győződve arról, hogy a Bérmunkás 43 éves tanitása kitörülhetetlen nyomokat hagyott bennünk és arra kérjük önöket, hogy ne szakitsák meg a kapcsolataikat egymással és vegyék fel az érintkezést az Országos Bizottság titkárával, Geréb József munkástársal (Rd. 1 Box 830, Elsinore, Cal.) értesitsék őt az eseményekről, ki azt az olvasó tábor tudomására hozza.

A mai nehéz időkben nagy hiányt fog jelenteni a Bérmunkás igazság hirdető szava, a magyar dolgozóknak, hogy ne legyenek ráutalva a polgári lapok hazug, félreveztő hirszolgálatára. Azt ajánljuk tehát, hogy a Bérmunkás helyett olvassák az Industrial Workerst, vagy pedig olyan magyar lapot, amely nem feledkezik meg a munkásosztály nemzetközi szolidaritásáról. Keressék fel azokat a magyar összejöveteleket, amelyek a munkásosztály felszabaditásának nagy célját szolgálják.

Munkástársi üdvözlettel,

A Bérmunkás Lapbizottsága

Mark Twain megfigyelése: "Tizennégy éves koromban nagyon tudatlannak tartottam az apámat, 21 éves koromban azonban már oly bölcsnek találtam, hogy nem ls tudtam megérteni, miként tanulhatott olyan sokat a rövid 7 év alatt."

Mit köszönhetek a Bérmunkásnak

IRTA: VISI ISTVÁN

Ámbár nem végelgyengülésben, vagy pénzhiányban, inkább emberhiány következtében mulik ki, mégis bucsut kell mondani a lapunktól, olvasóktól és tanitóimtól. Mert bizony engem sokan tanitottak a lapunkon, könyveken, levelezésen keresztül, valamint egyénileg.

Én csak hat elemivel indultam az élet ezen tekergős utjára 17 éves koromban ide az idegenbe menekülve, már 1912-ben a falu bikáját ápoló csordás által is biztosnak vélt világháboru elől. Hát bizony sokaknak kellett engem tanitani. Igy helyénvaló, hogy ezen tekergős ut fontosabb fordulatairól megemlékezzek. Tanitóimat megemlitsem, azoknak hálámat kifejezzem. Mert csak igy érthetik meg az olvasók, hogy mit köszönhetek lapunknak.

Még 1915 tavaszám is ministráns — oltár gyerek — voltam a clevelandi Szent Imre templomban, mivel tudásom nem lévén, hittem. Ezen év tavaszán egy nagymise után kérdeztem Péter József "főurat", hogy "hogyan van az, hogy a tizparancsolat azt mondja 'Ne ölj' és mi mégis a magyar fegyverek győzelméért imádkozunk?" Erre a főur azt válaszolta, hogy még én fiatal vagyok, nem birom azt megérteni.

De én akartam megérteni, kerestem a kérdésre a választ. Akkor a west sideon volt egy erős szocialista szervezet. Erdei Mihály bátyánk tartott előadásokat, iskolákat. Igy erre a kérdésre is, meg másra megadták a kielégitő választ, vagy tanácsolták, hogy milyen könyvekből kaphatom meg azokra a kimeritő választ. Akkoriban nagyon sok szép, értékes magyar könyv volt a Fulton streeti könyvtárban. Ezen években ismertem meg Takács József munkástársat is, aki már akkor is nagyon vitaképes volt.

1917 október hónapjában engem is besoroztak katonának. Amikor a Szocialista Párt központját kérdeztem, hogy mit csinálja, besoroztak katonának, azt a kitérő választ kaptam, hogy "cselekedjek az egyéni belátásom szerint". De a katonai börtönben "Guard House"-ban találkoztam wobblykkal és megtudtam, hogy az IWW mint szervezet lépett fel a háboru ellen. Ez nekem nagyon tetszett.

Igy, amikor vagy öt ezren megtagadtuk a vágóhidra való átszállitást, engem kirugtak és egy éven keresztül ellenőrzés alatt tartottak.

1919 tavaszán Detroitban eljártam az IWW előadásokra, ahol Barta Lajos és Csik Mihály beszéltek. Egy házi agitáció alkalmával Csik munkástárs vékany hangjával, de annál vaskosabb érvekkel meggyőzött és IWW tagnak vett fel. Tovább jártam ott rhetorikára, Barta vezetése alatt az akkor nagyon hires "Vörös Templomba".

Már az első évben is tudósitások irására ösztönöztek, mivel hajlamos voltam az irásra. Azonban az első irásom még az Előrében jelent meg 1919-ben, mely a "Munkás Egység Szükségessége" cimen ugy az IWW mint akkor az egység felé törekvő Szocialista Párt tagoknak tetszett. Több irásra serkentettek. Ezek között volt Takács József munkástárs is, aki legközelebb jött hozzánk és velünk maradt haláláig.

1920 őszén Barta Lajos tanácsára beiratkoztam a new yorki Rand School-ba ,ahol legkedveltebb tanárunk volt Scott Nearing, a társadalmi tudomány előadója, valamint egy nagyon németesen beszélő tanár, aki a történelem tudomány előadója volt. Attól hallottam ezen nagyon fontos kijelentést: "Ismernünk kell a multat, megérteni a jelent, hogy ezeket összeadva elképzelhessük a jövőt."

Közben New Yorkban nagyon sikeres rhetorikai és vita estélyek voltak Barta Lajos vezetése alatt, azokon is résztvettem. De nagyon sokat tanultam még Rothfischer Károly és Goldberger László irásaiból.

1923 őszén Köhler munkástárs biztatására, a legtanulságosabb aktivitást, három hónapos szervezői körutat kezdtem meg, hogy a tanult dolgokat gyakorlatilag érvényesitsem. Ezen három hónapban többet tanultam, mint más három évben. Ámbár majdnem az életembe került. A United Steel Trust gunmenjei akartak megtanitani (fejembe verni) hogy a magántulajdon szentsége sérthetetlen. Ugyanis a U.S. bányái akkor szervezetlenek voltak, a gunmenek uralma alatt és oda is elmerészkedtem menni.

A második legtanulságosabb lecke volt, amikor a new yorkiak, de leginkább Lefkovits munkástárs biztatására elvállaltam a központi titkárságot, ahol Köhler és Zára munkástársak tanitottak be az ügykezelésre.

De a legtöbb segitséget, biztatást mégis Geréb és Lefkovits munkástársak adtak. Nekik köszönhetem, hogy sokszor kijavitották a cikkeimet, értékesebbé tették az irásaimat és a szerintük elfuseráltakat a szemétkosárba dobták, amiért éppen olyan hálás vagyok, mint a javitásokért.

A Bérmunkással tehát éppen én vesztek legtöbbet, mert még olyan sok tanulni, irni, mondanivalóm van. Olyan eseménydus időszakban élünk, a szebb jövő kezd kialakulni, mely az általunk hirdetett közös termelési rendszert már láthatóvá teszi. Most még mindég nagy szükség volna lapunkra, de sajnos, nem mondhatjuk, hogy mindnyájan megtesszük kötelességeinket.

Igy bucsut kell venni a kedves lapunktól, az olvasóktól. Részemről még köszönet mindenkinek, akiktől tanultam, leginkább az itten megemlitetteknek. Köszönet, hogy képessé tettek, hogy a Bérmunkás történetében irásban résztvehettem mely fényes szakasza az amerikai munkásharcoknak, tanitásnak, szervezésnek. Nagyon sajnos, hogy még ideje előtt kell neki megszünni.

A háboru őrültjei

A HÁBORUS USZITÓK 1956-RA VAGY 60-RA TERVEZIK A HARMADIK VILÁGHÁBORUT.

WASHINGTON — Ugylátszik, hogy az amerikai hadügyminiszteriumban ugy megragadtak a Forrestall bacillusok, — (James W. Forrestal tengerészeti, majd honvédelmi miniszter beleőrült abba a gondolatba, hogy az oroszok megtámadják az Egyesült Államokat) — hogy az utódain is erőtvesznek időközönként.

Legalább is ezt bizonyitja Thomas K. Finletter, volt légierő miniszter most megjelent "Power and Policy" cimü könyve, amelyben megirja, hogy a hadveztőség véleménye szerint a **már sokszor beigért orosz támadás 1956-ban esedékes, — de ha akkor mégsem támadnának, ugy 1960-ban már egész biztossan megteszik.**

Finletter és a Pentagon egyetlen bizonyitéka ezen állitásukra az, hogy ime a Szovjetunion nagyon erősen fegyverkezik. Hogy a Szovjetuniont a Finletterek állandóan fenyegetik, azt a csekélységet a volt légügyi miniszter szerényen elhallgatja.

Finletter hosszasan részletezi az orosz és általában a népi köztársaságok fegyverkezését és ugy találja, hogy az oroszoknak 1956-ra már lesz annyi hidrogénbombájuk, hogy azokkal el tudják pusztitani az Egyesült Államokat. És ha nem fognak támadni, — mondja Finletter, — annak oka csupán az lesz, hogy repülőgépeik nem lesznek képesek áttörni Amerika radár védelmi vonalát.

Azonban ez a védelmi vonal sem tart örökké, — folytatja tovább, — mert az oroszok is megkezdték már az irányitható lövegek készitését, amelyek áttörnek a rádár vonalon. A Pentagon adatai szerint 1960-ra már annyi ilyen irányitható lövege lesz a Szovjetunionnak, hogy megvalósithatja állitólagosan régóta tervezett támadását.

De nem kell félni, — irja tovább a Forrestal bacillus által kikezdett Finletter, — mert ha az Egyesült Államok a jelenlegi évi 11 és fél billió dollár helyett 20 billiót fog köteni a légierőre és ezzel arányosan emeli az öszszes katonai költségeket, akkor annyi irányitható atom lövegünk lesz, hogy a Szovjetunion nem mer majd támadni. — Szóval Finletter ur fokozni akarja a fegyverkezési versenyt.

HIVATALOS ÉRTESITÉS

Az Industrial Worker (az IWW angol nyelvü hivatalos lapja) 1954 október 1-én megjelent száma tartalmazza ezen értesitést:

"Sajnálattal tudatjuk olvasóinkkal, hogy az Industrial Worker ezen számával megszüntetjük a hetenkénti megjelenését és ezután csak kéthetenként fogjuk kiadni. Oly financiális körülmények késztetnek erre az intézkedésre, amelyekkel nem tudunk megbirkozni."

"Reméljük, hogy olvasóinktól megkapjuk azt a támogatást, hogy rövidesen visszatérhetünk lap hetenkénti kiadására. Jelen változással nem ér senkit veszteség, miután az előfizetéseket nem az idő, hanem lapszámok szerint könyveljük el, vagyis aki 3 dollár előfizetést küldött, az ezután is 52 lapszámot fog kapni érte."

CHARLES DOEHRER,
szerkesztő

WALTER V. BENDLE,
G.E.B. elnök

W. H. WESTMAN,
titkár-pénztáros

AZ INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD IPARI SZERVEZET

ELVINYILATKOZATA

A munkásosztály és a munkáltató osztály között semmi közösség nincsen. Nem lehet béke mindaddig, amig éhség és nélkülözés található a dolgozó emberek milliói között s az élet összes javait ama kevesek birják, akikből a munkáltató osztály áll.

E két osztály között küzdelemnek kell folynia mindaddig, mig a világ munkásai mint osztály szervezkednek, birtokukba veszik a földet, a termelő eszközöket és megszüntetik a bérrendszert.

Ugy találjuk, hogy az iparok igazgatásának mind kevesebb és kevesebb kezekbeni összpontosulása a szakszervezeteket (trade unions) képtelenné teszik arra, hogy a munkáltató osztály egyre növekvő hatalmával felvegyék a küzdelmet. A szakszervezetek olyan állapotot ápolnak, amely lehetővé teszi, hogy a munkások egyik csoportját az ugyanazon iparban dolgozó másik csoport ellen uszitsák és ezáltal elősegitik, hogy bérharc esetén egymást verik le. A szakszervezetek segitenek a munkáltató osztálynak a munkásokba beoltani ama tévhitet, hogy a munkáltatókkal közös érdekeik vannak.

E szomoru állapotokat megváltoztatni és a munkásosztály érdekeit megóvni csakis olykép felépitett szervezettel lehet, melynek minden az egy iparban — vagy ha kell, valamennyi iparban — dolgozó tagjai beszüntessék a munkát bármikor, ha sztrájk vagy kizárás van annak valamelyik osztályában, igy az egyen esett sérelmet az összesség sérelmének tekinti.

E maradi jelszó helyett: "Tisztességes napibért, tisztességes napi munkáért" ezt a forradalmi jelszót irjuk a zászlónkra: "LE A BÉRRENDSZERREL!"

A munkásosztály történelmi hivatása, hogy megszüntesse a bérrendszert. A termelő hadsereget nemcsak a tőkésekkel való mindennapi harcra kell szervezni, hanem arra is, hogy folytassa a termelést akkor, amikor a bérrendszer már elpusztult. Az ipari szervezkedéssel az uj társadalom szervezetét épitjük a régi társadalom keretein belül.

A nagy háboru esélye

MINDEN ESETBEN ÖNGYILKOSSÁGHOZ VEZET A HARMADIK VILÁGHÁBORU.

A második világháboru vége felé, — egészen pontosan 1945 augusztus 6-ik napján az egész emberiséget megrettentő hir járta be a világot: egyetlen bombával elpusztitották Japán egyik virágzó ipari városát, a százezer lakossal biró Hiroshimát. Három nap multán az atombomba egy másik nagy japán várost törült le a föld szinéről.

Az ily szörnyü pusztitásra képes atombomba feltalálása ujra felvetette azon régen hangoztatott felfogást, hogy az állandóan fejlődő fegyverek egyszer csak olyan pusztitó hatásuak lesznek, **hogy azok automatikusan végetvetnek a háboruknak, mert a veliik való háboruskodás az emberiség kiirtásához vezetne.**

A háboru után meginditott nagy fegyverkezési versenyben azonban egy-kettőre feledésbe ment ez a felfogás. Feledésbe ment leginkább azért, mert az Egyesült Államok vezető politikusai ugy tartották, hogy csak ez az ország rendelkezik atombombákkal és igy elérkezett az alkalom, hogy leszámoljanak nem csak az ellenséggel, hanem a vetélytársakkal is, akiket hamarosan ellenségnek bélyegeztek. Ilyen vetélytársra akadtak az iparát rendkivül gyors tempóban fejlesztő Szovjetunionban.

A Szovjteunion hatalmas hadereje azonban egyenlőre elegendőnek mutatkozott az ellene irányuló támadás elhalasztására dacára azon őrületes háborus propagandának, amit Amerikában kifejtettek. Közben aztán a Szovjetunion is megkezdte az atombomba kisérleteket, majd áttért a hidrogénbombára s ma már ebben a tekintetben is oly erős, hogy nuclear támadásra hasonló módon válaszolna.

A JAPÁN HALÁSZ

Most aztán ujból felmerült a kérdés, hogy vajjon lehet-e még öngyilkosság nélkül nagy háborut folytatni. Különösen előtérbe nyomult ez a kérdés az 50 éves Aikichi Kuboyama nevü japán halász halálával kapcsolatban, aki a "Szerencsés Csillag" nevü halászhajón 82 mér**földnyire volt attól a szigettől ahol az amerikaiak ez év március elsején felrobbantották a hidrogénbombájukat, mégis ő és 22 más társa halálos rádióaktiv égési sebeket kaptak a robbanás okozta hamutól.**

Ennek a szegény halásznak a halála nem csak nagy szánalmat és mellékesen amerikaellenes hangulatot keltett, de egyben uj értékelés alá vették az atom-, illetőleg a hidrogénbomba pusztitó lehetőségét is. Részben az Atom Energia Bizottság, részben pedig a hadvezetőség által kiadott nyilatkozatokból szakemberek a következő magyarázatot adják:

Az atombombák pusztió hatásfokát általában a Hiroshimára dobott bombáéval hasonlitják ugy, hogy azt egységnek, — egy "megatom"-nak veszik. Az a hidrogénbomba, amelyet március elsején robbantottak fel s amely képes volt 82 mérföldre halálos égési sebeket okozni, **öt megatom erősségü volt.** Most azonban már képesek 10, 20, sőt 50 megatom erősségü hidrogénbombát is késziteni.

ÖNGYILKOSSÁG LENNE

De a kérdés az, hogy lehet-e ilyen nagyon erős bombákat használni? Először is azért, mert ma már egész bizonyos, hogy a Szovjetunion is rendelkezik ilyen bombákkal és onnan hasonlókkal válaszolnának. De van ennél még fontosabb ok is, mert erre azt lehetne mondani, hogy ha elegendő bombát dobunk le a potenciális ellenségre, akkor az már nem tud válaszolni sehogyan sem.

Hát ez nem egészen biztos. De tegyük fel, hogy igy áll a dolog. Szakemberek számitása szerint 2-300 öt megatomos bombával el lehetne pusztitani a Szovjetuniont és a hozzá csatlakozott népköztársaságokat is. Igen ám, de ha egyszerre elrobanna 1000-1500 megatom nuclear atom vagy hidrogénbomba, **abból annyi rádióaktiv hamu kerülne a levegőbe, hogy elpusztitana a földön minden életet, tehát a bombavetők éppenugy elpusztulnának, mint azok, akikre a bombákat hajigálták.**

Ebből következik, hogy most már csakugyan elértünk azon időponthoz, amelynél **maguk a fegyverek teszik lehetetlenné a háborut.** Háborut ma már csak abban az esetben várhatunk, ha valamely nagyobb országban olyan emberek kezébe kerül a hatalom, akiket a háborus őrület annyira elvakit, hogy nem bánják, ha saját maguk is elpusztulnak, csak a vélt ellenséget elpusztithassák.

Ilyen őrületre a magánéletben sok példát láttunk már. És láttunk hasonló példát a vallásos őrület hatása alatt is.

A sovinizmus szintén hasonló őrülteket termelhet ki.

DÉLI DEMOKRÁCIA

FLAT ROCK, North Caroline — A déli államok egyik legismertebb politikusa, Burnet R. Maybank demokrata szenátor szivbaj következtében hirtelen elhalt 55 éves korában.

Maybank mint a szenátus bankügyi bizottságának az elnöke nagyon erélyesen harcolt azért, hogy a szövetségi kormány épitsen olcsó lakásokat a munkásság részére. Midőn azonban a Supreme Court ugy döntött, hogy az ilyen állami lakásokból nem lehet kirekeszteni a negró népet. **Maybank egyszerre megváltoztatta nézetét és az állami épitkezések legnagyobb ellensége lett.** — Lehet, hogy talán a másvilágon is abban a mennyországban, vagy pokolban helyezkedett el, amelyet kizárólagosan csak a fehérek részére tartanak fenn.

A tudomány martirjai

AMERIKA TUDÓSAI VÉDELMEZIK DR. OPPENHEIMERT.

NEW YORK — Az ország vezető tudósaiból álló "Institute for Advances Study" tudományos intézmény 15 tagból álló végrehajtó bizottsága egyhangu szavazással igazgatójává választotta az 50 éves Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer atom tudóst, akit négy hónappal ezelőtt eltiltották attól, hogy az Atom Energia Bizottság vezetése alatt folyó atomkutatásokban tovább is résztvegyen.

Eddig szól a Princeton, N. J. városból világgá röpitett kis hir, amely egy az emberiség jövőjére igen nagy befolyással járó szenzációs dráma kulisza titkaira enged vetni egy röpke pillantást. Mert a tudósok Dr. Oppenheimer megválasztásával egészen érthetően azt mondották, **hogy lejárt már az az idő, amikor a babona, avagy hatalmi érdekek szolgálatában máglyára vittek komoly tudósokat.**

Nem véletlen, hogy ezen eminens tudósok éppen most hozták nyilvánosságra az Oppenheimer felé irányuló bizalmukat és tiszteletüket. A napokban megjelent egy nagyon "beharangozott" könyv, amelyet James Shepley és Clay Blair, Jr. ujságirók irtak, amelyben Dr. Oppenheimert a szó szoros értelmében az "áruló" szinében igyekeznek feltüntetni azért, mert amikor először vetődött fel a hidrogénbomba eszméje, Oppenheimer ugy vélte, hogy arra nem lesz szükség és azt mondotta, hogy arra már nem kellene billiókat költeni. Amikor azonban a bizottság tagjai a H-bomba mellett döntöttek, Oppenheimer nem csak dolgozott érte, hanem több eszmével segitette a bomba létrehozását, mint bárki más.

Ezzel a könyvvel kapcsolatban most az alábbi "kulisza" titkok kerültek napfényre:

STRAUSS, A NAGY HŐS

Az Atom Energia Bizottság jelenlegi elnöke, Louis L. Strauss mint tudós a korlátolt tehetségek közé tartozik, máskülönben azonban igen gazdag és hatalomravágyó ember. De még kicsinyes politikus is, aki a háborus feszültség emelésével igyekszik hatalmi pozicióját megerősiteni.

A Truman adiminisztrációja alatt nem sok szerep jutott ennek az embernek, habár tagja volt az Atom Energia Bizottságnak, de ott nem sokat számitott. A bizottság elnöke akkor Gordon Dean volt s Straussnak erre a tisztségre fájt a foga. A republikánus párt kormányra jutásával Strauss elérte a célját, kiszoritotta Gordon Deant, aki azzal vádolt meg, hogy barátja és pártfogója volt Dr. Oppenheimernak, akinek viszont több olyan ismerőse és barátai voltak, akik kommunistákkal is barátkoztak.

Strauss, illetve a bérencei megkezdték az Oppeiheimer elleni áskálódást, akire a "loyalty risk" (kockázatos hüség) bélyeget sütötték rá. Az emlitett könyv irói már valóságos árulónak bélyegzik Oppeiheimert, mert egy ideig ellenezni merte a H-bombát.

PUBLICITÁSI TRÜKK

De most jön a dolog java: Midőn az emlitett könyv megjelent, beharangozták, hogy az igen gazdag Strauss, akinek a szerzők bemutatták a kéziratot, azt meg akarta venni, hogy 25 évig ne lásson napvilágot. Márpedig ez a könyv igazi nagy nemzeti hősnek mutatja be Strausst, aki az emberiséget, de főleg Amerika népét megvédte a "kommunista Oppenheimer" ármánykodásaitól. És ime, ez a hős mégis sok pénzt akart adni csak azért, hogy ez a könyv ne lásson napvilágot.

Az Alsop testvérek állitása szerint azonban a **könyv kéziratának megvásárlása csak publicitási trükk volt, hogy az Oppenheimert gyalázó és Strausst magasztaló könyvnek nagy reklámot csapjanak.** Szóval lényegében ez is csak egy Strauss trükk volt, amely szépen beleillik a jelenlegi háborus uszitásba is.

Ez a nézete nem csak Gordon Dean, volt AEC elnöknek, hanem ezt állitja Dr. Norris E. Bradbury, a Los Alamos atomtelep vezetője is. Természetesen Straussnak is vannak segitői, többek között egy magyar származásu Edward Teller nevü atomtudós is, aki felhasználva az Oppenheimer elleni hajszát azt igyekszik elhitetni a világgal, hogy ő a hidrogénbomba feltalálója.

Oppenheimer fent emlitett kitüntetése az igazi tudósok válasza ezen gyászos intrikára.

NEMZETKÖZI DIÁKTÁBOR NYILIK BUDAPESTEN

A Dolgozó Ifjuság Szövetsége vezetősége a tavalyihoz hasonlóan ismét nemzetközi diáktábort szervez Budapesten. A diáktábor vendégei a nyugati országok diákszervezeteinek tagjaiból kerülnek ki. Előreláthatólag mintegy 45 fiatal érkezik Hollandiából, Dániából, Ausztriából, Angliából, Belgiumból és Finnországból.

A szépen berendezett zuglói diáktábor sportfelszerelésekkel, árnyas kerttel, kényelmes társalgókkal várja a fiatalokat. A kéthetes táborozás idején a külföldi fiatalok megtekintik a X. nyári Főiskolai Világbajnokság eseményeit, meglátogathatják Sztalinvárost és a Balatont. Ellátogatnak néhány egyetemre, ipari tanuló otthonba, termelőszövetkezetbe is. Budapesten az uttörővasut ,a csillezérvi uttőrőtábor, s több kerületi uttörőház megtekintése szerepel a programon. Találkozókat szerveznek a külföldi fiatalok s magyar diákok és ifjumunkások között.

A delejtü nem az északi sarok felé mutat, hanem a föld mágnesos sarkpontja felé, amely Kanadában van a sarkkör közelében.

BUCSUZÓ LEVELEK

(Folytatás a 2-ik oldalról)

annyian nagy szeretettel beszéltek a velünk együtt Elsinore tek lapunkról s üzenetet küld- (Cal.) városban lakó Geréb József munkástársnak, hogy mennyire meg vannak elégedve a lappal és mily nagyra becsülik a munkáját.

Hazatérve átadtam az üzenetet, de mielőtt Geréb munkástársnak alkalma lett volna örülni az olvasók ily ragaszkodásának a kifejezésén, tudtomra adta a szomoru hirt, hogy a Bérmunkás meg fog szünni.

Mikor a lesujtó hirt hallottam, ugy éreztem, **mintha valami olyasmit vesztettem volna el, ami nagyon közel állt hozzám igen sok éven keresztül, valami olyasmit, amit már többé nem lehet pótolni és aminek elvesztése különösen rosszul esik ebben a mai megkergült világban.**

De szeretném hinni, hogy módot találunk arra, hogy Geréb munkástárs veterán ujságiró és szerkesztő tudását továbbra is élvezhessük az összmunkásság javára. Kivánságomat arra alapitom, hogy évtizedek óta ismerem Geréb munkástársunk jóhirnevét és elsőrendü ujságirói képességét, amit az amerikai magyar munkássajtó olvasói nem nélkülözhetnek.

Schubert József

A Bérmunkás heti lapszáma szomoru jelentéseket szolgáltatott számunkra. A halálozási jelentések melyek az utóbbi időkben nagyon gyakoriak voltak, mélyen megdöbbentett bennünket, de tudtuk, hogy azok az élet természetes következményei, melyeket bármilyen fájdalmas, de tudomásul kell vennünk. Az a bejelentés azonban, mely a Bérmunkás végleges megszünését hozta hirül, még lesujtóbban hatott ránk, mert ezen bizony lehetett volna változtatni. Ha azonban figyelemmel kisértük az utóbbi évek halálozási jelentéseit, jól tudjuk azt is, hogy bármilyen változtatás a Bérmunkás megjelentetését illetőleg csak ideiglenes változtatás lett volna.

Különben is ha esak egy rövid pillantást vetünk a Bérmunkás multjára, irányelvére és céljaira, nyugodtan megállapithatjuk, hogy a Bérmunkás tulélte hivatását és eredeti célkitüzésének hüsgesen megfelelt. A Bérmunkás, mint jól tudjuk az Ipari Unionizmus, az Industrial Workers of the World ipari szervezkedésnek volt a magyar nyelvü propaganda közlönye. Célja és hivatása az volt, hogy az angolul nem értő és a 900-as években ezrével beözönlő ifju magyar munkásságot, a saját nyelvén az ipari szervezetbe toborozza. Azokban az időkben vivta az amerikai munkásság nagy harcait, mondhatjuk döntő harcait az uralkodó osztálylyal és azoknak a harcoknak, az eredményekép könyvelhetjük el, ma még mindig valamennyit jelentő szólás és szervezkedési szabadságot. Ha az amerikai munkástömegek nem a fék szakszervezetek vagy fék ipari szervezetekbe (mint a CIO) szervezkedtek volna és ha erejüket nem a semmit jelentő politikai pártok épitésére pazarolták volna, ugy ma a szólás és szervezkedési szabadság másképp állna előttünk.

Ahogyan az amerikai magyar munkásság életkorban öregedett és ahogyan az ifju magyar munkások bevándorlása ugyszólván teljesen megszünt, ugy vesztette el a Bérmunkás azt a propaganda hivatást, amit az ipari unionizmus szolgálatában végeznie kellett. Igaz nagyon szép az iparokból nyugdijba helyezkedett munkások között az ipari unionizmus hirdetése és szolgálata, de annak azonban többé semmiféle gyakorlati értéke nem lehet. Talán ezért volt az, hogy a Bérmunkás egyes irói az utóbbi néhány évben mindig jobban és jobban elorientálódtak az ipari unionizmus eredeti céljától és nagy mértékben behódoltak a forradalmi változásoknak.

Csak természetes, hogy jórészt igazuk volt azoknak, akik azt hangoztatták, hogy nem dughatjuk a fejünket a homokba a nagy világesemények birálatánál. Csak ott tévedtek, hogy a Bérmunkás, mint az Ipari Unionizmus hivatalos lapja, nem volt az a fórum, ahol a tulzásba vitt és legtöbbnyire helyesléssel találkozó birálat, minden tekintetben helyeslően találkozott volna jó néhány régi IWW-ista véleményével. Az is aztán határozottan bizonyos, hogy ezek az emberek azt sem akarták volna, hogy a Bérmunkás, más ugynevezett "munkásujság" nyilas politikai véleményére helyezkedjen. Viszont aztán az is még mindig egy nagy kérdőjel marad, hogy van-e ennél a kérdésnél középut?

De ez mitsem változtat azon a tényen, hogy a Bérmunkás 42 esztendős létezése kizárólag az Ipari Unionizmust volt hivatva szolgálni és hogy ennek a hivatásának minden tekintetben eleget tett, arról legfényesebb bizonyiték az öreg amerikai magyar munkások odaadó anyagi és erkölcsi támogatása a lap mögött. És ha többé nem is kopogtat majd a Bérmunkás ezeknek a munkásoknak az ajtaján, az eszme, az Ipari Unionizmus eszméje ott marad örökre ezeknek a munkásoknak a szivében. Bárhogyan is néz ki a világ ma, meggyőződésünk mégis csak az, hogy nem lehet igazi fölszabadulás, nem lehet Ipari Demokrácia, ipari uniok irányitása nélkül. A közszükségleteken alapuló termelés az egyetlen ut az Ipari Demokráciához. Propaganda eszközünk kiesett kezünkből, de az eszme az él és élni fog!

Fishbein László

Igazán mély megdöbbenéssel vettem hirül Takács munkástárs halálhirét, de még inkább azt a szomoru tényt, hogy lapunkat, a Bérmunkást is kénytelenek vagyunk beszüntetni.

Mert igazán szomoru, — habár hihetetlenül hangzik is — hogy egy munkástárs halála ilyen nagy csapást mér ránk, hogy fel kell adni azt a lapot, amely az évtizedeken át ugy a szivünkhöz nőtt, hogy most, beszüntetésének a hire ugy hat ránk, mintha családunk valamelyik tagjának halálhirét hozta volna a posta. Hiszen ugy a szivünkhöz nőtt, hogy most már nagy ür marad nálunk, amikor hetenként hiába várjuk.

Csak az a tudat vigasztal, hogy valami módon megtaláljuk a módját annak, hogy azon barátok és munkástársak kis csoportja, akik a Bérmunkáson keresztül évtizedeken együtt barcoltunk a munkásosztály jobbléteért, együtt marad és még hallani fogunk egymásról..

Ádám Helén

Takács munkástárs halálhirét nagy fájdalommal vettem és részvétemet küldöm a Bérmunkás nagy családjának, amelyet ez a veszteség ért.

Fájdalmam azonban végtelenül emelkedett, amikor meghallottam, hogy a Bérmunkás is meg fog szünni. Mert ez aztán az igazán végtelenül nagy veszteség ránk, Bérmunkás olvasókra. Mi tudjuk csak igazán, hogy mit is jelent ennek a lapnak beszüntetése. Tudom, hogy nagyon sokszor fogom nélkülözni, tudom, hogy hiába fogom várni éppen most, amikor ennek a lapnak a tanitására, bátoritására olyan nagy szükség lenne.

No de reméljük, hogy eljön még a "kikelet".

Molnár Hedvig

Jó tizenöt esztendeje, hogy megpillantottam a Szabadság szobrát és ittlétem óta tökéletes vendégjogot élveztem a Bérmunkásnál. Arról irhattam és azt amit lelkiismeretem mondott tollba. Otthon éreztem magamat hasábjain, annélkül, hogy személyes kapcsolatban lettem volna vezetőivel.

A Bérmunkás most negyvenkét évi küzdelmes pálya után bucsuzik; és bár szivemhez nőtt mint tisztes munkások lelkes munkája, őszintetlenség volna azt mondanom, hogy elmulásán szomorkodom. Nem aggastyáni eltompultság vagy közöny ennek az oka. Hosszu életemen át jó egynéhány lapalapitás körül bábáskodtam és nem egyet láttam koporsóba tenni. Azok közt, amikre gondolok — Huszadik Század, Szocializmus, Nyugat, Szabadgondolat, Századunk, Korunk, Uttörő, stb., stb. — egyik se volt üzlet. Nem az volt kérdés körülöttük, hogy tőkebefektetésük célirányos-e, hogy ügyvezetésük gyakorlatias-e, hanem inkább az, vajjon időszerü volt-e célkitüzésük, hogy kitüzött erkölcsi céljuknak, eszményeiknek meg tudtak-e felelni. Volt-e igazából szellemi visszhangjuk? Tömegeinek helyesen fejezték-e ki vágyait, törekvéseit, igényeit?

Egy régi közhely szerint "minden könyvecskének megvan a maga végzete". Ez itt annyit jelent, hogy a nemzedékek forgandóságában minden emberi közületi törekvésnek — igy hát az olyan erkölcsi ténynek is mint egy közösségi folyóirat megvan a maga fiatalsága, férfikora, estéje.

Az amerikai magyar bérmunkásság különös módon éppen egy igazi emberöltőt élt át. A tömegbevándorlók — azokra gondolok, akik a századforduló körül százezrével keltek át az Oceánon uj hazát keresni — ma öregek és kevesen vannak már.

Egész életünkben igyekeztünk nem regényes álomkergetők, hanem valóság-keresők lenni. Most a végórában se legyünk hütelenek elveinkhez hitünkhöz. Tisztességgel megtette mindenki a kötelességét, amig tudta. Rakjuk le a szerszámokat megbékélten.

Varró István

SOK ILYEN BOLOND VAN

BATTLE CREEK, MICH. — Róbert Roscoe megölt egy hatgyermekes anyát, mert azt hidte, hogy **veszedelmes kommunista.** Persze nagy csodálkozva látta, hogy kitüntetés helyett börtönbe zárták mint bolondot.

Azt állitották az elme szakértők, hogy sok más egyént is megölne, ha szabadon járhatna, akikről azt hiszi, hogy kommunista. Persze ezen elmeszakértők nem igen vizsgálják meg, vagy tennének jelentést arról, hogy milyen lapok, könyvek, rádió programok bolonditották meg Roscoet és sok millió esetleg kevésbé veszedelmes őrültet, akik kötelességüknek tartják mindazok ellen harcolni, esetleg legyilkolni, akiket ők vagy mások vörösöknek tartanak. Hiszen azért sok helyen jutalmat kapnak, pláne ha csak félig verik agyon az ilyen vörösöknek beállitott egyéneket.

Mert csak azért jelentették Roscoet bolondnak, mivel a vizsgálat kideritett, hogy Mrs. Beula Pontius, a hat gyermek anyja, nem volt még csak rózsaszinü sem. Ha esetleg igazán kommunista lett volna, akkor Roscoe meg is kapta volna a várt kitüntetést.

AZ AGYMOSÁS MÓDJA

FT. SHERIDAN, ILL. — Annak a hadbiróságnak, amely a vörösökkel kooperáló Harry Fleming alezredes ügyét tárgyalja, Dr. Glenn A. Bacon elmegyógyász ezt a magyarázatot adta: Fleming alezredes esak azért adott le rádió beszédeket a koreai vörösöknek, akiknek fogságába került, mert azok "kimosták az agyát". Az "agymosást" megelőzőleg vitaminhiányos ételeket adtak neki, minek következtében az alezredes elvesztette tisztán gondolkodó képességét és akaraterejét. Csakis igy történhetet meg az, hogy az amerikai hadsereg egy tisztje oly elmebeteg lett, hogy a vörösök kivánságára rádió leadásokat tartott.

A DUPLA NŐ

DETROIT — A 28 éves Mrs. Boyd Braxton előbb két ikerleánynak, majd három héttel később egy fiugyermeknek adott életet. Mindkét szülésnél az orvosok a "császár-vágást" alkalmazták. Az első szülésnél kitünt, hogy Mrs. Braxtonnak két, — egymástól független müködő anyaméhe van s igy akár minden négy és félhónapban lehet egy-egy gyermeke. Az orvosok Mrs. Braxton ivarszervi berendezkedését rendkivül ritka jelenségnek mondják.